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TRU'Ò'NG - CHINH

PRESIDENT HỒ-CHÍ-MINH

BELOVED LEADER OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI 1966

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FOREWORD

Insurrections followed each other, men died as heroes, but the colonial regime remained unshaken, apparently unshakable. Our scholars in the name of the King and of Confucius, led the peasants to battle, but they fought with out-of-date arms and ideas of past ages. Against the foreign imperialists' modern weapons and Machiavellian schemes, this was derisory. Even more so were the attempts by our urban bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to tail after Western capitalism. Such was the state of Vietnam before 1930. A whole nation, proud of its centuries-old history, fought heroically, but for many decades, every insurrection was doomed to failure. The road to independence seemed blocked, a wall rose, unshakable, impregnable, obstructing the path of the future. Eyes turned towards the two elder nations of Asia: China and India. But in spite of immense efforts, at the time these two great countries either remained under subjection or sank into anarchy.

In the dark night, a light flashed, a voice resounded. Imperialism, it said, is powerful but ridden with contradictions, our weakness only stems from our inability to mobilize the main forces of the nation, the masses of the people, from our inability to define an adequate overall political line, appropriate strategy and tactics, suitable forms of organization

We lacked an ideology that made it possible for us to mobilize and organize the people, and showed us the road of human progress. Such an ideology exists, it is that of the working class, it is Marxism-Leninism.

However, to possess a compass did not necessarily mean that one knows how to sail one's ship over a stormy sea. One had to apply that theory to Vietnamese realities, to create that party of steel which was to define the line to be followed by the people's struggle at each stage, that national front which rallied all forces and that people's army which spearheaded the revolution. This work, immense in effectiveness and scope, was to be done by a man of indomitable energy and unequalled ludicity, a profoundly humanitarian man symbolizing the progress of his epoch and national tradition, an ardent patriot and an internationalist as well. That man is Hô-Chi-Minh, Uncle Hô as he is called by all Vietnamese. Hô-Chi-Minh pursued the work for nearly half a century and has achieved it at last in relying on the Party he had founded. Many a fighter of the South cried out before being hit by the bullets of a firing squad: "Long live President Hô-Chi-Minh. In the remotest villages of Vietnam, North and South, every little child, as soon as he can speak, babbles to his mother "I will be good, Uncle Hô will be pleased".

Such is the man whose short biography we publish hereafter, written by one of his closest collaborators, Tru'ô'ng-Chinh, a member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnam Workers' Party.

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PRESIDENT HÔ-CHI-MINH

BELOVED LEADER OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The 19th May of this year is the 70th * anniversary of Comrade Hô - Chi - Minh, President and Secretary General of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Vietnamese working class and people are engaged in patriotic emulation, endeavouring to record outstanding achievievements which they will offer to their beloved leader as birthday presents.

On this occasion, let us study the life and work of President Hô-Chi-Minh, and try to understand and learn from his thinking, moral greatness and style of work so as to be able to better serve the Party and the people.

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* Article carried by *Hoc Tap* (issues of May and July 1960), a political and theoretical review of the Vietnam Workers' Party.

I

A SUMMARY OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF PRESIDENT HÔ-CHI-MINH

In the history of the nations, there are great men whose lives and works are closely bound to glorious stages in the history of their respective countries. Such men often symbolize the noblest virtues of their people; all through their lives, they struggle for the freedom and happiness of their people whose dearest aspirations and firmest will their words and deeds bespeak. President Hô-Chi-Minh is such a man.

He was born in 1890 into a poor peasant scholar's family of Kimlien hamlet, Namlien village, Namdan district, Nghean province, a place with long-standing revolutionary traditions. His father was a *Pho Bang**, who out of patriotism had refused to collaborate with the French colonialists and Nguyen feudalists and lived in poverty. As a young man, Hô-Chi-Minh was deeply influenced by his social surroundings and family education. For successive generations, the people of Nghean and Hatinh provinces had waged a hard struggle against harsh natural conditions and the heavy yoke of colonialism and feudalism to win

* Doctor of classical humanities (Pub.)

the right to live, but they had never been able to escape misery and hunger. The peasants' spontaneous struggles against dispossession of land, heavy taxation, forced labour, etc. kindled in Hô-Chi Minh's heart deep anger against the aggressors and traitors. As a child, he had been told stories about such heroes born in Nghetinh as Mai Hac De, Nguyen Quang Trung and others, which had inspired him with patriotism, the will for independence and the spirit of self-reliance. The anti-French *Van Than* movement led by Phan Dinh Phung, the *Dong Zu* movement led by Phan Boi Chau, the *Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc* movement and the guerilla war led by Hoang Hoa Tham left deep impressions in his mind: in his early adolescence, he was already pondering over the causes of the success or failure of every patriotic movement of the time.

In 1905, he went to Hue and enrolled in Quoc Hoc school. But seeing that the only aim of the "Franco-Vietnamese" schools was to turn out obedient agents and faithful lackeys of the colonialists and feudalists, he left for Phanthiet where he taught in a private school. However, he soon went to Saigon, seeking some professional training.

By that time, he already thought that it would be necessary for him to visit France and other European countries, "to see the people there at work and then come back to help his compatriots".* The things that interested him most in those countries were the ideals of freedom, civil rights, democracy, and the new developments in science and technology. Why did he not think of going to Japan

* Tran Dan Tien: *Glimpses of the life of Hô-Chi-Minh, President of the D.R.V.*

or China, as recommended by partisans of the Dong Zu movement ? Because in his opinion to rely on Japanese help to drive out the French was tantamount to "driving the tiger out of the front door while welcoming the wolf in through the back door", and that Liang Chi-chiao's thinking was reformist, and not thoroughly revolutionary.

So he became a galley hand on a ship belonging to the *Chargeurs Réunis,* a French shipping company. And after that, as a worker on ocean going ships, he travelled a great deal, indeed around the world. He visited France, Great Britain, Germany, the United States and several French colonies in Africa. In capitalist countries, what struck him most was the fact that a minority of capitalists could live parasitically from their exploitation of the workers and other toiling people, and lead a life of luxury and debauchery while the majority of the people, the labourers, worked hard but lived in want and hardship. In the colonies, he saw the suffering and humiliation of the oppressed peoples, and the imperialists' barbarity, cruelty and insolence.

As a worker and a man whose country had fallen under foreign domination he felt deep sympathy with the workers in imperialist countries and the people of the colonies. Thinking of his compatriots pained him very much ; love for his country and his class kindled his heart. As he saw it, patriotism was closely bound to proletarian internationalism.

In 1914, the First World War broke out. Vietnamese youth were pressganged and died in great numbers for the sake of French imperialism. He was then in England. He left immediately for France and got in touch with Vietnamese patriots living there, such as Phan Chu Trinh and

Phan Van Truong. The anti-French movement of King Duy Tan in 1916 and the insurrection of soldiers and political prisoners in Thainguyen in 1917 had strong repercussions which reached France, making him all the more impatient to work for the liberation of his people.

In 1917, the Great October Socialist Revolution broke out in Russia. The Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin carried through the greatest revolution in history, the October Revolution, and set up the first proletarian State in the world. The Soviet State declared that it would get Russia out of the imperialist war, called on the nations to restore peace, distributed land to the peasants, handed over the factories to the workers, liberated the peoples formerly under Tsarist oppression and founded a multinational State called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The reverberations of the October Revolution shook the world, and infused enthusiasm into the working class, toiling people and oppressed nations. They could at last see the road to liberation from oppression, exploitation and war. Such was the road of the October Revolution, charted by Lenin.

The glorious success of the October Revolution had a decisive influence on the militant life of Hô-Chi-Minh, who then went by the name of Nguyên-Ai-Quôc. He endeavoured to study Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution and decided to adopt the course followed by the Russian people.

In Paris, he got in touch with Marxists and joined the French Socialist Party (the French Communist Party was then not yet founded). He organized the *Group of Vietnamese Patriots Living in France.*

The First World War ended in 1918. The following year, the Peace Conference was held in Versailles. It was attended by delegations from both victor and vanquished countries. Besides, there were (unofficial) delegations representing oppressed nations who came there to demand independence and freedom. As a representative of the Group of Vietnamese Patriots living in France, Hô-Chi-Minh came to the Versailles Peace Conference where he presented an eight-point demand of the Vietnamese people and requested that France and the other countries should recognize the latter's urgent interests set forth therein.

But the purpose of the Versailles Conference was to divide the spoils of war among the victor imperialist countries, at the expense not only of the vanquished but also of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Its results provoked the indignation of the people of China and other oppressed nations. Inspired by the October Revolution and disappointed by the Versailles Conference, the working class and people in many colonial and dependent countries seethed with revolutionary ardour.

In 1919, Lenin and Marxists who supported his stand held a congress in Moscow, to set up the Third International, i.e. the Communist International, and declared "the death of the Second International". In 1920, the French Socialist Party held a congress in Tours, at which was discussed the question of whether or not it should join the Third International. The great majority of the delegates, among them Hô-Chi-Minh, voted for joining. Then members of the French Socialist Party who supported the Communist International founded the French Communist Party and Hô-Chi-Minh became the first Vietnamese Communist to be active in its ranks.

The resolution adopted at the Tours Congress and the founding of the French Communist Party caused Hô-Chi-Minh to ponder over the following problem: how could a revolutionary party of the working class, a Marxist-Leninist party, be set up in Vietnam?

With the help of the French Communist Party, he founded the *League of Colonial Peoples* with the aim of fighting against colonialism. He wrote the famous pamphlet *Procès de la colonisation française* and published the journal *Le Paria,* in which he exposed the heinous crimes of the French colonialists and put forth the legitimate aspirations of the people of Vietnam and other colonial countries.

In 1922, Khai Dinh came to France to attend a colonial exhibition. He wrote a play, the "*Bamboo dragon*", in which that puppet king was flayed.

In 1924, he went to the Soviet Union to attend the Fifth Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow (June 17 to July 8, 1924) and after that, international conferences of peasants, youth and women.

Before leaving France for Moscow, he wrote a letter to his friends from African colonies, then engaged in political activities in France, in which he showed the necessity for them to "go back to their countries, penetrate into the masses to awaken, organize, unite and train them and lead them to fight for freedom and independence".

In 1924, the revolutionary Pham Hong Thai attempted the life of Merlin, the Governor General of Indochina, when the latter visited Shamian in Canton. That same year, Hô-Chi-Minh arrived in China. When he came to Canton, he got in touch with *Tam tam xa,** a revolutionary organization of the Vietnamese in China at that

* Organization of people upholding one and the same ideal.

time. Drawing experience from the attempt on the life of Merlin, which had failed, he arrived at the following conclusion: the assassination of this or that governor could not overthrow the colonial regime or lead the revolution to victory. To this end, a strong political party was needed, which would organize the masses, and give them the leadership needed for carrying out an insurrection and wining power. Together with the Vietnamese revolutionaries in Tam tam xa, he founded the *Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League*. At the same time, he set up the *League of Oppressed Asian peoples*.

The bomb thrown by Pham Hong Thai had failed to kill the enemy but had helped awaken our compatriots. In 1925, throughout the whole country, our people demanded amnesty for Phan Boi Chau, the revolutionary who had been arrested by the French imperialists in China, brought back to his country and sentenced to death. In 1926, school strikes and meetings were staged to commemorate the death of the revolutionary Phan Chu Trinh who, after long years of exile in Poulo Condor island and France, had been given his freedom and repatriated by the French imperialists only the previous year. A number of young students who were expelled from school as a result of their participation in the strikes, fled to Canton, where they studied revolutionary theory. Hô organized training courses for them and sent them back to Vietnam to set up organizations of the Revolutionary Youth League. He wrote *The Road of the Revolution*, used as a manual of instruction for young Vietnamese revolutionaries. He also published the journal *Youth*, organ of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League. Both The Road of the Revolution

and Youth were illegally circulated in the country. They were the initial step in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist thinking among our people.

The Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League was but a transitional stage leading to the founding of a Communist Party, the Communists within the League being organized into "Communist groups" which would prepare for the setting up of a Communist party in Vietnam.

During the years 1927-28, Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League organizations within the country developed very rapidly. Under the leadership of the League, the workers rose up to demand wage increases and working hour cuts, the abolition of corporal punishments and fines. Strikes broke out at the Namdinh weaving mill (August 1928 and July 1929), the Aviat motor-car repair factory (1929), the Phurieng plantation in South Vietnam (August 1927), etc. In 1929, the movement spread to the countryside: in many places the peasants staged demonstrations demanding tax cuts and less forced labour. Marxism-Leninism began to permeate the workers' movement and the patriotic movement of the Vietnamese people. Conditions for the founding of a revolutionary party of the Vietnamese working class were rapidly maturing.

In North Vietnam, the first Communist cell was set up within the leading body of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League and set itself the task of preparing for the founding of a Communist party in Indochina. In May 1929, at the national congress of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League held in Hongkong, the delegation of North Vietnam proposed that an Indochinese Communist Party should be founded. The proposal was not accepted

by the Congress. So North Vietnam delegation left for home. In June 1929, *the Indochinese Communist Party* was founded in North Vietnam: a declaration was issued and journals published to propagate the Party's line and policy. The best members of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League enthusiastically joined the Indochinese Communist Party. The organizations of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League in North Vietnam were dissolved. Its organizations in South were seriously shaken. Faced with this situation, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League decided to transform what remained of the League (mostly in the South) into the *Annamese Communist Party*. Before the new requirements of the situation, the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party in Central Vietnam and partly in South Vietnam was also changed into the *Tan Viet Communist League*.

Thus in the year 1929, in Vietnam, three Communist organizations came into being, each claiming to be the only genuinely revolutionary one. They criticized each other, fought for influence, and all three tried to get in touch with the Communist International.

Conscious of this danger of division and sectarianism, the Communist International sent to Hongkong Comrade Hô-Chi-Minh who convened a Unification Conference (February 3, 1930) at which the three Communist organizations of Vietnam were amalgamated into a single Communist party, called the *Vietnam Communist Party*, a name changed later into *Indochinese Communist Party*.

The Unification Conference discussed and passed the *Outline of the Party's Platform*, which served as a basis on which the Central Committee later drafted the *Political Thesis*. If we read the Outline of the Party's Platform

and the *Recommendations of Comrade Nguyên - Ai - Quoc* on the occasion of the amalgamation of the Vietnamese Communist organizations and the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party, we will see that the Party's programme then included the following points: to carry out a bourgeois democratic revolution (then called the bourgeois revolution for democratic rights) which would include a land revolution, and aim at :

1. Overthrowing the French imperialists and the feudalists, making Vietnam wholly independent;

2. Setting up a worker-peasant-soldier government;

3. Organizing a worker-peasant army;

4. Confiscating all big entreprises (industrial, transport, banking, etc.) belonging to the French imperialists and handing them over to the worker - peasant - soldier government;

5. Confiscating all lands belonging to the imperialists, turning them into public property and distributing them to poor peasants;

6. Promulgating an eight-hour working day;

7. Cancelling all public debts, poll taxes, and exempting poor people from all taxes;

8. Developing industry and agriculture;

9. Giving all democratic rights to the masses;

10. Establishing equality between men and women;

11. Establishing "worker-peasant style" general education.

The Vietnamese revolution had entered a new stage. It now possessed a unified general staff, and relatively clearly-set aims and orientation. After that, the Party developed rapidly and its influence spread among the popular masses. That is why, in spite of the fact that it was but

newly founded, it was able to lead the revolutionary upsurge of 1930 - 1931, whose climax was the setting up of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets.

What should we gather from all the above developments ? They confirm the great importance of the role played by Hô - Chi - Minh in the unification of the Communist forces in Vietnam and the founding of our Party.

In 1930 and early 1931, Hô - Chi - Minh carried out revolutionary activities in China. Although he did not give direct leadership to revolutionary work within Vietnam, he nevertheless followed events closely. In a letter to the Central Committee dated April 20, 1931, he criticized some shortcomings in Party work: formalist style of work, lack of realism, insufficient attention paid to concrete situation arising in each locality, sectarianism in mass organizations (trade union, peasants, youth and women's associations), not enough attention paid to the Anti-imperialist League, etc. He also proposed the following tasks:

1. To correct the above shortcomings ;
2. To draft a detailed programme of action for every district, every province ;
3. To distribute the Party membership (the way the army would its forces) ; those comrades given assignments in particular region or special work, must establish a programme of action...
4. Party committees closely follow and control the execution of programmes of action;
5. Youth and Trade Union organizations should first of all be unified and have their own independent lives.

Hô-Chi-Minh then pointed out:

"All Party members, all Party cells must discuss the Central Committee's directions and resolutions... This aims at raising the level of the Party members, ensuring that ll directions and resolutions will be carried into effect, and unifying the thoughts and actions of the Party membership..."

In June 1931 Hô Chi-Minh was arrested by the British imperialists in Hongkong, but the International Red Relief Association asked a lawyer to defend him, and so he regained his freedom and escaped from Hongkong, then went to Shanghai where he resumed contact with the Chinese Communist Party.

In 1933, he studied at the Lenin School, which trained high-ranking cadres for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In 1935, the First Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party was held in Macao (China). Hô-Chi-Minh engaged in work in the U.S.S.R. could not attend the Congress.

In 1936 he returned to China.

In May 1936, the French *Front Populaire* won victory in the election to the French National Assembly. A Popular Front government came to power in France. Thanks to the efforts of both the Vietnamese and French people, many political prisoners in Indochina were released. The Indochinese Communist Party launched the *Indochinese Congress* movement, assembled the people's grievances, and demanded that the French government should carry out democratic reforms and improve the people's living conditions. The movement was repressed by the reactionary

colonialists, but it led immediately to an impetuous upsurge in the workers' movement in the big cities and the coal districts of Hongai, Campha, Uongbi, Maokhe. Tens of thousands of workers went on strike, demanding wage increase, the abolition of corporal punishments, the eight-hour day, freedom to organize trade unions, etc. In a number of places, the peasants also opposed heavy taxation, land robbery by mandarins, landowners and the Catholic Church, etc. The movement of struggle waged by the worker-peasant masses reached a new peak.

On May Day of 1938, in Hanoi, our Party and the *Indochina Democratic Front* organized a mammoth meeting attended by 50,000 people to commemorate International Labour Day and voiced the claims of workers, peasants, administrative employees, small traders, shop-owners, intellectuals and students. The Party made the best use possible of all legal and semi-legal means to conduct propaganda and agitation among the masses, organize them and lead them to struggle for their day-to-day interests. Journals of the Party, the Democratic Youth League and the Indochina Democratic Front were legally published. Publishing houses were founded. While urging the masses to buy newspapers and books, encouraging them to write articles for the journals, and organizing collective readings, the Party at the same time founded friendship and mutual aid association, etc. and gave leadership to the workers in their struggle for freedom to organize trade unions. The bases of the Party and the Democratic Youth League became much stronger.

Meanwhile, Comrade Le Hong Phong, alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, was sent back to Vietnam to give together with the

Party's Central Committee, direct leadership to the movement. Hô-Chi-Minh followed closely the democratic movement within the country. From time to time, he would send either to the Party Central Committee or to the editorial boards of the Party's legal journals, letters in which he made enlightening suggestions or penetrating observations and criticism. He also sent articles to some of the journals of the Party and the Democratic Front. It is regrettable that owing to the conditions in which illegal work was conducted, we could not keep those letters. But reading the report sent by Hô-Chi-Minh (who then signed himself as Nguyên-Ai-Quoc) to the Communist International in July 1939, we can see that the directions he gave during the Democratic Front period (1936-1939) were well-adapted to the situation then prevailing and that they were faithfully carried out: e.g.

"1. At this moment, the Party should not put forward such demands as national independence or the establishment of a Parliament, etc. For this would mean falling into the trap set by the Japanese facists.

It should confine itself to demanding democratic rights: freedom of organization, association, opinion and the press, a general amnesty for political prisoners, and to struggling so that the Party could engage in legal activities.

2. To those ends, it should strive to organize a Democratic Front.

This Front will include not only Indochinese but also progressive French people, not only the working people but also the national bourgeoisie.

3. As regards the bourgoisie * the Party should adopt a wise and flexible attitude, try to draw it into the Front,

* National bourgoisie — T.C.

win over elements that could be won over, and neutralize those that could be neutralized. It should not leave it out of the Front for this would mean pushing it into the hands of the enemies of the Revolution, and strengthening the reactionaries.

4. As regards the Trotskyites, no alliance, no concession is possible. We must do our utmost to unmask them as agents of the facists.

5. To develop and consolidate its force, widen the scope of its influence and perform its work successfully, the Democratic Front should get in close touch with the French Front populaire, for the latter also struggles for freedom and democracy and can be of much help to us.

6. The Party should not demand that the Front recognize its leardership, but should prove itself to be the most self-sacrificing, active and faithful component part of the Front. Only through struggle and daily work will the broad masses recognize those who should be their leaders.

7. To fulfil the above tasks, the Party should struggle uncompromisingly against sectarianism, and study Marxism-Leninism. It should raise the level of its cadres and establish close relations with the French Communist Party.

8. The Central Committee should control the Party's publications so as to avoid mistakes in strategy and tactics... ".

In September 1939, the Second World War broke out. Soon France was occupied by the Hitlerite fascists. In August 1940, Japanese troops attacked Langson. The French co onialists shamefully surrendered and opened the door of Indochina to welcome in the Japanese. But the

Vietnamese people resolutely opposed both the Japanese and French facists. Three successive insurrections broke out at Bacson (September 1940), in South Vietnam (November 1940) and at Doluong (January 1941). The Bacson insurrection gave birth to the first guerilla unit led by our Party. At the beginning of 1941, this unit adopted the name of *Vietnam National Salvation Platoon.*

In 1940, Hô-Chi-Minh had come to Kwangsi and got in touch with the Party. In February 1941, he arrived in Caobang. Since he left the country, this was the first time he returned to take in hand the direct leadership of the movement.

In May 1941, the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee met in Pacbo, a remote jungle village in Caobang province close to the Chinese border. Hô-Chi-Minh, who then represented the Communist International, was in the chair. We all know the great importance of that meeting. It made a penetrating analysis of the situation in Vietnam and the world, and came to the following conclusions: France after surrendering to the German fascists had now surrendered to the Japanese fascists, the Japanese had invaded Indochina whose people now lived under a double yoke; however, in the international arena the Soviet Union and the Allied countries would certainly defeat the fascist aggressors, contradictions would grow ever more acute between the Japanese and French in Indochina; a great opportunity would then arise, one that would happen only once in a thousand years; living under the double oppression of the Japanese and French fascists, the Indochinese people would certainly grow politically conscious within a short time; the Party should take advantage of the war situation to rally them into a

broad union, set up the *League for the Independence of Vietnam*, i.e. the *Vietminh Front*, organize guerilla units, make careful preparations for an armed insurrection aimed at overthrowing the Japanese and French fascists, winning power and founding the *Democratic Republic of Vietnam*.

The correct resolution adopted at the 8th plenum and the call addressed by Nguyên-Ai-Quoc to our compatriots following that plenum were strong stimuli to all our Party and people. The line and policy put forward by the Central Committee at that historic meeting were strictly implemented by the entire Party membership and led to the victory of the August 1945 Revolution.

During the time he spent in Caobang, besides overall leadership and cadre training work, Hô-Chi-Minh did a rough translation of the *History of the C.P.S.U.* (b), translated Sun Tsu's *Military Art*, wrote *Guerilla Warfare, Experiences of Chinese Guerillas, Experiences of French Guerillas*. and edited the journal *Vietnam Doc Lap* (Independent Vietnam).

In August 1942, he went to China to try and win support from the Chiang Kai-shek government but he was arrested by Chiang's troops and imprisoned for over one year.

Upon his release from prison, he got in touch with the *Vietnam Revolutionary League*, an anti-Japanese, anti-French organization of Vietnamese residents in Liuchow, re-established contact with the Party, then returned to Caobang where he resumed his activites.

In 1944, he went to Yunnan. At the end of the same year, he returned to Caobang. In December, he gave instructions for the founding of the *Armed Propaganda Bri-*

gade for the Liberation of Vietnam in Caobang, Baccan and Langson. *

As foreseen by the Central Committee and Hô-Chi-Minh, the Japanese clashed with the French in Indochina: it was the *coup de force* of March 9, 1945. After a few days' fighting, the Japanese fascists ousted the French colonialits from the ruling machinery of this peninsula. From March 9 to 12, 1945, the C.C. Standing Committee met in enlarged session at Dinhbang (Bacninh) for an assessement of the situation and set forth new tasks. The instructions entitled *The Franco-Japanese clash and our action* issued by the Committee following that important session marked a turning point of great consequence in the Indochinese revolutionary movement and gave it a big impulse. Armed and unarmed demonstrations broke out, participated in by from a few thousand to ten thousand people under the slogan: "Let's break into the paddy storehouses and do away with famine!" In the course of this struggle, armed self-defence units were set up and developed rapidly in the Midland and the delta. Guerilla warfare expanded around the guerilla base areas. Many war zones were organized. The Japanese troops were attacked by both the Armed Propaganda Brigade for the Liberation of Vietnam and the Vietnam National Salvation Brigade. These two groups of people's armed forces were unified into the *Vietnam Liberation Army* at the North Vietnam Revolutionary Military Conference in April 1945.

In the summer of 1945, the Liberated Zone came into being comprising six provinces in Vietbac*. Our people now had a vast anti-Japanese base. Revolutionary people's power

* Northernmost part of Vietnam.

took over the administration. *Revolutionary People's Committees* were founded in the liberated zone and *Liberation Committees* in those regions where revolutionary bases were being developed and the Vietminh had won political superiority among the people but where the puppet administration still temporarily existed.

In May 1945, Hô-Chi-Minh from Caobang went to Tantrao, a village in Sonduong district, Tuyenquang province. At his suggestion, a *National Conference of the Party* and a *People's Congress* were successively convened to discuss the expansion of the guerilla war, the preparations for a nation-wide general insurrection and the founding of a Provisional Government, etc. Both were held at Tantrao at the time when the heroic Soviet Army had just annihilated the main forces of the Japanese fascists in Manchuria and the Japanese had surrendered unconditionally.

At the Tantrao Congress, the people's delegates for the first time met Hô-Chi-Minh, their respected and beloved leader. The Congress elected a *National Committee for the Liberation of the Whole Country,* which was the *Provisional Government* of new Vietnam, and appointed him its president.

From August 11 to 23, 1945, the Vietnamese people rose up and carried out a *general insurrection* to conquer power throughout the country. On August 19, 1945, the insurrectionaries took over Hanoi, the capital.

On September 2, 1945, the Provisional Government presented itself before the people, and President Hô-Chi-Minh read the *Proclamation of Independence* at Badinh Square in Hanoi.

On January 6, 1946, general elections were successfully held all over the country from which the *National Assem-*

bly (First Legislature) was elected. President Hô-Chi-Minh and many members of the Provisional Government and the Vietminh Front were elected, by an overwhelming number of votes.

To enlarge the national united front, the Party Central Committee and President Hô-Chi-Minh resolved to found the national union of the Vietnamese people, the *Hoi Lien Hiep Quoc Dan Vietnam, Lien Viet* for short.

At the begnining of 1946, a *Constitutional Draft Committee* was set up, presided over by President Hô. The Committee set to work diligently and on March 2, 1946, the National Assembly passed the first Constitution of our country.

Not only did President Hô-Chi-Minh play a predominant role in the founding of our Party, he also played a predominant role in the founding of the national united front, the people's liberation army and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Hardly had our Republic been born when thousands of difficulties arose. Our people's revolutionary power seemed "hung by a single hair". In the North, 200,000 Kuomintang troops with the American imperialists pulling the wires, penetrated into the country allegedly to disarm the Japanese but in fact to commit aggression in the North of our country. They were bent on overthrowing the "Vietminh Government" and replacing it by a puppet administration of the Vietnam Nationalist Party which would be at the beck and call of the U.S.-Chiang clique. In the South, the British imperialists gave support to the French colonialists who tried to reconquer South Vietnam and the southern part of Central Vietnam, at the same time working out a plan for reconquering the whole of Indochina.

While the imperialists and colonialists were launching those political and military attacks, the counter-revolutionaries within the country, the pro-Japanese, pro-Chiang and pro-French reactionaries were on the rampage. Some of them had seized power in various localities, set up bases to oppose the Vietminh and the Government. Saboteurs were even active in the cities and factories.

President Hô-Chi-Minh and Central Committee members devoted themselves day and night to State affairs, endeavouring to make the ship of the Revolution weather the storm, avoid the reefs and forge ahead. The fight against foreign aggressors and internal enemies was very difficult and complicated. Our Party had no experience in holding power, but its Central Committee kept firm hold of the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the whole Party kept in close touch with the masses, and President Ho-Chi-Minh, leader of the Party and the nation, a time-tested Communist militant with rich experience in revolutionary struggle, together with the Party Central Committee, made a skilful use of tactics to maintain revolutionary power, foil all machinations of imperialism and rescue the country from all dangers.

On the one hand, President Hô-Chi-Minh called on the people to unite more strongly to "fight against famine, ignorance and foreign aggression", on the other he proposed that the cadres and people be educated in the spirit of "industry, thrift, integrity and righteousness".

The Party Central Committee and President Hô strove to safeguard peace so that the country, which had been ruined by eighty years of colonial domination and years of war, could be reconstructed. A preliminary convention

was signed on March 6, 1946 between President Hô and the French representative Sainteny. In this accord, Vietnam recognized herself a member of the French Union and agreed to the landing of 15,000 French troops in North and Central Vietnam to replace the Chiang Kai-shek troops, as well as to a cease-fire in South Vietnam, etc.

In May 1946, President Hô-Chi-Minh and a delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam left for France where negotiations were to be resumed with the French government. The negotiations were conducted at Fontainebleau. But the Fontainebleau Conference ended in failure, for the French colonialists refused to abide by the principle of equality and mutual advantage.

While the Fontainebleau Conference was taking place, a Peace Conference was also being held by delegates of countries which had participated in the Second World War. For the sake of the peaceful reconstruction of the Fatherland and in order to contribute to the consolidation of world peace, President Hô-Chi-Minh signed the September 14, 1946 Modus Vivendi with the French government. But as he said, " the more concessions we made, the more encroachments were carried out by the French": in violation of the agreements signed, French troops attacked us in Haiphong, Langson (November 19, 1946) and in Hanoi itself (December 17, 1946). This led to the outbreak of the nation-wide resistance war on the night of December 19, 1946. A period of hard and difficult struggle began.

In his appeal to our people to carry out the Resistance War (December 20, 1946) President Hô said:

"Compatriots all over the country:

We want peace, we have made concessions. But the more concessions we made, the more encroachments have been carried out by the French colonialists, for they are bent on reconquering our country.

Can we allow this? No! We would rather sacrifice all than be robbed of our Fatherland and be enslaved.

Compatriots, let us rise up!

All Vietnamese, men, women, old, young, whatever their religious creed, political affiliation or nationality, must stand up to fight the French colonialists and save the Fatherland. Let them use pickaxes, hoes, sticks. Everyone must do his utmost to resist the colonialists and save the country.

Members of the army, self-defence units and militia!

The hour has struck to save the country. We must sacrifice down to the last drop of our blood to defend our land.

Long live independent and unified Vietnam!

Long live the victory of the Resistance War!

This resounding and moving appeal mobilized the entire people to wage a protracted resistance war, a people's war varying from sabotage and harassing actions, ambushes, surprise raids, to campaigns of different scopes culminating in the great Dienbienphu victory.

This historic appeal by President Hô will resound through the centuries and be a source of constant encouragement to present and future generations of Vietnamese.

During the Resistance War, President Hô-Chi-Minh constantly reminded the people of these principles: "protracted resistance, self-reliance"; he called on all to participate in "patriotic emulation" with the fighters in the

frontline "striving to annihilate the enemy", the people in the rear doing their utmost to "increase production and practise economy" so as to be able to send supplies to the front and improve the standard of living, and those in the enemy's rear engaging in production work, sabotage and guerilla actions, and participating in or supporting the Resistance War.

In February 1951, on account of the need to strengthen the leadership of the Party so as to win final victory for the Resistance war, the Second National Congress of the Party was convened. The Congress made an analysis of the home and world situation, the people's national democratic revolution in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people's resistance war, the Vietnamese State of people's democratic dictatorship. At the same time, the Congress passed the Party's new platform and rules, decided that it would henceforth go out in the open under the name of Vietnam Workers' Party, and resolved that the people should be mobilized for a protracted resistance until final victory. A new Central Committee was elected and comrade Hô-Chi-Minh appointed Party President.

President Hô said in his Political report to the Congress:

"The immediate aims of the Vietnam Workers' Party are to unite and lead the entire people in the Resistance War until final victory is achieved, the country reunified and complete independence won. It will lead the entire people in carrying into effect new democracy and creating conditions for progressing towards socialism...

The Party's leading, most urgent task is to conduct the Resistance War to victory, all other tasks depend on the realization of this."

The Central Committee and President Hô-Chi-Minh recommended that national unity and international solidarity be strengthened, patriotism and proletarian internationalism be infused into the cadres, Party members and the popular masses, initiative and creativeness be encouraged among the soldiers and civilians in fighting and in production. "All for the frontline, all for victory!" Everyone should do his utmost to contribute to victory over the enemy."

In order to wage a protracted resistance war, develop the cadres' and Party members' strong points and overcome their weak points, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, foster the forces of the resistance, and increase production so as to ensure supplies for the resistance, the Central Committee and President Hô-Chi-Minh resolved that the Party and the army should undertake ideological remoulding, that work among the masses should be readjusted, the people mobilized, land reform carried out during the Resistance War and an agricultural tax applied.

The President wrote "*Rectification of the style of work*" to educate cadres and Party members in the spirit of "industry, thrift, integrity, righteousness" and according to the motto: "private interests must give way to the public interests"; to strengthen their will to wage the resistance war and to stick to the revolutionary stand of the working class; to inculcate upon them the mass line and urge them to oppose embezzlement, waste, bureaucratic methods, etc. *President Hô-Chi-Minh was the soul of the national resistance.*

After the restoration of peace and the complete liberation of the North, the Vietnamese revolution switched over to the stage of socialist revolution in the North,

whereas in the South the people's national democratic revolution still continued. In this new stage, the Party Central Committee and the President led the people to rehabilitate the economy and complete land reform, undertake the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and trade, and small trade; develop the State and co-operative sectors of the economy; mobilize the people in patriotic emulation under the motto "greater, quicker, better and more economical production" so as to fulfil and overfulfil the State plan; develop economy and culture; gradually carry into effect socialist industrialization; build up the armed forces gradually into a regular and modern army; set up the people's armed police; in short, carry out socialist transformation and build socialism in the North, ceaselessly improve the people's living conditions and turn the North into a solid base for the struggle aimed at achieving peaceful national reunification, and at the same time give active support to the patriotic struggle waged by our Southern compatriots against the American imperialists and their lackeys.

Immediately before the signing of the Geneva Agreements, President Hô-Chi-Minh had said: like the Resistance War, the struggle for the reunification of the country would be long and hard but it would certainly end in victory. He set the following tasks to our entire people: "Resolutely to continue the struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements, national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy through peaceful means, and completion of the glorious cause of national liberation"*.

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* Letter sent to the compatriots throughout the country dated July 6, 1956.

Until the country is reunified, President Hô-Chi-Minh's heart will not be at peace. On one occasion, as he was reading his report before the National Assembly, his eyes filled with tears when mentioning the cruel repression of our Southern compatriots by the U.S. puppet clique.

All his life, he nurtures the desire to see his country independent and reunified, his people free and happy. The Resistance War ended in victory; in Geneva, the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and of Cambodia and Laos, got international recognition. But the American imperialists and their agents have sabotaged the Geneva Agreements and tried to turn the southern part of our country into a U.S. new-type colony and military base. So our people must ceaselessly strengthen their solidarity, heighten their vigilance, foster their fighting spirit, do their utmost to build socialism in the North, be resolute in and give a strong impulse to the struggle in the South against the U. S.-puppet clique, so as to consolidate peace, achieve national reunification, win independence and democracy in the whole country, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam, contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

One of the most important actions undertaken by President Hô-Chi Minh since the restoration of peace has been the strengthening of solidarity among the socialist countries, and at the same time developing friendly relations with newly-independent coutries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In July 1955, President Hô-Chi-Minh led a Party and Government delegation on a friendship visit to the Soviet

Union, China and Mongolia. In July 1957, he again led a Party and Government delegation on a friendship visit to the other brother countries. In February 1958, he paid a visit to a number of Asian countries, such as India and Burma. In February 1959, he visited Indonesia. Everywhere, he received a warm welcome from the peoples and the governments. By hailing President Hô-Chi-Minh, the people in those countries showed their affection and admiration for the people of Vietnam, heroic in fighting and industrious in work, who victoriously carried out the August Revolution and the Resistance War, and are successfully building socialism in the North and waging an indomitable struggle in the South to complete national liberation

II

PRESIDENT HO-CHI-MINH'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE

From the day the French colonialists came to invade and conquer our country, our people have never ceased to struggle for freedom and independence. No sooner did they fail in one attempt than they began at once another, determined not to remain in slavery. Many heroes and martyrs died for the country. Yet before the birth of our Party, the Vietnamese revolution was not successful. Why? The main cause was that there was no correct revolutionary line and no strong political Party to lead the people in a revolution to overthrow the enemy.

President Hô-Chi-Minh was the first Vietnamese to work out a correct revolutionary line and take concrete steps in building a strong political party which would carry it into effect.

Old-time revolutionaries, from Truong Cong Dinh, Tong Duy Tan to Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh, had never analysed the world and home situation to determine the aims, needs, and tasks of the Vietnamese revolution; they had never clearly defined the enemy of the revolution, its motive forces, or the social class which

should lead it. As regards the foreign enemy, who came to invade and conquer the country, those old revolutionaries adopted the following views: Vietnam was conquered by the French, the Vietnamese people were being oppressed by France, so to wage a revolution was to oppose "the French", lumping together the French colonialists and the French working class and toiling people, who were the Vietnamese people's friends and shared with them a common enemy: French colonialism. Concerning the enemy inside the country, they emphasized the need to overthrow the Vietnamese traitors, which was correct; however, they often failed to see clearly to what class those traitors belonged and the reasons behind their reactionary attitude.

The revolutionaries of the *Can Vuong* movement held that the French colonialists should be driven out but not that the feudalist regime should be abolished; they wanted to overthrow the traitor king and mandarins, but would support any king who would oppose the French and recapture the power of the royal Court; they urged the peasants to engage in anti-French guerilla war, but did not work out any policy aimed at abolishing feudal ownership of the land, did not distribute land to the peasants or give them enough land to work on. Old revolutionaries such as Hoang Hoa Tham, Nguyen Thien Thuat, Phan Boi Chau and others held that the French colonialists should be driven out, but they failed to see clearly that the enemy of the Vietnamese revolution was the French colonialists and imperialists, and the feudalist landowners who had surrendered to the imperialists and become their servants in their oppression and exploitation of our compatriots. They failed to see clearly that the aim of the revolution was to win

national independence and build up a Democratic Republic in which the people would be masters of the country and enjoy broad democratic freedoms. They said in general terms that the revolution should free the people from their misery and make the country strong and prosperous but they were not aware that to attain this aim one would have to give back land to the tillers and industrialize the country. Nguyen Thai Hoc and the Nationalist Party adopted Sun Yat-sen's "*three principles*" but they had no concrete platform aimed at achieving national independence, democratic freedoms and happiness for the people in the concrete conditions of Vietnam.

The greatest shortcoming of the above revolutionaries was that they failed to make an objective analysis of Vietnamese society so as to see clearly the fundamental contradictions which bogged it down and hindered its development and to assess correctly the attitudes, aspirations and revolutionary capabilities of the various strata of the people. That was why they failed to fully grasp the tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, of its enemy and motive forces and of the class which should lead it. Their common shortcoming was to under-estimate the peasants' revolutionary role, even if they relied on the peasants, they failed to see clearly that in our country, the essence of the national problem was the peasant problem and the gist of the problem of democracy was the land problem. It was because those revolutionaries took the stand of either the small feudalists fallen on bad times (for instance Phan Dinh Phung), or of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie (for instance Hoang Hoa Tham), or of the national bourgeoisie (for instance Nguyen Thai Hoc). In particular, concerning the problem of the leadership of the Vietnamese

revolution, Nguyen Thai Hoc was the only one among them who started his revolutionary activities when industry had begun to develop in Vietnam and the Vietnamese working class had seen the light of day and become an important revolutionary force; all the others had lived at a time when industry had not yet been developed, the industrial working class had not taken shape, and so they could not have been conscious of the leading role of the working class in the national liberation or seen the importance of the worker-peasant alliance.

On the other hand, President Hô-Chi-Minh looked at the Vietnamese revolution from the viewpoint of the Vietnamese working class. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, he clearly saw the aim, content and class character of the Vietnamese revolution. The October Revolution and Lenin's *Thesis on the National and Colonial problem* shed a powerful light on the problem and helped him grasp it. Applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam, he was not long to see that the Vietnamese revolution was a new-style democratic bourgeois revolution. Its aim was to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists, set up a Democratic Republic of Vietnam, win national independence and give land to the tillers. He saw clearly that the Vietnamese democratic bourgeois revolution should develop into a socialist revolution so as to build socialism in Vietnam. He held the view that the Vietnamese revolution could win victory only if the popular masses, the workers and peasants in particular, closely united and if the revolution was led by the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. He also saw clealy that the Vietnam revolution was part and parcel of world anti-imperialist revolution and that its most

important international duty was to support the Soviet Union, the first proletarian State in the world. His opinion was that the Vietnamese working class and people must closely unite with the French working class and labouring people and with the people in the French colonies in order to overthrow their common enemy: French colonialism. He wrote:

"Capitalism is a leech with one sucker adhering to the proletariat in the 'mother country' and another clinging to the proletariat in the colonies; if only one sucker is cut off, the other will continue to suck blood from the proletariat, the animal will go on living and the sucker which has been cut will grow again." *

That is why he held that the Indochinese people and the French working class should be in close touch with each other and engage in unified action. He also held that the people of Indochina, those of the other French colonies, and all oppressed peoples in the world should, on the one hand, unite with the working class in the "mother countries", and on the other unite with one another, support one another, and combine their efforts, to overthrow their common enemy: imperialism. For these reasons, in France as well as in China, he organized a *Federation of the Oppressed Peoples.*

Of course such complete and systematic views on the Vietnamese and colonial revolution did not come to him all at once. It was in the process of revolutionary struggle that he gained an increasingly clearer view of the revolutionary line in the colonies and today we see in retros-

* The Russian revolution and the colonial peoples.

pect that his thinking on that problem became daily richer and deeper.

Concerning the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution, Vietnamese revolutionaries before President Hô's time considered that the prevolution in our country was to be waged by outstanding heroes and scholars, who needed only address a call to the masses for the latter to rise up as one man and carry into effect their wishes. President Hô, on the contrary, saw clearly that the revolution must be the work of the broad masses, of the people, first and foremost of the most wretched, oppressed and exploited strata, the workers and peasants. Leadership of the Vietnamese revolution belonged not to any single outstanding individual who would stand above all classses but to the Vietnamese working class, who had only their bare hands, sold their labour force for a living and were the most oppressed and exploited. This class, although small in number, had a very high revolutionary spirit and represented the most advanced productive forces in Vietnamese society. History had given the Vietnamese working class this sacred mission: while struggling to liberate themselves, they were to liberate the whole nation from the imperialist and feudalist yoke, from all exploitation and oppression.

Indeed, our opinion is that man makes history, we do not deny the role played in history by outstanding personalities. However, if these personalities became outstanding and performed great achievements it was because they had taken firmly the stand of the vanguard class (in our era, this class can be none other than the working class), because they understood correctly the law of development of society and grasped the concrete conditions in their countries; hence they could clearly see what they had to

do and how they could do it, in order to change those conditions in accordance with the objective laws of social development and eventually bring independence to their nation and freedom and happiness to their people. In our era, any leaders, outstanding personalities, heroes, who wanted to urge, mobilize, encourage and lead the Vietnamese people to carry out a revolution had to found a revolutionary party, of which they were members. This Party had to be that of the most revolutionary class, the Vietnamese working class. The party had to be the organized part, the vanguard, the general staff of the Vietnamese working class, who knew how to mingle, within determined limits, with the broad masses of the people in order to lead them. The leader would be the man with outstanding qualities and rich experience, tempered and forged by the masses' revolutionary movement, to whom the organization had entrusted the task of heading the Party's highest leading body and taking the helm of the revolution.

According to the viewpoint of our Party and President Hô-Chi-Minh, the Vietnamese revolution was a democratic bourgeois revolution of a new style in a colonial country, a revolution often termed by the Party a people's national democratic revolution. It was a revolution waged by the people, that is the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, led by the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. The aim of this revolution was to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, achieve national independence and give land to the tillers, and found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a people's democracy.

After the overthrow of imperialism and feudalism, the revolution did not cease, but on the contrary developed into a socialist revolution, applying socialist transformation to agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry, carrying out socialist industrialization and turning our country from a backward agricultural country into a socialist one, with modern industry and agriculture and vanguard culture and science.

In a talk with students of the People's University (January 18, 1958) the President said:

"To progress to socialism, we must transform the old society into a new one, in which man is no longer exploited by man, a society in which equality will prevail, which means everybody must work and has the right to work. Each will enjoy the fruits of his labour, according to the amount of work he supplies. If he has done no work, he will enjoy no revenue."

The path of socialist revolution charted by our Party and President Hô-Chi-Minh leads through socialist transformation and building in a backward agricultural country, direct to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This chart takes into account the temporary division of the country into two zones.

In short, the revolutionary line of our Party and President Hô-Chi-Minh is that of a complete revolution, based on Lenin's doctrine of Marxist-Leninist "uninterrupted revolution". According to this line, it must win complete independence (political, economic, and cultural) for the nation, at the same time it must carry out a genuine land reform, giving land to the tillers, and achieve genuine democratic freedoms for the people; the

people's national democratic revolution must develop into a socialist revolution, completely abolishing, by means of socialist transformation and building, exploitation of man by man and making the people free and happy and the country prosperous.

Before President Hô-Chi-Minh, many Vietnamese revolutionaries held that in order to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists one would only need to assassinate or poison the enemy's chief administrative officials or highest-ranking officers and the most wicked among the Vietnamese mandarins, the most efficient running dogs of the colonialists or one would only need to urge Vietnamese soldiers (in the puppet army) to rise up and turn their guns against the enemy: this would suffice to bring victory to the revolution and independence to the country. This viewpoint was current among the Vietnamese revolutionary circles, from the Hoang Hoa Tham, Dong Zu, Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc movements to that of the Vietnam Nationalist Party. The poisoning of French officers in Hanoi (1908), the bomb-throwing in Hanoi hotel (1913), the assassination of the provincial governor Nguyen Duy Han in Thaibinh (1913), the bomb-throwing in Shamian, Canton (1924), the assassination of "coolie" recruiter Bazin and soldiers' insurrections in Thainguyen (1917), Yenbai (1930), Doluong (1940) did not bring the expected results.

President Hô-Chi-Minh is the first Vietnamese revolutionary leader to have seen clearly the mistaken character of those methods of individual assassination and soldiers' insurrection. He became aware that patient work is needed to bring about the triumph of the revolution, that one must conduct propaganda work among the masses to

enlighten them, organize and lead them to struggle for their daily interests. Through their struggle, the masses will know where lie the sources of their sufferings, who are their friends, and who are their foes; they will learn that in order to end their sufferings, they must progress from daily struggles to armed insurrection, overthrow the colonial and semi-feudal regime, win power for the people, turn the means of production belonging to the colonialists and feudalists into public property, or divide them among the poor (for instance, the enterprises belonging to the colonialists will become public property and the lands of the feudalist landowners will be distributed to land-poor and landless peasants and to middle peasants with not enough land). Through their daily struggles, the masses' hatred for the enemy will deepen, their revolutionary experience be enriched, they will cast off their illusion and feel more confidence in their own strength as well as in the vanguard Party's line and policies. In the crucible of revolutionary struggle, the Party and its cadres will be forged and tempered, their fighting spirit and ability for leadership increased, the Party organization and the masses' revolutionary organizations will become ever purer and stronger.

President Hô-Chi-Minh's method of propaganda, organization and struggle is the only correct revolutionary method, that of Marxism-Leninism, that of the revolutionary working class. As to the methods employed by many of our revolutionary predecessors, they are characterized by adventurism and individualistic heroism and belong to non-proletarian classes.

To bring the Vietnamese revolution to victory, we must have certain conditions; in other words, we must foster

favourable factors for the revolution. On this question, when dealing with the necessity of land reform, during the Resistance War, President Hô said:

« The key to the victory of the Resistance War is to consolidate and broaden the national united front, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and the people's power, consolidate and develop the army, consolidate the Party and strengthen its leadership in all fields. " *

The key to the victory of the Resistance War is also the key to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution as a whole.

President Hô-Chi-Minh often repeats that solidarity makes strength. In a country such as ours, where the working class is but small, in order to lead the revolution to victory the party of the working class must set up a broad national united front, practise " broad union ", rally all that can be rallied, win over all that can be won over, so as to have the fewest enemies possible ; the aim is to have " more friends, fewer enemies ", and isolate to the utmost the imperialists and their lackeys so as to overthrow them more easily.

The National United Front policy put forward by President Hô is very flexible. Before the August Revolution, the *Viet Minh* was founded. After the August Revolution, owing to the necessity of alliance with such political parties as the *Viet Quoc* and *Viet Cach* and with democratic and patriotic personalities, the *Lien Viet* was set up, which included the Viet Minh as well as the others. The platform of Lien Viet was broader than that of Viet Minh. During the Resistance War, at the time

* Report read before the National Assembly, December 1953.

when our Party came out in the open, Viet Minh and Lien Viet were merged together into the *Lien Viet Front*. Following the restoration of peace, a new situation and new tasks arose, new allies had to be drawn into the Front. So the Party Central Committee and President Hô-Chi-Minh proposed that the Lien Viet Front be transformed into the *Vietnam Fatherland Front* and pass a new programme.

Concerning the problem of union within the Front, President Hô said: "As regards the friendly parties and organizations within the National Front, the *Vietnam Workers' Party's* policy is one of tight and lasting union and common progress."

He also said:

"The Party must strive to rally the entire people so as to give a great impulse to the resistance, it must practise union with the friendly parties and organizations within the Front. This union must not be only from the teeth outwards; it must be expressed through actual deeds and spring from a true spirit of union, it must be a true union." *

However, in order to bring about true union with the parties, organizations and personalities within the Front, the President proposed that the Party should organize political studies for them (during the Resistance War, it gave them the possibility to participate in ideological remoulding) and to use criticism and self-criticism to help them develop their strong points and overcome their weak points so as to progress together.

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* Speech at a meeting to present the Vietnam Workers' Party after its founding, March 1951.

Towards the end of 1956, when our Party uncovered errors in the carrying out of land reform and rectification of Party organization, die-hard landlords, reactionary bourgeois elements, together with religious counter-revolutionaries and other saboteurs, raised their heads and opposed the Party and the regime. Within the Vietnam Fatherland Front, some people with rightist tendencies availed themselves of the situation to attack the Party. The Party Central Committee and President Hô held that distinction should be made between friends and foes, that enemies should be repressed whereas opportunist elements within the Front should be criticized and opposed. Struggle is necessary in order to strengthen union within the Front; based on union, it is aimed at strengthening union.

President Hô pays great attention to the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, for it is the basis of the National United Front. He highly values the role played by the peasantry in the revolution and the Resistance War. Said he:

"The great majority of our people are peasants. These last few years, the Resistance War has scored victories thanks to the peasant forces. In the days to come, it will also be thanks to them that the resistance will gain complete victory and our country be successfully rebuilt." *

He also said:

"We must liberate the peasants from the feudalist yoke and foster their forces, only by so doing shall we be able

* Report read before the National Assembly, December 1953.

to mobilize this great force in the Resistance War and win victory". *

For this reason, he asked the National Assembly to pass a law on land reform so as to carry into effect the watchword "Land to the tiller" and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance in the most concrete and effective way. The consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance would result in the consolidation and development of the National United Front.

Concerning the consolidation of the people's power, President Hô-Chi-Minh holds that political power must truly be of the people, from the people and for the people. On the one hand, the people's power must be put under the leadership of the working class, on the other, it must have a broad national front character and be representative of the various popular strata. However, because the great majority of the people are made up of workers and peasants, they must be adequately represented in the organs of power, and especially in the National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels. The worker-peasant alliance is the basis not only of the National United Front but also of the people's democratic power. Nevertheless, other strata of the population (petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie) must also be represented in the organs of power. Besides, there should be a number of democratic and patriotic personalities. But the organs of power at village level must belong solely to the peasants (in the people's national democratic revolution, rich peasants may be represented in village people's councils but not in the village administrative committee).

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* Report read before the National Assembly, December 1953.

Even before land reform, landlords should not be allowed in the village organs of power, for experience has shown us that their presence there will prove a hindrance to the carrying out of land and other policies of the Party and State. In the Resistance War, through the mobilization of popular masses for land reform, our village organs of power had, in general, been consolidated. Landlords had been driven out of village administrative committees and people's councils, two-thirds of village administrative committee members were landless and land-poor peasants, and one third middle peasants.

The organs of our State power must carry out the tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship, that is democracy for the people and dictatorship as regards the people's enemies.

President Hô-Chi-Minh often says: the cadres of our State power are representatives of the people and at the same time their "faithful servants". To deserve this appellation, they must study hard and strive to heighten their political, cultural and professional level; they must "keep strict discipline, strictly abstain from revealing official secrets"; they must "practice solidarity with and give help and advice" to their colleagues; they must be close to the people, help them in every field and strive to win their confidence and love". *

The President constantly reminds the cadres and employees that they must keep away from "bureaucratism, waste and embezzlement", and must pay the greatest attention to the people' life. Says he:

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* Letter to the personnel of governmental offices, dated June 16, 1947.

"If the people are hungry, cold, ignorant or sick, this is the fault of the Party and Government.

"That is why all Party and State cadres, from top to bottom, must pay the greatest attention to the people's life" *.

What is President Hô's opinion concerning the building of the army? He asserts that a colonial people, heavily oppressed, must wage armed struggle to overthrow the domination of the colonialists and imperialists and win back independence and freedom. To wage an armed struggle, a people's revolutionary army must be organized. Our people's army is in fact a worker-peasant army, the great majority of whose members are peasants. The aim of struggle of our army during the stage of the people's national democratic revolution was national independence and "land to the tiller"; in the present stage, it is to build socialism in the North, support the patriotic struggle of our Southern compatriots and realize national reunification.

President Hô-Chi-Minh pays great attention to educating the army. During the Resistance War, he paid frequent visits to the fighting units, attended recapitulative conferences on military campaigns and work drives, and visited training centres. On these occasions, he would give advices and instructions. When unable to attend a conference, he would send a message giving encouragement and recommendations. He paid great attention to the armymen's food, clothing and lodging, and to political work in the army. The aim of this political work is to

* Speech at a meeting to boost production, July 1955.

bring about unity of mind between cadres and servicemen, between the army and the people, at the same time undermining the morale of the enemy.

Concerning the relations between cadres and soldiers, President Hô-Chi-Minh has said: "The cadres must love the soldiers. They must look after the sick and wounded; any unit commander, any political commissar must be a brother, a sister, a friend to the soldiers."

He often reminds the armymen that "the army and the people are like fish and water". That is why armymen must protect the lives and property of the people; they must not touch even "a needle or a bit of thread belonging to the people"; wherever they are stationed, they must help the local people in production work.

As regards enemy soldiers, President Hô-Chi-Minh pays great attention to the content of explanatory work among them and the slogans used in it, and to the carrying out of government policies concerning prisoners of war and men who have surrendered.

He constantly educates the army, urging them to heighten their vigilance and fighting spirit, their sense of organization and discipline; neitheir to become complacent in victory nor to lose heart in defeat; develop their tradition of enduring hardships, overcoming difficulties and fulfilling their tasks.

During the Resistance War, he instructed the army to fight the enemy with arms seized from them; to engage in an operation only when victory was certain; to annihilate the enemy forces while developing our own; to fully grasp the principle "protracted resistance and self-reliance".

Since the return of peace, he has called on the army to train and study hard, heighten their political and technical level, so as to gradually become a regular and modern army, defend the peaceful labour of the people of the North, keep order and security, help the people in production, and carry out their own production work in so far as possible. This is the practical way in which our people's army has been participating in the building and consolidation of the North into a strong base for the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Since the restoration of peace as well as during the Resistance war, President Hô-Chi-Minh has paid great attention to the militia, for it is that part of the armed forces which directly defends the people and production work, at the same time, constituting an inexhaustible source of manpower for the regular army.

Concerning the *Party*, President Hô-Chi-Minh holds that the new-style party of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist Party, is the source of all victories for the revolution. If the Party's line and policies are correct, its organization pure and strong, the ideological stand of its cadres and members firm and thorough going, this will bring about all victories to our working class and people. Indeed, the Party is the foremost factor for the victory of the revolution. The experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution is that only after the Party had come into existence could there be a National United Front, a people's revolutionary army, a people's democratic power, etc.

In the Resistance War, President Hô set the following twelve points concerning a genuine party:

1. The organization * should not be one aimed at profit making. It must fulfil its mission of liberating the nation, making the Fatherland rich and strong, the people happy.

2. Its cadres must grasp revolutionary theory, and theory and practice must go hand in hand.

3. Slogans must be put forth and directions given on the basis of the concrete conditions prevailing and the revolutionary experience gained in other countries, in our own country and in specific regions.

4. The correctness of those slogans and directions should be checked through work among the masses of the people.

5. All the work of the organization must be constantly checked. It must be carried out for the benefit of the masses. The organization's cadres and members and the people must be educated in the spirit of patriotism and industry, thrift, integrity and righteousness.

6. Every work of the organization must be in conformity with its principles and in close touch with the people. Otherwise, not only shall we fail to lead the masses but even to learn from them. Not only shall we fail to raise their level, but we shall also fail to know their opinion.

7. Every work of the organization must maintain its revolutionary character and be carried out in a flexible manner. Otherwise, we shall fail to grasp the various forms of struggle and organization and to combine the people's day-to-day interests with their long-term ones.

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* This word means the Party. *The rectification of the style of work* was written by President Hô-Chi-Minh before the Party was made public, hence this allusion.

8. The organization must neither hide its shortcomings nor be afraid of criticism. It must admit its shortcomings so as to set them right, make progress and educate its cadres and members.

9. The organization must select the most faithful and zealous people and group them into leading nuclei.

10. It must constantly purge itself of degenerate elements.

11. It must keep strict discipline from top to bottom. This discipline is: unity of mind,unity of action.

It is born of the members' consciousness of their duties towards the organization.

12. The organization must keep constant control of the execution of its resolutions and directions. Otherwise, these resolutions and directions would amount merely to empty words and harm the confidence of the people in the organization.

To keep the organization strong and firm
*None of these twelve points should be overlooked.**

The President pays great attention to the Party's cadres and cells, for the cadres must fully grasp all Party and Government resolutions and directions, take them to the masses, carry out propaganda and education work among the latter and mobilize them for action. The cell is the lowest unit in the Party structure and is the base of the Party among the masses. All Party and State work is to be carried out by the masses under the leadership of the cells. If the cells are good the Party will be strong and firm and everything will be smooth sailing. That is why the cadres must be constantly well looked after and the cells consolidated,

* Rectification of the style of work.

the Party's higher-ranking authorities must keep an attentive eye on the cells and help them in their work.

President Hô-Chi-Minh' constant endeavour is to unite and unify the Party, to keep it from all division and factionalism. Ever since the Party was founded, whether he is at home or abroad, he has constantly striven to preserve the Party's ideological and organizational unity, as well as its members' unity in action. "Only when the Party is itself united," he says, "can it unite the people in the struggle against the imperialists and their agents."

When dissension arises, the thing to do is to find out who is right and who is wrong in the light of the Party's resolutions and directions, then criticism and self-criticism must be carried out. Says the President:

"Strong unity is brought about by good criticism and self-criticism, that is criticism and self-criticism based on unity and aimed at unity." *

To seek to bring about unity by avoiding criticism is the "peace-above-all" spirit of the petty bourgeoisie, not the spirit of the working class.

Since the return of peace as well as during the Resistance war, the Central Committee and President Hô Chi-Minh have held that ideological remoulding and study sessions should be periodically organized for the benefit of Party cadres and members, and criticism and self-criticism brought into play in order to develop their strong points, overcome their weak points, strengthen solidarity and unity of mind within the Party so that, like an army in battle, every move and action of the Party will

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* Appeal made on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day, 1954.

be taken in order and discipline and with full consciousness. Bad elements — people who have become degenerate, corrupt or who indulge in exploitation — should be purged from the Party, the Party should be preserved against all penetration by the counter-revolutionaries so that it can be pure and strong.

The Party, the National United Front, the army, the people's power, such are the factors for the victory of the revolution within the country. International solidarity is another factor for victory, it is an expression of the ties between our own people and those of the other countries in our camp, between our people and peace-loving people all over the world.

We have already the Party, the National United Front, the army and the people's power; if we strengthen international solidarity, our force will be all the more increased and greater victories secured.

Says President Hô-Chi-Minh:

" The ever stronger peace and democratic movement in the world has helped us win victory. On the other hand, our victory will bring worthy contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and the world. " *

President Hô-Chi-Minh stands for world-wide solidarity: solidarity between our people and those of the other countries in our camp, especially the Soviet and Chinese people, between ours and those of the newly-independent nations, and of the colonial and dependent countries, between our people and peace-loving people all over the world, including those of imperialist countries.

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* ibid.

He sets great store by brotherly co-operation with the socialist countries and considers this a sure guarantee for the uninterrupted development of peaceful national reconstruction.

He approves of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and considers them the basis on which to establish friendly relations with neighbouring and other countries and contribute to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

In short, President Hô-Chi-Minh's revolutionary line is our Party's revolutionary line, the Marxist-Leninist line in an agricultural and colonial country. It expresses the close combination of Marxist-Leninist fundamental principles with the realities of the Vietnamese revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's developments of the revolutionary theory in colonial and semi-colonial countries have greatly helped our Party and President Hô-Chi-Minh in charting the line and policies of the revolution in our country.

The revolutionary struggle waged by our Party for the last thirty years is the embodiment and testing of this line. The victory of the August Revolution and of the protracted Resistance war, the achievements recorded in all spheres by our Party and State over recent years have proved the complete correctness of this line.

III

PRESIDENT HO-CHI-MINH'S MORAL GREATNESS — HIS STYLE OF WORK

President Hô-Chi-Minh has devoted his whole life to struggling for national liberation, the people's freedom and happiness and the communist ideal. For generations and generations his moral greatness will set a shining example for our cadres and people.

A foreign writer has used the following words to depict him: *intelligence, humanity, courage.* He symbolizes to the highest degree the communist virtues in Vietnam and is an epitome of the best qualities of our people. He has developed the traditional virtues of the East: intelligence, humanity and courage on a completely new basis.

Indeed, President Hô-Chi-Minh is the genial leader of the Vietnamese working class and people. He constantly combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Vietnamese revolution; in other words, he applies Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country in order to set forth correct lines and policies for our Party. His revolutionary line, which we have summarized in chapter II, proves that his is a powerful mind. His Marxist-

Leninist conception of the world and experiences in struggle over long years give him power to predict events long before hand, great sensitiveness to turning points in history and ability to put forward adequate slogans aimed at transforming the situation of the moment. His thorough grasp of Marxism-Leninism, his habit of making a careful study of the situation at any moment, of summing up and learning from the experience in class struggle and in production of the masses, his industry, devotion, simplicity, modesty and absolute loyalty to the cause of national liberation and the communist ideal, such are the eminent qualities which have made of him a clearsighted leader beloved by the people.

One virtue that is outstanding in him is his love of his fellow-human beings. This is not a feeling that stands above all classes, but a class feeling directed towards the workers, the immense love he feels for the toiling people, for the people who suffer misery.

In his youth, he suffered seeing his compatriots living under the oppression and exploitation of the colonialists and the feudalists. It was this very wretchedness from which his country, his home and his people suffered that prompted him to go abroad to study revolutionary experience so that he could return " to help his compatriots ". He considered himself "a soldier sent to the front by the people"*, a faithful servant of the people. In him, the love for the people had become a fierce passion. He said:

"I have only one desire, an extremely passionate desire, that of seeing our country completely independent, our

* Speech at a meeting to present the Hanoi candidates to the National Assembly, April 1960.

people completely free, all our compatriots having enough to eat and to wear and receiving an education."

This aspiration directs all his thoughts and actions, all his life. Says he: "At all times, in all places, I only pursue one aim: to serve my country and people."*

During the Resistance War, on one occasion when he thanked the people for the birthday greetings sent to him, he said:

"I can only express my gratitude to you by resolutely enduring together with you all misery and hardships, by resolutely pursuing together with you the Resistance War until complete victory, by struggling together with you for the present and future happiness and freedom of our children."

All this he has summarized in the following motto: "Faithful to the country, dutiful to the people", for himself and for all Party and State cadres.

However, President Hô-Chi-Minh's noble feelings are not confined to his country and his nation, his heart is open to the working class of all countries, to the toiling people and oppressed peoples all over the world. At the time he began his first revolutionary activities, he already combined his love for his country with proletarian internationalism. The basis for such a combination is his broad feelings of class brotherhood towards the working class and the toiling people.

Yet, love for the people and deep desire for the people's freedom and happiness would not have sufficed. To humanity must be added courage. It is necessary to have a no-

* Address to the Vietnamese people before his departure for France to negotiate a treaty with the French government, May 1946.

ble ideal, but one must also have the determination to act in order to realize that ideal. Our people's immense love and respect for the President stem from the fact that for nearly half a century now, he has struggled tirelessly and endured all sacrifices in order to save his country and his people. Determined to realize his aspirations, he has kept intact the youthful fervour that filled his heart when as a young man he left his country in search of truth. His spirit is that of a man who "would neither be seduced by riches, shaken by poverty, nor bowed down by power".

In his first days of exile when he had to toil hard for a living and in those he spent in imperialist jails, in moments of great difficulties for the revolution, he always kept intact his revolutionary faith and optimism. Determination in struggle and revolutionary optimism are noble qualities which permeate the whole of the President's militant life.

His collection of poems *Prison Diary* is to some extent an expression of his spirit, qualities and moral greatness. Let us read some of the poems in that remarkable Diary:

Advice to oneself

Without the cold and desolation of winter
There could not be the warmth and splendour of spring.
Calamity has tempered and hardened me
And turned my mind into steel.

Listening to the rice pounding

How much the rice must suffer under the pestle
But, after the pounding, it comes out white like cotton.
The same thing often happens to men in this world
Misfortune's workshop turns them to polished jade.

At the end of four months

...

Fortunately

Being stubborn and patient, never yielding an inch,

Though physically I suffer, my spirit is unshaken.

When he was in jail, the loss of a tooth or the stealing of his cane by a warder were occasions for him to give poetical expression to his staunchness. For instance writing about his tooth:

You are hard and proud, my friend,

Not soft and long like the tongue.

Or about his cane:

All your life with me, you have been upright and strong.

Together we have passed through seasons of snow and mist.

Every line, every word of his poems seems to contain "steel", and expresses the thoughts and feelings of a great fighter. Hardships and difficulties have never shaken but only tempered his spirit and iron will. That is why, when at last he got out of prison, his heart remained "spotless and clean":

After prison, a walk in the mountains

The clouds embrace the peaks, the peaks embrace the clouds,

The river below shines like a mirror, spotless and clean,

On the crest of the Western Mountains, my heart stir as I wander

Looking towards the Southern sky and dreaming of old friends.

Since the return of peace, in the name of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, President Hô-Chi-Minh has called on the people to struggle ceaselessly in order to "build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam, contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the consolidation of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world".

In the stage of socialist revolution as well as that of the people's national democratic revolution, the President has constantly urged and educated the people to increase production and practise thrift. Says he:

"To become rich, every individual, every family and the whole country must increase production and practise thrift.

Increasing production and practising thrift will result in having everything in abundance.

He sets for the entire people an example of industry and thrift. He says:

"Labour is the sacred duty of every citizen to his Fatherland. Everybody, according to his ability and of his own free will, must contribute his part of labour to the building of the country." *

Since the restoration of peace as well as during the Resistance War, outside his working hours devoted to Party and State affairs, he has always liked to do manual work, planting trees, growing vegetables, etc. His simplicity and thrift in matters of food, clothing and dwelling place are well known to all.

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* Appeal on May Day, 1957.

For the sake of the socialist building in the North and the struggle for national reunification, he calls on Party cadres and members to practise "industry, thrift, integrity, righteousness", to "put public interests above all" and to do their utmost "to serve the Fatherland, the people and socialism. *

Here is the President's explanation on "industry, thrift, integrity and righteousness":

"Industry means to increase one's output in whatever work one is doing.

Thrift means not to waste either time or wealth, one's own or the people's.

Integrity means not to indulge in embezzlement and always to respect and safeguard public property and the people's property.

Righteousness means that even in apparently trifling matters one must be determined to do right and avoid wrong.

The above four points must go together." **

About "putting the public interests above all", he says: "In your dealings with people and in your work, you must put public interests above everything.

You must devote yourself to what is useful to the country and the people, and not to what you think may bring you position and wealth." ***

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* Speech at a meeting to present the Hanoi candidates to the National Assembly, April 1960.

** Address to the functionaries of Hanoi, November 1954.

*** Letter to the youth dated August 17, 1947.

And:

"In whatever action you undertake, you must not think of yourself first, but of your compatriots, of the entire people... Advance boldly when the going is hard, let others go first when it comes to enjoyment."

In 1958, at a Patriotic Emulation Congress, praising the Revolutionary virtues of heroes and elite workers, he said:

"They * put the common interest of the nation above their own personal ones. They wholeheartedly, and not half-heartedly, serve the people. They are not afraid of hardships; they strive to overcome all difficulties in order to fulfil and overfulfil the tasks entrusted to them by the Party and the Government; they don't make calculations about what they would gain or lose personally; they don't scramble for position and revenue. They don't try to keep secret the tricks of their trades, or run down their fellow-workers. They help everybody to progress. They don't got conceited and self-seeking."

Such is the example set by our heroes and elite workers about "putting the public interests above all". It is a deep expression of the ideology of the working class. It is the enemy of individualism, for.

"Individualistic people only see their own egoistic interests and do not care about the public interests. They only want enjoyment, and never volunteer for work." ** Everybody knows how the President dislikes conceited and self-seeking people.

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* The heroes and elite workers — T.C.

** Excerpt from an article carried by the *Nhan dan*, December 9, 1959, entitled "Our Party has waged a heroic struggle and won glorious successes."

Concerning *study*, the President often reminds us of the words of Lenin, the teacher of the world proletarian revolution: " To study, again to study, ever to study ". He himself has put these words into practice.

To the question " What is the aim of study? ", here is his answer:

" One must study in order to remould one's thinking and heighten one's revolutionary fervour. This is a very good thing. When one's thinking is not yet truly revolutionary, one must study in order to rectify it. Only when one's thinking is correct, can one act in a correct way and fulfil one's revolutionary task.

" One must study in order to foster one's revolutionary virtues; only then is one ready to sacrifice everything for the revolution, to devote oneself body and soul to it, only then can one give leadership to the masses and bring the revolution to complete victory.

" One must study to foster one's confidence in the organization, in the people, in the future of the nation, in the future of the revolution. Only with firm confidence can one act in a resolute way, show determination, and consent to sacrifice when faced with difficulties.

" Study is aimed at action: the two must go hand in hand. The former without the latter is useless. The latter without the former is hard to carry through. " *

In answer to the question " Where to study? " he says:

" One must learn at school, in books, from each other and from the people. Not to learn from the people is a very serious shortcoming. "**

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* Directions on training and educational work, May 1950.
** Address to the functionaries of Hanoi, November 30, 1954.

As regards *training*, he has given the folloving instruction: "Theory and pratice must go hand in hand".

The best way to study is to learn to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions prevailing in one's country, to apply the stand, views and methods of Marxism-Leninism in surveying, studying and analysing the concrete situation in one's country and then to set forth adequate Party lines, principles and policies adapted to each stage, so as to lead the people in bringing the revolution to complete victory. Marxism-Leninism only puts forward general principles. It is up to the Communists in each country to imbue themselves with those principles so as to apply them in a creative manner to each situation, combining strict principles with flexible tactics in solving the problems stemming from the revolution in their respective countries. One must sum up the rich experience of the revolution in one's country and draw from it conclusions of a theoretical character. To do so, one must energetically struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and empiricism.

President Hô-Chi-Minh's style of speech and writing presents many original characteristics: the content of his speeches and writings is exalted and moving ; they touch his audience deeply and conquer their hearts and minds ; they are vivid and simple, their meaning is easy to grasp, and they are said and written in a way that is characteristic of our nation and our people. The President very much dislikes empty theorizing and arid and pretentious quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. He hates hackneyed and inane clichés, long and obscure periods and energetically opposes the unnecessary use of foreign words and expressions.

Many of his appeals and writings, especially since the August Revolution, have a tremendous effect on the people's spirit and fervour. Such sentences as the following resound with the indomitable spirit of the Vietnamese people:

"All the people of Vietnam are of one heart: never to accept slavery, and of one will: never to let their country be conquered.

They have only one aim: to carry out the Resistance War and win reunification and independence for their Fatherland.

Our people's unity of mind forms a brass wall defending our Fatherland. However ferocious and perfidious the enemy may be, he will break his skull against this wall."*

When peace was restored and the country temporarily divided into two zones, the President said:

"Vietnam is a unified country. North and South are one family, which no reactionary force can divide. Our country will certainly be reunified."**

In his writings, the President uses short and concise sentences, with stirring effect. Thus, stigmatizing the French imperialists' schemes of dividing Vietnam, he said:

"Our Southern compatriots are Vietnamese people. Rivers may dry up, mountains may erode away, but this truth will never change."***

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* Appeal made on the occasion to mark six months of national-wide resistance organized on June 19, 1947.

** Appeal made on National Day, September 2, 1957.

*** Address to the people before his departure for France. May 1946.

" So long as my Fatherland has not been reunified, so long as my compatriots suffer, I can neither eat nor sleep in peace." *

How moving, how full of meaning is this exhortation:

" You are the death volunteers. You are ready to die so that our country may live." **

" Vietnam is my great family. All the youth of Vietnam are my children and grand-children. The loss of anyone of them is a wound in my heart."

President Hô-Chi-Minh writes as he speaks, and he speaks the language of the Vietnamese nation, of the Vietnamese people. Let us read the following letter, which he sent to the children of Vietnam on the occasion of the Mid-Autumn festival of 1945, a letter so full of love and educating them in such a gentle and natural way:

" My dear nephews and nieces, your parents have bought for you so many things: lanterns, drums, crackers. flowers... How happy you must be!...

I share your joy and happiness. Do you know why? First, because I love you so much, and also because only a year ago, our Autumn festival took place when our country was still oppressed and you still children-slaves, whereas at this year's festival our country is free and you the young masters of an independent country.

... For the present festival, I have no gifts to send you but my loving kisses."

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* Address to the people after his return from France, October 1946.

** Letter to the Hanoi death volunteers, dated January 27, 1947.

President Hô-Chi-Minh constantly educates the cadres and people to engage in patriotic emulation in fighting, production, work and study. Emulation is part and parcel of his style of work and leadership.

During the Resistance War, he initiated the idea of emulation in fighting against the invader, famine and ignorance, emulation in training, in annihilating the enemy, overcoming all difficulties, strictly carrying out all orders and fulfilling all tasks ; emulation in increasing production, practising thrift, producing " more, quicker, better and more economically ", and struggling against embezzlement, waste, bureaucracy ; emulation in liquidating illiteracy, so that everybody of school age should know the three R's and after that be given complementary education.

Says the President : " To engage in emulation means to love one's country, anyone who loves his country must engage in emulation. " Emulation means to help each other progress, it means the transformation of man. President Hô's words : " Labour creates the world, emulation transforms man " have become a watchword, just as others of his words have passed into the people's language.

The tasks for each emulation movement change according to the revolutionary tasks put forward for each period by the Party and Government. At present, to engage in emulation means to devote all one's efforts to socialist transformation and building in the North, struggling against the American imperialists and their agents, giving active support to the patriotic struggle of our Southern compatriots, and bringing about the peaceful reunification of our country, it means to contribute to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the defence of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

In President Hô's opinion, emulation must not be confined to the workers. Every Vietnamese citizen must fulfil his task in the spirit of emulation :

> "Emulation for all people
> Emulation for all branches
> Emulation every day
> In that way we shall win
> And the enemy will be defeated."

To get the best results, each branch of activity must set concrete targets and adequate levels for emulation.

Emulation will lead to national liberation, social transformation, the building of a new Vietnam, of a new society, the transformation of man, the fostering and forging of a new man — the socialist man, of a new hero — the collective hero.

Concerning leadership, President Hô warns us against bureaucracy and authoritarianism; he tells us not to "work out plans and programmes behind closed doors and then compel the people to carry them out"*. On the contrary, we must follow the mass line, ask for the people's opinion, discuss matters with them, explain our policies to them so that they fully understand them, gladly abide by them and correctly execute them. Why should the leading Party, leading organs and cadres ask for the people's opinion and discuss matters with them? Because the people's intelligence and experience are infinitely rich and their force immensely great. Every policy we put forward has direct repercussions on the people's interests. That is why, in order to work so as to grasp the

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* Rectification of the style of work.

situation and the people's aspirations, when the policies have been put forward, we must carry out explanatory work among the masses and lead them in their implementation. In the course of this implementation, we must listen to the people's suggestions, and learn from their experience so as to complete, modify or develop the policies which must then be returned to the people for continued implementation.

Says President Hô-Chi-Minh:

"Leadership in all practical work of the organization must spring from the masses and then return to the masses.

"This means we must assemble scattered opinions among the masses, analyse, study and arrange them systematically. Then we must explain them to the masses, make them adopt those ideas, abide by them and put them into practice. While the masses are putting them into practice, we must check the correctness of those ideas. Then we must gather the people's suggestions, develop their strong points, put right their shortcomings, give all necessary explanations so that the people will adhere to the ideas set forth and carry them into effect.

"If we keep acting in this way, we can be certain that the next time will be better than the last, that our action will then be more correct, smoother and more all-round.

"That would be an extremely good style of leadership." *

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* Rectification of the style of work.

The President often urges leading organs of all branches and at all levels to give "special direction" (in connexion with overall leadership) and to increase control work. Only then can they keep close to the movement, discover elite individuals and meritorious actions in a timely way, expose bad individuals and bad actions, disseminate good experiences and redress shortcomings and mistakes. "Leadership must be collective, democratic, unified, and concentrated."* This is the way to avoid arbitrariness, abuse of power, and bad co-ordination.

Experience has proved the correctness of President Hô-Chi-Minh's style of work and leadership.

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* Closing speech at the 7th meeting of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, March 12, 1965.

CONCLUSION

President Hô-Chi-Minh merits are truly immense. The Vietnamese working class and people are happy and proud to have such a great leader. The best way to show him our gratitude, to wish him good health and a long life, is for us — Party cadres and members and the people at large — to strive each in his own field of activity to learn from him so as to overcome all difficulties and fulfil our tasks.

Let us strengthen our unity, close our ranks and advance firmly under the glorious banner of President Hô-Chi-Minh, in order to build socialism in the North, defend it, and support the patriotic struggle of our Southern compatriots, bring about the peaceful reunification of the country and contribute actively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

NOTES

1. *Can Vuong* (1885—1896): Royalist movement. Led by the scholars, this anti-French movement made eleven big uprisings, the typical of which was started by Phan Dinh Phung.

1. *Duy Tan*: A king of the Nguyen dynasty. In 1916, after an abortive attempt at rebellion he was arrested by the French and deported to Reunion island.

3. *Dong Zu* (1904—1909): Go East. A patriotic movement urging the youth to go and study in Japan. It was led by Phan Boi Chau who advocated reliance on Japan to liberate Vietnam from French rule. The movement was repressed by the French in collusion with the Japanese.

4. *Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc:* A patriotic organization set up by democratic personalities to disseminate national culture, Vietnamese latinized script and revolutionary ideas. It was soon banned by the French.

5. *Hoang Hoa Tham* (De Tham): Leader of a peasant uprising in Yenthe (North Vietnam) against the French troops. Started in 1887, the insurrection lasted for nearly thirty years. It caused serious losses to the colonialists and had a great repercussion throughout the country. Hoang Hoa Tham was murdered by a traitor on February 10, 1913.

6. *Khai Dinh :* A king of the Nguyen dynasty. He succeeded Duy Tan in 1916 and died in 1925.

7. *Liang Chi-chiao* (1873-1929) : A Chinese writer and leader of a reformist movement in 1898.

8. *Mai Hac De :* Leader of a peasant uprising against the Chinese feudalists in 722, later proclaimed king.

9. *Nguyen Qnang Trung* (Nguyen Hue) : A national hero. He led a peasant uprising in 1771 and by 1786 succeeded in unifying the country after twenty years of partition caused by the rivalry between two feudalist famillies : the Trinhs (North) and the Nguyens (South). In 1789 he smashed a 200,000 strong Tsing expedionary force within five days.

10. *Nguyen Thien Thuat* (Tan Thuat) : Leader of an anti-French movement in Bai Say or Plain of Reeds (North Vietnam). From 1885 to 1888 the insurgents launched fierce attacks against the French troops and dealt them heavy blows. After the movement had collapsed Nguyen Thien Thuat fled to China and died in Nanning.

11. *Pham Hong Thai* (1893—1924) : A revolutionary who attempted to assassinate French Governor-General of Indochina Merlin when the latter stopped in Canton on his way back from Japan (1924). After his failure he drowned himself into the Pearl River.

12. *Phan Boi Chau* (1867—1941) : Leader of the Dong Zu movement and of many other movements against the French colonialists from 1904 to 1925. He was arrested in Shanghai in 1925 and lived in forced residence at Hue. He died on October 29, 1941.

13. *Phan Chu Trinh* (1872—1926) : A patriotic intellectual

who advocated capitalist democracy of reformist tendency.

14. *Phan Dinh Phung:* Leader of an anti-French movement (1885 — 1896) which inflicted serious losses on the French troops. He died on January 21, 1896. The colonialists had his corpse burnt and the ashes mixed with gun-powder for ammunition.

15. *Phan Van Truong* (1878—1933): A patriotic intellectual who co-operated with Nguyen Ai Quoc in writing the *Vietnam Hồn* (Vietnam Soul) published in France. Back in the home country he was editor of the newspaper *Annam* which published the Communist Manifesto for the first time in Vietnam to propagate revolutionary ideas.

16. *Tam Tam Xa:* An association founded in China since 1923. His nembers included such revolutionaries as Pham Hong Thai, Le Hong Phong, Ho Tung Mau, Tan Anh...

17. *Tong Duy Tan:* A patriotic intellectual and leader of an anti-French uprising in Thanhhoa (North Vietnam). Arrested and put into a cage, he calmly made poems. When he had no more paper, he broke his bamboo pen and disembowelled himself.

18. *Truong Cong Dinh* (born Truong Dinh): A national hero and leader of an insurrection in Gocong—Tanan (South Vietnam). Despite the surrender of the Nguyen dynasty to the French colonialists the patriots kept on resisting the aggressors from Gocong, Tanan, Cholon), Mytho to the Vamco river near the frontier with Cambodia for 3 years (1861—1864). Truong Cong Dinh died in a fierce engagement with the enemy on August 20, 1864.

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