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BUILDING THE NEW SOCIALIST MAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 77 pp 49-58

[Article by Phong Chau]

[Text] Every society has a system, an economy, a culture and the people suitable for it. In our society, building socialism is building the socialist collective ownership system, building the socialist large-scale production, building the new culture and building the new socialist man. Therefore, building the new socialist man is a basic task of the socialist revolution and construction. President Ho also said, "In order to build socialism, we must first of all have the socialist people."*

I - The "New" Aspects of the New Socialist Man

Man must be living under the socialist system in order to have the conditions for living as a man and the capacity to become the truly new man. The "new" aspect of the new socialist man is a big leap from the situation in which man does not live totally and fully as man to a situation in which he totally and fully lives as man, a big leap from the domain of man being a puppet and a game in the hands of the objective laws of nature and society to the domain of man acting on his own initiative to control and to affect such laws. The "new" aspect of the new socialist man lies in the fact that man forever escapes the animal circles and truly controls society, nature and himself.

For millions of years apes had been wandering about in the jungles to look for food. Thanks to the development of their hands and brain and in the process of labor they became human creatures. Human beings further widened the gap between them and animals because they did not "take advantage of" the natural surroundings but rather forced the latter to serve their purposes and "ruled over" them. Man "left his marks" in nature wherever he was present. Evaluating such remarkable human feats, F. Engels wrote: "Only man succeeded in leaving his marks in nature not only by moving the vegetal and animal

* Ho Chi Minh: "About the Socialist Revolution and Construction of Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 125.

world from one place to another but also by changing the face and climate of the region where he lived, changing animals and plants and changing them to such an extent that the results of his activities could disappear only when the earth as a whole was destroyed."*

Since the establishment of man's society millenniums have passed, but the working people in many places have not yet succeeded in becoming masters of their society and themselves. The system of private ownership of tools and capital goods had led to various forms of man's debasement. Under the slavery and feudal systems man had to work extremely hard. Under the capitalist system, under conditions of mechanized production, workers have become living dependents of steel machinery and must sell their working power as a sort of capital goods, a sort of commodity, of the capitalist employers. Running after making maximum profit, competing for markets and seizing raw materials, the monopoly-holding capitalist class has not declined any savage acts against man. Freedom of business competition was encouraged; economic crises, inflation and unemployment always threatened the livelihood of working people. F. Engels judged the society in which "large fish eat small fish" and "men treat their fellow men as if they are wolves to one another" as follows: "When Darwin proved that the freedom of competition and the struggle for survival -- which the economists thought was the greatest achievement in history -- was just normal behavior in the animal world, he did not suspect he had thus sarcastically satirized mankind, particularly his compatriots." F. Engels emphasized: "Only by organizing social production in a self-conscious manner -- organizing it in such a way as to have planning for both production and distribution -- can we elevate man to a level socially higher than animals, just as production itself has elevated man to a level higher than animals as a species."**

Only until the 20th century did the parties of the proletariat in more than 10 countries successfully carry out those instructions by F. Engels. Man's dream of building a socialist society became reality. Overthrowing the reactionary administration and building the proletarian dictatorial administration, the working people headed by the worker class moved from being the oppressed classes to becoming the classes that seized the right to control society. With socialism, exactly as F. Engels said, "Once society has seized the right to own capital goods, production of goods would be destroyed, and as a result the state of products affecting producers would also be destroyed. The state of anarchy within the social production is replaced by a systematic and well-conceived organization. The struggle of individuals for survival comes to an end. In a sense, this is the first time man permanently escapes the animal world and moves from the living conditions of animals to the true conditions of human beings. The living conditions surrounding man which used to affect him from now on will be placed under his influence and control; for the first time, man becomes the real and conscious master of nature, for he

* K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Vol. 2, p 85.

** Ibid., p 87.

has become the master of his own life in society. That is mankind's great leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."* Le Duan has highly evaluated that great leap, "the greatest leap from the system of man exploiting man, which has existed for thousands of years, to the system of collective ownership by the working people. This is the highest system of ownership mankind has had so far in which he has control over society, nature and himself."**

To generalize the entire history of mankind from the appearance of man until the time society no longer had the exploiting class and is the socialist and then communist society, the struggle for the right to live as human beings obviously is also the struggle for the "new" for man, for building the truly new people, the working people who are the collective owners. The new socialist man is closely linked with socialism and with the worker class. Only the worker class can lead the working people toward digging the grave to bury capitalism, build a society without exploitation of man by man and fulfill the historical mission of liberating mankind and reforming the world. The socialist worker class is the model of the new man.

II - What Is the New Socialist Vietnamese?

"The new socialist man is the new Vietnamese whose outstanding characteristics are: to be the collective owners and masters of labor, to love their country and socialism and to uphold the spirit of proletarian internationalism. That is also the crystallization and development of what is the finest and most noble in the soul and posture of Vietnam being nurtured for 4,000 years of its history."*** We can list very many of the aspects, qualities and conditions of the new man, but as we go deeply into the above-mentioned characteristics, we can very well visualize and portray the new socialist Vietnamese.

The new socialist Vietnamese is first of all the collective owner. The socialist collective ownership covers many aspects: being owners in the political, economic, cultural and social fields; being masters of society, nature and oneself; being owners on the national scale and in every locality and production installation; combining organically the right of collective ownership with the real freedom of every individual. The concept of collective ownership which we are building is that of collective ownership based on the worker class's stand. It is not only opposite to the concept of individualistic ownership of the capitalists and small producers but also opposite to the "collective" concept of trade groups, which separate themselves from the centralized leadership of the proletarian state and make the interests of one collective clash with those of another. The new collective owner is one who knows how to correctly solve the relationship between the individuals and

* F. Engels: "Anti-Duehring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, pp 482-483.

** Le Duan: "The Vietnam Lao Dong Party, the Leader and Organizer of All of the Victories of Vietnam's Revolution," HOC TAP, No 2, February 1975, p 18.

*** Political report of the party Central Committee at the party's Fourth Congress.

the collective and to place the interests of the collective and society above everything else. He is one who is immensely loyal to the work undertaken by the worker class and the nation and lives and works in the spirit of collective ownership, "one for all, all for one." The new collective owner is vigorously against the tendency to gather benefits for the individuals, to think more of interests and less of obligation, to demand more and to offer less; the tendency to boast of one's achievements to both the party and the people; the lack of responsibility toward the common work, etc. Individualism is the archenemy of the concept of collective ownership.

The new collective owner is one who leads the most harmonious and richest collective and private life. It is not true that because he places the collective interests above everything else, the new man has no right to think of his private and family life and of the full development of the individual, nor to develop his strengths and individual capabilities. It is in the process of developing the right to collective ownership that an individual is fully developed and has the favorable conditions for freely seeking, creating and developing his strengths and capabilities. More than anyone else the communists are those who keenly appreciate this truth, "The free development of each individual is the condition for the free development of all."*

The new collective owner is one who has fine and noble thoughts and sentiments and is armed with the Marxist-Leninist world view and the communist concept of life. With the Marxist-Leninist world view, which is the most advanced scientific world view that opposes every reactionary force and superstition and has total faith in the omnipotent strength of the human mind, the new man opens his eyes wide to look at the universe, the world and man, the courageous man who moves forward to master society, to master nature and to have control over himself. With the communist concept of life, the new man lives ardently, acts to fulfill the socialist and communist ideals and has an immense love for his compatriots, comrades and the working people in his country and in the world. In his family he has full responsibility and a true love in regard to marital relations and assumes a high degree of responsibility toward forming his children to become the new people.

The very heavy responsibility of the collective owner requires that the new man have good knowledge, ownership capacity and physical strength. Social evolution does not depend on objective laws rather than man's subjective thinking. Nature and man himself also act in accordance with laws. In order to be the master of society, nature and himself, the new man must seek to understand and adhere to the laws of society, nature, thinking, etc. Since it is not sufficient to adhere only to laws, he must adhere to realities, which are very lively and evolve and change every hour and every minute. In order to adhere to laws and realities, he must have a good knowledge of the social science, the natural science and science and technology. Without this knowledge, even though we may have a sense of reality, we still cannot see correctly and keenly, nor can we find laws from the things that repeat themselves

* K. Marx and F. Engels: "The Communist Manifesto," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 81.

everyday in front of our eyes. As to party members, although it is very necessary to get hold of laws and realities, it is still not enough, for they must know how to set forth the right tasks, positions and policies and to organize their implementation, i.e., to create the means for implementing such policies and lines, to make everybody have high revolutionary enthusiasm and to educate, to persuade and to urge the masses to fervently carry on the revolution. In order to make dreams and aspirations come true and to untiringly struggle for his ideals, the new man must have plenty of good health. In order to do those things right, we must firmly stand on the proletarian position and fight individualism. "If we stand on the bourgeois position, we cannot get hold of the socialist revolutionary law and even if we can get hold of technology, we will be serving only the bourgeoisie; if we stand on the bourgeois position, the line will be different, the organization of implementation will be different and we will not be able to mobilize the masses' revolutionary fervor."*

The new socialist Vietnamese is one who loves labor. Labor is always the source of life of society. The society of enslaved people exists mainly on the surplus labor of slaves; the feudal society, on land rent created by farmers; the capitalist society, on surplus values created by the proletariat. Socialism is the replacement of hired labor with labor serving one's self and society in which one is master. That is an extremely great change in the history of mankind. Labor has an even deeper meaning for our country, which has just undergone 30 years of bitter war and has been moving from an economy of mainly small production straight to the socialist large-scale production by bypassing the stage of capitalist development. On the other hand, labor is the condition for the development of personality and the formation and consolidation of the fine and noble qualities of the new socialist man. Under the socialist system, labor is a moral category being expressed in three ways: labor is the means of formation of the moral qualities of personality; labor is the form of expression of those qualities; labor is the criterion for the moral values of personality.

The new man must therefore have a correct labor view. As we have just said, the socialist society is the society of free working people in which the interests of individuals and of society are unanimous and the interests of each and every working man and his family and the interests of the productive collective and of the state are unanimous. In the capacity of owners of their land, people do not work for themselves and "close relatives" but also for "distant relatives," i.e., for the entire society. Individuals live well when their society is prosperous. Society takes care of the life of every individual; each and every individual must work to the fullest extent of his ability for society. The new man must consider working for society's common interests his interest and proud obligation.

The new man must also have a new labor attitude. This is the labor attitude of the collective owner who fully respects the labor of others, cares about

* Le Duan: "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Vol. I, p 482.

the full development of every working person, greatly cherishes and protects all socialist properties, works voluntarily with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm, works courageously and creatively with discipline and technical knowhow, obtains high productivity, has the concept of collective work and spirit of socialist cooperation, works in the spirit of socialist emulation and has the spirit of learning ceaselessly and raising his capabilities of all kinds so as to contribute more and more everyday to the socialist construction. The new labor attitude is totally foreign to the thinking of hired work and the "functionary"'s behavior of riding one's bicycle to the office in the morning and riding it home in the afternoon, doing work without bothering with how much work one should do and letting things go by without any concern; it is against all signs of freedom and lack of discipline and responsibility in labor and everyday living; it strongly resists the thinking of business people who lie, do things carelessly, make falsely good reports, cheat their superiors and lie to their subordinates and objects to all forms of bureaucracy, red tape and isolation from production and reality.

The views and attitudes that are distorted toward labor and have deeply rooted in people will be acting for a long time in the socialist society. As an immediate job, we must "struggle to abolish the very roots of the thinking of hired work and struggle against the old habit of viewing labor with the eyes of a slave and the habit of trying to lighten as much as possible one's burden and to take as much as possible from society and the state."* The enemy of socialism usually takes advantage of those weaknesses of the working people to undermine socialism. We must on the one hand step up the ideological education of the working people and on the other reorganize production through perfecting the socialist production relationships and transforming the capitalist production relationships so as to make everybody work hard and make a lot of wealth for society.

The new socialist man is a socialist patriot. Since 1930 our party has always been raising high the banner of national independence and socialism. With the love for their country and socialism and with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, our people succeeded in carrying out the August Revolution and defeated the two major imperialists -- France and America. Today, our fatherland is the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In the light of the 4th Party Congress, our country as a whole is moving quickly, vigorously and steadily toward socialism. The nation and socialism are united as one. For the Vietnamese, to love their country is to love the SRV and socialism, hence, the socialist patriotic love.

The socialist patriotic love expresses itself in the legitimate national pride: we are proud that our socialist fatherland today stretches all the way from Cao Lang to Minh Hai, is free of enemy troops and has an extremely glorious history, a solid foundation, rich resources and an abundant potential; we are proud of our glorious party, a strong Marxist-Leninist party, a party that has faced many challenges as a stalwart army of the international communist movement; we are proud that our heroic people work industriously,

* Le Duan: "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Vol. 2, p 529.

fight gallantly, have intelligence and creativity and for thousands of years have shed so much sweat and blood to build and to defend the country; we are proud of our army which remains forever victorious, exploits the traditions of Bach Dang, Chi Lang and Dong Da by scoring brilliant feats of arms ranging from the Dien Bien Phu Battle to the Ho Chi Minh Operation and writes the marvelous epics of Vietnam's revolutionary war; we are proud that we had President Ho Chi Minh, the founder, leader and trainer of our party, who gave birth to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, raised the great national solidarity bloc and built the revolutionary armed forces, the great beloved leader of our worker class and people and of the Vietnamese nation as a whole and the outstanding combatant of the international communist movement and the national liberation movement.

The socialist patriotic love expresses itself in the keen concept and high determination to build socialism. Only socialism can bring about to the working people the truest and fullest ownership right. Only socialism can make the working people's long cherished dream -- to permanently escape oppression, exploitation, hunger and hardship so as to lead a life forever blessed with having enough foods to eat and clothes to wear, a civilized and happy life -- come true. Only socialism can provide the Vietnamese fatherland with modern industry and agriculture, progressive culture and science, and strong national defense so as to allow it to remain forever independent and prosperous. To build socialism is an extremely great and difficult undertaking. However, the new man develops revolutionary heroism in labor, always maintains the spirit of offensive, refuses to retreat from any difficulties and obstacles and believes that creative labor will destroy all remnants of a parasitic life and a false sense of prosperity and turn the country's rich resources into an inexhaustible source of wealth of the people, thus making their life better everyday.

The socialist patriotic love expresses itself in the "better sacrifice everything than lose your country and become slaves" action, gallant fighting, heroic defense of the fatherland and the people's fruit of labor and enthusiastic labor, with total devotion of one's strength, mind and talent to building the socialist fatherland. The new man struggles all his life to carry out the socialist ideals and the communist ideals.

The new socialist Vietnamese is also one who has the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Our country's revolution is an organic part of the world revolutionary movement. Every successful step that our revolution makes is closely linked with the development of revolutionary trends in the world, is directly affected by those trends and helps to encourage their development. The complete victory of our people in the resistance against America for national salvation was closely linked with the wholehearted support and great assistance of our friends throughout the world. Our people's victory also made appropriate contributions to the common victory of all nations and to the continuous growth of the revolutionary forces in the world. The spirit of proletarian internationalism is a quality that the new man cannot afford not to have.

Impregnated with President Ho's teaching, "A mountain pass thousands of miles away is part of home; proletarians of the four corners of the earth are all brothers," the new man struggles untiringly for the liberation of the classes and the liberation of mankind and against every manifestation of opportunism and every sign of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism.

The new man seriously carries out President Ho's last will and testament and the oath of the party and people at the time of their bidding farewell to him; always to display President Ho's enlightened internationalistic sentiments, to do our best to contribute to restoring and strengthening solidarity and unanimity in the socialist bloc and among the fraternal parties, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; to tighten the bonds of friendly solidarity among the Indochinese nations; to do our best to support the revolutionary movements of the people of other countries; and to make an active contribution to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The new socialist man, who carries such characteristics as collective ownership, labor, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalistic spirit, obviously is the product of a new era -- the era of revolutionary storms and victory of Marxism-Leninism. Each and every characteristic is a moral driving force that urges him to move toward the beautiful horizon. Those characteristics support one another and have organic relationships among themselves. The new man cannot afford to lack any one of them.

The new socialist Vietnamese who was born and grew up in the glorious Ho Chi Minh era will, along with the forward motion of his country, develop himself fully everyday by retaining the Vietnamese peculiarities while absorbing the quintessence of mankind's civilization and thus further glorify the Ho Chi Minh era.

III - How To Build the New Socialist Vietnamese?

"Man is the product of social relationships. Only by means of the combined results of the three revolutions and through realistic activities, labor and struggle can man reform himself and gradually become the new man. To carry on the three revolutions and to build the new system, the new economy and the new culture must originate from the need to build the new man and aim at securing the necessary conditions for stepping up the building of the new man."*

The above argument clearly points to the position, effects and interaction among the three revolutions in the forming and building of the new man. The new man who is the working man and collective owner can be born, exist and develop only on the basis of the socialist production relationships. The building of the new man is closely linked with the building, consolidating and perfecting of the socialist production relationships and with the revolution in production relationships. As we think further about it, the

* Political report of the Central Committee at the Fourth Congress of the VCP.

building, consolidating and perfecting of the socialist production relationships is determined by the building of the material and technical base of socialism. Therefore, the building of the new man is also closely linked with the scientific and technical revolution. To change the social existence is the basic condition for changing the social concept, but to change man's ideological concept and to reform man is not and cannot be a self-developing process. Consequently, we must carry on the ideological and cultural revolution for the purpose of basically changing the ideological, spiritual and cultural life of society as a whole and of the masses in general. The building of the new man obviously cannot be separated from the ideological and cultural revolution. We thus see that the three revolutions serve as the material and spiritual base of the birth and growth of the new man.

While the three revolutions serve as the objective base, man himself must make subjective efforts, persistently educate himself and train himself for self-reform if he wants to become the new man. The Vietnamese people have just undergone a tremendous test as they were hardened directly in the two wars of resistance lasting for 30 years. On the front where we confronted face to face the extremely ruthless and shrewd enemy, we proved ourselves to be people having many noble and fine qualities and being patient and resilient as a fundamental quality. We defeated colonialism and neocolonialism right in our land. Those two "corpses" have been polluting quite considerably our people's environment. In addition, the small-scale production habits that have existed for thousands of years are weighing upon every working man. While the party, the state and our mass organizations will help us to wash off the stains of the old system, what is important is that each and every one of us must resolutely wash off such stains and never get stained again. The process of educating oneself and reforming oneself is that of difficult ideological struggle, with nonproletarian thoughts and sentiments being filtered out as they are contrary to the new man's qualities and with the good thoughts and sentiments being singled out as they are suitable for the above-mentioned characteristics of the new man. The method of self-education does not mean that one should confine oneself at home and read and ponder over the course of action in life by relying on the pages of some books but rather get oneself involved in struggling movements, work, test and train oneself by means of realistic activities, overcome shortcomings and mistakes, consolidate and develop one's strengths, accumulate experiences and correctly deal with the relationships in society. To say so does not mean to underestimate learning in school and education at home. But learning in school and education at home finally must always go through labor and social struggle to train people.

The building of the new man does not exclude anybody. We must build the new man right from birth. Le Duan has indicated: "The new man is the product of the socialist revolutionary undertaking and the socialist construction. However, he must be trained right now, right in his childhood, from the moments he received the first flows of fresh milk, the first care of his family and society, the advices and consolations, affections, etc. of his mother and father."* We must build the new man from the people born under the new

* Le Duan: "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Vol. 2, p 568.

system and the people left behind by the old system. To build the new man is both to build the new and to struggle to abolish the old. Therefore, everybody -- old and young, big and small -- must strive to educate himself and receives the care and assistance of society to become the new socialist man.

To build the new man is a very demanding job that must be carried out in a well-organized and systematic way on an all-society scale and for each and every individual. We must actively and gradually ensure that the job is carried on in all production installations, organs, schools, day nurseries, kindergarten and primary classes, scientific research organs, cultural and artistic organizations, physical education and sports, health protection organizations, wards, hamlets, the family, etc. The army is a great school that has the ability and conditions to train tens of thousands of youths to become the new socialist people who are both stalwart defenders of the fatherland and collective owners. Trade unions, which are "the school of communism," play a big role in building the new men for the worker class. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the effective arm and reliable reserve of the party that attracts millions of members, has the responsibility for training the youths to become the new men. We must exploit and use the strength and ability of the organizations in the proletarian dictatorial system, from the party and state organizations to the army and mass organizations, in order to build the new man.

We must have a wide range of measures covering many aspects: ideology and organization, education and administration, politics and culture, legislation and economics, etc. We must step up the ideological and cultural revolution: to use propaganda and education to make Marxism-Leninism occupy an absolutely strong position in the political and spiritual life of the people as a whole and to make cadres, party members and the masses fully understand the line and policies of the party; to carry on the struggle against the reactionary ideas and culture of imperialism, colonialism and the exploiting class in general; to build a new culture of socialist and nationalistic substance; to carry out educational reforms throughout the country; to step up development of science, literature, arts, physical education and sports to reach new heights, etc.

The building of the new man must be carried out as a permanent, continuous and steady job; at the same time, there must be special campaigns and movements with positive and appropriate objectives for different subjects, such as the labor productivity emulation movement, the movement for practicing economy to build socialism, the water conservancy movement, the movement for construction of new economic areas, etc.

As the Vietnamese society as a whole must build the new socialist man, the communist party members must first of all be the new people. If our more than 1.5 million party members resolutely implement the 4th Party Congress resolution, carry on the three revolutions and develop the collective ownership right of the masses, the revolution will surely be the joyful festival for the latter and we party members and the masses will become the real new socialist people. The revolution will give us wings and lift us to the height of the era.

LENIN DISCUSSES ROLE OF PARTY, STATE, MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 77 pp 70-77

[Book Review column by Le Doan Ta: "Some of Lenin's Ideas About the Role of the Party, State and Mass Organizations in the System of Proletarian Dictatorship"]

[Text] After the proletariat has overthrown the state administration of the bourgeoisie, seized power and established the proletarian dictatorship, a basic question that determines the success of socialism and the moving toward communism would be the building, development and perfecting of the system of the working people's collective ownership under the leadership of the proletariat. The concept of the working people's collective ownership is an extremely rich one. It covers the necessity, role and leadership method of the party; the necessity, role, function and management method of the state; the role and tasks of the mass organizations; and the close relationship among the three factors -- the party, the state and the mass organizations -- under the conditions of the party assuming leadership over the administration.

In many theoretical works, Lenin discussed the leadership role of the party, the management function of the state and the tasks of the mass organizations, especially the trade unions. In this article, we only introduce to you some of Lenin's ideas about the above-mentioned subjects as we have read a specialized book that Su That Publishing House has just published, namely, "Discussing the Role of the Party, State and Mass Organizations in the System of Proletarian Dictatorship" by Lenin.

Lenin said that after the proletariat has seized power, the class enemy of the proletariat would still retain his force. Although the exploiting class in the country has been overthrown, it is far from totally destroyed. It still dreams of restoring the lost "paradise." Therefore, the socialist revolution cannot avoid encountering the violent reaction of the overthrown exploiting classes. The imperialists from without collude with the reactionary forces within the country and undermine the revolution. Consequently, we cannot defeat and destroy the class enemy unless we boldly repress the protesting exploiters, whose wealth and strengths in terms of organizing

ability and knowledge cannot be taken away immediately and who, for quite a long time will naturally want to carry out plots to sabotage the administration of the worker class and working people. Furthermore, "the corrupt elements of the old society cannot avoid revealing themselves by committing more crimes, more acts of hooliganism, bribery, speculation and all kinds of base and mean acts. To get rid of that phenomenon, we must have time and an iron hand."* Therefore, Lenin taught us that "the proletarian dictatorship, i.e., the organizing of the vanguard unit of the oppressed people into the ruling class in order to repress the oppressors, cannot simply be framed within extending the democratic system. While it greatly extends the democratic system and for the first time makes it become the democratic system of the poor and the people rather than the rich, the proletarian dictatorship also takes a series of measures to limit the freedoms of the oppressors, exploiters and capitalists. Those people we must repress in order to liberate mankind from the system of hired slavery; we must use force to smash their objection."**

However, Lenin also taught us that the major task of the proletarian dictatorship is not using force but rather organizing and building. "The proletarian dictatorship is not only violent force against the exploiters, nor is it mainly violent force. The economic base of that revolutionary force, i.e., what guarantees its vitality and success, is the fact that the proletariat can bring about and achieve a higher pattern of social organization in terms of labor as compared with capitalism. That is the crux of the matter. That is why it has its own force and can guarantee the total and obvious victory of communism."***

Those organizing and building tasks are very great and yet extremely difficult and complicated, for they are new and creative ones. In order to carry out such an undertaking, the proletariat must use an entire organizing system of the proletarian dictatorship, which consists of the party, the state and such mass organizations as trade unions, youth union, women's union and the economic organizations of the working masses. The party is the leadership nucleus of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship. The socialist state is the most effective tool to implement the line and policies of the party and to reflect the leadership of the party and the collective ownership right of the people. The working people are the owners through the socialist state under the leadership of the party. Depending on their occupation, sex, age group, etc., they are organized into mass organizations in order to display their role in economic management, management of the state, etc.

* V.I.Lenin: "Discussing the Role of the Party, State and Mass Organizations in the System of Proletarian Dictatorship," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 31. From here on, any quotation from this book will show the page from which it has been taken.

** V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Vol. 25, p 532.

*** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., 1971, Vol. 29, pp 477-478.

The fact that the party becomes the ruling party is a great turning point and a new change of quality in its activities. From now on the party leads the whole of society and all aspects of the country's life, "leads all of the political and economic activities" (p 135) of the state, sets "the domestic and foreign policies" of the proletarian state and adopts the major policies and methods in order to encourage social development in every aspect. In determining the line and policies of the party its supreme organs like the party congress and Central Committee play an especially important role. Lenin said: "Our party is a ruling party and the decisions passed by the party congress are what the Republic as a whole must comply with" (pp 221-222) and "in our Republic no political problem or important organization is going to be solved by a state organ without prior directives from the Central Committee" (pp 56-57). Consequently, in his "Letters to the Congress" written in December 1922, Lenin gave emphasis to increasing the number of members of the party Central Committee. "Attracting as many workers as possible into the Central Committee will help workers to perfect our machinery"*; consolidating and strengthening the machinery that assists the Central Committee and consists of "technicians of high capacity" will effectively assist in studying the theories of Marxism, applying its scientific principles and reviewing experiences in order to ceaselessly raise the party's leading capacity in connection with its line and policies.

To have correct line and policies is not enough. The party must "distribute its force," spring a network of party members and cadres in all fields of activities of the state and social organizations and use the strength of the party organizations and the ranks of party cadres and members to mobilize and to lead the masses for effective implementation of all the line, positions and policies of the party and socialist state: "if we do not recommend cadres and mobilize cadres for implementing the policies, we will not be able to carry out any one of them" (p 184).

Moreover, according to Lenin, the party must also unify, coordinate and control the activities of the state and social organizations of the working people in the system of proletarian dictatorship. In the report of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee at the 9th Party Congress, Lenin drew the following remarks from the actual work of the Politburo: "In the past year, most of the work of the Politburo was aimed at solving the everyday problems having to do with politics and coordination of the work of all state and party organs and all organizations of the worker class, which coordinates and strives to lead all the affairs of the Soviet Republic. The Politburo solved all of the problems related to foreign and domestic policies" (pp 185-186).

Those are the positive evidences of the party's leadership role. The reason the party is able to fulfill such momentous tasks is that it is the organized vanguard unit and the highest organization of the worker class, which consists of the most understanding and brilliant delegates of the worker class and working people; the party uses Marxism as the ideological base and guide for

* V.I.Lenin: "Discussing Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 279.

its action and closely links itself with the working masses; as a result, it consciously uses the laws of social development in the country's reality, is capable of adopting correct policies and promoting unified determination and action and unites and unifies broad strata of the working population in order to bring them into the great task of building socialism and communism.

The socialist state is the sharpest tool for implementation of the party's line and policies and the manifestation of the party's leadership and the people's ownership right. Lenin said: "The soviet administration is none other than a form of organization of the proletarian dictatorship, the dictatorship of the vanguard class which has mobilized tens of millions of working and oppressed people for establishment of a new democracy and independent participation in the state management; these working and oppressed people have found through their own experience that the disciplined and conscious vanguard unit of the proletariat is their most reliable guide" (pp 32-33).

Lenin said: "In the period of transition from capitalism to communism, repression is still necessary, but it was the repression of the majority of exploited people against the minority of exploiters."* Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the proletarian state now has "a more important task, i.e., to actively build communism and to create the new economic relationships and a new society."**

Under capitalism, although the productive power has been socialized, the major capital goods still remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie; members of the latter control production and seize the products of labor. Socialism must abolish that basic contradiction. The first action of the revolutionary administration is to "deprive those who deprived," to nationalize the economic installations, to seize the economic arteries and to step up socialization of production. Those situation and conditions require that the proletarian state fulfill the task of organizing and managing the national economy and regulate the production and distribution of products. The state administration now not only is the ruling machinery but also "begins to become an organization that directly carries out the function of managing the country's economy."*** It must assume a new function: the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function. According to Lenin, those functions consist of the following jobs: to establish the system of socialist ownership for the major capital goods; to gradually reform agriculture in accordance with socialism; to raise the productive forces and labor productivity; to destroy the exploitation of man by man and to abolish at their roots all of the economic and social causes of that ill; to lead the masses toward achieving the socialist revolution

* V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Vol. 25, p 534.

** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., 1971, Vol. 29, p 477.

*** V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," in Russian, Political Books Publishing House, Moscow, fifth publication, 1969, Vol. 38, p 442.

in the field of ideology and culture; and to develop science and technology in order to satisfy, by every means possible, the people's material and spiritual needs, which are increasing everyday.

As Lenin dealt with that economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the socialist state, he paid a special attention to the question of "de facto socialization of production." That is building a very complicated network of socialist economic relationships, setting up an all-people inspection and control system, ensuring continued production executed in accordance with a unified plan and correctly distributing on a nationwide scale the products that are made. De facto socialization means turning enterprises, shops, factories, banks, land, etc. into properties of all the people, i.e., of the state, and means centralized management by the state of those properties. This is something having a top meaning because, in addition to creating "a political structure (the state administration -- L.D.T.) that allows the oppressed masses to seize every job" (p 193), as Lenin taught us, that only "ensures political victory," "only when the Russian proletarian state has truly gathered in its possession all of the arteries of the great industrial machinery, which is built on a modern technical base, would the economic victory be considered assured" (p 193).

Lenin paid a special attention to developing the productive force and reforming the small-scale production along with its remnants. He said: "It is obvious that if we want to totally abolish the classes, we must not only overthrow the exploiters, landlords and capitalists and abolish their ownership right but also abolish all private ownership of capital goods and abolish also the difference between the cities and the countryside, as well as the difference between blue-collar and white-collar workers. That is a long-term job. In order to finish that job, we must accomplish a giant step in developing the productive force, defeat the protest (which is normally negative and especially lasting and hard to overcome) of the many remnants of the small-scale production and defeat the great strength of the conservative habits closely linked with such remnants."* He advised us: "We shall endeavor to make the economic base of the small-scale agriculture become that of the great industry. Only when our country has been electrified and industry, agriculture and transportation have firmly stood on the technical base of the modern great industry could we score total victory."** He appealed to the proletariat for "using its eternal heroic spirit in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism in order to attract all of the working and exploited masses ; to attract, to organize and to lead them in an effort to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to totally suppress every protest of that class" and "to make all of the working and exploited masses, along with all strata of the bourgeoisie, follow it on the road to new economic reconstruction and the road that leads to creating new social relationships, a new labor discipline and a new labor organization, with the ability to coordinate

* V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Vol. 29, p 480.

** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., 1969, Vol. 31, p 639.

the newest achievements of the capitalist science and technology and to rally large numbers of self-understanding workers, the creators of the socialist great industry."*

Lenin also dealt with the interrelation between the economic-organizational function and the cultural-educational function of the socialist state. It is impossible to fulfill the economic-organizational task in an effective way when the great majority of the people is still illiterate and has a low cultural background. "We must understand and remember that we cannot achieve electrification while we still have illiterate people. In addition to knowing how to read and to write, the working people must have culture and become understanding and intelligent people."** On the other hand, the cultural and educational activities and development of science and technology can attain sound achievements only on the basis of a developed economic base. He said: "The organization of industry on the basis of very advanced modern technology and on the basis of electrification will be the link between the cities and the countryside, put an end to the total difference between them and create favorable conditions for raising the cultural background level of the countryside and defeating the state of backwardness, darkness, poverty, diseases and distress in even the most remote places."*** Only on the basis of economic improvement can we evaluate the results obtained in the educational field, for "the result of that work must be improving the national economy." Lenin emphasized: "In the past, we had focused, as we had been unable to do otherwise, our work on political struggle, on revolution, on seizure of power, etc. Today, that focal point has shifted to the peaceful organization of 'culture'... our focus has shifted to educational activities."**** He also said: "In the new period, the task of the Ministry of the People's Education was to train within very short time cadres specialized in all fields and coming from the ranks of farmers and workers and to further strengthen the relationship between in-school and out-of-school education and the urgent economic tasks having to do with the Republic as a whole, as well as with a certain specific area or locality."+++

Lenin had once dealt with improving and strengthening the state machinery to make the socialist state capable of playing the role of organizing the management of the economy and society. He said that the soviet state machinery in the beginning was far from perfect as it had many shortcomings and loose organization still. Consequently, in many official documents and letters sent to cadres and sectors, as well as in the common directives and resolutions, he recommended positive measures aimed at improving the state machinery; reducing the size of staff and strengthening organization; maintaining a

* V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Vol. 29, p 482.

** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., 1969, Vol. 31, p 641.

*** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., 1968, Vol. 30, p 425.

**** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., 1970, Vol. 33, p 698.

+++ V.I.Lenin: Ibid., pp 265-266.

tight, smooth and synchronized relationship among the state organs, between the central and local levels and among ministries, sectors and levels; and particularly emphasizing the need to highlight the socialist law. He also suggested the work procedures for management of the soviet organs and determined the functions, tasks and responsibilities of soviet cadres, from the highest level -- chairmen and deputy chairmen of Councils of People's Delegates and Labor and Defense Councils -- to the staff members at the lower levels of the soviet machinery. He also recommended measures for building a number of model and typical organs and for selecting and training cadres from the masses of workers-farmers to take part in the control and management of the state.

To strengthen the party's leadership role in the socialist construction and to heighten the socialist state's role in organizing economic and social management is to assure the working people's ownership right. Those are important matters in the building of the new system, the new economy and the new socialist people and must also be an undertaking of the masses. Lenin said that "the dynamic and creative socialism is the undertaking of the masses of people themselves,"* that "the initiative and creativity of the masses are the basic factor of the new society"* and that only the working people can successfully fulfill that historic task because "they carry with them the great potential forces of the revolution, revival and renewal."**

Making a full analysis of the law about the increasing role of the masses in history uncovered by Marx and Engels, Lenin demanded that we attract the masses in larger and larger numbers for participation in the state machinery and make the latter a machinery of socialism. "As we go more and more deeply into the revolution, we will need more and more enthusiastic combatants in order to replace capitalism with the machinery of socialism."*** According to Lenin, the party that assumes leadership over the administration must let the working masses take part in larger and larger numbers in the state administration machinery and let the masses enjoy the right to revoke and to replace staff members of the state organs in accordance with their wishes so as to prove that the people really have the right to control that state machinery and to control the state of implementation of the line, policies and law of the state. Through those jobs the masses can learn about management of the state and about perfecting the socialist democracy, thus making the state administration truly become one "of the people, by the people and for the people." Lenin believed that "in life, the democratic system will never 'stand apart' but rather 'be a part of the whole'; it will also affect the economy, encourage economic reforms, be itself affected by economic development, etc. That is the dialectic of the dynamic history."****

* V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Vol. 26, p 327.

** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., p 545.

*** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., pp 411-412.

**** V.I.Lenin: Ibid., Vol. 25, p 523.

The collective ownership right of the working masses is expressed through activities of mass organizations. The role of the latter is to educate, to mobilize and to organize the masses for fulfilling the political tasks suggested by the party, serving as support for the socialist state, developing the economy, building the new life and developing the socialist democracy. Lenin considered the mass organizations an "assembly line" system, a "transmission" system between the party and the masses. He said: "This is a complicated system of cogwheels rather than a simple one, for the proletarian dictatorship cannot be carried out by a single organization that covers the whole of the proletariat. We cannot achieve dictatorship if we do not have some 'assembly lines' that link the vanguard unit with the masses of the progressive class and the unit with the working masses" (p 71). Lenin paid a lot of attention to organizing trade unions, which he considered "the reserve of the state administration, the school of communism and the school of economic management" (p 122) and "the reservoir of the state administration" (p 69). He considered the Communist Youth Group the "assault unit" in all of the fields of activities of the party and state and believed that the Group must make the young generation realize that the goal of their life is to build the communist society and, through its actual work and activities, prove to others the correct road of the party and the Group itself and the fact that "each and every member of the Youth Group is an intellectual and at the same time can work as a laborer" (pp 148-149), etc. Lenin also paid special attention to the women's movement. He said: "The building of the socialist society itself can start only after we have made women fully equal and when we begin the new work along with the women who have been relieved of non-productive petty jobs, which dull the mind of people."* He also mentioned the fact that the mass organizations must represent their own groups of people in taking part in the state management, build their own organization and have a full concept of the party's leadership over their own organization.

He always reminded the mass organizations of the fact that they "must know how to adjust themselves to suit the masses and their background; on the other hand, the trade unions absolutely should not tolerate the masses' backward prejudices and thinking" (p 140) and should educate the masses to bring "the masses to a higher level in terms of cultural background and economically and politically" so that all strata of the working population would take a more and more active part in the capacity of owners in the management of the economy and the socialist state.

To fully develop the combined strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship and to strengthen the leadership role of the party, the managerial role of the state and the educational and persuading role of the mass organizations -- those are the matters that have great realistic significance in our country's socialist revolution today.

To learn from Lenin's teachings mentioned above is to fully understand the party's resolutions aimed at successfully building a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam and making a deserving contribution to the world's revolution.

* V.I.Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Vol. 30, pp 43-44.