

# HỒ CHÍ MINH

## *SELECTED WRITINGS*

(1920 — 1969)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

HANOI — 1973

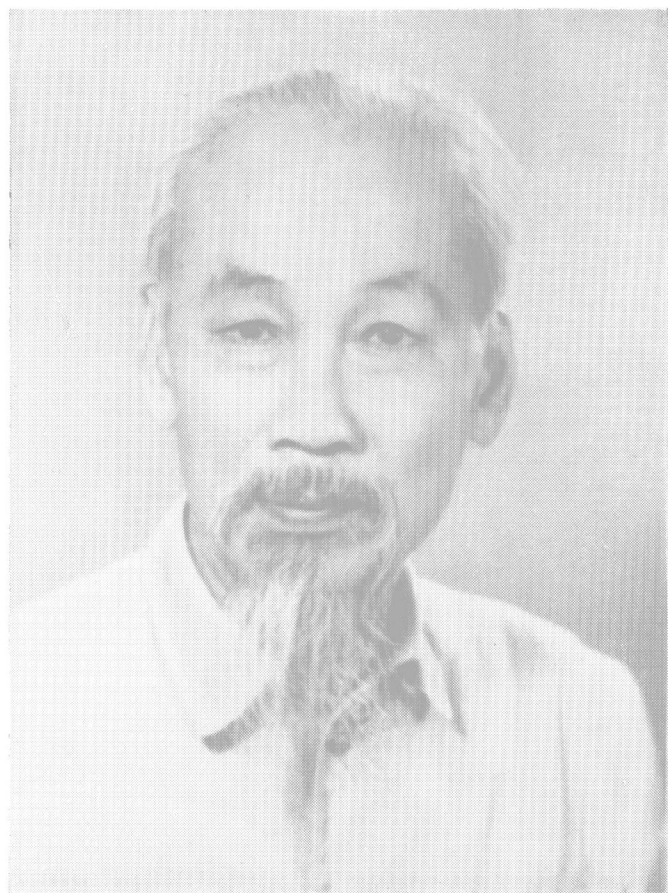
**HỒ CHÍ MINH**  
**SELECTED WRITINGS**  
*(1920 — 1969)*



HỒ CHÍ MINH  
SELECTED WRITINGS  
*1920 — 1969*

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE  
HANOI — 1973







*This collection comprises the most important speeches and writings of President Ho Chi Minh for the period extending from 1920 to 1969. They are precious landmarks which make it possible to understand the Vietnamese revolution in its historical evolution as well as in its various aspects.*

*The reader should be warned, however, that our translation is but a very inadequate rendition of the lively, crisp, concise, often humour-tinged, in short the inimitable style of President Ho Chi Minh, who is one of the best writers and poets of Viet Nam.*

*Let the reader try to fill this gap with the help of his own imagination.*

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE  
HANOI, 1973





# CONTENTS

## PART ONE (1920 – 1945)

Speech at the Tours Congress (December 1920).	15
Indochina (1921).	18
Manifesto of the "Intercolonial Union" (1921-1925).	20
The Anti-French Resistance (1921-1926).	22
Report on the National and Colonial Questions at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (June- July 1924).	24
Lenin and the Colonial Peoples (1925).	37
Appeal Made on the Occasion of the Founding of the Indochinese Communist Party (February 18, 1930).	39
The Party's Line in the Period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939).	42
Letter from Abroad (June 6, 1941).	44
Instructions for the Setting up of the Armed Propaganda Brigade for the Liberation of Viet Nam (December 1944).	47
Appeal for General Insurrection (August 1945).	49

## PART TWO (1945 – 1954)

Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (September 2, 1945).	53
To Our Fellow-Countrymen in Nam Bo (September 26, 1945).	57
To the People's Committees in the Whole Country (North, South, Centre) and at All Levels (Province, District and Village) (October 1945.)	59
Appeal to the People to Fight Famine (1945).	62
Appeal to Fight Illiteracy (October 1945).	64
To Our Fellow-Countrymen in Nam Bo before Going to France for Negotiations (May 31, 1946).	66
Appeal for National Resistance (December 20, 1946).	68
To the Vietnamese People, the French People and the Peoples of the Allied Nations (December 21, 1946).	69
Appeal Issued after Six Months of Resistance (June 19, 1947).	72

Anniversary of the Founding of the Viet Nam Liberation Army (December 22, 1947).	75
To the National Congress of Militiamen (April 15, 1948).	78
To the Meeting of the Central Committee of the Viet Minh (April 20, 1948).	81
Appeal for Patriotic Emulation (June 11, 1948).	84
To the 6th Congress of Party Cadres (January 18, 1949).	87
To Peasant Cadres (November 1949).	91
To the Trade-Union Congress (February 23, 1950).	93
Answers to the Press on US Intervention in Indochina (July 25, 1950).	94
On the Fifth Anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day (September 2, 1950).	96
Political Report at the Second National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (February 1951).	101
At the Congress for the Unification of Viet Minh and Lien Viet (March 3, 1951).	130
To the Artists on the Occasion of the 1951 Painting Exhibition (December 10, 1951).	133
Practise Thrift and Oppose Embezzlement, Waste, and Bureaucracy (1952).	135
Instructions Given at a Conference on Guerilla Warfare (July 1952).	146
Replies to a Swedish Correspondent (November 1953).	153
Report to the Third Session of the National Assembly (December 1, 1953).	155
Letter of Commendation to the Army, Civilian Workers, Young Volunteers and People in the Northwest on the Occasion of the Glorious Victory at Dien Bien Phu (May 8, 1954).	171
Report to the 6th Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee (July 15, 1954).	172

### PART THREE (1954 — 1969)

Appeal on the Occasion of the 8th Anniversary of the Outbreak of the Nation-Wide Resistance (December 19, 1954).	187
Closing Address at the Congress of the National United Front (September 10, 1955).	188
To the Nation (July 6, 1956).	192
On Revolutionary Morality (1958).	195

Report on the Draft Amended Constitution (December 18, 1959).	209
Thirty Years of Activity of the Party (1960).	231
Talk at the First Meeting of Cultural Activists (February 11, 1960).	248
The Path Which Led Me to Leninism (April 1960).	250
Opening Speech at the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (September 5, 1960).	253
The Chinese Revolution and the Vietnamese Revolution (July 1, 1961).	262
Address to the Fifth Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee (July 1961).	266
Address to the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee (June 20, 1962).	269
Address to the Sixth Session of the Second National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (May 8, 1963).	273
Report at the Special Political Conference (March 27, 1964).	277
Speech on the occasion of the 20th Birthday of the Viet Nam People's Army (December 22, 1964).	295
Address to the Second Session of the Third National Assembly of the DRVN (April 10, 1965).	297
Appeal on the Occasion of July 20, 1965.	302
Appeal to Compatriots and Fighters throughout the Country (July 17, 1966).	307
Talk to District Cadres in a Training Class (January 18, 1967).	311
Letter to Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho (March 6, 1967).	322
The Great October Revolution Opened the Road of Liberation to All Peoples (October 1967).	325
New Year's Greetings (Spring 1968).	337
Appeal on the Occasion of July 20, 1968.	339
Letter on the Occasion of the New School Year (October 1968).	343
Appeal to the Nation (November 3, 1968).	346
New Year's Greetings (Spring 1969).	350
Elevate Revolutionary Ethics, Make a Clean Sweep of Individualism (February 3, 1969).	352
Appeal on the Occasion of July 20, 1969.	355
Testament (May 10, 1969).	359
NOTES	363



# PART ONE

*(1920 – 1945)*



## SPEECH AT THE TOURS CONGRESS\*<sup>1</sup>

(December 1920)

*Chairman*: "Comrade Indochinese Delegate, you have the floor." (*Applause.*)

*Indochinese Delegate* \*\*: "Today, instead of contributing, together with you, to world revolution as I should wish, I come here with deep sadness and profound grief, as a Socialist, to protest against the abhorrent crimes committed in my native land. (*Very good!*).

"You all know that French capitalism entered Indochina half a century ago. It conquered our country at bayonet point and in the name of capitalism. Since then we have not only been oppressed and exploited shamelessly, but also tortured and poisoned pitilessly. (I would stress this fact that we have been poisoned, with opium, alcohol, etc.) I cannot, in but a few minutes, reveal all the atrocities perpetrated by the predatory capitalists in Indochina. Prisons outnumber schools and are always overcrowded with detainees. Any native suspected of having socialist ideas is arrested and sometimes put to death without trial. So goes justice in Indochina for in that country there is one law for the Annamese and another for the Europeans or those holding European citizenship. The former do not enjoy the same safeguards as the latter. We have neither freedom of the press, freedom of speech,

\* Excerpt from the shorthand transcript of the Congress. (*Ed.*)

\*\* Nguyen Ai Quoc, later President Ho Chi Minh. (*Ed.*)



freedom of assembly, nor freedom of association. We have no right to emigrate or travel abroad as tourists. We live in utter ignorance because we have no right to study. In Indochina the colonialists do all they can to poison us with opium and besot us with alcohol. Thousands of Annamese have been led to a slow death and thousands of others massacred to protect interests that are not theirs.

“Comrades, such is the treatment inflicted upon more than twenty million Annamese, that is more than half the population of France. And yet they are said to be under French protection (*applause*)! The Socialist Party must act effectively in favour of the oppressed natives.” (*Cheers.*)

*Jean Longuet*<sup>2</sup>: “I have spoken in favour of the natives!”

*Indochinese Delegate*: “Right from the beginning of my speech I have imposed the dictatorship of silence... (*Laughter.*) The Party must carry out propaganda for socialism in all colonial countries. We shall see in the Socialist Party’s joining the Third International the promise that from now on it will attach to the colonial questions the importance they deserve. We are very glad to learn that a Standing Delegation has been appointed for North Africa and we should be very happy if in the near future the Party sends one of its members to Indochina to study on the spot the relevant questions and what should be done about them.”

*A delegate*: “With Comrade Enver Pasha?”

*Indochinese Delegate*: “Silence, the Parliamentarians!” (*Applause.*)

*Chairman*: “Now all delegates must keep silent, including the non-Parliamentarians!”