

PRESIDENT HO SPEAKING ABOUT THE CHIEF TASKS OF ALL OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE AT THE PRESENT TIME

[Excerpts; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 10, October 1969, pp 35-52]

1. Be Steadfast and Push the Resistance War Against the United States for National Salvation Forward to Total Victory

We would rather sacrifice everything but we definitely will not permit the loss of the country and we will definitely not submit to slavery.

Ho Chi Minh: "National Resistance War Appeal" of 20 December 1946, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 248.

All of the people of Vietnam are of one heart in their determination not to become slaves and of one will in their determination not to lose the country.

There is only one objective: the determination to resist in order to achieve national reunification and unity.

The agreement of our compatriots forms a copper wall around the fatherland. No matter how powerful and cunning the enemy is, he is bound to lose when he collides with that wall.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal on the Sixth Month Anniversary of the Resistance War" on 19 June 1947, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 273.

Our people have ardent patriotism. This is our precious tradition. Whenever the fatherland has been invaded in the past, this spirit has boiled

forth and formed an extremely powerful and great tide, overcoming all dangers and difficulties and sinking all of the country-selling factions and country-robbing factions.

Ho Chi Minh: "Political Report" read to the Second National Congress of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party in February 1951, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 366.

The North and the South are one country, kith-and-kin borthers who are determined not to permit the division of the country.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech for New Year's and for the Occasion of the Return to the Capital of the Party Central Committee and the Government" on 1 January 1955, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 512.

South Vietnam is our kith-and-kin and our blood and bones.

Ho Chi Minh: "Congratulations to the National Assembly" on 21 March 1955, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, Volume III, page 124.

Our Vietnam definitely must be reunified. The compatriots of the South and the North surely will come together again. Let all the compatriots resolve to broadly and tightly unite in the political program of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and strive to patriotically emulate, to consolidate North Vietnam, and to steadfastly and resolutely struggle for a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh: "Letter Sent to Compatriots Throughout the Country" on 6 July 1956, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 584.

All of us must enlist all of our spirit and abilities in the sacrificial struggle for the complete victory of the revolutionary cause so that one day South Vietnam will be liberated, our fatherland will be reunified, and our people will be joyous and happy. Each of us must learn how to place the interest of the nation and of the class above individual interest and learn how to forget ourselves for great causes.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Reeducation Conference Called by the Central Committee" between 22 and 26 January 1965, Noi Ve Dan Chu, Ky Luat Va Dao Duc Cach Mang (Speaking about Democracy, Discipline, and Revolutionary Ethics), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, page 59.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one, and no one can violate that sacred right of our people.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Second Session of the Third Term of the DRV National Assembly" on 10 April 1965, Ve Nhiem Vu Chong My, Cuu Nuoc (Concerning the Task of Fighting the United States and Saving the Nation), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, page 57.

Johnson and his clique must know that they can send 500,000 troops, 1 million troops, or many more troops in order to intensify the war of aggression in Vietnam. They can use thousands of airplanes and intensify the destruction of North Vietnam. However, they definitely cannot shake the iron-like will and the determination of the brave Vietnamese people to fight the United States and save the nation...The war can last 5 years, 10 years, 20 years, or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong, and some cities and enterprises could be destroyed but the Vietnamese people absolutely are not afraid! There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. When the day of victory arrives, our people will rebuild our country and make it more beautiful and splendid!

...On behalf of the independence of the fatherland and for the sake of the duty to the peoples who are fighting the U.S. imperialists, all our people and army are united as one, are afraid of no sacrifice or hardship, and are determined to fight until totally victorious.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal" of 17 July 1966, Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, August 1966.

Our country is one and our people are one. The South and the North together are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors, the 17 million North Vietnamese compatriots are determined to maintain their pledge to stand shoulder to shoulder with the 14 million blood-sealed compatriots in South Vietnam in the fight to liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam, and eventually reunify the country.

Ho Chi Minh: "Letter Sent to Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium, and to the Members of the Central Committee of the NFLSVN", Hoc Tap (Studies), July 1967.

...The people throughout our country are becoming increasingly steadfast and intensifying the resistance war against the United States for national salvation. On behalf of independence and freedom, 31 million of our compatriots are determined to overcome all hardships and sacrifices and to resolutely fight and win...

...The South and the North are as one and the people throughout our country are determined to resist and determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate South Vietnam, to protect North Vietnam, and to eventually achieve peace and national reunification.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal on 20 July (1968)", Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 7, July 1968.

As long as there is one aggressor in our country, we must continue to fight in order to sweep him out.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal" of 3 November 1968, Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 11, November 1968.

The Vietnamese people resolutely demand that all U.S. and satellite troops withdraw completely and not just withdraw 250 or 25,000 or 500,000. All of them must leave unconditionally.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal on 20 July (1969)", Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, August 1969.

The army and people throughout our country, 1 million as one, are displaying revolutionary heroism, are unafraid of sacrifice, are unafraid of hardship, are determined to remain steadfast and to accelerate the resistance war, are determined to fight and to win, are determined to fight until the U.S. troops are completely withdrawn, are determined to fight to topple the puppet army and puppet regime, to liberate South Vietnam, to protect North Vietnam, and to eventually achieve peace and national reunification.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal on 20 July (1969)", Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, August 1969.

Our people's fight against the United States for national salvation definitely will be completely victorious irrespective of the hardships and sacrifices.

This is a certainty.

...The resistance war against the United States can drag on. Our compatriots may have to sacrifice much materiel and manpower. Even so, we must resolutely fight the U.S. invaders until completely victorious.

As long as there are mountains, water, and people, U.S. invaders, we will build!

Irrespective of the difficulties and hardships, our people surely will be completely victorious. The U.S. imperialists surely must get out of our country. Our fatherland surely will be reunified. The compatriots of the South and the North surely will be reunited. Our country will have the great honor of being a small country which courageously defeated two great imperialists, the French and the American, and which worthily contributed to the national liberation movement.

Ho Chi Minh: "The Will" of 10 May 1969, Hoc Tap, Special Issue, September 1969.

2. Accelerating the Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction in North Vietnam

North Vietnam is the foundation and the root of the struggle forces of our people. The foundation must be strong if the building is to be sturdy. The roots must be strong before the tree can be good. In order to carry out the program of the front, we must endeavor to consolidate North Vietnam in every respect and to make North Vietnam stable and strong and constantly progressing. We definitely cannot lower the requirements for consolidating North Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh: "An Address to the Closing Session of the National United People's Front" of September 1955, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 560.

Socialist revolution is the most difficult and the most far-reaching change. We must build a completely new society, unexperienced in the history of our people. We must radically change the war of life, habits, thoughts, and prejudices rooted in thousands of years. We must change the old production relationship, eradicate class exploitation, and build a new production relationship without exploitation or oppression.

Ho Chi Minh: "Opening Speech to the First Theory Class of the Nguyen Ai Quoc School" of 7 September 1957, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, 1960, page 636.

In order to build socialism, it is necessary to increase production and to effect economies. In order to increase production and effect economies it is necessary to have effective management. In order to have good management, cadres and workers must have a thorough ideological understanding and have the attitude of being the owners of the country and the owners of the enterprises. In order to have good management, it is necessary to raise the sense of responsibility, to perform tasks thoroughly and properly, and to overcome all difficulties. It is necessary to have cadres participate in labor and workers participate in management.

Ho Chi Minh: "Talk to Cadres, Workers, and Functionaries of the Hanoi Electrical Works Concerning the Problem of Improving the Management of Enterprises" of 8 November 1958, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume V, page 128.

In order to develop socialism in North Vietnam, each of our citizens must be diligent and thrifty. Diligent about increasing labor productivity and thrifty about accumulating additional capital and expanding production.

To be thrifty without being diligent is useless. To be diligent without being thrifty will be to no avail.

Ho Chi Minh: "Thrift and Diligence," Nhan Dan (The People); 15 November 1959.

In order to build socialism, it is necessary to increase production. In order to effectively increase production, it is necessary to have improved techniques. In order to properly utilize technology, it is necessary to have culture.

Ho Chi Minh: "Letter Sent to the Supplementary Education Cadres and Teachers" of December 1959, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume V, page 340.

...Our path for moving ahead to socialism is as follows: the DRV is gradually moving ahead from a system of people's democracy to socialism by developing and improving the national economy in accordance with socialism and by transforming an underdeveloped economy into a socialist economy with modern industry and agriculture and advanced science and technology. The economic policy of the DRV is to constantly expand production in order to continuously improve the material and cultural life of our people.

Ho Chi Minh: "Report Concerning the Draft of the Amended Constitution" read to the 11th Session of the First Term of the National Assembly on 18 December 1959, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 752.

North Vietnam surely must move forward to socialism. Our greatest characteristic during the period of transition is in moving directly forward to socialism from an underdeveloped agricultural country without going through the period of capitalist development.

The French imperialists left us a very impoverished economy. In agriculture, small-scale production is predominant and technology is extremely backward. Industry is very small and dispersed. Agriculture and industry were also heavily destroyed during 15 years of war. When they were forced to withdraw from North Vietnam, the French colonialists sought to sabotage the economy.

Therefore, the most important task we have is to build the material and technical foundation of socialism and to bring North Vietnam forward gradually to socialism with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science. In the course of the socialist revolution, we must improve the old economy and build the new economy and the building of the new economy is the key, long-term task.

Ho Chi Minh: "Thirty Years of Activities of the Party" of February 1960, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 772.

Culture and education must be vigorously expanded in order to serve the requirements of the revolution. Culture and education constitute an important front in socialist construction in North Vietnam and in the struggle to reunify the country.

Ho Chi Minh: "Letter Sent to Cadres and Students in the Supplementary Education Schools and Courses" of 31 August 1960, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume VI, page 104.

We already have the lines and programs and must acquire measures for their effective implementation. Socialism must have measures. The only way we can complete and overfulfil the state plan is to have one part planning, two parts measures, and three parts determination.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Conference Popularizing the Resolutions of the Third Conference of the Central Committee Relating to the 1961 State Plan" of January 1961, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume VI, page 137.

Socialism means that all of our peoples will increasingly have a life of plenty and our children will be increasingly happy. In order to achieve this, everyone, boys and girls and all peoples, must understand that generally speaking they are the collective owners of the country and, to be specific, the workers are the owners of the factories and the cooperative members are the owners of the agricultural cooperatives.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Compatriots of the Various Nationalities in Tuyen Quang Province" of March 1961, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume VI, page 181.

Each metric ton of coal, each machine, and each quintal of grains and so forth which we increase and save helps the pace of socialist construction in North Vietnam, supports the valiant struggle of the South Vietnamese compatriots, and helps to bring about peace and national reunification.

Ho Chi Minh: "Opening Speech to the Third Congress of Heroes and Emulation Fighters" of 4 May 1962, Nhan Dan (The People), 5 May 1962.

Industry and agriculture are the two feet of the economy.

Agriculture must vigorously develop in order to supply sufficient grains to the people, sufficient raw materials such as cotton, sugar cane, tea and so forth for the factories, and sufficient farm products such as peanuts, beans, fruit, and so forth exporting in exchange for machinery.

Industry must vigorously expand in order to supply enough essential consumer goods to the people, particularly to the farmers, to supply water pumps, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, and so forth, for accelerating agriculture and to gradually supply transplanting equipment and harrowing equipment to the agricultural cooperatives. Industry must develop before agriculture can develop. Therefore, industry and agriculture must help one another and jointly develop. If both feet walk strongly and uniformly, the steps will be rapid and the objective will be rapidly achieved. Therefore, achieve the worker-peasant alliance in order to build socialism and build a life of plenty and happiness for the people.

Ho Chi Minh: "The Path to Plenty and Happiness," Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 5, May 1962.

The party must have a very good plan for developing the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people.

Ho Chi Minh: "The Will" of 10 May 1969, Hoc Tap (Studies), Special Issue, September 1969.

3. Strengthening Solidarity and Unanimity within the Entire Party and among All the People

Rivers can run dry and mountains can erode but our solidarity will never decline. We are determined to contribute the forces to preserve our freedom and independence.

Ho Chi Minh: "Letter Sent to the Congress of South Vietnamese Ethnic Minorities at Pleiku" in April 1946, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 235.

I encourage you compatriots to achieve close and broad solidarity. The five fingers have short tips and long tips. But the short and the long cooperate in the hand. Among several million people there are those of this type and those of that type but, no matter what type, they are progenies of our fatherland. Therefore, we must show great clemency. We must realize that we are the offspring of Lac Chau Hong and that everyone has some patriotism. For those compatriots who have lost their way, we must have the spirit of love and convert them. This is the only way to achieve solidarity and with solidarity the future certainly will be glorious.

Ho Chi Minh: "To the Compatriots of Nam Bo Prior to Going to France for Negotiations" on 31 May 1946, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 237.

The patriotism and solidarity of the people constitutes an extremely great force which cannot be defeated. Because of this force, our forefathers defeated the Nguyen and Minh armies and maintained their freedom and autonomy. Because of this force, we had a successful revolution and won our independence. Because of this force, our resistance war power has become increasingly stronger. Because of this force, our army and people have resolutely borne myriad difficulties and deprivations, hunger and misery, and resolved with one heart to smash the country-robbing troops. Because of this force, we have won one victory after another over the enemy with bamboo sticks and guns.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal on the Sixth Month Anniversary of the Founding of the DRV" in 1951, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 382.

The entire party must be unanimous in thought, unanimous in action, and as one in solidarity in order to carry out the tasks of the party.

Ho Chi Minh: "Opening Speech to the First Reeducation Class of the Central Committee" of 11 May 1952, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 425.

I ardently appeal to all those who are genuinely patriotic not to discriminate by class or religious sect and not to retain past prejudices about various factions. We must really cooperate and, on behalf of the

people and the country, struggle to achieve peace, reunification, independence, and democracy in our beloved Vietnam.

With our entire country 10,000 as one, we surely will be victorious.

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal Following the Successful Geneva Conference" on 22 July 1954, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 491.

The power of the people united in struggle is a power which is sure to win, an invincible power.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Meeting Welcoming the Delegation from the Soviet Government" on 3 April 1966, Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 5, May 1956.

In order to achieve good solidarity, we must have good criticism and self-criticism, i.e., criticism and self-criticism which arises from solidarity, criticism and self-criticism which leads to greater solidarity.

Ho Chi Minh: "Address to the Middle-Level and High-Level Reeducation Class of the Ministry of National Defense and the Middle-Level Classes of the Various Directorates" of May 1957, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, Volume IV, page 79.

Solidarity, solidarity, great solidarity. Success, success, great success.

Ho Chi Minh: "Address to the Second Congress of Representatives of the Vietnam Fatherland Front" on 25 April 1961, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume VI, page 202.

Let all of us unite, 1 million as one, and resolutely fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors!

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Second Meeting of the Third Term of the DRV National Assembly" on 10 April 1965, Ve Nhiem Vu Chong My, Cuu Nuoc (Concerning the Task of Fighting the United States and Saving the Nation), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, page 58.

Our 31 million compatriots in both zones, irrespective of age or sex, must be 31 million valiant kill-American and save-the-nation fighters who are determined to achieve ultimate victory.

Ho Chi Minh: "Address to the Meeting Commemorating the Anniversary of the Founding of the Vietnam People's Army (22 December 1944) and the National Resistance War Against the Aggressive French Colonialists (December 1946)," Nhan Dan (The People), 26 December 1967.

Because of the close solidarity and total unity in serving the class, serving the people, and serving the fatherland, our party, since the day of its founding, has unified, organized, and led our people to enthusiastically struggle from one victory to the next.

Solidarity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee to the Party Chapters, must maintain the solidarity and unanimity of the party in the way that they care for the pupils of their eyes.

Broad democracy and regular and serious self-criticism and criticism within the party constitute the most effective way to consolidate and develop the solidarity and unity of the party. There must be comradeship and mutual love.

...My final hope is for all our party and people to unite in struggle and to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolutionary cause.

Ho Chi Minh: "The Will" of 10 May 1969, Hoc Tap, (Studies), Special Issue, September 1969.

4. Consolidating and Strengthening Its National Solidarity

No victory of our army and people can be divorced from the warm support of the Soviet Union, China, the socialist camp, the Communist and international workers' movement, the peace movement, and the national liberation movement throughout the world. It is precisely because our party learned how to combine our country's revolutionary movement with the revolutionary movement of the international working class and of the oppressed peoples that we were able to overcome all difficulties and to bring our working class and people forward to today's proud victories.

Ho Chi Minh: "Thirty Years of Activities of the Party" (February 1960), Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 776.

From now on, on the path to new victories in socialist construction in North Vietnam and in the struggle to reunify the country, our party will always maintain and actively help to consolidate the international solidarity of the working class, to strengthen the forces of the socialist camp...and to endeavor to teach our people the socialist international spirit and the spirit of patriotism, and to relate our country's revolution to the movement of the working people and oppressed people throughout the world who are struggling for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

Ho Chi Minh: "Thirty Years of Activities of the Party" (February 1960), Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 777.

Mountain passes a thousand miles away make up one country and the proletariat are all brothers everywhere!

...Imbued with Marxism-Leninism, absolutely loyal to the interest of the proletarian class and of the people, and preserving solidarity and unanimity within the party and solidarity and unanimity among the Communist parties and among the various countries in the great socialist family--this is the strongest guarantee of revolutionary success.

Our party has always acted in this way in the past and will always act in this way in the future.

Ho Chi Minh: "Opening Speech to the Third Congress of Representatives of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" on 5 September 1960, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, pages 801-803.

The Vietnamese revolution has always had the sympathy and support of the working class and revolutionary people of the world, particularly the people in fraternal socialist countries. This great international solidarity is a very important condition for the success of the Vietnamese revolution.

Ho Chi Minh: "Address to the Political Reeducation Conference Held by the Central Committee" in January 1965, Nang Cao Dao Duc Cach Mang, Quet Sach Chu Nghia Ca Nhan (Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Eliminating Individualism), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, page 22.

Our people are fighting sacrificially not only for their own freedom and independence but for the common freedom and independence of all peoples and for world peace.

The duty of our peoples on the combat front against the aggressive U.S. imperialists is a very great but also very proud duty.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Second Session of the Third Term of the DRV National Assembly" on 10 April 1965, Ve Nhiem Vu Chong My, Cuu Nuoc (Concerning the Task of Fighting the United States and Saving the Nation), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, page 57.

We have the righteous cause and the power of solidarity of all the people from the North to the South. We have the tradition of stalwart struggle and we have the broad support of fraternal socialist countries and progressive people throughout the world. We are certain to win!

Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal" of 17 July 1966, Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, August 1968.

As one who has served the revolution throughout his life, as proud as I am of the growth in the Communist and international workers' movement, I am equally sorrowful at the present discord among fraternal parties!

I hope that our party will endeavor to contribute to the restoration of the solidarity block among fraternal parties based on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and rational and sensible proletarian internationalism.

Ho Chi Minh: "The Will" of 10 May 1969, Hoc Tap (Studies), Special Issue, September 1969.

5. Constantly Cultivating and Elevating Revolutionary Ethics

In order to move forward to socialism, it is necessary to have socialists and in order to have socialists, it is necessary to have socialist thoughts. In order to have socialist thoughts, it is necessary to purge individualistic thoughts.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the An Khanh Armed Forces Agricultural School" on 10 January 1959, Nhung Loi Keu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume V, page 147.

You have to be strong in order to carry heavy loads and travel long distances. Revolutionaries must have revolutionary ethics as their foundation if they are to be able to complete their proud revolutionary task.

...In order to purge the bad vestiges of the old society and develop revolutionary ethics, we must try to study, to cultivate ourselves, and to improve ourselves in order to constantly progress. Unless we try to progress we will retrogress and become backward. Retrogression and backwardness will not be permitted by a progressive society.

...If we have revolutionary ethics, when we encounter difficulties, hardships, and defeats, we will not be fearful or timid and we will not retreat. We do not hesitate to sacrifice all of our individual private interest on behalf of the common interest of the party, of the revolution, of the class, of the people, and of mankind. When necessary, we are ready to sacrifice our own lives without regret. This is a very noble and clear manifestation of revolutionary ethics.

Ho Chi Minh: Nang Cao Dao Duc Cach Mang, Quet Sach Chu Nghia Ca Nhan (Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Purging Individualism), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, pages 9 and 10.

In summary, revolutionary ethics mean a lifetime of resolute struggle for the party and for the revolution. This is the most crucial element.

Revolutionary ethics mean striving to work for the party, preserving the discipline of the party, and effectively carrying out the lines and policies of the party.

Revolutionary ethics mean placing the interest of the party and of the working people above our own individual private interest, wholeheartedly and unreservedly serving the people, struggling selflessly for the party and the people, and setting an example in every task.

Revolutionary ethics mean striving to learn Marxism-Leninism and constantly using self-criticism and criticism in order to improve our own thinking and work and to progress along with our comrades.

Ho Chi Minh: Nang Cao Dao Duc Cach Mang, Quet Sach Chu Nghia Ca Nhan (Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Purging Individualism), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, page 11.

Individualism is besetting some comrades. They consider themselves excellent in everything. They are estranged from the masses, they do not want to learn from the masses but only want to teach the masses. They shirk from the task of organizing, propagandizing, and teaching the masses. They become bureaucratic and authoritarian. The result is that the masses do not trust or respect them and more and more do not love them. In the end, they are unable to do anything.

Ho Chi Minh: Nang Cao Dao Duc Cach Mang, Quet Sach Chu Nghia Ca Nhan (Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Purging Individualism), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, page 17.

Revolutionary ethics do not come down from the heavens. They are developed and consolidated by steadfast, daily struggle.

Ho Chi Minh: Nang Cao Dao Duc Cach Mang, Quet Sach Chu Nghia Ca Nhan (Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Purging Individualism), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, page 20.

It is difficult to avoid shortcomings in operations. But, when there are shortcomings, we must earnestly criticize ourselves and welcome criticism from others and we must resolutely correct the shortcomings. Individualism does not dare to have self-criticism. It does not want others to criticize and it does not resolutely correct shortcomings. Therefore, individualism means retrogression instead of progress.

Ho Chi Minh: "Our party has struggled very valiantly and won very proud victories" (28 November 1959), Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 774.

...Irrespective of position or type of work, it is necessary to cultivate revolutionary ethics, to purge individualism, to study politics, culture, science, and technology, to properly carry out economic and financial activities, and to set an example in every task.

Ho Chi Minh: "Opening Speech on the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party" on 5 January 1960, Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 766.

Cadres and party members increasingly must elevate their sense of responsibility to the party and to the masses and wholeheartedly and unreservedly serve the people. They must love the people. They must genuinely respect the ownership right of the people. They absolutely cannot become "revolutionary mandarins" issuing orders and showing pomp. They must thoroughly understand the class viewpoint, correctly follow the class line, sincerely learn from the masses, resolutely rely on the masses, and teach and motivate the masses to carry out all the decisions and policies of the party and of the state. They must be candid and earnest. They cannot hide their ignorance or cover up their shortcomings and mistakes. They must be modest, stay close to the masses, and not be arrogant. They cannot be

subjective. They must always worry about the life of the masses. They must be fair and impartial and worry ahead of others and be happy after others. This is the ethic of the Communist.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Central Reeducation Conference" of March 1961, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume VI, page 175.

Revolutionary ethics means that irrespective of our positions or jobs we must not fear difficulties or hardships but rather must serve the common interest of the class and of the people and focus on the goal of building socialism.

Revolutionary ethics are the ethics of collectivism and they must defeat and destroy individualism.

Individualism means only worrying about one's private benefits and not devoting attention to the common interest of the collective. It is all right for me to be fat although the world is thin. Individualism is the mother of all bad qualities such as laziness, envy, cowardice, waste, corruption, and so forth. It is the enemy of revolutionary ethics and of socialism.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Third Congress of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" on 24 March 1961, Nhung Loi Kieu Goi (Appeals), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume VI, page 170.

The new ideas and behavior which our party requires each cadre, party member, and worker to develop are, in summary:

- A sense of ownership and a socialist, collective spirit.
- The concept of "everything to serve production."
- A sense of frugality in developing the country.
- A spirit of moving ahead rapidly, vigorously, and steadily to socialism.

Conversely, the bad thoughts and behavior which we must fight against are:

- Individualism.
- Bureaucracy and authoritarianism.
- Corruption and waste.
- Conservatism and timidity.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech to the Central Reeducation Conference" on 27 March 1961, Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 4, April 1961.

The prestige of the leaders lies in their carrying out criticism of themselves and of others, in knowing how to learn from the masses, and in correcting shortcomings in order to bring increasing progress to the work. Prestige is not to be found in covering up shortcomings and in fearing criticism from the masses.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Congress of Middle-Echelon Cadres of the Party and State" on 24 July 1962, Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 9. September 1962.

In order to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, we must first of all be pure ourselves. In order to defeat the enemy of imperialism and in order to successfully build socialism, we must first of all defeat the internal enemy in each of us which is individualism.

Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Reeducation Conference Held by the Central Committee" in January 1965, Noi Ve Dan Chu, Ky Luat Va Dao Duc Cach Mang (Speaking about Democracy, Discipline, and Revolutionary Ethics), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, page 59.

Our party is a party in power. Each party member and cadre must genuinely absorb revolutionary ethics and really be frugal, just, and impartial. We must keep our party really pure and worthy of being the leader and very loyal teacher of the people.

Ho Chi Minh: "The Will" of 10 May 1969, Hoc Tap (Studies), Special Issue, September 1969.

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