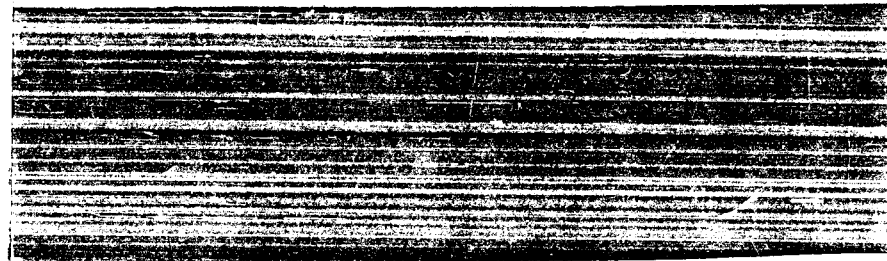


COMMUNIQUE
ON THE NINTH SESSION
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE
VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY

in two parts

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On 5th 57



COMMUNIQUE

ON THE NINTH SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY

In December 1963, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party held its ninth session to discuss the international situation and the Party's international tasks.

The session unanimously holds that the world balance of forces is becoming ever more favourable to peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and unfavourable to imperialism and other reactionary forces. The revolutionary upsurge which has arisen since the end of World War II is powerfully and continuously developing.

The first major change in the world since the end of World War II is the formation, consolidation and development of the socialist system comprising thirteen countries, viz, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba,

Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam. This is the bulwark of world revolution, and at the same time, the bulwark of world peace.

The second major change is the upsurge of the national-liberation movement which is causing big breaches in the colonial system of imperialism and the rapid disintegration of its rear. Over 50 countries with a total population of more than 1,000 million have won national independence to varying extent.

The third major change is the fact that imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is sinking deeper and deeper into the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism and is continually weakening. Its internal contradictions are daily deepening. The class struggle in the world is becoming ever more acute and fierce.

Imperialism is showing itself more and more perfidious and ferocious as it weakens. It is frantically implementing extremely reactionary policies, stepping up the arms race, preparing for a new world war, unleashing local and "special" wars, putting into practice a neo-colonialist policy and the so-called "strategy of peace", using modern revisionism to paralyse and undermine the world revolutionary movement, carrying out the plan of "peaceful evolution", attempting to restore capitalism in a number of socialist countries and to divide the socialist camp and the international Communist and Workers' movement. U.S. imperialism has become the most

dangerous enemy of all peoples and of all mankind. However, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is now in a weak position. On the other hand, the forces of national independence, democracy and socialism are strategically on the offensive.

The session holds that the final objective of the international Communist movement remains as always the overthrow of imperialism as a whole, the abolition of all regimes of oppression and exploitation in human society, and the building up of socialism and communism in every country in the world.

To achieve this aim, it is necessary to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, to strengthen the solidarity of the working class, the labouring people, the oppressed nations and other forces of peace and democracy throughout the world, to build up socialism and communism in the socialist system, to carry out revolution in the capitalist system and to defend world peace. It is necessary to combine the revolutionary struggle closely with the struggle for peace, to direct the spearhead of struggle at the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, to fight back imperialism step by step and to overthrow it part by part, to win victory for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, to march forward to the total liquidation of imperialism and other reactionary forces, and to bring about a socialist and communist world.

According to the spirit of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, the international Communist movement is being confronted with the following great tasks:

- To complete the socialist revolution and successfully build up socialism and communism in the socialist system; to consolidate, strengthen and develop that system;

- To carry out national-liberation revolution, to thoroughly eradicate colonialism, old and new, to complete the liquidation of the colonial system of imperialism;

- To carry out a resolute struggle against monopoly capitalists and for democracy and peace, to march forward to the carrying out of people's democratic revolutions and socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries;

- To carry out a resolute struggle against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists with a view to safeguarding world peace, preventing a new world war and bringing about peaceful coexistence between states with different political and social systems;

- To strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To ensure the successful fulfilment of the above-mentioned great tasks, the Vietnam Workers' Party, together with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, must endeavour to struggle for the defence of the

purity of Marxism-Leninism, against revisionism, right-wing opportunism, which constitutes the main danger to the international Communist movement, and, at the same time, against dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, on the ideological and political front, an acute struggle is going on in the international Communist movement between two lines: the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line of modern revisionism. The struggle between these two lines reflects the fierce class struggle to solve the issue of "who will win" between socialism and capitalism on a world-wide scale. The result of this struggle has a close bearing on the future of the international Communist movement and the future of the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Modern revisionism distorts and discards the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960; it advocates the policy of class conciliation and unprincipled co-operation with imperialism, blots out the demarcation line between ourselves, our friends and our foes, sabotages the revolutionary cause of the working class, divides the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, etc. The 1960 Moscow Statement has clearly pointed out:

"Revisionism, right-wing opportunism, which mirrors bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilises

the workers and all working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism."

To oppose modern revisionism is essential if we are to restore and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, to rally all forces opposing imperialism and other reactionary forces, to increase the fighting capacity of these forces and to ensure solid successes for the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the people throughout the world.

The Session holds that the revolutionary cause of our people and that of the world people are closely linked together and exert mutual influence. The Resolution of the Third National Congress of our Party has pointed out: "The Vietnamese revolution is part of the international movement of struggle for socialism, national independence and world peace."

Our Party's stand is the stand of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is duty-bound to attend to the revolutionary interests of our working class and people, and at the same time, to attend to the revolutionary interests of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations of the world. To lead the Vietnamese revolution to victory, it has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country. In the struggle against modern revisionism, it firmly stands on the position of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely

defends the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, defends the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, defends the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, defends the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China and the other fraternal Parties. In the future as in the past, our Party pledges itself to continue to strive, together with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.

Our Party draws a clear political distinction between the Tito revisionist clique, lackey of imperialism, and people within the international Communist movement who commit the error of revisionism or right-wing opportunism. Our attitude with regard to the Tito revisionist clique is to expose and oppose them consistently, and, with regard to the mistaken people within the international Communist movement, to struggle for the sake of unity and to achieve greater unity through struggle.

To resolutely oppose modern revisionism is not only an international duty of our Party, but also an urgent requirement to safeguard its cohesion and unity, to safeguard the correct revolutionary line of its Third National Congress and to push ahead the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the country. The successes of the Vietnamese revolution over the last

few decades (the success of the August Revolution, the victory of the protracted resistance war against the French aggressive colonialists and the U.S. interventionists, the great achievements of the socialist revolution in the North, the repeated victories of our South Vietnamese compatriots in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents, etc.) have proved that our Party's past and present line is a Marxist-Leninist one.

However, rightist ideologies still exist among a number of our cadres and Party members. We must overcome these rightist ideologies, prevent the influences of modern revisionism, strengthen the cohesion and unity of the Party, and ensure the successful implementation of the Resolution of its Third National Congress and those of the Central Committee.

The ninth session of the Party Central Committee, therefore, decides that the following urgent work be carried out:

— To strengthen political education, to give our cadres and Party members better comprehension of the Party's line on the Vietnamese revolution, its stand and viewpoint on the questions of the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement and the international duty of the Party. On this basis, to consolidate the class stand, to promote the thoroughly revolutionary spirit; to combat the influence of modern revisionism, to overcome rightist and other erroneous ideologies; to enhance socialist collectivism, to foster proletarian revolutionary ethics, to combat individualism; to promote discipline, to fight liberalism; to enhance patriotism and proletarian

internationalism, to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the Party, to create an exalted revolutionary spirit, to step up the patriotic emulation movement, to build socialism in the North, to extend active support to the patriotic struggle of our South Vietnamese compatriots and to take a practical part in the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

— To strive to improve and strengthen the work of the Party and State in the field of foreign relations, to ensure a better fulfilment by our Party, State and people of their international duty of contributing to restore and strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, and to increase the forces of the socialist camp in every field, to actively support the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the movement of struggle for democracy and socialism of the working class and the labouring people in the capitalist countries, and to actively defend peace in South-East Asia and the world.

The restoration and strengthening of the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement are of the utmost importance for the consolidation and development of the socialist system as well as for the promotion of the world people's movement of revolutionary struggle and in defence of peace. The Vietnam Workers' Party earnestly wishes that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China

continue talks to achieve solidarity and to create good conditions for the convening of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Vietnam Workers' Party pledges itself to strive, together with all fraternal Parties, to restore and strengthen the cohesion and unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement.

The struggle for the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism is a protracted and complicated one. But we are firmly confident that the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the radiant truth of our epoch, which has won glorious victories in the past struggle against right-wing and left-wing opportunism, will certainly also win victory over modern revisionism and other opportunist trends.

We are also firmly confident that through the struggle against modern revisionism, the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will certainly be strengthened; the world socialist system will further enhance its great historical rôle; Marxism-Leninism will be further developed and enriched, and will more brilliantly enlighten mankind's forward path. The struggle of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations all over the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism will certainly win ever greater victories.

Our people's successes in the struggle for socialism in the North, for the liberation of the South and the peaceful reunification of the country are making a

practical contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp, and constitute a support for the movement for national liberation and world peace.

The Session calls on the entire Party and people to further enhance the spirit of self-reliance, to build socialism through labour and thriftiness, to value and make a good use of the fraternal countries' aid, to emulate with one another in a patriotic spirit, to fulfil the 1964 State plan and to march forward to the successful completion of the First Five-Year Plan, to step up the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, and to complete the socialist transformation, to consolidate the North into an ever stronger base of our people in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their agents, for the peaceful reunification of our country.

— Long live the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism!

— Long live the unshakable solidarity among the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties!

— Long live peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam!

— Long live world peace!

LET US STRENGTHEN OUR COHESION
AND UNITY, HEIGHTEN OUR FIGHTING
SPIRIT AND LEAD OUR REVOLUTIONARY
CAUSE TO NEW SUCCESSES *

The Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, held in December 1963, discussed the world situation and decided upon the Party's international tasks. Together with the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, the Vietnam Workers' Party pledges itself to endeavour to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, oppose revisionism, right-wing opportunism, which constitutes the main danger, and at the same time oppose dogmatism and sectarianism, contribute to strengthening the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, rally all forces to oppose

* Hanoi daily *Nhan Dan's* editorial on the communique of the Ninth Session of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee (21-1-1964).

imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, and win ever greater successes for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Session decided to intensify educational work within the Party, with the aim of heightening further the Marxist-Leninist and ideological standard of all Party cadres and members, overcome wrong ideas, heighten our fighting spirit and lead the revolutionary cause of our people to new successes. The session also decided to improve and strengthen the external work of the Party and the State, with the aim of helping our Party, State and people to fulfil their international tasks better.

The Ninth Session of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee was an important ideological activity of our Party. The resolution of the Central Committee constitutes a theoretical basis to bring about the unity of ideology and action of our entire Party and people.

Marxism-Leninism is the invincible banner of our Party and the brother Parties. Thanks to the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has led the revolutionary cause of our people from one success to another. One of the important causes of our Party's success is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country and that in the process of leading the Vietnamese revolution, it has not committed mistakes with regard to the political line. In face of the truculent and cunning imperialist aggressors and their lackeys of all kinds, namely the feudal landlord class and the comprador capitalist class, our Party has never

flinched, shown fear, nor compromised, nor capitulated. On the contrary, it has unceasingly fostered its force and fighting spirit, heightened its determination to fight and to win, and pushed forward the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the enemy. Experience of our successes shows that we must always have absolute confidence in the might of the masses, rally broad masses of the people, with the worker-peasant alliance as the core, organize broad class and national struggles, bring the masses to the revolutionary front, and smash the fetters of the imperialists and their lackeys. To overthrow the latter, it is necessary to use the revolutionary violence of the masses to oppose counter-revolutionary violence, and use revolutionary wars to oppose counter-revolutionary wars. For more than 30 years now, the revolutionary process of our people has been a process of uninterrupted struggle, now underground, now open, under legal and illegal forms, political struggle carried out parallel with armed struggle. The Revolution of August 1945 was an earth-shaking uprising of the millions of our people, using revolutionary violence and combining armed struggle with political struggle to seize power from the hands of the imperialist aggressors. The protracted war of resistance of the entire Vietnamese people against the French colonialist aggressors and the American interventionists gave us great victories. The present patriotic struggle of our compatriots in South Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen will certainly end in victory. In the revolutionary struggle as well as in

the national construction, we do not fear the enemy, nor difficulties and hardships, nor sacrifices. To carry out revolution means to overcome difficulties and hardships in order to win independence, freedom and happiness. The invaluable tradition of our Party and people is a tradition of unswerving and undaunted struggle, a tradition of self-reliance, of overcoming difficulties, and of determination to win.

The successful August Revolution, the victorious long drawn-out war of resistance, the great achievements of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam, the successive victories of the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies at the present day, etc. are the successes of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam. They are also the highest norm by which to value how much we understand and are imbued with Marxism-Leninism. The line of the Vietnamese revolution in the present stage laid down by the Third Congress of the Party (September 1960-Publisher) reflects the correct application of Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist line of the international Communist movement.

The Ninth Session of the Party's Central Committee discussed the strategic and tactical problems of the international Communist movement at the present time and drew a demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninist line of the international Communist movement and the opportunist line of modern revisionism. On the basis of the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, our Party asserted that "the final objective

of the international Communist movement remains as always the overthrow of imperialism as a whole, the abolition of oppression and exploitation in human society, and the building up of socialism and communism in every country in the world." To achieve this aim, our Party pointed out: "It is necessary to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, to strengthen the solidarity of the working class, the labouring people, the oppressed nations and other forces of peace and democracy throughout the world, to build up socialism and communism within the socialist system, to carry out revolution within the capitalist system and to defend world peace. It is necessary to combine the revolutionary struggle closely with the struggle for peace, to direct the spearhead of struggle at the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by the U.S., to fight back imperialism step by step and to overthrow it part by part, to win victory for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, to march forward to the total liquidation of imperialism and other reactionary forces and to bring about a socialist and communist world."

The deeper it is sinking in the present stage of the third general crisis of world capitalism, the more truculent and bellicose imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, becomes. It is facing mankind with the danger of a new world war. The struggle in defence of world peace, for disarmament, the banning of nuclear weapons, disbandment of aggressive military blocs, dismantling of the imperialists' military bases

in other countries, the settlement through negotiation of all international disputes and the carrying out of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, etc. must be closely combined with the revolutionary struggle of the working class and labouring people and the oppressed nations in the world against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and reactionary forces, for national independence, democracy and socialism. These two struggles are closely connected with each other and exert mutual influence. The error of the revisionist line is to separate these two struggles, oppose the one to the other, and fear that the revolutionary struggles might render the world situation tense and that revolutionary wars might flare up into a world nuclear war. In its essence the mistake committed by revisionism is to distort and discard the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, carry out a policy of class conciliation and unprincipled co-operation with imperialism, blot out the demarcation line between ourselves, our friends and our foes, sabotage the revolutionary cause of the working class, divide the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. Our Party resolutely struggles for the Marxist-Leninist line of the international Communist movement and against the line of modern revisionism.

The revolution in our country is part of the world revolution. We carry out revolution to liberate our working class and people and at the same time to contribute to the liberation of the working class and

people the world over. The unanimity within our Party on the line of the Vietnamese revolution and the international Communist movement is an extremely important condition for strengthening the militant forces of our Party in the struggle for socialism in the North and for the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland. Every member of our Party must at all times stand firmly on the revolutionary position of the working class, get a deeper knowledge of the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism, thoroughly imbue himself with the line and policies of the Party, bravely correct his shortcomings and mistakes, and struggle irreconcilably against erroneous opportunist ideologies. The urgent problem at present is to strive "to combat the influence of modern revisionism, to overcome rightist and other erroneous ideologies; to enhance socialist collectivism, to foster proletarian revolutionary ethics, to combat individualism; to promote discipline, to fight liberalism; to enhance patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the Party, to create an exalted revolutionary spirit, to step up the patriotic emulation movement, to build socialism in the North, to extend active support to the patriotic struggle of our South Vietnamese compatriots and to take a practical part in the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The Vietnamese revolution has recorded great successes but still has to win complete victory. The world revolution has also achieved great successes,

but not yet triumphed completely. The Northern part of our country has been liberated and is building socialism, but the class struggle is going on and we have to overcome countless difficulties and hardships to turn our country from a backward agricultural country into a prosperous socialist one. Our compatriots in the South have recorded victory after victory, but the cruel enemy — U.S. imperialism — has not yet given up its schemes of aggression and enslavement. The patriotic, protracted and hard struggle of our Southern compatriots still continues with the aim of defeating the enemy and completely liberating South Vietnam. Socialism has triumphed and is triumphing on one-fourth of the globe comprising over one thousand million people, but the task of building socialism and communism must be carried on and two-thirds of mankind now living on three-fourths of the globe are having to wage hard and complicated revolutionary struggles. The class struggle on a world-wide scale to settle the question of "who will win" between socialism and capitalism is becoming extremely acute. Modern revisionism is a great obstacle on the path of the development of the world revolution. Everyone of us Communists who wants to be at all times a worthy vanguard militant of the revolution must struggle resolutely against bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, and at the same time resolutely struggle against modern revisionism.

So far as from now on, we always strive to contribute our share to consolidating and strengthening unity within the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, consolidating and strengthening unity between the Soviet Union and China on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We sincerely thank the Soviet Union, China and the other brother socialist countries for their priceless support and assistance to the socialist construction in North Vietnam and to the struggle for the peaceful reunification of our country.

The drive to study the resolution of the Party Central Committee's Ninth Session is an opportunity to help all our Party cadres and members raise further their comprehension of the revolutionary line in our country and of the international Communist movement, re-examine their ideology and work, strengthen the cohesion and unity within the Party, heighten their revolutionary vigilance and fighting spirit, and actively fulfil all tasks entrusted by the Party and the State.

The Ninth Session of the Party Central Committee proceeded from the desire to strengthen the unity within the socialist camp and within the international Communist movement in order to unite the working class and other people of the world to defeat imperialism and its hirelings, to win success for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The revolutionary ideology of the resolution of the Central Committee's Session is a source

of tremendous strength of our entire Party and people. United around the Party Central Committee headed by President Ho Chi Minh, we will certainly lead the revolution of our people to new victories and make active contributions to realizing the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960.

Revisionism and other opportunist tendencies will certainly be defeated!

Marxism-Leninism will certainly win complete victory!

