QUAN DOI Nhan Dan, 30 May 1963

[Summary of the Address of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh at the Military and Political Institute]

On 26 May 1963, Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, visited a centralized political course at the military and political institute and addressed the cadres and students of the institute. Accompanying the comrade were chairmen of the Party committees or commanders and directors of the political bureau of the military zones, army branches and services, and related units, directors of the organs dependent on the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau, and commanders of the People's Armed Security Force.

Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh centered his talk on the political responsibility and attitude of cadres of the armed forces and the Party toward the proletarian revolution. He spoke of the present situation of the world and the country, and drew from it necessary points for the army's ideological and political tasks at present.

The desperate and complex class struggle on the international plane requires vanguard and sharp theories from communists. This struggle, though having more
favorable conditions now than in the past, is not simple or easy. Although the force of the socialist camp is superior to that of the capitalist camp, the struggle is still desperate and decisive and even at certain moments, is more complex than before.

In the Communist movement, Marxist-Leninist ideology is, more now than ever before, deeply rooted; the proletarian masses have been more thoroughly imbued with Marxist dialectics. On the other hand, in the international Communist movement the dangers of revisionism, of rightist opportunism—which is the main danger—and of dogmatism still loom. This objective situation has more or less influenced the revolutionary masses of our country.

In our country the task of consolidating and strengthening proletarian dictatorship and building the material and technical bases in order to achieve complete victory for socialism is still rather desperate and complex. The socialist revolution is the greatest, deepest, and most thorough revolution of all revolutions. It is not a semi-revolution. In our view it requires basic changes in the political and economic aspects, and in our
inconsistent customs and habits.

The socialist revolution is being carried out in North Viet-Nam where peace reigns. In South Viet-Nam our people are obliged to participate in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists, the most cruel and cunning enemy of the people of the world at present, to liberate half of our country. Vietnamese revolutionaries must, on the one hand, be ready to cope with the enemy from without and must, on the other, struggle to fight the reactionaries from within. We must resolutely and in time repress the counter-revolutionaries in North Viet-Nam.

Therefore, our revolutionary struggle will be desperate, complex, urgent, and, even at certain times, decisive. Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh pointed out: "Now more than ever before we have many favorable conditions for applying Marxist-Leninist ideology to the whole party, to all of the people, and to the entire army. At the same time, the class struggle in the world and our country is desperate and complex. It requires that we urgently, closely, and lastingly carry out political and ideological education in
the Party and the Army. "The ideological task must provide
the army—especially cadres, Party members, and labor
youth group members in the army—with the highest ideolo-
gical and spiritual level so that they may further improve
their vanguard Marxist-Leninist dialectics, assert their
proletarian ideological standpoint, struggle to overcome petty
bourgeois thoughts and other non-proletarian thoughts, improve
ideological dialectical materialistic methods, and help the
masses to base themselves on this basis to examine and
settle all problems. Thus it is clear that the revolutionary
situation and tasks create very high demands for our Party.

Trained in the long, holy war to save the country,
our army has developed precious traditions, has a sharper
class viewpoint than before and a higher political standard;
it is industrious and simple and is deeply faithful to the
revolution of the Party and the people. This is a very
precious basis for satisfying the revolutionary demands at
present and in the future. However, it must be realized
that our army can fulfill its revolutionary mission only on
the conditions that soldiers are further trained in politics
and ideology and that the force of the political task is
of the negative aspect, which is a very basic and
practical aspect of our army - will be overcome the
positive aspect that is still common, our army.

Due to this fact that persecution is still common, and
the ideological pressure of a fixed revolutionary orientation, and
the demand of the socialist revolution, the Chinese struggle
without hesitation makes - do. (Due to the failure to understand
advanced aspects of those thoughts. He said) published
bourgeois thoughts, and dealt with the characteristic and
aspect of our culture, analyzed and strongly criticized party
aspect.

After that, the comrade pointed out the negative
aspect.

concluded on developed the positive aspect and overcoming
proprietors, and middle peasants who always consider the
pros and cons and who own one or two stalls, employ two
or three workers, or possess five or six sao of land. The
nature of petty bourgeois ideology is unstable. Its manifesta-
tions are now rightist, now leftist. Persons entertaining
this ideology are usually vain of their success and discouraged
when faced with failure. Their judgment of things is
subjective, unilateral, simple, and regionalistic. Petty
bourgeois ideology causes people to see the outward
appearance of things easily and makes it difficult for them
to see the nature of things; it sets in relief the negative
aspect of things because it originates from individual
interests and because it causes the people to place (self--Ed.)
interests above everything and to be constantly concerned
about individual profits and losses.

Petty bourgeois ideology stands in the way of progress
by our cadres. However, to eliminate it, we must not fight
it wherever it appears, but we must concentrate our efforts
on certain points and fight them.

Petty bourgeois ideology affects many aspects, but one
of the aspects affected most is the revolutionary line. The
unstable nature of the petty bourgeoisie in carrying out concrete tasks, especially the party line, is very dangerous and harmful.

Therefore, the main direction of the ideological and political task is to rely on a basis of understanding and Party line and asserting the ideological standpoint and proletarian viewpoint to overcome petty bourgeois thoughts and other non-proletarian thoughts. It is necessary to realize deeply that petty bourgeois thoughts always blunt the spearhead of the class struggle.

The absolute majority of our cadres and Party members approve of the Party line; the number of persons opposing it is very small. We must realize that the Socialist revolutionary line is a very new and practical problem in the life of our cadres and that its dialectical aspect is also very complex. The Party demands that its line be understood and applied at all costs. There is not just a question of only approving it or disapproving it. Therefore, the process of understanding the Party line is the process of consolidating and improving proletarian thoughts and overcoming petty bourgeois thoughts and other non-proletarian
thoughts. It is a relatively long and difficult educational process. A failure to settle the (problem of--Ed.) petty bourgeois thoughts will unintentionally pave the way for other adverse thoughts to germinate.

After analysing the principal causes of the negative aspect of our cadres' thoughts, the comrade spoke of the tasks of our army and offered views on the strengthening of the ideological task in the army. He said: (Published without quotation marks--Ed.) Although the socialist revolution has brought great success, the socialist path is still desperate and complex. So is our task of building a standardized and modernized army. This task has been desperate and complex and will be so in the future. Thus the army must be trained comprehensively in ideology, politics, organization, discipline, technology, physical training, culture, and so forth. Certain techniques require that cadres have certain cultural knowledge so as to be able to ensure them. Modernized weapons require that we should have not only a correct ideological standpoint, but also certain cultural and technical knowledge so as to be able to use them properly and to develop their effect.
Standardizing and modernising the army is our very great goal. We must concentrate all our minds and strength on attaining this goal. The political task must also be aimed at insuring the advance of the army toward standardization and modernization and insuring its combat readiness.

Toward this end it is necessary to strengthen the ideological task in the army and to make every soldier have firm confidence and the spirit of struggle to overcome difficulties, to master military science and techniques, and to improve the sense of organisation and discipline. The ideological task must involve improving proletarian thoughts, overcoming petty bourgeois thoughts and other non-proletarian thoughts, and opposing the negative rightist tendency. Party resolutions, not individual desires, are to be used as a criterion for struggle. It is necessary to correctly evaluate the achievements we have scored, to identify all the difficulties and weakpoints, and to know how to evaluate correctly our progress as well as our remaining shortcomings.

The political task in our army, now more than ever, must aim at maintaining our combative character, our
leadership character, and our mass character, at making
the power of persuasion stronger, and at settling things
satisfactorily with feeling and reason and in accordance with
the local circumstances. It must also, however, aim at
maintaining political firmness and the principle of right and
wrong and at overcoming the tendency to blame and criticise
people at random or to tolerate mistakes. Reason is the
scientific basis for settling problems. Feeling will be of
value only when explanations are made on a scientific basis.
Relying on this foundation, feeling and reason joined
in unanimity.

In carrying out the political task we must see to it
that many lively, attractive, delicate but sharp forms are
used; (we must--Ed.) avoid dull forms which have weak
power of persuasion; avoid using flashy forms to conceal
loose content; and make each of our tasks as healthy,
simple, and sincere as proletarian thoughts. We must
create conditions for developing criticism and self-criticism;
we must love the masses, learn from them, and avoid
following (blindly--Ed.) in the masses' wake.
Finally, the comrade praised the beautiful traditions of our army and the revolutionary morality of socialist revolutionaries, pointing out that socialist revolutionaries must be simple, moderate, and industrious men. Each military cadre is also an ordinary laborer. Military cadres, especially middle and high ranking cadres, must be severe with themselves.

The comrade reminded the cadres and students of the following statement by President Ho Chi Minh during the war of resistance and the recent past: "Our army is a heroic army of a heroic people." On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the comrade congratulated the Army and the People's Armed Security Forces for having satisfactorily carried out all the tasks entrusted to them by the Party.