

PRESIDENT
HO CHI MINH'S
TESTAMENT

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIET NAM

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HANOI - 1995



PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH
(1890 - 1969)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hanoi, 19 August 1989

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COMMUNIQUÉ

OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VIETNAM ON A NUMBER OF POINTS RELATED TO
THE TESTAMENT AND THE DATE OF THE PASSING
AWAY OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh left an extremely precious Testament to our Party and our people. The Testament was made public immediately after Uncle Ho's death and has become an immense source of encouragement to our Party, our people and our army in their victorious advance to national liberation and reunification and in their effort to take our country steadily to socialism. However, due to the historical circumstances prevailing at the time, a number of points have so far not been made public.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Uncle Ho's death and the preparations being made for marking the 100th anniversary of his birth, the Political Bureau of the 6th Central Committee of the Party feels that it is its responsibility to make known to the Party and the people a number of points related to the Testament and the date of the death of Uncle Ho.

1. The original documents related to the text of President Ho Chi Minh's Testament

- *In 1965* Uncle Ho wrote his Testament comprising three pages typewritten by himself and dated 15 May 1965 at the end. This was a complete Testament, bearing his signature, and on the side, that of Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee at the time.

- *In 1968* Uncle Ho wrote a number of complementary passages, covering six hand-written pages.

In these pages he re-wrote the introductory part and the part dealing with "personal matters" in the 1965 text, and made several additions. These dealt with the things to be done after the complete victory of our people's war of resistance to U. S. aggression, for national salvation, such as: to rectify the Party, care for the living conditions of people of all strata, exempt farming cooperatives from the agricultural tax for one year, rebuild cities and villages, restore and develop our economy and culture, consolidate national defence, make preparations for national reunification. The passage on the rectification of the Party and the care to be given to war invalids was later crossed, and a vertical line was drawn on the margin of the passage on national reconstruction, economic and cultural development, and preparations for national reunification.

- *On 10 May 1969* Uncle Ho re-wrote the whole introductory part of his Testament, which filled one hand-written page.

- In 1966 and 1967, he wrote no separate pages.

2. On the Testament made public in September 1969 after the death of President Ho Chi Minh

An extraordinary meeting of the 3rd Central Committee

of the Party, held on the afternoon of 3 September 1969, entrusted the Political Bureau with the responsibility of making public President Ho Chi Minh's Testament. The text which was made public was essentially that written by Uncle Ho in 1965, in which some passages were later added to or replaced by others, written in 1968 and 1969. The text made public was composed of the following parts:

- *The introductory part*: The passage written in 1965 was replaced by that written in 1969. Uncle Ho's handwriting related to this passage was photographed and made public in full in 1969.

- *The middle part*: It extends from the passage on the Party to that on the world communist movement inclusive, and was written by Uncle Ho in 1965.

- *The part on "personal matters"*: In the 1965 test, Uncle Ho made recommendations about his eventual funeral and cremation, and the setting aside of part of the ashes for the South. In 1968, he re-wrote this passage and recommended that his ashes be put in three ceramic boxes, one of which to be buried in the North, the Centre, and the South, respectively. He also added this passage about his life:

"All my life I have served the Homeland, the revolution and the people with all my heart and strength. If I should now depart from this world, I would have nothing to regret, except not being able to serve longer and more."

In the Testament which was made public, the passage Uncle Ho wrote in 1968 about himself was included, with the exception of the lines about cremation.

- *The final part*: Extending from the words "Finally, to the whole people, the whole Party, the whole army, to my nephews and nieces, the youth and children, I leave my boundless love..." to the end, this passage was written by Uncle Ho in 1965. No changes or additions were made by him in 1968 and 1969.

In the Testament which was made public, the passages published were taken from the original documents. Changes were made to only one sentence. In 1965, Uncle Ho wrote, "The war of resistance to U.S. aggression may drag on for a few more years"; this was changed to " the war of resistance to U. S. aggression may drag on".

3. The Political Bureau of the 6th Party Central Committee affirms that the Testament which was made public conforms to the original documents written by President Ho Chi Minh.

- The choice for the publication of the Testament, which Uncle Ho wrote in 1965, was a correct one for this was the only complete text; it bears his signature and that of Comrade Le Duan, then First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, acting as a witness.

- The replacement of the introductory part written in 1965 by that written in 1969 was perfectly agreeable to reason, because 1969 was the year in which Uncle Ho died and the passage he wrote that year had a richer content.

- In the part dealing with "personal matters", it was found indispensable to add the passage he wrote in 1968 to that written in 1965, so as better to reflect Uncle Ho's noble and pure life of devotion to country and people.

The reason why Uncle Ho's request for his remains to be cremated has so far not been made public is that, taking into account the people's feelings and wishes, the Political Bureau of the 3rd Party Central Committee found it necessary to preserve Uncle Ho's body so that in future the people throughout the country, particularly our compatriots in the South, and our foreign friends could come to pay tribute to him and express their deep feeling for him. That was the reason why we begged to act in a way that was at variance with his recommendation.

- The passages Uncle Ho wrote in 1968 about what was

to be done once the war of resistance against U. S. aggression, for national salvation, ended in complete victory, were not made public at the time of Uncle Ho's death, 1969, because the war of resistance was still raging and final victory had not yet been won. So it was found that the publication of those passages at the time would not be appropriate.

A few lines included words which were later crossed out as if Uncle Ho was still pondering over them and did not yet regard them as definite. We could not be certain what was in his mind. Such lines could not be included in the text of his Testament made public after his death.

- At the time of Uncle Ho's death, the war of resistance was still being bitterly fought amid great difficulties, hence the Political Bureau's decision to alter this sentence: "The war of resistance to U.S. aggression may drag on for a few more years" to "The war of resistance to U. S. aggression may drag on."

- So far conditions have not been favourable to the granting of one-year agricultural tax exemption to the farming cooperatives. At present, although we are still beset by socio-economic difficulties, the Political Bureau of the 6th Party Central Committee has deemed it necessary that a plan be worked out for the fulfilment of that wish of Uncle Ho. It has asked the Council of Ministers to report this matter to the National Assembly with a view to bringing such a plan into effect.

The Political Bureau of the 3rd Party Central Committee had it in mind that at an appropriate time the unpublished passages in the documents related to Uncle Ho's Testament would be made public. At present, as preparations are being made for the celebration of President Ho Chi Minh's 100th birthday, the Political Bureau of the 6th Party Central Committee has decided to make public all the documents related to the President's Testament.

4. On the date of the death of President Ho Chi Minh

President Ho Chi Minh died at 09.47 hours on 2 *September 1969*, which was National Day. So that the stated day of Uncle Ho's death did not coincide with a day of great joy for our entire people, the Political Bureau of the 3rd Party Central Committee decided to declare the time of President Ho Chi Minh's death to be 09.47 hours on 3 *September 1969*. Now, the Political Bureau of the 6th Party Central Committee deems it necessary to make public the true time of the President's death.

On this occasion, the Political Bureau calls on all Party organizations, cadres, Party members and people to refer to Uncle Ho's Testament and to the promises made to his memory in the sacred oath taken in the name of our entire Party, our entire army and our entire people by Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the 3rd Party Central Committee, in reviewing what we have done and are doing, and to strive to successfully implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress as well as fulfil our immediate tasks. By so doing we shall have acted upon Uncle Ho's recommendations, fulfilled his wishes, and proved ourselves worthy of him.

Our great President Ho Chi Minh will live for ever in our cause!

Let us live, fight, work and study following the example set by our great President Ho Chi Minh!

FOR THE POLITICAL BUREAU

The General Secretary

Signed: NGUYEN VAN LINH

**DOCUMENTS IN PRESIDENT
HO CHI MINH'S OWN WRITING
RELATED TO HIS TESTAMENT**

Việt-Nam dân chủ cộng hòa
Độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc

(Tuyệt đối bí mật)

Nhân dịp mừng 75 tuổi

Người làm thơ rất nổi tiếng, ở Trung-quốc đời nhà Đường là cụ Đỗ-Fù có câu thơ rằng: 'Nhân sinh thất thập cổ lai hy'. nghĩa là: Người thọ bảy mươi, xưa nay hiếm.

Năm nay, tôi đã 75 tuổi. Tinh thần vẫn sáng suốt, thân thể vẫn mạnh khỏe. Tuy vậy, tôi cũng đã là lớp người 'xưa nay hiếm'. Ai đoán biết tôi sẽ sống và phục vụ Tổ quốc, phục vụ cách mạng mấy năm mấy tháng nữa?

Vì vậy, tôi để lại mấy lời này, chỉ nói tóm tắt vài việc thôi. Fong khi tôi sẽ đi gặp cụ Cac Mac, cụ Lê-nin và các vị cách mạng đàn anh khác, thì đồng bào cả nước và đồng chí trong Đảng khỏi cảm thấy đột ngột.

Trước hết nói về ĐẢNG - Nhờ đoàn kết chặt chẽ, một lòng một dạ phục vụ zai cấp, phục vụ nhân dân, cho nên từ ngày thành lập đến nay, ĐẢNG ta đã đoàn kết, tổ chức và lãnh đạo nhân dân ta hăng hái đấu tranh tiên từ thắng lợi này đến thắng lợi khác.

Đoàn kết là một truyền thống cực kỳ quý báu của Đảng và của dân ta. Các đồng chí từ Trung ương đến các chi bộ cần phải giữ gìn sự đoàn kết nhất trí của Đảng như giữ gìn con ngươi của mắt mình.

Trong Đảng thực hành dân chủ rộng rãi, thường xuyên và nghiêm chỉnh tự phê bình và phê bình là cách tốt nhất để củng cố và phát triển sự đoàn kết và thống nhất của Đảng. *Fải có tinh đ. c. thường xuyên và nghiêm*
ĐẢNG ta là một đảng cầm quyền. Mỗi đảng viên và cán bộ phải thật sự thấm nhuần đạo đức cách mạng, thật sự cần kiệm liêm chính, chí công vô tư. Phải giữ gìn Đảng ta thật trong sạch, phải xứng đáng là người lãnh đạo, là người đầy tớ thật trung thành của nhân dân.

Đoàn viên và thanh niên ta nói chung là tốt, mọi việc đều hăng hái xung phong, không ngại khó khăn, có chí tiến thủ. ĐẢNG cần phải chăm lo giáo dục đạo đức cách mạng cho họ, đào tạo họ thành những người thừa kế xây dựng xã hội chủ nghĩa vừa 'hồng' vừa 'chuyên'.

Bồi dưỡng thế hệ cách mạng cho đời sau là một việc rất quan trọng và rất cần thiết.

Nhân dân lao động ta ở miền xuôi cũng như ở miền núi, đã bao đời chịu đựng gian khổ, bị chế độ phong kiến và thực dân áp bức bóc lột, lại kinh qua nhiều năm chiến tranh.

Tuy vậy, nhân dân ta rất anh hùng, dũng cảm, hăng hái, cần cù. Từ ngày có DẶNG, nhân dân ta luôn luôn đi theo DẶNG, rất trung thành với DẶNG.

DẶNG ấn fải có kế hoạch thật tốt để phát triển kinh tế và văn hóa, nhằm không ngừng nâng cao đời sống của nhân dân.

Cuộc kháng chiến chống Mỹ có thể sẽ kéo dài mấy năm nữa. Đồng bào ta có thể fải hy sinh nhiều của nhiều người. Nhưng sao, chúng ta fải quyết tâm đánh bại Mỹ đến thắng lợi hoàn toàn.

Còn non, còn nước, còn người,

Thắng trận Mỹ, ta sẽ xây dựng hơn mười ngày nay!

Zu khó khăn gian khổ đến đây, nhân dân ta nhất định sẽ hoàn toàn thắng lợi. Đế quốc Mỹ nhất định fải rút khỏi nước ta. Tổ quốc ta nhất định sẽ thống nhất. Đồng bào Nam, Bắc nhất định sẽ sum họp một nhà. Nước ta sẽ có vinh dự lớn là một nước nhỏ mà đã anh dũng đánh thắng 2 đế quốc to - là Pháp và Mỹ; và đã góp phần xứng đáng vào phong trào giải phóng dân tộc.

Về phong trào Cộng sản thế giới - Là một người suốt đời phục vụ cách mạng, tôi càng tự hào với sự lớn mạnh của phong trào cộng sản và công nhân quốc tế bao nhiêu, thì tôi càng đau lòng bấy nhiêu vì sự bất hòa hiện nay giữa các đảng anh em!

Tôi mong rằng DẶNG ta sẽ ra sức hoạt động, góp phần đặc biệt vào việc khôi phục lại khối đoàn kết giữa các đảng anh em trên nền tảng chủ nghĩa Mac-Lenin và chủ nghĩa quốc tế vô sản, có lý có tình.

Tôi tin chắc rằng các đảng anh em và các nước anh em nhất định sẽ fải đoàn kết lại.

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Về việc riêng - Sau khi tôi qua đời, chớ nên tổ chức đám đình, lễ tang fĩ ngày zò và tiến bực của nhân dân.

Tôi yêu cầu thí hải tôi được đốt đi, nói chũ là 'hỏa táng'. Tôi mong rằng cách 'hỏa táng' zần zần sẽ được fĩ biến. Vì như thế đối với người sống đã tốt về mặt vệ sinh, lại không tốn dất. Bao zò ta có nhiều điện, thí 'điện táng' càng tốt hơn.

Tro xương thì tìm một quả đồi mà chôn. Gần Tam-đảo và Ba-vi như hình có nhiều đồi tốt. Trên mộ, nên xây 1 cái nhà sên đơn, rộng rãi, chắc chắn, mát mẽ để nhưng người đến thăm viếng có chỗ nghỉ ngơi.

Nên có kế hoạch trồng cây trên đồi. Ai đến thăm thì trồng một cây làm kỷ niệm. Trồng cây nào fải tốt cây ấy. Lâu ngày, cây nhiều thành rừng, sẽ lợi cho fong cảnh và lợi cho nông nghiệp.

Nếu tôi qua đồi trước ngày nước ta được thống nhất, thì nên gửi một ít tro xương cho đồng bào miền Nam.

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Cuối cùng, tôi để lại muốn vắn tình thân yêu cho toàn dân, toàn Đảng, cho toàn thể bộ đội, cho các cháu thanh niên và nhi đồng

Tôi cũng gửi lời chào thân ái đến các đồng chí, các bầu bạn, và các cháu thanh niên nhi đồng quốc tế.

Đều mong muốn cuối cùng của tôi là: Toàn Đảng toàn dân ta đoàn kết fần đầu, xây dựng một nước Việt-Nam hòa bình, thống nhất, độc lập, dân chủ và zàu mạnh, và gop fần xứng đáng vào sự nghiệp cách mạng thế zới./.

Hà-nội, ngày 15 tháng 5 năm 1965.

Chứng kiến.
Bí thư thứ nhất
Ban chấp hành trung ương:

Le Duẩn

Hồ Chí Minh

(Luyện từ)
bì mật

Viết nam zôm chú công hoa
dộc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc.

Năm nay, tôi vừa 78 tuổi, vào lớp nhữg nữ
'trong thơ' tâm hồn vẫn ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} sống sôi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} nảy búi
khỏe có ^{ng. ta đến khi} kẻo so với các nam trước đây ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc}
^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} điều ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} bất ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} thường ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đoán biết được tôi sẽ sống và
học về ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} cách ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} quốc, ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} học ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} về ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} cách ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} mong ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} 'mỹ'.
thầy, ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} mấy ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} năm ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} nữa?

Bỉ vậy, tôi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} hai ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} máy ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} 'lời' này, ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} fong
khi tôi sẽ đi gặp cụ Bắc Mạc, cụ Liêm và
các vị cách mạng đơn anh khác, thì ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đy ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} báo
cả nước và đy ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} chỉ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} trong ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đàng ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} khơi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} con ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} thây
đột ngột

Về việc riêng

Suốt đời tôi hết lòng hết sức học về tổ quốc, học về
cách mạng, học về nhân dân. Nay ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} fải ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} biết
thế giới này, ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} tôi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} chỉ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} tiếc ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} là ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} tiếc ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} không ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} được ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} học
vui ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} lên ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} hơn ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} nữa, ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} nhữn ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} hơn ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} nữa

Sau khi tôi đã qua đời, chú năm ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} tôi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} chắt
títu ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} fong ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} lĩn ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đĩn, ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} đĩ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} khơi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} lòng ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} fĩ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} thì ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} gĩ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} và ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} tĩn
bạc của nhân dân.

Tôi yêu cầu thì hai tôi được đời đi,
thứ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} là ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} "hỏa ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} tĩn" ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} Tôi ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} mong ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} rĩ ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} cách ^{độc lập, tự do, hạnh phúc} "hỏa

tiếng" sau này sẽ được phổ biến. Vì khi thế đời²
này này. Sông đã tụt về một về một, lại khô
tàn nát mớ. Khi ta có nhiều tiền, thì "đền tống"
cũng tốt hơn.

Tro ~~cho~~ thì chia làm 3 phần, bỏ vào 3 cái
hộp sơn, 1 hộp ^{cho} ~~đưa~~ lại miền Bắc. 1 hộp cho miền
Trung, 1 hộp cho miền Nam.

Đồng bào mỗi miền nên chọn 1 quê đời
mà chọn hộp tro đó. Trên má, khi nào có bia đá
trường đời, mà nên xây 1 ngôi nhà 3 ai đời, rộng
rãi, chắc chắn, mát mẻ, để nghỉ ngơi. Đời thêm vàng
có chỗ nghỉ ngơi.

Nên có kế hoạch. Trữ cây tên và chúng quanh
đời. Chỉ đến thăm thì trữ 1 ~~hộp~~ và cây bami kỳ
miền. Lâu ngày, cây nhưu nhưu rừng sẽ tụt cho
fong conil và lời cho ~~tiếng~~ ^{lên các} ~~ng~~ ^{lên các} ~~lên các~~ ^{lên các} ~~lên các~~ ^{lên các}
Zan phó cho ~~tiếng~~ các cụ phụ lão.

phó, hàng xa) cần xây dựng vườn hoa và bia kỷ niệm ghi công của các liệt sĩ, để đời đời nhắc nhở lòng yêu nước cho nhân dân. ta

Đối với cha mẹ, vợ con (của thường binh và liệt sĩ) thì cần sự lao động và tăng thu nhập, thu nhập quyền trợ lương, (mưu ở nông thôn thì chính quyền xã cũng h. t. x. nông nghiệp) phải giúp đỡ họ có công việc làm ổn thích hợp, quyết không để họ bị đói rét.

A
Xóm 3

Đối với những nạn nhân của chế độ sa hủi cũ, như trộm cắp, gái điếm, cờ bạc, buôn lậu, v.v., thì nhà nước phải trừng phạt vừa giáo dục, vừa giúp họ trở nên không lao động lương thiện.

Trong bao năm kháng chiến chống thực dân Pháp, ^{Tích cực} chống đế quốc Mỹ, Đảng ta, nhất là tỷ bào nông dân ^{đều} luôn luôn hết sức trung thành với Đảng và đi ^{ra} ra sức góp của góp người, ^{vào lòng} chịu đựng mọi khó khăn gian khổ. Nay ta đã hoàn toàn thắng lợi, tôi có ý ^(xem tiếp 293B) →

nông nghiệp

→ để nghị miễn thuế 1 năm cho các h. t. x. nông nghiệp để cho đợ bao hủ hủ, mặt gạo, mặt bông, thêm niềm fân khởi, đậy mạnh sản xuất.

Ở đây mới vẽ kế hoạch xây dựng lại thành phố và làng mạc đẹp đẽ, đồng hương hơn trước chiến tranh. 1. Khởi fục và mở rộng các ngành kinh tế. 2. Phát triển công tác về sinh, y tế. 3. Sửa đổi chế độ giáo dục cho hợp với hoàn cảnh mới của nhân dân, như phát triển các trường nửa ngày học tập nửa ngày lao động. Cũng có quốc phòng. Chuẩn bị mọi mặt để **thống nhất Tổ quốc**....

Công việc trên đây là rất to lớn, nặng nề, và fức tạp, ^{mà cả} ~~đều~~ là rất vẻ vang. Đây là 1 cuộc chiến ^{đau} tranh chống lại nhợ ze ^{đó} cũ kỹ, hủ hỏng, để tạo ra nhợ cái mới mẻ, tốt tươi. ^{Đi giải Mỹ và 4 triệu dân} Cần fải đồng viên toàn dân, tổ chức và giáo dục toàn dân, gia vào lực lượng vĩ đại của toàn dân. đó giải lập thợ lời.

**TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS
RELATED TO PRESIDENT
HO CHI MINH'S TESTAMENT**

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

Independence - Freedom - Happiness

Marking my 75 th birthday

(Top secret)

Tu Fu, the famous poet of the Tang period in China, wrote, "In all times, few are those who reach the age of seventy".

This year, I am 75. My mind has remained lucid, my body in good health. Still, I belong to that category of people "who are few in all times."

Who can say how much longer I shall live and be able to serve the Homeland and the revolution?

I therefore leave these few lines, in which I shall only deal briefly with a few matters, in anticipation of the day when I shall go and join Karl Marx, Lenin and other revolutionary elders; this way our people throughout the country and our comrades in the Party will not be taken by surprise.

First, about the Party - Thanks to its close unity and total dedication to the working class, the people and the Homeland, our Party has been able, since its founding, to unite, organize and lead our people from success to success in a resolute struggle.

Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the cells, must preserve the unity

and oneness of mind in the Party as the apple of their eye.

Within the Party, to establish broad democracy and to practise *self - criticism and criticism* regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop solidarity and unity. Comradely affection should prevail.

Ours is a party in power. Every Party member, every cadre must be deeply imbued with *revolutionary* morality and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness. Our Party should preserve absolute purity and prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people.

The Working Youth Union members and our young people in general are good; they are always ready to come forward, fearless of difficulties and eager for progress. The Party must foster their *revolutionary virtues* and train them to be our successors, both "red" and "expert", in the building of socialism,

The training and education of future revolutionary generations is of great importance and necessity.

Our labouring people, in the plains as in the mountains, have for generation after generation endured hardships, feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation; they have in addition experienced many years of war.

Yet, our people have shown great heroism, courage, enthusiasm and industriousness. They have always followed the Party since it came into being, with unqualified loyalty.

The Party must work out effective *plans* for economic and cultural development so as constantly to *improve the life of our people*.

The war of resistance against U.S. aggression may drag on for a few more years. Our people may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the U. S. aggressors until total victory.

Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be;

The American invaders defeated, we will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful.

No matter what difficulties and hardships lie ahead, our people are sure of total victory. The U.S imperialists will certainly have to quit. Our Homeland will certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be re-united under the same roof. We, a small nation, will have earned the signal honour of defeating through heroic struggle two big imperialisms - the French and the American - and of making a worthy contribution to the world national liberation movement.

About the world communist movement - Being a man who has devoted his whole life to the revolution, the more proud I am of the growth of the international communist and workers' movement, the more pained I am by the current discord among the fraternal Parties.

I hope that our Party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the

fraternal Parties on the basis of Marxism - Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment.

I am firmly confident that the fraternal Parties and countries will have to unite again.

*
* * *

About personal matters - When I am gone, a grand funeral should be avoided in order not to waste the people's time and money.

I request that my remains be *incinerated*, in other words "cremated". I hope that "cremation" will become common practice. Not only is it good for the living from the point of view of hygiene, it also saves land. When we have a plentiful supply of electricity, "electric cremation" will be even better.

Let my *ashes* be buried on a hill. There seem to be many suitable hills in the vicinity of Tam Dao and Ba Vi. On the site there should be a simply-designed house, spacious, cool, and solidly built, where visitors could rest.

There should be a plan for *Planting trees* on the hill. Visitors will plant memorial trees. These should be well cared for. They will multiply with the passage of time and form forests which will benefit the landscape and *agriculture*.

If I should die before the country is reunified, let some of my ashed be sent to our *compatriots in the South*.

Finally, to the whole people, the whole Party, the whole army, to my nephews and nieces, the youth and children I leave my boundless love.

I also convey my cordial greetings to our comrades and friends, and to the youth and children throughout the world.

My ultimate wish is that our entire Party and people, closely joining their efforts, will build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.

Hanoi, 15 May 1965

HO CHI MINH

Witness

First Secretary

of the Central Committee

LE DUAN

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
Independence - Freedom - Happiness

(Top secret)

This year I am 78 and can count myself among people who have lived " a fairly long life." My mind has remained lucid, though my health has somewhat declined in comparison with the last few years. One's health deteriorates with one's growing age. This is normal.

But who can say how much longer I shall live and be able to serve the Homeland and the revolution?

I therefore leave these few lines in anticipation of the day when I shall go and join Karl Marx, Lenin and other revolutionary elders; this way our people throughout the country and our comrades in the Party will not be taken by surprise.

About personal matters

All my life I have served the Homeland, the revolution, and the people with all my heart and strength. If I should now depart from this world, I would have nothing to regret, except not being able to serve longer and more.

When I am gone, a grand funeral should be avoided in order not to waste the people's time and money.

I request that my remains be incinerated, that is, "cremated". I hope that "cremation" will become common practice. Not only is it good for the living

from the point of view of hygiene, it also saves farmland. When we have a plentiful supply of electricity, "electric cremation" will be even better.

Let my *ashes* be divided into three parts, to be put in three ceramic boxes: one for the North, one for the Centre, and one for the South.

In each part of the country, let the box of ashes be buried on a hill. Let no stone stele and bronze statue be erected on the grave. Instead there should be a simply - designed spacious, solidly-built, and cool house, where visitors could rest.

A plan should be worked out to, plant trees on and around the hills. Let visitors plant memorial trees. With the passage of time, the trees will form forests which will benefit the landscape and *agriculture*. Care for the trees should be entrusted to local old people.

This month of May 1968, after reviewing this letter I have found it necessary to add a few more points without going into detail.

As soon as our people's war of resistance against U.S aggression, for national salvation, has ended in complete victory, our entire Party, army and people must immediately strive to quickly heal the serious wounds inflicted by the U.S. imperialists in their barbarous war of aggression. This will be an immense endeavour, complicated and difficult. We must have a plan ready, clearly stated and meticulously drawn up, so as to avoid falling into a passive position and committing omissions and mistakes. In my opinion, the first thing to be done will be to *rectify the Party*, so as to make every Party member, every Youth Union member, every cell strive to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them and whole-heartedly serve the people. If this is done, we shall be able to carry through all our undertakings, however important and difficult.

First priority should go to *people*.

With regard to those who have valiantly shed their blood (cadres, soldiers, militiamen, guerillas, young volunteers, etc.) the Party, the Government, and the people must do all they can to provide them with stable living conditions and at the same time organize vocational courses suited to each, so that they can gradually become "self-supporting".

With regard to fallen soldiers and revolutionary martyrs, each locality (town and city, village and commune) must build a park and erect stelae to commemorate their heroic sacrifices, thereby educating future generations in patriotism.

With regard to the parents, wives and children of war invalids and fallen soldiers whose families are short-handed and impecunious, the local authorities (in the countryside, the communal administration and the farming cooperative) must help them find suitable employment and must under no circumstances let them suffer from want.

The young members of the people's armed forces and the young volunteers have all been tempered in battle and have proved their courage. The Party and the Government must select a number of the best elements and send them to schools where they are to be taught various professions and trades and trained into cadres and workers with technical skills, sound ideology and firm revolutionary stand. They will make up the main force for the successful construction of socialism in our country.

In the war of resistance against U. S. aggression, for national salvation, our resourceful women have contributed a worthy share in combat and production. The Party and the Government must work out practical plans for their training and promotion so that there will be ever more women put in charge of all kinds of affairs, including leadership responsibilities. For their part, the women must strive to advance. This is a revolution which

will bring true equality to women.

With regard to victims of the old social regime, such as thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, smugglers, etc., the State must seek to reform them through both education and application of the law, and help them become honest working people.

In the long years of resistance to the French colonialists, then to the U.S. imperialists, our compatriots, especially the peasantry, have shown constant loyalty to the Party and the Government, contributed large amounts of human and material resources, and endured with equanimity all kinds of difficulties and hardships. Once complete victory has been won, I propose that all farming cooperatives should be exempted from the agricultural tax for one year, so as to make people happy and contented and add to their enthusiasm in striving to boost production.

Here I should like to mention the plan to rebuild our cities and villages and make them look even more beautiful, more presentable, than before the war. We should restore and expand all branches of the economy; promote hygiene and health care; make changes to the educational system to make it better suited to the new circumstances, e. g. multiply schools in which the children will combine study with manual labour. We must consolidate national defence and make preparations for national reunification...

The above undertakings constitute an immense

endeavour, difficult and complicated, but very glorious. It will be a struggle against the decrepit old in order to create the healthy new. In order to gain victory in this gigantic struggle, we must mobilize the entire people, organize and educate them, and rely on their immense strength.

10 May 1969

Even though our people's struggle against U. S. aggression, for national salvation, may have to go through more hardships and sacrifices we are bound to win total victory. This is a certainty.

I intend, when that comes, to tour both South and North to congratulate our heroic fellow-countrymen, cadres and combatants, and visit old people and our beloved youth and children.

Then, on behalf of our people, I will go to the fraternal countries of the socialist camp and friendly countries in the whole world and thank them for their whole-hearted support and assistance to our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

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Tu Fu, the famous poet of the Tang period in China, wrote, "In all times, few are those who reach the age of seventy".

This year, being seventy - nine, I can already count myself among those "few"; still, my mind has remained perfectly lucid, though my health has somewhat declined in comparison with the last few years. When one has seen more than seventy Springs, health deteriorates with one's growing age. This is no wonder.

But who can say how much longer I shall be able to serve the revolution, the Homeland, and the people?

I therefore leave these few lines in anticipation of the day when I shall go and join Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin and other revolutionary elders: this way, our people throughout the country, our comrades in the Party, and our friends in the world will not be taken by surprise.

**PRESIDENT
HO CHI MINH'S TESTAMENT**

Made public in 1969

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Independence - Freedom - Happiness

10-5-69

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Then, on behalf of our people, I will go to the fraternal countries of the socialist camp and friendly countries in the whole world and thank them for their whole-hearted support and assistance to our people's patriotic struggle against U. S aggression.

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Tu Fu, the famous poet of the Tang period in China, wrote: "In all times, few are those who reach the age of seventy".

This year, being seventy-nine I can already count myself among those "few"; still, my mind has remained perfectly lucid, though my health has somewhat declined in comparison with the last few years. When one has seen more than seventy Springs,

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Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the cells, must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the Party as the apple of their eye.

Within the Party, to establish broad democracy and to practise *self - criticism* and *criticism* regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop solidarity and unity. Comradely affection should prevail.

Ours is a party in power. Each Party member, each cadre must be deeply imbued with *revolutionary morality*, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness. Our Party should preserve

absolute purity and prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people.

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The training and education of future revolutionary generations is of great importance and necessity.

Our labouring people, in the plains as in the mountains, have for generation after generation endured hardships, feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation; they have in addition experienced many years of war.

Yet, our people have shown great heroism, courage, enthusiasm and industriousness. They have always followed the Party since it came into being, with unqualified loyalty.

The Party must work out effective *plans* for economic and cultural development so as to constantly *improve the life of our people*.

The war of resistance against U. S. aggression may drag on. Our people may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the U. S. aggressors till total victory.

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About the world communist movement - Being a man who has devoted his whole life to the revolution, the more proud I am of the growth of the international communist and workers' movement, the more pained I am by the current discord among the fraternal Parties.

I hope that our Party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal Parties on the basis of Marxism - Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment.

I am firmly confident that the fraternal Parties and countries will have to unite again.

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About personal matters - All my life, I have served the Homeland, the revolution and the people with all my heart and strength. If I should now depart from this world, I would have nothing to regret, except not being able to serve longer and more.

When I am gone, a grand funeral should be avoided in order not to waste the people's time and money.

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Finally, to the whole people, the whole Party, the whole army, to my nephews and nieces, the youth and children, I leave my boundless love.

I also convey my cordial greetings to our comrades and friends, and to the youth and children throughout the world.

My ultimate wish is that our entire Party and people, closely joining their efforts, will build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.

Hanoi, 10 may 1969

HO CHI MINH

**LAST TRIBUTE
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY**

Fellow-citizens and combatants throughout the country, Comrades and friends,

Our venerated and beloved President HO CHI MINH is no more!

This is a tremendous loss! Boundless is our grief!

Our people and Party have lost a leader of genius and a great teacher.

The international communist movement, the national-liberation movement and all progressive mankind have lost an illustrious fighter, a staunch comrade-in-arms and a dear friend.

Our people and combatants in the whole country mourn for him in boundless grief! Our brothers and friends all over the world share our deep sorrow.

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For over sixty years, from his youth to his last moment, President HO CHI MINH dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause of our people and of the world's peoples. His was an exalted life, full of hardships and sacrifices, most noble and rich, immeasurably pure and beautiful.

With his ardent patriotism, President HO CHI MINH soon embraced Marxism - Leninism, in which he found the light that would show the path to salvation for the people and the country. He was the first Vietnamese to creatively apply Marxism - Leninism to the conditions of our country and to chart the course for the Vietnamese revolution so that it could advance step by step, from victory to victory.

President HO CHI MINH was the founder, leader and educator, of our Party, the builder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National United Front, the beloved father of the Vietnamese people's armed forces. He was the very soul, the shining banner that led our entire Party, our entire people, our entire army to unite as one man and struggle gallantly, thus writing the most glorious pages in the history of our Homeland.

Our nation, our people and our land gave birth to President HO CHI MINH, the great national hero, and he, in turn has covered them with glory.

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He personifies the essential character of our nation, he symbolizes the indomitable will shown by the Vietnamese people over four thousand years of history. "Nothing is more precious than independence any freedom". "We would rather endure and sacrifice than lose independence and be slaves". Such is the pressing patriotic summons of the Homeland at this moment, the call of our forefathers from time immemorial our sacred duty to all future generations. He said, "Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese are one nation." "The South is the blood of Vietnamese blood, the flesh of Vietnamese flesh." During his lifetime, he always followed closely every step of the revolution for the liberation of the South; day and night he thought of our countrymen and fighters in the South with immense love.

Parting from him, we vow:

For ever to carry aloft the banner of national independence, to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate the South, defend the North, and reunify the country in fulfilment of his wish.

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The most cherished desire of President HO CHI MINH was to see the Homeland liberated and the people happy. He said, "I have only one desire, a most earnest desire - to achieve complete independence for our country, complete freedom for our people, and opportunities for all our countrymen to have adequate food and clothing and education". He also said "The North must advance to socialism".

During his lifetime, he gave his warm affection to his people, young and old, men and women and children, in the North and in the South, in the plains and in the mountains. Departing from this world, he left "boundless love" for the whole people, the whole Party, the whole army, and to his nephews and nieces, the youth and children.

Parting from him, we vow:

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

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President HO CHI MINH devoted constant attention and efforts to the building of our Party into a firmly-welded structure. He said, "The strength of the Party lies in its unity and oneness of mind". He was the incarnation of national unity, of North - South brotherhood. He said, "Unity, unity, great unity. Success, success, great success." He always advised us to preserve and enhance our traditions of unity and our love for our countrymen and comrades.

Parting from him, we vow:

With all our heart and strength to preserve the unity of the Party as we would the apple of our eye, to increase the fighting strength of the Party, the nucleus of national unity, and to ensure total victory for the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese working class and nation.

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President HO CHI MINH is a lofty symbol of genuine patriotism closely combined with proletarian internationalism. His heart and mind was dedicated both to the Vietnamese nation and to the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the whole world. As a faithful disciple of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, President HO CHI MINH was not only a great patriot, but also an outstanding fighter in the international communist movement and the national liberation movement of the 20th century. President HO CHI MINH constantly taught us to devote our care and attention to the preservation of international solidarity, for the sake of the great cause of the Vietnamese revolution and for the sake of our high duty to the world revolution.

Parting from him, we vow:

To constantly enhance the pure internationalist sentiments shown by President HO CHI MINH, do our utmost to contribute to the restoration and development of solidarity and unity in the socialist camp and among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; to strengthen solidarity and friendship among the Indochinese peoples to extend whole-hearted support to the revolutionary movement of other peoples, to make an active contribution to the struggle

of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

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President HO CHI MINH's great life is an ever-shining example of staunch revolutionary courage, the spirit of independence and sovereignty, deep love for the people, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness, modesty and simplicity. President HO CHI MINH taught us, "Our Party should preserve absolute purity and prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people."

Parting from him, we vow:

All our life to learn from his virtues and style of work, to foster revolutionary virtues, fearlessly face hardships and sacrifices, to temper ourselves into fighters loyal to the Party and the people, worthy of being his comrades, his disciples. Following his example, our entire people and youth pledge to do their best to steel themselves into new men, masters of their country, masters of the new society, and to carry his invincible banner to the final goal.

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President HO CHI MINH is no more! But he left us an extremely precious legacy. This is the HO CHI MINH epoch, the most brilliant one in our nation's glorious history. This is the era of independence and freedom for the Homeland, the era of socialism in our country.

The whole nation and each of us individually feels eternal gratitude to him for the immense services he rendered to us.

In the presence of his spirit, we vow to remain faithful to him all our life, to struggle with all our heart and energy, to weld ourselves into an iron-like unity, struggle with self-abnegation to fulfil our noble duty to the independence and freedom of the Homeland and the happiness of the people, and to make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

President HO CHI MINH is no more! But he is always here to guide us. We still feel his constant presence by our side. For we continue to follow the path charted by him, and carry on his great work. For he will live for ever with our mountains and rivers, and his name and image will be ever more deeply engraved in the heart and mind of each of us.

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Dear comrades and fellow - countrymen,

Parting from us, Uncle Ho left a historic Testament for our Party, for all countrymen and combatants in both South and North. These are his ultimate recommendations, his sentiments towards, and his confidence in the present and future generations.

Let us prove ourselves more worthy of him!

Let us contain our grief, struggle valiantly, ardently march forward, overcome all obstacles and difficulties and be resolved to defeat the U.S. aggressors completely, build socialism successfully and fulfil the pledge of honour we are making in this sacred farewell to him!

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH, THE GREAT LEADER, THE VENERATED AND BELOVED TEACHER OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE, WILL LIVE FOR EVER!