IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PROLETARIAN STAND AND IDEOLOGY

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The socialist revolution in North Vietnam is composed of three revolutions which are carried out simultaneously: a Revolution of Production Relations, a Revolution of the Production Force or a Technical Revolution, and an Ideological and Cultural Revolution. These three revolutions are closely related and interdependent. The Revolution of Production Relations creates favorable conditions for the production force to develop strongly. Conversely, the Revolution of the Production Force contributes to the daily consolidation and perfection of the new production relations. These two aspects of the economic revolution will bring about a deep change in the foundation of our society, will cause our economy to develop strongly, and will create a firm base for the ideological revolution to be carried out thoroughly and for socialist ideology to triumph completely over the non-socialist thoughts left behind by the former society.

However, the ideological consciousness of the society, although decided by the society's existence, is not something passive and negative. On the contrary, it has a relatively independent character and, in turn, exerts a positive influence on the society's existence. The ideological revolution achieves the effect of strongly stepping up the rapid and favorable development of the economic revolution. President Ho said: "To construct socialism, it is necessary to have socialist men." Without a socialist ideology, socialism cannot triumph.

Therefore, while carrying out the Socialist Revolution, we must pay special attention to the Ideological Revolution. Lenin once said that proletarian dictatorship is the domination of a class. This means that to lead the socialist revolution one must only use the will and ideology of the class -- the will and ideology of the
proletariat. If the will and ideology of another class is used to lead the socialist revolution, this revolution will surely fail for the simple reason that the ideologies of non-proletarian classes, by their nature, are inconsistent with socialism. To achieve socialism, non-proletarian classes should, first, be educated and transformed by our party.

An important condition to be fulfilled in order to insure a good ideological education for our people and to help our people fully realize the will and ideology of the proletariat is that all our cadres and party members must be deeply socialist-conscious, adopt the proletarian standpoint, and use the materialistic dialectic views and methods of Marxism-Leninism to study all revolutionary problems in order to achieve unanimity with the revolutionary line of the party. Without this unity among all party members on the basis of unanimity with the party's line concerning the construction of socialism in North Vietnam and the struggle for national unification, our party surely cannot lead all our people successfully in carrying out the revolution.

The socialist revolution that our people are carrying out in the North is the greatest, most profound, and most complete revolution in our history. It is aimed at building a new society, one where there is no exploitation of man by man and where everyone leads a happy and abundant life, for it causes a deep change in the entire social structure and human psychology. Naturally, the carrying out of such a revolution is difficult and arduous and must be extended over a long period.

Our socialist revolution is now being carried out in depth; that is, in addition to the advantages and results we have achieved, there are many new and complicated problems we must solve. Many major difficulties originating from a backward agriculture are appearing in our path of socialist construction. For a rather long time, especially during the first phase of building the material and technical base of socialism, these difficulties will persist and may even increase with the growth of the revolution. We are not surprised at or afraid of this situation.

Along with fulfilling the central task of socialist construction, we must continue to fulfill the tasks of socialist transformation, to be ready to struggle against the foreign enemy, and, at the same time, to struggle against the reactionary forces inside the country and repress the counterrevolutionaries in order to permanently wipe out the danger of the restoration of capitalism, colonialism, and feudalism in North Vietnam. Thus, in North Vietnam alone, the class struggle is fairly arduous and complex even though
we have achieved great results.

As far as the entire country is concerned, the national Democratic Revolution is not yet completed. We have the duty to collaborate with the southern compatriots in undertaking the vigorous struggle against the U.S. imperialists, the most powerful enemy of the capitalist world, and the Ngo Dinh Diem country-selling group in order to liberate the South and unify the fatherland. In this protracted, arduous, and fierce struggle, our people will undoubtedly achieve success.

The present world situation is very advantageous to the revolutionary struggle of our people. The world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism is developing more strongly than ever. Revolutionary peoples the world over are continuously attacking the imperialist, headed by the U.S. imperialists, the main enemy of peace and revolution. Along with the reinforcement of the socialist camp and the World Communist Movement, Marxist-Leninist ideology has won the hearts and minds of the majority of the laboring peoples in all countries. Moreover, it is being widely promoted among the middle class.

All these things create favorable conditions for teaching Marxism-Leninism to all party members and the people. However, it is necessary to realize that the class struggle on the world scale is still arduous and complex and may -- at certain moments -- be even fiercer, even though the world revolution now has more conditions to defeat the enemy. But on the other hand, in the past few years, due to the intensified activities of the revisionists and opportunists, there is, inside the socialist camp and the World Communist Movement, serious disagreement over the problem of revolutionary strategy and tactics and other problems concerning the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Faced with this situation, in addition to supporting actively the revolutionary struggle of the world peoples, our party has the duty to participate in the struggle against revisionism and right opportunism, the present main dangers for the World Communist Movement, in order to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and consolidate the solidarity of the socialist camp and the World Communist Movement.

To fulfill the above revolutionary tasks, all cadres and party members must satisfy a number of fundamental, concrete, and urgent requirements in the ideological field. First of all, all cadres and party members must unanimously, confidently, and resolutely enforce the socialist revolutionary line and the socialist industrialization
line as set forth in the resolution of the Third National Congress of the Party. Guided by the interests of our country, the interests of the entire socialist camp, and the proletarian standpoint on cooperation inside the socialist camp and the future building of a unique socialist economy throughout the world, our people will certainly have to build an autonomous economy by associating industry closely with agriculture and basing this economy on heavy industry. This autonomous economy will include a relatively balanced industry and a comprehensively-developed agriculture. Moreover, it must be a balanced and modern economy.

The necessity for building an autonomous economy in each socialist country depends upon the following conditions:

1. For a long time, as long as imperialism is not overthrown completely, the socialist camp -- because of the adjunction of new member-countries -- will be composed of different countries. Each country will exist as an independent political unit based on an autonomous economy. The existence of many socialist countries is not only necessary, it is also profitable to the development of socialism throughout the world. Composed of different countries, each one having its own characteristics, the socialist camp will exert still greater powers of attraction over the classes and nations struggling to liberate themselves from capitalist oppression.

2. Due to the fact that socialist countries are formed and developed under different concrete historic conditions, each country -- while building its own economy -- must apply the general regulations and, at the same time, base itself on its own concrete conditions to apply the general regulations suitably in order to lead its socialist construction to success. Only an autonomous economy can harmonize the general regulations with the concrete national conditions for the sake of a favorable development of socialist construction.

3. Economic cooperation among socialist countries is absolutely necessary because the socialist system has become a world system. This cooperation is an objective requirement and it is profitable to the entire camp as well as each country. It is based on these principles of proletarian internationalism: equality, disinterestedness, and mutual aid on the basis of comradeship, and it is aimed at strongly developing the production force according to the advantageous conditions of each country. Without an autonomous economy, cooperation based on the above principles cannot be insured.
4. According to the dialectics of things, the construction of a unique socialist and communist economy for the future world can be achieved only on the basis of a maximum development of the economy of each country and, later, of each region of the world.

Reject the necessity of building an autonomous economy in our country is not only contrary to the law of the objective development of things, but it is also contrary to proletarian internationalism and true patriotism and consequently harmful to our nation, to the entire socialist camp, and to the common revolutionary cause of the laboring people the world over. Thus, if the tendency to slight international cooperation is erroneous, any tendency to not stress the importance of international cooperation and neglect the development of an autonomous economy is more erroneous and will yield immeasurable disastrous consequences.

Basing the building of an autonomous economy on the spirit of self-sufficiency of the people of each country is basic. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that revolutionary work is the common work of the masses. Thoroughly appreciate international aid and economic cooperation among brother countries because this is the necessary and important condition for the successful construction of socialism. Thus, our party has often declared that self-sufficiency is basic, but aid from brother countries, especially the USSR and China, is very important. Our party has also said that, in building our economy, we must pay special attention to a rational distribution of labor inside the country and, at the same time to an international distribution of labor among brother socialist countries.

Our party has told its members and our people to appreciate the aid from brother countries and show gratitude to the latter for their aid. At the same time, our party has criticized the tendency to rely too much on international aid and to slight self-sufficiency. To appreciate international aid highly is correct, but one should not use international aid in place of self-sufficiency. To rely too much on international aid is an erroneous tendency reflecting disregard for the force of the masses of people. This is not proletarian internationalism, but a national inferiority complex which is contrary to our people's spirit of independence and self-effort.

The building of an autonomous economy on the basis of the spirit of self-sufficiency requires that our people work hard and mainly use our own savings to build the material and technical base of socialism. To permanently eliminate poverty and backwardness, we must pay special attention to increasing our capital for achieving socialist industrialization—this is absolutely necessary.
At the same time we must pay proper attention to raising the people's standard of living step by step on the basis of the developing production.

Under the socialist system, consumption and the accumulation of capital, from the basic viewpoint and taking the future into consideration, are wholly consistent. Only on the basis of increasing our capital for achieving socialist industrialization can we partially solve the problem of the people's consumption needs in order to continuously raise the material and cultural levels of the people. However, between consumption and the accumulation of capital there are certain contradictions. An exaggerated accumulation will relatively lower the level of consumption. It is unavoidable that the rate of consumption is restricted to a certain extent during the initial phase when our people are conserving their capital for initially building the material and technical base of socialism. The problem which is posed is that each of us must endure shortages in order to work for the future happiness of our people.

Our party's line of socialist industrialization also embraces the problem of developing agriculture on the basis of cooperativization. Therefore, the task of correctly studying the situation of agricultural production and cooperativization is an important task to be fulfilled in order to understand the party's line of socialist industrialization.

The achievement of unanimity on the fundamental problems of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam, especially the problem of socialist industrialization is a fundamental ideological requirement of all our cadres and party members. This is also the central problem of the present ideological task. Each of us must definitely assert his confidence in the party's line of socialist industrialization and must not waver while fulfilling this central task. Any deviation concerning the understanding or fulfillment of the task of building an autonomous economy based on self-sufficiency and national aid -- mainly based on the savings of our own economy -- and based on cooperativized agriculture is harmful to the revolutionary work our people are undertaking.

Socialist revolutionary work in North Vietnam, our responsibility toward revolutionary work in South Vietnam, and the international responsibilities of our party and people have set forth before us another major ideological problem: the communist stand toward sacrifice and enjoyment.

While the class struggle in our country and the world is being fiercely fought and while the revolutionary work of our party and
people is being carried out arduously, protractedly, and fiercely, do we party members have the right to lessen our duty of sacrifice in fighting and think too much of enjoyment? No, we do not. Our revolutionary work in our country and the world requires that we continue to heighten our combattness and determination to bring our revolutionary work to final success. If we think too much of enjoyment and if we place our own enjoyment above the spirit of serving the revolution, we will begin to detach ourselves from the proletarian standpoint, to lower communist qualities, and to reduce our fighting will.

Naturally, the liberation of the North from imperialist and feudalist domination has created objective conditions for our party and government to concern themselves with valuing the material and common levels of the people. The socialist regime brings to all the people, including the cadres and party members, the enjoyment they are entitled to. This is a good point. But compared with all of the revolutionary work, it is obvious that this enjoyment cannot be larger than the contribution. This concerns the people in general.

As for the cadres and party members who consider the communist ideal the goal of their struggle, they must heighten their spirit of sacrifice and do their utmost to make great contributions to the revolutionary work. They must be in accord with what the party and government can afford to give them. Given the present state of our economy, they must not ask for any enjoyment that the party and government are unable to give them. A communist who does not concern himself with the vital interests of the whole of the revolutionary work, the interests of his class, and the interests of the people and who only considers enjoyment the goal of his struggle is decadent ideologically and is not imbued with communist morality.

Recent events prove that the cadres and party members' understanding of the line of socialist industrialization and their attitude toward the problem of sacrifice and enjoyment mainly depend on the standpoint of their classes. But to a great extent this understanding and attitude depend on the evaluation of the situation, the evaluation of our achievements and shortcomings, and the evaluation of our living conditions, of the successes of the agricultural cooperativization movement, and of our industrial and agricultural production. In many cases the failure by a number of cadres and party members to place confidence in the socialist construction line in North Vietnam and to eagerly fulfill their tasks is brought about by an erroneous and pessimistic evaluation of the achievements and tasks we have fulfilled.
Thus, an important requirement of the present ideological task is to achieve unanimity among cadres, party members, and the people on the one hand and the party Central Committee on the other hand in evaluating the situation. To correctly evaluate the situation, the important condition is to have a correct ideological standpoint and, at the same time, to look at the problems correctly.

The resolution of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee pointed out the great achievements of our people in the fields of socialist transformation, the initial building of the material and technical bases of socialism, the raising of the people’s standard of living, and so forth. The conference also severely criticized the shortcomings we have committed in fulfilling our tasks and frankly cited the major difficulties we encounter in constructing socialism in North Vietnam.

The greatest achievement performed by our people in the past few years was to take an important step forward on the path of building an autonomous economy. We have built and are building a number of important bases for heavy industry. We produced the majority of consumer goods needed by our people. Achievements in the fields of socialist transformation and the initial construction of socialism changed the economic and social aspects of our country and resulted in an obvious improvement of the living conditions of the laboring people.

Why have a number of comrades failed to realize this situation? Have they evaluated the situation according to the standpoint of the proletariat and the interests of the exploited classes? They have certainly not. If these comrades thoroughly knew of the life of the workers, contract peasants, poor peasants, and the majority of middle peasants in the past they would have surely and correctly evaluated the present living standards of the agricultural workers. Naturally, people are encountering difficulties in earning their living. This is true. But this fact cannot conceal the great achievements of our revolution if we know what our peoples’ life was like.

Aimed at protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism and restoring and consolidating the solidarity of the socialist camp and the World Communist Movement in order to struggle against the common enemy -- imperialism, headed by the United States -- the present revolutionary situation still requires that our cadres and party members have a high sense of responsibility toward the struggle for national unification and the struggle against modern revisionism and right opportunism inside the World Communist Movement.
The struggle for achieving national unification and for completing the national people's democratic revolution in half of the country is a revolutionary task common to all the people throughout the country. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam refuse to abandon their scheme of permanently partitioning our country, dominating the South, and invading the North. Thus, our people's task of unifying the fatherland will have to pass through a phase of arduous, protracted, and fierce struggle. Keeping a firm hold on the rules of the class struggle and the revolutionary lines of the party, all cadres and party members must exert their utmost to contribute to this struggle, be ready to fulfill any task entrusted them by the party, and heighten the sense of responsibility toward the fatherland and people.

On the world scale, along with the anti-imperialist struggle by revolutionary peoples, the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and right opportunism is developing under a fierce and complex form. While directing the spearheads of our attacks on imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, we must actively struggle against modern revisionism and right opportunism, the main dangers at the present time, because they are hindering the development of the communist movement and the revolutionary movement of world peoples. This is an international duty of our party.

To fulfill this duty, our cadres and party members must keep a firm hold on our party's Marxist viewpoints and standpoint about the international situation and revolutionary duties, keep a firm hold on the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow declarations, and resolutely struggle in order to strengthen and consolidate the solidarity of the socialist camp and the World Communist Movement and achieve success for the cause of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism throughout the world. We can do so only on the condition that we continuously keep a firm hold on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, because these teachings are the soul of the revolution and the main points of Marxism-Leninism.

In short, the present wide class struggle inside our country and in the world requires that our cadres and party members firmly follow the standpoint of the proletariat in order to struggle for the revolutionary lines of our party in the North and the South and the common lines of the World Communist Movement. They must struggle resolutely in order to successfully carry out these lines. They must heighten the courage of the revolutionaries and protect communist virtues. They must correctly evaluate past revolutionary achievements, continuously manifest optimism and enthusiasm, disregard difficulties, and do their best to contribute to achieving new
successes for the revolutionary cause.

Faced with these major requirements of the revolution, what is the attitude of our cadres and party members? First of all it is necessary to assert that the majority of our cadres and party members are good men. Educated by the party and trained at length during the national democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution, they have heightened the fighting spirit and manifested loyalty to the revolutionary cause. Though trained only during peaceful construction, a large number of comrades have manifested eagerness for labor and a readiness to voluntarily contribute to the success of the revolutionary cause.

In general our cadres and party members have struggled heroically and they have labored and fulfilled their tasks tirelessly. They have manifested hatred for the enemy classes and the bad actions of exploitation. They have been conscious of the duty to serve the people. They have been plain, diligent, and friendly to the masses. Many comrades have resolutely thrown themselves body and soul into production to lead the masses and endeavored to heighten their political, cultural, technical, and professional levels in order to raise their leadership level. Their political and ideological maturity lies in this point: faced with difficulties inside the country, in general our cadres and party members are not discouraged; faced with complicated events occurring in the world, the majority of them, following explanation and education by the party, have agreed with the Party Central Committee's views, even though at first some of them could not distinguish right from wrong. This is the foundation for achieving basic unanimity inside our party at present.

These are the fundamental strongpoints of our cadres and party members. But, on the other hand, we must admit that with their present ideological level, our cadres and party members are unable to fully satisfy the major requirements of the revolution. The main unsolved problems, with regard to the understanding and thoughts of our cadres and party members, can be roughly summarized as follows:

1. Politically, a number of comrades do not clearly understand the viewpoints of the proletariat and are not keenly conscious of the class struggle. This is reflected not only in their understanding of the revolutionary lines in the North, but also in their attitude toward the struggle for national unification and toward events occurring in the world.

These comrades believe that in the present phase in North Vietnam, where socialist transformation of capitalist industrialists and traders has been basically completed and agriculture has been
cooperativized, there are no major problems left concerning the struggle between the two paths (capitalism and socialism). In fact, the class struggle is developing in the political, economic, and ideological domains and under different forms and is aimed at thoroughly wiping out all exploiting classes and all causes of exploitation, at repressing the counterrevolutionaries inside the country, at thwarting all sabotaging and aggressive schemes of the U.S. and their lackeys, at successfully building a socialist economy, at eliminating non-proletarian thoughts and at the same time causing Marxist-Leninist ideology to achieve absolute superiority in the spiritual life of the society, and at leading socialist construction to complete victory.

Due to a vague understanding of the class struggle, a number of comrades manifested their lack of revolutionary consciousness. They incorrectly understood the problems of democracy and dictatorship and of freedom and discipline. Due to their lack of firm class viewpoints, a number of comrades did not strengthen their determination to struggle protractedly and fiercely for national unification. A small number of comrades do not trust the correct fighting methods adopted by the southern people. Some of them even tremble before the fierce struggle in South Vietnam. This vacillating mood proves that these comrades have completely lost confidence in the people's invincible force and have shown fear in the face of the strength of the enemies of their class.

A small number of comrades failed to understand the nature of imperialism through the complicated events occurring recently throughout the world. Moreover, they did not keep a firm hold on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is why their understanding of a number of important revolutionary problems was influenced by modern revisionism and right opportunism.

2. In economic matters, a small number of comrades at a certain moment were perplexed. They lost confidence in and even distrusted the party's line of socialist industrialization. They wished to reduce the rate of industrialization. They wished to reduce accumulated capital in order to produce more consumer goods. They thought little of the spirit of self-sufficiency.

Some comrades even rejected the self-sufficiency policy, regarding it as a manifestation of narrow-minded nationalism and as contrary to the principle of international cooperation. In fact, the stand of these comrades was a manifestation of their fear of difficulties and suffering and of their unhealthy tendency to distort the party's policy. They were unable to understand the theoretical and practical meaning of the policy of self-sufficiency. They
falsely accused others of slighting international aid. In the past, as at present, as well as in the future, our party has always attached and will always attach importance to international aid. When speaking of self-sufficiency, our party has set forth the importance of international aid.

These comrades put the improvement of the people's living conditions in opposition to the peasants' duty to the state and to the building of the material and technical base of socialism. They advocated a little relaxation of market management so that speculation and hoarding could develop freely on the market. They harbored doubt about the achievements of agricultural production development and the superiority of agricultural cooperatives. Some of them even maintained that individual economies are better than a cooperative economy, that the organization of cooperatives occurred too early, were forced upon the peasants, and were inconsistent with the objective laws of things and the peasants' desire, and so forth. In short, they adopted a doubtful and perplexed attitude toward a number of important problems of socialist transformation and construction in North Vietnam.

Concerning production and trade, a number of comrades were obsessed with the idea of profit-making trade and wanted to detach them from politics. Many comrades failed to distinguish socialist factory management from the management of the bourgeoisie and small production. A number of comrades unilaterally stressed the principle of stimulating production with material rewards, advocated equalitarianism, and failed to understand the principle of socialist distribution.

3. Concerning the evaluation of the situation, many comrades incorrectly realized the great achievements of our revolution. To the contrary they stressed too much the difficulties which they could not understand. They failed to realize our capacity to overcome difficulties and make progress (naturally the fact that we set forth all the truly existing difficulties was not a shortcoming; the shortcoming lies in the fact that a number of comrades stressed difficulties and spoke only of difficulties and lacked the determination to overcome them). Because of this erroneous evaluation, they were not enthusiastic with the achievements of our revolution. They looked at the social realities through grey glasses. Thus, they lost their revolutionary optimism.

4. From the ideological viewpoint a number of comrades are still burdened with individualistic thoughts. They care less for revolutionary tasks and more for individual interests. They are deeply concerned with salaries, treatment, and individual position
and enjoyment and scarcely think of revolutionary duties and communist aspirations. As a result their struggle spirit decreased and their revolutionary virtues become blurred. Then they become envious and jealous in matters of position and treatment, thus impairing party solidarity. A number of comrades even developed bad habits, such as corruption and waste, to the detriment of the people's interests and the party's prestige. In the face of erroneous acts prejudicial to the revolutionary cause, these comrades completely lack the struggle spirit necessary for communists, fail to defend principles and the truth energetically, and fall into a serious degree of liberalism. In addition, conservatism, hesitancy, and bureaucracy still prevail among a number of comrades, who behave themselves in an authoritarian and paternal fashion toward the masses.

5. Concerning thinking methods, a number of comrades developed subjective and unilateral views, seeing all things in life and the revolution through their individual psychologies, and evaluating revolutionary achievements by means of their own living standards and degree of enjoyment. This led them to downgrade achievements and opportunities and to believe that there were numerous shortcomings and difficulties. As a result, they become pessimistic and were prone to adopt a negative attitude. Concerned with the enjoyment they deserved, they forget the contribution they should make. They looked straight at life without considering the economic and production aspect. They wanted immediate interests and forget the future ones. In short, they saw the realities of life not with the eyes of masters and communists, but with the eyes of the petty bourgeois and small producers who ask for everything that they think is due them and who do not realize their duties and responsibilities toward the revolution and people.

The above-mentioned erroneous manifestations reflect the petty bourgeois ideological standpoint and, at the same time, reveal the influence of bourgeois ideas on our cadres and party members.

In appraising the standpoint and thoughts of cadres and party members, we need to see both aspects of their standpoint and thoughts. If we fail to see their good and principal aspects, we would neither trust them nor dare ask them to continue to struggle and make sacrifices; we would neglect to develop their revolutionary spirit and creative intellect and would become narrow-minded in leading and employing them. Conversely, if we do not see their remaining ideological shortcomings, we would be unable to draw a line for their education and would fall into a passive situation in the face of their errors.
During the process of revolutionary struggle, many cadres and party members have been imbued by party education with increasingly proletarian views and, therefore, have become very good cadres and party members. But the majority of cadres and party members brought petty bourgeois views into the party because they came from the petty bourgeoisie. These views have diminished daily in proportion to the degree of training of each person, but they continue to survive tenaciously. The petty bourgeois state of mind in following the revolution can be described by the following verses:

"I love them only for the sake of appearance,  
For how can I display warm cordiality toward people  
who are not my close friends?"

The petty bourgeoisie, far from detesting the proletarian revolution, sympathized with it and followed it. But they have not yet displayed warm sympathy and close friendship with the revolution. The proletariat, on the contrary, have carried out the revolution with a spirit similar to that described by the following verses:

"When a person loves another,  
He or she will readily climb all mountains,  
travel all mountain passes, and wade all rivers."

When we urge that, to follow the proletarian revolution, it is necessary to wade all rivers, travel all mountain passes, and walk quickly without stopping, they reply that one had better go slowly and that there is no reason for hurrying because one will attain socialism anyway. Their state of mind is similar to that of the middle peasants, uneducated small owners, or uneducated small traders, such as merchants who deal in combs, mirrors, and a few pieces of fabric, and soap and who calculate as they walk and, therefore, cannot determine an accurate answer. They admit that it is correct to follow the revolution, the party, and President Ho, but wonder what they will gain by it.

They weigh the pros and cons by basing themselves not on the proletarian viewpoint but on the viewpoint of intermediary commercial agents, merchants, and middle peasants. They can never get out of the vicious circle of pros and cons for they do not realize the significance of sacrifices for the revolution. They believe there should be a balance between "gains" and "losses" even in matters of revolution. Whenever the scale is in favor of "gains," they are filled with enthusiasm and agree that the party line and policy are very correct and party leadership very clear-sighted. But whenever the "gains" scale looses some weight, they express various worries, saying that it is necessary to re-examine the line, that the policy is
unsatisfactory, and so forth. It can be said that their unbalanced outlook and displeasure at the sight of their prospects coming to a deadlock are the psychological characteristics of the Vietnamese petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, the habit of making calculations while walking -- which is not very blamable at the outset -- becomes more vile in the long run and makes those addicted to it lose their ideals and respect for the great cause. At this latter point these persons place their individual selves, above and beyond all and consider everything else to be of secondary importance. They will tell the revolution. "I agree with you but you must say that my share will be definitely 10 or 15 dong." Then they will apply the axiom "soup is served as soon as the money is paid" with regard to the revolution; thus attaching primary importance to money and other material items and relegating the revolutionary ideal to the second rank.

The petty bourgeoisie is not strong enough to overcome revolutionary difficulties. Their inherent characteristics are confusion over and shrinking at difficulties; but they will become more enthusiastic than anyone else in the face of success. Therefore, the proletarian party in leading the petty bourgeoisie to carry out the revolution must educate them constantly; otherwise, they will recoil after taking a step forward. At present, there are not a few comrades who approve socialism but fail to display determination and thoroughness, who approve industrialization but want to accumulate little in order to have much to spend and live comfortably and who fear self-sufficiency, sacrifices, and hardships, and who approve agricultural cooperativization but doubt the obvious superiority of cooperatives and regret the loss of the individual production method when faced with difficulties. When the revolution requires them to struggle and make sacrifices, they revert to the concerns of their private lives and consider the pros and cons. These attitudes are a manifestation of petty bourgeois concepts, are they not?

Adoption of the petty bourgeois standpoint in viewing things will make it impossible to shape a correct opinion of any problem. Let us take for example Ha Minh Tuan's novel Her First Job. Here is how the author sees life in Hanoi, the capital, through grey-colored glasses:

"Though having to sell meat according to distribution regulations, butchers reserve fine chops for their friends. Fish-pickle sellers mix pickles with a large quantity of salt water and banana leaf extract. Many restaurants have not progressed, rather they have regressed: beef soup has risen in price but the broth is now insipid. On Sundays, loudspeakers emit deafening noises in
markets and streets, but who wants to listen? The numerous policemen standing on Trang Tien Street on Saturday afternoon blow their whistles frequently at a mere trifle. This makes all walkers less happy." (Nguyen Chi Thanh, page 327). Is all this the "socialist reality?"

The foregoing passage reveals that the author looks angrily at butchers, fish-pickle sellers, policemen, and loud speakers. Of course, both the positive and negative aspects of things may be described in literature. However, the passage clearly reflects an angry state of mind which is peculiar to the petty bourgeoisie and which does not differ very much from the antagonistic state of mind of the exploiting class.

Lenin taught us that we can shape a correct idea of things only by leaning on the proletarian standpoint and taking the exploited class interests into consideration. Naturally, we will shape an erroneous opinion of problems if we base ourselves on the standpoint and interests of any other class. Dealing with the obvious superiority of proletarian democracy, Lenin said: "A proletarian democratic regime is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democratic regime. The Soviet government is a million times more democratic than the most democratic of all bourgeois republics. This escapes the notice of only those who deliberately make themselves servants of the bourgeoisie, who no longer have a political life, who are engulfed in dusty bourgeois books, who are unable to distinguish lively realities, who have been imbued with bourgeois democratic prejudices, and who have, therefore, become servants of the bourgeoisie from the objective viewpoint. This escapes the notice of only those who do not consider problems by basing themselves on the exploited class viewpoint."

Therefore, we are not in the least surprised by the manner in which the author of Her First Job sees life in Hanoi. Are there butchers who sell fine pieces of meat to their friends? Yes there are. Have loud speakers been too noisy? Yes they have. Have policemen blown their whistles at a mere trifle? Yes they have. All these things have occurred, but do they constitute the main feature? Unlike the author, the laboring people, on seeing the policemen of today, bitterly remember the policemen of the past and, therefore, feel all the more sympathy for the policemen of today who follow the government and people's interests. Though not luxurious and splendid, our city of Hanoi leads a pure life, a life which is a thousand times more beautiful than life in Hanoi under French occupation or life in New York and Chicago. Our city of Hanoi is beautiful, principally due to the fact that the People's Democratic Government sees that each poor citizen receives a chop of meat and a bundle of vegetables.
Why has the writer not described the Hanoi of the oppressed and exploited who rose up and who are proud of being masters of their fate and property?

When viewing things, he who is still burdened with petty bourgeois thoughts usually sees the negative aspect of things more clearly than he does the achievements and success. He feels that there are numerous difficulties, but he actually does not understand them because he does not know under what objective conditions we are carrying out in the revolution. In fact, many current major difficulties have arisen from the process of maturing. Also, there are difficulties inherent in the good nature of our regime. For example, in view of the fact that production has not developed to a high degree, we are obliged to apply the socialist principle of distribution and to take care of the interests of all the laboring people.

In addition, persons entertaining petty bourgeois views cannot realize the possibilities for overcoming difficulties because they cannot see favorable conditions, do not believe in the immense strength of the masses, and are agitated by a quaking state of mind. The glasses through which they look at things and their concern with narrow class interests prevent them from seeing the great revolutionary achievements. Nor can they see the reason why the revolutionary people in our country have been able to score such success.

A hired peasant, with a voice full of revolutionary pride and optimism, said: "I am Nguyen Van B, a cooperative member. I have been able to send my son to a secondary school and perhaps he will be admitted into a college. This was never dreamed of by my father or grandfather. As a citizen of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I can now dare to raise my head, rather than bend it down as in the past. If I exert greater effort, I may perhaps win the name of Emulation Combatant. As for my livelihood, it has not improved very much, but it has become as stable as a tripod. Despite occasional minor shortages due to poor harvests, my present livelihood is a hundred times more dependable than my former livelihood as a hired peasant. This is because we have with us the strength of the masses and are aided by the party and government. Is this not a great achievement? You see, comrade, what is to be considered is the immense prospects displayed before our eyes. At the end of a few five-year plans our living conditions will no longer be as they are but will improve much more. The life of Nguyen Van B has improved but better still, Nguyen Van B's descendants will live a much happier life. They will never have to fear that they will have to live a life similar to that of Nguyen Van B 20 years ago."
Of course, living conditions have improved not only for hired and poor peasants, but also for many other laborers. Based on the actual facts of the life of the laboring masses, we can conclude that the revolution has registered really great achievements.

The current errors of party members are mostly of a rightist nature. Rightist errors are characterized by emphasis on consumption versus a neglect of accumulation; speaking much of living conditions while slighting the construction of the material and technical bases of socialism; reliance on international aid while neglecting to speak of self-sufficiency and fearing difficulties and hardships; great stress on enjoyment and not on the need to make sacrifices in the struggle; underlining the need to improve the living conditions of the peasants while making light of the necessity to explain to them their duty toward the state; dealing at length with immediate and not future interests; talking much of policy and organization only and not of class standpoint and views; and discussing shortcomings and difficulties at length while showing a reluctance to mention achievements and success.

Inside the party, petty bourgeois views are reflected in a lack of confidence in and insufficient understanding of the party line on the socialist revolution. Petty bourgeois views are, by nature, subject to perplexity. While perplexity shown when carrying out positive tasks or in the face of temporary difficulties is not to be feared, perplexity about the revolutionary line is most frightful.

Our cadres and party members unanimously agree on the party line. However, it is more important that they are determined to defend this line and to struggle till the end to insure its implementation. One of our important ideological tasks is to be stern when distinguishing the thoroughly revolutionary standpoint of the proletariat from the semi-revolutionary standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie on basic problems of the socialist revolution, especially those relating to the revolutionary line.

Petty bourgeois views are harmful in the sense that they diminish a revolutionary's struggle spirit, weaken the party's combative ranks, and blur communist virtues. Moreover, they are a hotbed through which bourgeois views and the views of other exploiting classes exercise their influence in the party ranks. This is quite understandable.

Petty bourgeois and bourgeois views differ not in nature, but only in degree and forms of manifestation. Due to its intermediate position, the petty bourgeoisie never occupied an independent position in society and, therefore, does not have independent views.
Thus, petty bourgeois views fall within the bourgeois system of thought. Therefore we are not surprised by the fact that at present a number of cadres and party members, while entertaining petty bourgeois thoughts, have been somewhat influenced by bourgeois concept. For example, erroneous views on democracy versus discipline, freedom versus dictatorship, politics versus technology; denial or neglect of the party spirit in letters and arts as well as "human," superclass concepts; vice such as corruption, waste, and bureaucracy; purely commercial methods detracting from political tasks; and so forth -- these are the results of the influence of bourgeois views, are they not? We have not yet spoken of certain comrades who have been influenced by modern revisionism and rightist opportunism in the present international communist movement. Let us cite as an example a passage from Phu Thang's novel entitled Raising The Seige:

"War has caused and will continue to cause so much suffering, hardship, bitterness, and hatred. For this reason, like Van Nghia in the past fought with the elementary idea that he would kill to take revenge and that living the soldier's hard life -- enduring hard weather and trifling with death -- was his goal. But during the period he lived near the political commissar, Nghia tried to understand him and, through reflecting on his words, gradually realized the great significance of his life: to struggle to end war, devastation, slavery, and misery. There is nothing praiseworthy in war and the soldier's life is only a hard one. If genuine glory can be obtained through fighting, it must be paid for at too high a price. Bloodshed and its tragic consequences must soon be stopped." (page 147)

The foregoing opinion of war is erroneous because it is not based on the proletarian standpoint. Counterrevolutionary and unjust wars are not only unworthy of praise, but they also must be opposed by struggles. Revolutionary and just wars do deserve praises, if revolutionary wars are not praiseworthy, then where does the combatants' glory lie?

Obviously, the author of this novel had a merchant's state of mind in his appraisal of our army's noble sacrifices. He behaved coarsely toward those who made sacrifices and he distorted the words of the political commissar comrade -- a party representative in the army. The foregoing passage clearly reflects the author's petty bourgeois psychology, which obviously has been influenced by revisionist views on the nature of war and the communist attitude toward war-views that differ entirely from Marxist-Leninist views.

Concerning other revolutionary problems, such as those relating to the building of an independent economy and the relationship between self-sufficiency and international cooperation, we have
frequently noticed agreement between petty bourgeois psychology and
the views set forth by modern revisionism and rightist opportunism.

This situation places us under the necessity of struggling
resolutely against the rightist views in the party which positively
reflect petty bourgeois concepts and, at the same time, to opposing
the influence of bourgeois ideas. Naturally we must continue to
stive to eliminate thoroughly the ideas, states of mind, and habits
left by the former imperialist and feudalist regime, such as
admiration for and fear of the imperialists; a complex state of
national inferiority; the cult of the imperialist culture and
technology; respect for an order of precedence for high and low
classes; a concern with rank, honor, and position; a paternalistic,
bureaucratic, and authoritative attitude; and predilection of favoring
males over females. The struggle against rightist tendencies must be
considered the principal task for the time being.

From the ideological viewpoint, our cadres and party members
have both good points -- which constitute their principal
characteristic -- and shortcomings and bad points, which are caused
by the following reasons:

1. The absolute majority of our party members come from the
petty bourgeoisie. Upon joining the party they took into it the
views of their class. In carrying out revolutionary activities,
many of them had permanent contact with the masses of this class.
This is the fundamental cause of the class and social nature of the
erroneous ideas currently prevalent in the party. This is under-
standable because our party came into being and developed in a
country where small-scale and individual production played the
principal role. Of course, due to party education and their
personal efforts during the revolutionary process, many comrades
assimilated more and more proletarian ideas, but we must understand
clearly that under the circumstances in our country the elimination
of petty bourgeois views will take a long time.

2. The peaceful life and the characteristics of socialist
reform and construction in the North have also exercised certain
influence on the thoughts of many cadres and party members.

Unlike the past period of revolutionary struggle and
resistance, the period of peaceful construction in the North is
likely to engender pacifist thoughts, a desire to enjoy any easy and
comfortable life, and a fear of difficulties and hardships. The
just fight of enjoyment given the northern people, including cadres
and party members, by the revolution has caused a number of comrades
to neglect in some measure the revolutionary ideal and to relax their
struggle spirit. They have begun to think much of personal happiness, material interests, treatment reserved for them, enjoyment they deserve, and their individual position in society.

On the other hand, in peacetime we have to maintain relations not only with workers and peasants, but also with the middle and upper social strata and people with "wavering minds," while some are exercising a positive influence on this strata and "wavering minds," many comrades, at the same time, have been imbued with the erroneous views, manners, and ways of life of these people.

The evolution of production relations in the North was carried out peacefully. This is a success of our party's correct policy but, on the other hand, this has made many comrades form a vague idea of class struggle.

The basic characteristic of our country is the fact that it has a backward agriculture based principally on small-scale production and that it is advancing directly to socialism without undergoing the capitalist development stage. Therefore, the struggle during the socialist construction phase is much more bitter than during the socialist reform period. The road which we have just started is very uneven, tortuous, and replete with difficulties, especially during the first step of building the material and technical bases for socialism. For want of a practical mind, many party members have been perplexed by this situation. They did not expect that the struggle against poverty and backwardness would be so hard and they believed that, once started, socialist construction would immediately bring about a happy life. Therefore, they become confused and shrank from difficulties.

3. Human thought evolves much more slowly than changes in social realities. Marxism-Leninism holds that society's system of thinking is determined by the structure of society, and that, consequently, this system will change sooner or later following changes in the structure of society. But thought is not completely passive. It has relative independence and develops in a fixed measure according to its own rules. Moreover, it has a strong conservative characteristic. Therefore, even though the structure of society has evolved, most of the time the ideas which were generated by the former structure of society will survive for a long time and vanish completely only after a very long time has elapsed. This explains why the backward, vicious ideas left by the colonial and semi-feudal regime still exist in the new society of the North and why petty bourgeois concepts still remain in the society and among many party members, even though individual small-scale production has been basically transformed and even though many
comrades long ago changed their mode of life -- that is, the mode of
life inherited from their class of origin.

Naturally, thought also has very great flexibility along with
its conservative character. Experience has demonstrated that, after
being educated in Marxism-Leninism, many party members shaped correct
proletarian views when carrying out activities within the center of
the former society or when attached to the small-scale production
system. Thus, due to its flexibility, human thought can be trans­
formed under the strong influence of Marxism-Leninism. However, the
degree to which though can be transformed depends on the efforts
of each comrade.

4. The deceitful and hypocritical tricks of the imperialists
and international reactionaries, the counter-propaganda carried out
by the U.S.-Diemists in the South, and the activities of the modern
revisionists, represented by the Tito clique, also have a certain
influence on northern society, including our cadres and party members.

5. Many comrades have not trained themselves sufficiently in
the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and views, studied carefully the
party's revolutionary line, or acquired thorough knowledge of the
actual circumstances in our country. As a result, they have been
unable to take a firm hold on the Marxist-Leninist theory of class
struggle and proletarian dictatorship, to acquire a firm proletarian
standpoint, or to rid themselves of their strong individualistic
views and their usually subjective and unilateral outlook.

All the aforementioned causes have generated erroneous views
among our party members and made it difficult for many comrades to
maintain their revolutionary standpoint firmly and thoroughly, to
rid themselves of the influence of the semi-revolutionary views of
the petty bourgeoisie, or to avoid rightist tendencies in their
thought and activities.

To overcome erroneous views and develop correct ones, we
must pay special attention to ideological education and struggle.
Simultaneously with consolidating and heightening the proletarian
standpoint of cadres and party members, we must, at first spearhead the
struggle at petty bourgeois concepts, take pains to eliminate
rightist tendencies, and, at the same time fight against bourgeois
views. To do this means to carry out an offensive on the ideas
coming from the bourgeois thinking system that are hiding the party,
for petty bourgeois in thought, far from being an independent
system, is only an integral part of the entire bourgeois system of
thought.
The above-indicated lines of ideological struggle are consistent with the fundamental substance of the ideological revolution of the North during the transitional phase. This struggle is an acute one between the proletarian and bourgeois thinking system and is aimed at completely defeating the bourgeois thinking system and enabling the proletarian system of thinking and Marxist-Leninist views to prevail among our people and become absolutely predominant among our cadres and party members.

Ideological struggle in the party must be carried out by means of education and persuasion to insure success for this education, it is necessary to induce everyone to speak his mind frankly. Only by laying bare ideological differences and actively organizing debates can we insure good results for ideological education. Experience demonstrates that petty bourgeois ideas never dare to confront proletarian ideas in their mutual conflict, and that they only appear under certain circumstances, such as when the evolution meets with difficulties and obstacles or when bourgeois and other adverse thoughts rise up against proletarian thought. Therefore, it is very important to induce everyone adroitly to speak his mind frankly in accordance with the slogan "Freedom of Thought."

To gain absolute predominance for proletarian thought, we must be determined to defeat bourgeois, petty bourgeois, and other non-proletarian thoughts. A line must be drawn between the proletarian and bourgeois thinking systems in all fields -- political, economic, cultural, and military -- from the viewpoint or standpoint, manners, morality, mode of living, and so forth. However, the ideological struggle in the party must lean and pivot on basic revolutionary problems, such as those concerning the revolutionary lines for the North, the South, and the world, when dealing with problems using commandistic or coarse measures to solve ideological problems. On the contrary, it is necessary to examine the views of each person carefully and deeply so as to provide a close and correct solution. Both sentiments and reason must be put to use in settling ideological problems. If we are void of sentiments, our arguments can hardly be accepted; if not dictated by reason, our statements will be said to lack a stable scientific basis. To have strong persuasive power, ideological work must be welded to reasoning -- that is, the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and views must be employed in analyzing and commenting on erroneous views and in extolling correct views and deeds.

The ideological struggle in the party must take the form of criticism and self-criticism, both of which fall under the law of development of any Marxist-Leninist party and are a sharp weapon in struggling against erroneous tendencies or views within the party.
Therefore, it is necessary for each comrade to develop his sense of criticism and self-criticism and display a high sense of responsibility to the party and people. He must try to avoid current erroneous tendencies, such as the tendency to carry out self-criticism insincerely and to put the blame on others or on objective circumstances, or a reluctance to criticize the errors of others and defend the truth and correct line of the party.

To heighten the proletarian standpoint of cadres and party members, we must pay utmost attention to the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theories and the dissemination of the party line and policy. Marxism-Leninism is the proletarian system of thought, a powerful ideological weapon of the party, and the revolutionary struggle banner in the present era. The more adequately party members are armed with Marxism-Leninism, the more self-enlightened they will be and the more firmly they will maintain their class standpoint in the struggle to carry the party's revolutionary cause to final success.

Facts have demonstrated that if our cadres and party members commit errors in thinking or in actions, it is because they did not clearly understand Marxism-Leninism or they misunderstood it. Therefore, we must pay special attention to educating cadres and party members in Marxism-Leninism in order to enable them to assimilate the doctrine of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, to maintain firm confidence in the revolution, and to struggle resolutely till the end for the communist cause.

Only an understanding of Marxism-Leninism will enable us to realize the party's policy clearly because the party line and policy combines Marxist-Leninist general theories with the actual situation in our country. It is essential that cadres and party members carefully study the party line and policy if they want to heighten their revolutionary standpoint and find the right way during the complex development of the revolution. It is precisely through striving to understand the party line fully and to carry it out completely that we can gain a better knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism and the party line reflect deeply the revolutionary standpoint of the proletariat. Only by taking a firm hold of Marxism-Leninism and the party line and standing firmly on the proletarian revolutionary standpoint can we see clearly the erroneous views to be criticized and opposed. Conversely, criticism of erroneous views has the reciprocal aspect of heightening our proletarian standpoint and helping us to understand Marxism-Leninism and the party line more adequately.
To obtain good results in studying Marxism-Leninism, it is of course necessary to have a correct ideological standpoint and use rational study methods. The best study method consists of combining theories with practices, and discarding the method of studying theories only and detaching them from actual facts and the people's revolutionary cause. We know that far from being dogmatic, Marxism-Leninism only serves as a compass for action and that it contains a very high combative spirit. Thus, only those who have an adamant communist spirit and a high sense of serve and who stand continuously on the spearhead of the mass revolutionary struggle are able to take hold of the true substance of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. He who adopts the semi-revolutionary standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie and stands aloof from the mass struggle cannot obtain good results in studying Marxism-Leninism.

To heighten our proletarian standpoint, we must also permanently train ourselves by means of the realities of production and struggle. It is precisely due to these realities that we can see ever more clearly the mass strength and intellect as well as their numerous good virtues. This knowledge has the important effect of helping us correct erroneous views and develop correct views.

To facilitate ideological education, it is naturally necessary to carry out other works simultaneously and properly. We must carry out satisfactorily the task of developing the economy and improving the living standards. We must rationally solve problems of policies, organization, livelihood, and so forth. As for the party members, however, they must principally and constantly attach importance to the revolutionary ideal of the party and to the improvement of their proletarian standpoint.

In short, the present revolutionary tasks require us to exert our utmost to eliminate erroneous views and to firmly maintain and develop correct ones. All cadres and party members need to heighten their revolutionary spirit, unite with each other with unanimity of mind on the basis of the thoroughly revolutionary standpoint of the proletariat, and lead the people resolutely to overcome all difficulties and hardships, to advance on the socialist revolutionary road in the North, and to struggle for national unification in full agreement with the line indicated by the party.

To overcome the greatest difficulties, we must make adequate mental preparations for ourselves and all the people, because the socialist revolution is the greatest revolution and at the same time, one which involves the most difficulties. Since we are armed with Marxism-Leninism, we absolutely believe that we will be successful. With such an outlook, any one of us who still fears difficulties or
lacks valor in the struggle will be left behind. Each of us needs to determine a correct revolutionary attitude. If this is done, we will be able to master all situations completely. To this end, we must severely criticize any semi-revolutionary standpoint, rightist tendency, or other erroneous idea in the party. At the same time, we must intensify the ideological education of the masses of the people.

We believe that the ideological educational work carried out by the party will surely have a great effect on the task of uniting all the party and people to struggle to the end for the success of the revolutionary cause. We already have at our disposal Marxism-Leninism -- a peerless doctrine, a correct party line, and the very good-natured revolutionary masses. All that is needed is that all cadres and party members clearly realize their responsibilities and exert every effort. If this is done, we will certainly be able to carry out this task.

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