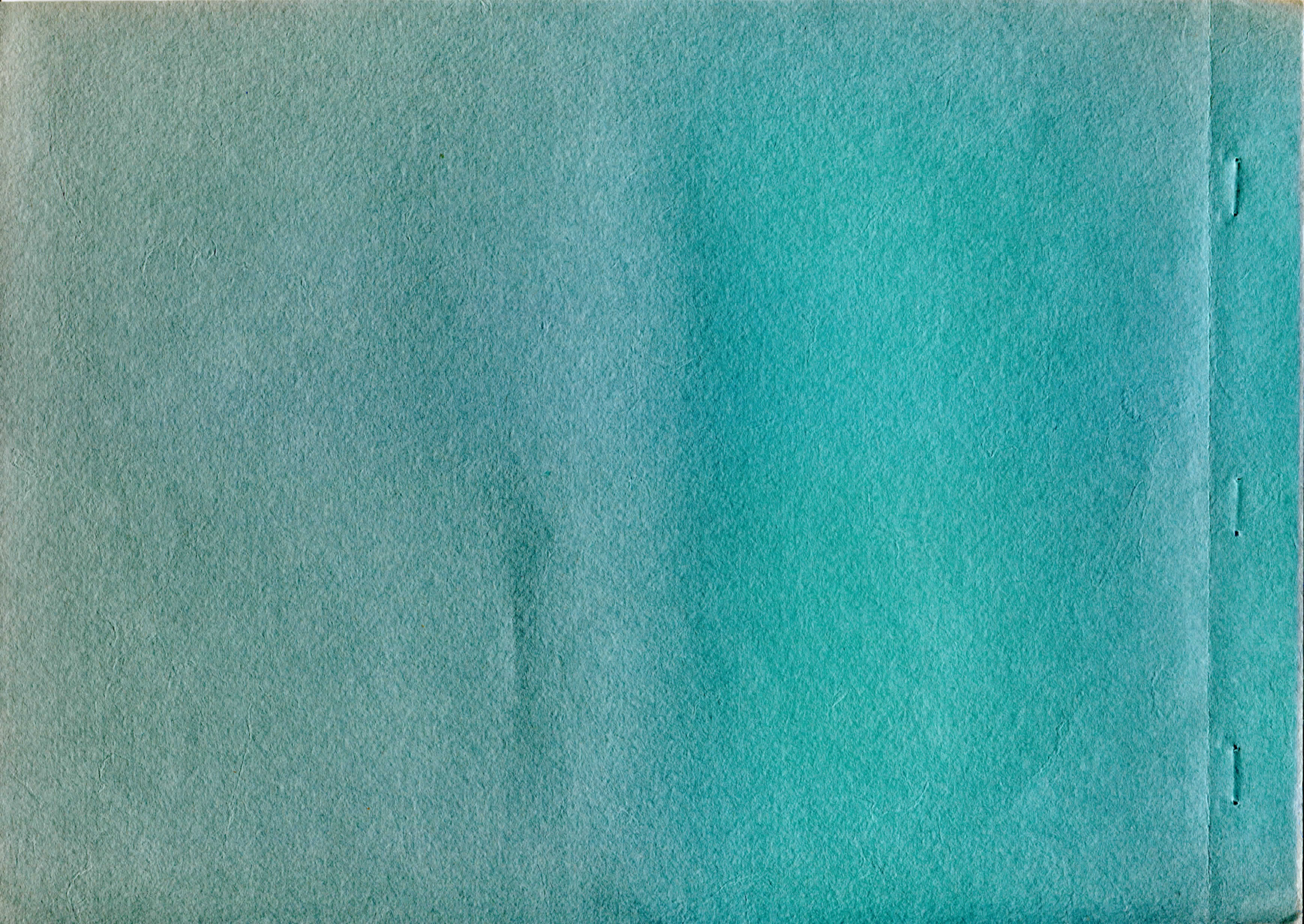


The Communist Party
of Vietnam

**HISTORICAL
MILESTONES**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1982



82/A2

FOREWORD

1930-1982

Fifteen years after its foundation the Communist Party of Vietnam led the entire people to regain their independence. Then under its leadership the Vietnamese people successfully stood up to the Japanese, French, American, and Chinese aggressor troops.

In those years of almost uninterrupted war, the Vietnamese people also built the initial material and socio-economic bases of socialism.

At present the Party is giving leadership to the nation with a view to the fulfilment of two fundamental tasks:

— To carry on the building of socialism starting from an under-developed economy and society devastated by long years of war.

— To defend national independence against the aggressive designs of American imperialism and Chinese expansionism.

The Fifth National Congress of the Party, held in March 1982, charts the general political line for the coming period.

In this booklet we shall give an outline of the main periods in the history of the Party by providing excerpts of the basic documents which laid down the line for each stage. These milestones will make it easier to grasp the present problems and the solutions given to them by the Fifth Congress.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — MARCH 1982



Foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Nguyen Ai Quoc (later President Ho Chi Minh), 1930. He convened and presided over the Unification Conference of the Communist Organizations in Vietnam

The Party took the name of Indochinese Communist Party

Tran Phu, the first General Secretary of the Party, the author of the Political Theses adopted at the meeting of the Central Committee in October 1930

PART ONE
NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIAL RENOVATION
(1930-45)

Political programme and strategy :

The Vietnamese revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, with the aim of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism, restoring the independence of the country, realizing land reform and advancing to a communist society. In this revolution, the Party line is to unite with the majority of the peasants, to ally with the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the middle peasants and to make use of or, at least, to neutralize the rich peasants, the middle and small land-owners and those members of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie who are not evident counter-revolutionaries. The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. It must act in such a way as to allow the proletariat to give leadership to the people.

Political Theses :

The Indochinese revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, a land revolution to abolish all feudal vestiges and give land to the tillers, and an anti-imperialist revolution to overthrow the French imperialists, win back complete independence for Indochina and advance to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. The overthrow of imperialism will facilitate that of feudalism and vice versa. The main force of the revolution is the workers and peasants led by the working class. The decisive factor

**Unification Conference of
the Communist Organiza-
tions in Vietnam (3 Feb.
1930)**

**Central Committee Meet-
ing (Oct. 1930)**

Resurgence and development of the revolutionary movement
in Indochina

*Le Hong Phong, alternate member of the Central Committee
of the Communist International (1936-39)*

Triumph of the Popular Front in France

Danger of fascism on a world scale

Foundation of the Indochinese Democratic Front



The Nghe Tinh Soviets



Mass rally in Hanoi (May Day 1938)



for the victory of the revolution is the leadership of the Communist Party which has a correct political line and strict discipline, is closely linked with the masses and has matured in the course of the struggle. While the appropriate conditions for the revolution do not yet exist, the Party's combat watchwords must be concerned with the daily interests of the masses in order to guide them to the revolutionary front; once these conditions have come into existence, the Party must immediately put up the slogan of armed struggle to seize power for the workers and the peasants.

*
* *

Following a high tide of revolution in the country, in some rural areas of Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces, the peasants' association's executive committee, led by the Party cell, assumed control of the political, economic and social life in the countryside, performing the tasks of Soviet-style people's power.

Three main immediate tasks of the Party are to consolidate and develop the Party, rally the broad masses, and oppose the imperialist war.

The anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist strategic tasks set forth by our Party at its foundation remain unchanged, but the direct immediate objective of the revolution now is not to overthrow the French imperialists' rule and carry out land revolution, but to struggle against the colonial reactionaries, instruments of fascism, for democratic freedoms, better living conditions, and peace...; to turn to full account the possibilities of legal and semi-legal activity to conduct propaganda among

The Nghe Tinh Soviets
(Sept. 1930 — Early 1931)

First National Congress
(Mar. 1935)

**Meeting of the Party's
Central Committee (July
1936)**



Outbreak of the Second World War

Resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee

Nguyen Van Cu, General Secretary of the Party (1938-40)

Collusion of the French colonialists in Indochina with the Japanese

The Bac Son Uprising
The Nam Ky Uprising



the masses and to organize them, at the same time consolidating and developing the Party's underground organizations, combining legal and semi-legal with illegal activities to develop the Party's organization and the Democratic Front, and stepping up the masses' movement of struggle.

National liberation is the primary task of the Indochinese revolution. "The anti-imperialist revolution and the land revolution are the keystone of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The land revolution cannot succeed without a successful anti-imperialist revolution and vice versa. This principle will never change but it must be cleverly applied in such a way as to successfully perform the essential task of the revolution, i. e. to overthrow imperialism."

On the basis of this new strategic orientation, the conference advocated shelving temporarily the watchword of land revolution.

The danger of a double yoke is faced by the Indochinese peoples: their oppression by the Japanese and the French imperialists who are their principal enemies at the time. Therefore, the Party's immediate task is to lead the Indochinese peoples to prepare for an armed insurrection to overthrow the Japanese and French fascists and to seize power for the people.

The immediate revolution is the revolution of national liberation; the revolutionary forces of the country must be spearheaded against the Japanese-German fascist aggressors, because at this juncture, if the question of national liberation were not solved and independence

**6th Meeting of the Central
Committee (Nov. 1939)**

**Meeting of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (Nov. 1940)**

**8th Meeting of the Party
Central Committee (May
1941)**

The return of Nguyen Ai Quoc to Vietnam

The birth of the Viet Minh

The 3th Plenum of the Central Committee met in this hut at Khuoi Nam

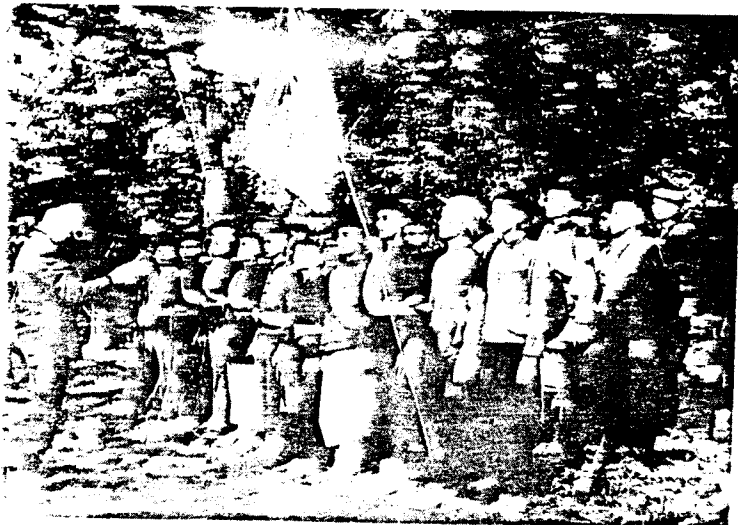
Japanese coup in Indochina
(9 Mar. 1945)

The Soviet Union declared war on the
Japanese fascists

Unconditional surrender of the Japanese



*Birth of the Armed Propaganda Brigade
for the Liberation of Vietnam*



The communal house at Tan Trao



and freedom were not won for the entire nation, our nation and our people would have to go on living in slavery and the people's rights and the labouring classes' interests would never be secured. The central task of our Party and people at this stage is to prepare for insurrection. When the opportunity arises, with the forces at our disposal, we can lead partial insurrections whose success will pave the way for a great general insurrection.

The Japanese coup gave rise to a profound political crisis which speedily ripened conditions for general insurrection. The conference decided to replace the slogan "Drive away the Japanese and the French" by "Drive away the Japanese fascists" and to launch a powerful campaign against the Japanese, for national salvation, advancing swiftly to general insurrection to seize power; wherever favourable conditions exist, guerilla warfare must be waged to take over local government.

The opportunity for our people to win independence has come and the conditions for an Indochinese insurrection have ripened. It is time for the Party to lead the whole nation in a general insurrection to seize power. We must lead the entire people to wage a general insurrection at the right time for the seizure of power... The key foreign policies are to make more friends and fewer enemies, to oppose all acts of aggression, to avoid armed conflicts with the British, Americans and Chiang, to take advantage of the contradictions between the British-French bloc and the American-Chiang bloc in their scramble for bigger gains in Indochina, to avoid being driven into a confrontation with

**Enlarged Conference of
the Standing Bureau of
the Central Committee
(9-12 Mar. 1945)**

**National Conference of the
Party (13-15 Aug. 1945)**

Election of the Central Committee for
National Liberation (Provisional Govern-
ment) under the presidency of Ho Chi
Minh

General Insurrection Order issued by the
Congress

*President Ho Chi Minh reading the Dec-
laration of Independence (2 Sept. 1945)*



several imperialist forces at the same time, and to get ready to cope with a deal made by the British, Americans and Chiang with the French which would allow the latter to come back to Indochina. The guiding principle for the conduct of foreign affairs is that our strength alone will decide our victory over imperialism.

Under the presidency of Ho Chi Minh, to lead the masses to rise up to disarm the Japanese before the arrival of the Allied forces in Indochina, to seize power from the Japanese, to overthrow the puppet rulers, henchmen of the Japanese, and to act as master of the country in receiving the Allied forces which are to come and disarm the Japanese army in Indochina.

The general insurrection succeeded all over the country.

The victory of the August Revolution ushered in a new era in our country: *the era of independence, freedom and socialism.*

"For the first time in the history of revolutions by the colonial and semi-colonial nations, a party no more than fifteen years of age led a successful revolution and held power in a whole country." (Ho Chi Minh, *Political report to the Party's Second Congress*)

**People's Congress (16 Aug.
1945)**

14-28 August 1945

French troops landed in Nam Bo (Cochinchina)

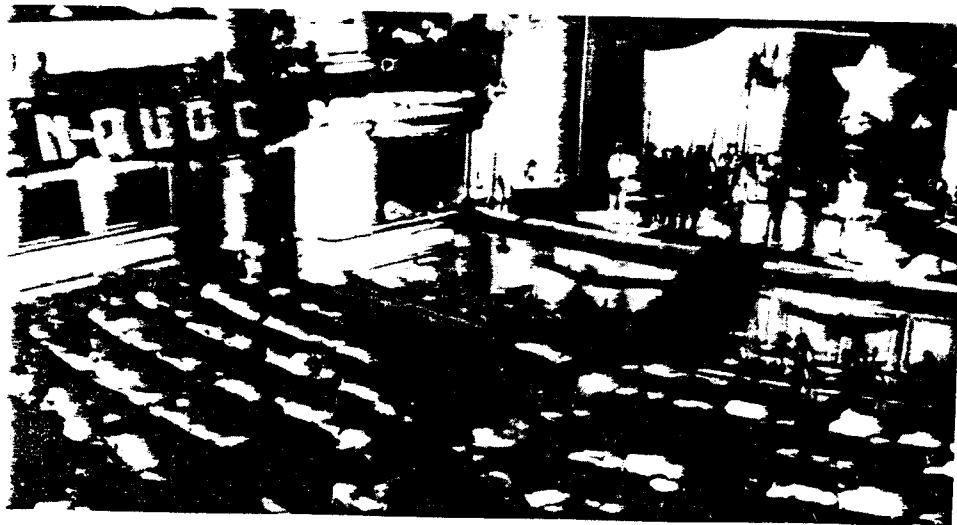
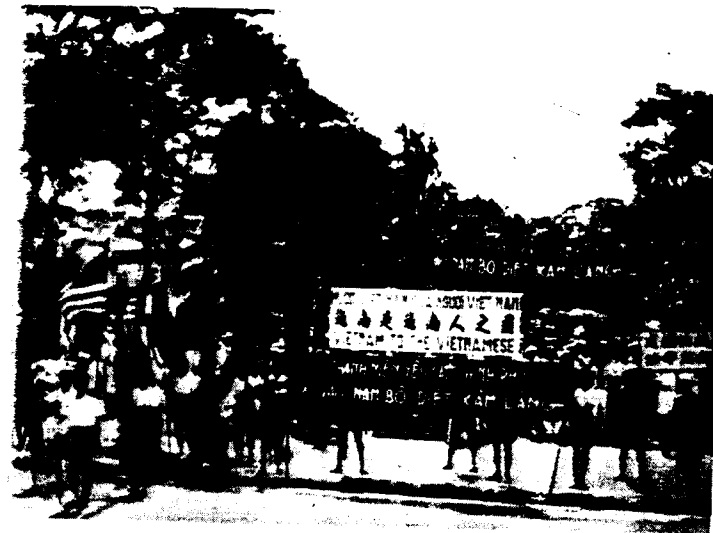
Young people in North Vietnam joining units "Marching South"

Preliminary Convention of 6 Mar. 1946

First session of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

French aggression spread to the whole country

Fighting in Hanoi



PART TWO

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE FIRST WAR OF RESISTANCE

(September 1945 — July 1954)

As the proletariat's task of national salvation has not yet been completed and our main enemy remains the French colonialists we must concentrate our efforts to fight them. "The Fatherland above all!" and our essential task is to wage the war of resistance. On the other hand, as our people have gained control over a large part of the country, a fundamental task is to consolidate it. We are resolved to wrest back independence, freedom and happiness for our people, that is to secure political independence, set up the democratic republican system, and improve the people's life. Resistance and national construction cannot be separated.

We must reach a compromise with the French to thwart the enemy's perfidious scheme to place us in a situation in which we would have to fight three opponents simultaneously: the Chiang Kai-shek troops, the French colonialists, and the Vietnamese reactionaries who are doing their utmost to topple the people's power and rig up a puppet administration. We must also exploit the contradictions between the French and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in order to speed up the latter's withdrawal from the country, consolidate and develop our forces, and prepare for a new fight to gain complete national independence.

Meeting of the Party Central Committee (25 Nov. 1945)

Meeting of the Party Central Committee (Mar. 1946)



The Party took the name of Vietnam Workers' Party

Ho Chi Minh was elected President, and Truong Chinh
General Secretary of the Party

Foundation of the Communist Parties of Laos and
Kampuchea

Second National Congress of the Party

The Franco-American Navarre war plan

The Winter 1953 — Spring 1954 Campaign reached its climax
with the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu

*The Political Bureau of the Central Committee discussed
plans for the Winter 1953 — Spring 1954 Campaign*

Our goal is to wrest back independence and reunify the country. The fundamental principles are to wage a long, all-sided, and nationwide war of resistance with our own forces. Our slogans are: "Each city block a front, each village a fortress", "Wage the war of resistance while building the country", "Strictly apply the tactics of guerilla warfare and mobile warfare."

The immediate task of the national people's democratic revolution in Vietnam is to drive the French imperialists out of the country and wipe out the feudal forces, their henchmen, in order to win national independence, enforce people's democracy, then to make the socialist revolution and build socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

With regard to Laos and Kampuchea, organize two separate revolutionary parties to suit the characteristic features of each country.

Strategic directives: to muster our forces and attack the strategic points where the enemy's forces are weak, force the enemy to spread thin his forces to cope with our assaults, create favourable conditions to wipe out the enemy forces piecemeal and liberate ever more territory. Meanwhile step up guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, defend the liberated areas, help our regular forces, beat the enemy in the selected region: the Northwest.

In order to raise the strength of the resistance, particularly that of the peasants, the Plenum approves the land programme, the general line of the Party in the countryside, the principle of land reform, the

Meeting of the Party Central Committee (22 Dec. 1946)

Second National Congress of the Party (11-19 Feb. 1951)

Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee (Sept. 1953)

5th Meeting of the Party Central Committee (Nov. 1953)

2

Implementation of the watchword: "The land to those who till it"

Signing of the Geneva Agreements on Indochina
(20 July 1954)

Anti-U.S. demonstration in Saigon (1950)

National liberation armed forces entered the capital city of Hanoi



policy of confiscation, requisition and compulsory purchase of land in order to abolish land ownership by the landlord class and allot land to the toiling peasants.

To consolidate peace, achieve reunification, complete independence and democracy throughout the country; to strengthen the armed forces, build a powerful people's army to meet the requirements of the new situation; to continue to implement the policy: land to the tillers, restore production and prepare the conditions for national construction...

The American imperialists are the main obstacle to the restoration of peace in Indochina. They frantically step up the establishment of an aggressive bloc in Southeast Asia, using Indochina as a springboard to expand their war of aggression in this region. They are thus the main foe of peace-loving people in the world and are becoming a direct threat to the Indochinese peoples.

After nearly nine years of hard and heroic struggle under the Party's leadership, with the signing of the Geneva Agreements on Indochina (20 July 1954) our people defeated the war of aggression of French old-style colonialism.

"For the first time in history a small colonial country has defeated a big colonial power. This is a glorious victory for the Vietnamese people and also for the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world." (Ho Chi Minh,

**6th Meeting (enlarged) of
the Party Central Com-
mittee (15-18 July 1954)**

The North was wholly liberated

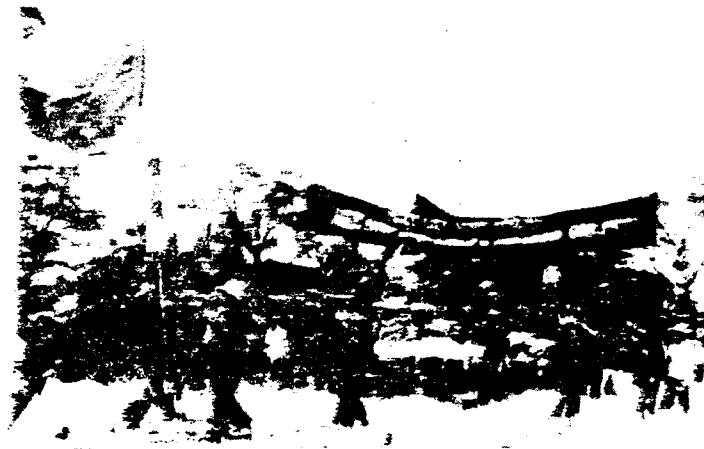
The French were supplanted by
the Americans in the South

Ba Dinh square

*The Southern population acclaimed
the Geneva Agreements*

The South became an American
neo-colony and military base

*The Southern population opposing
the setting up of concentration
camps*



PART THREE

STRUGGLE FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.
AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM
(1954 — April 1975)

In this period, the task of our Party is to unite and lead the people to get the agreement implemented, stand ready to thwart all schemes of sabotage of this agreement in order to consolidate peace, complete land reform, restore and increase production, step up the building of the people's army with a view to consolidating the North, intensify the political struggle of the southern people for peace, reunification, independence and democracy, etc.

The slogan for the South is peace, reunification, independence, democracy, shifting from armed struggle to political action for the implementation of the armistice, consolidation of peace, achievement of democratic liberties, improvement of living conditions, fighting for national reunification and against terror, protection of the people's rights wrested during the war of resistance, combination of legal and semi-legal action.

Though political struggle is waged throughout the country, armed struggle is also used in certain circumstances. It is necessary to strengthen our military and para-military forces, set up resistance bases, and secure strong popular support, which is a fundamental condition for maintaining and developing the armed forces.

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (Sept.
1954)**

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (June 1956)**

in the North: implementation of land reform and economic restoration

Terror policy conducted by the Diem clique.

The struggle against Law 10/59 in the South

Face to face with the enemy



Step up the socialist transformation of the private economic sector of the peasants and craftsmen and that of the private capitalist sector; develop the state economic sector, the leading force of the national economy. The main point is the transformation and development of agriculture.

14th Meeting of the Party Central Committee (Nov. 1958)

The *fundamental task of the revolution in the South* is to free it from the imperialist and feudal yoke, to wrest back national independence, give land to the tillers, complete the national people's democratic revolution in the South, and to build Vietnam into a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, rich and powerful country. The *immediate task* is to overthrow the Ngo Dinh Diem ruling clique, to form a coalition democratic government in the South, to secure national independence and democratic freedoms, improve the people's life, maintain peace and achieve national reunification.

15th Session (enlarged) of the Party Central Committee (Jan. 1959)

The revolution in the South must be carried out through violence. As required by the situation we must make use of the strength of the masses, mainly their political forces, in combination with action by the armed forces, in order to overthrow the rule of imperialism and feudalism and to establish the people's revolutionary power.

[...] As the Americans are the most warlike imperialists, the insurrections of the South Vietnamese people will evolve into a long but certainly victorious armed struggle.



Strategy and revolutionary tasks differed in the two zones: transition to socialism in the North; people's national democratic revolution in the South

Ho Chi Minh was re-elected President and Le Duan was elected First Secretary of the Party

The 3rd National Congress of the Party

Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee

Chain uprising in the South

Founding Congress of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation



To unite the entire people, develop their ardent patriotism, their tradition of heroic struggle and hard work, and, at the same time, to strengthen solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, so as to take the North rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism; to build an abundant and happy life in the North, consolidate it and turn it into a firm base for the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country, thus contributing to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the safeguarding of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

To achieve this aim, it is necessary to make use of the people's democratic power, which will assume the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and trade; to develop the state-run sector of the economy, carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry while striving to develop agriculture and light industry; to step up the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technology; to turn our country into a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, and advanced culture and science.

In our effort to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and achieve national reunification, our fellow-countrymen in the South have the task of directly overthrowing the rule of the US imperialists and their henchmen so as to liberate the South. Moreover, their struggle will frustrate the US-Diem scheme of rekindling the war, thus contributing actively to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.



Dismantling of "strategic hamlets"

Overthrow of the Diem clique by the US (Nov. 1963)

Bankruptcy of the American strategy of "special war"

Enemy aircraft downed at Ap Bac

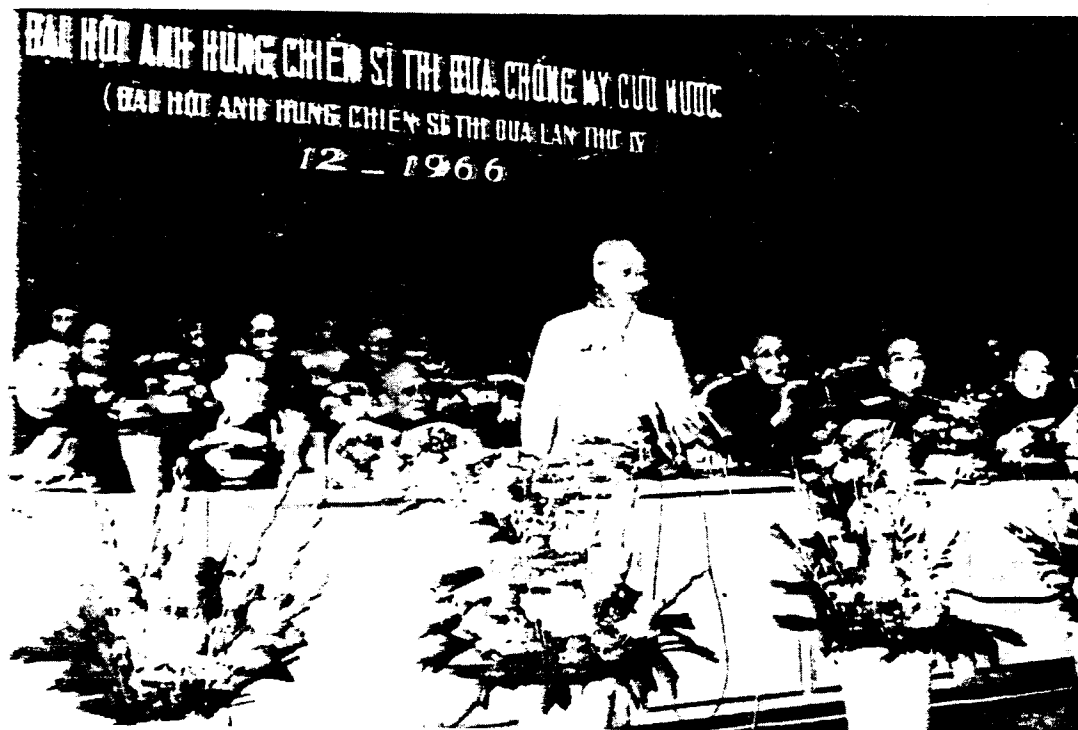


The period of relative stability of the US-Diem regime is over and that of its continuous crisis and serious decline has begun. The oppressed Southern population has risen up in a powerful revolutionary movement; various forms of local guerilla war and partial uprisings have appeared. An all-round general crisis of the US-Diem administration could take place while a general offensive and uprising of the people would break out to overthrow the US-Diem administration and liberate the South. An eventual intervention of the US imperialists in the South could take place through the dispatch of an expeditionary corps, which we would have to cope with. We must further step up political struggle while boosting armed struggle and attack the enemy on both the political and military fronts. We must strive to build up our political and military forces, establish and expand our base areas, create favourable conditions and seize all favourable opportunities to overthrow the US-Diem administration.

The revolutionary line in the South is to win partial victories, to repel the enemy step by step, to pave the way for a general assault, a general insurrection; however, we may have to go through a period of transition before winning complete victory. It is necessary for us to have not only strong political forces but also large armed forces in order to bring about a fundamental change in the balance of forces between the enemy and us. We must wage mainly armed struggle in the upland regions, political action combined with armed struggle in the agricultural areas, and mainly political action in the urban centres. During these struggles the enemy must not be allowed to cut up the territory under our control... We must fight the enemy with three

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Central
Committee (Jan. 1961)**

**9th Session of the Party
Central Committee (Dec.
1963)**



Congress of Labour Heroes and Elite Workers (Dec. 1966)

Start of US "limited war" in the South and US air war
of destruction on the North

American air pilots captured



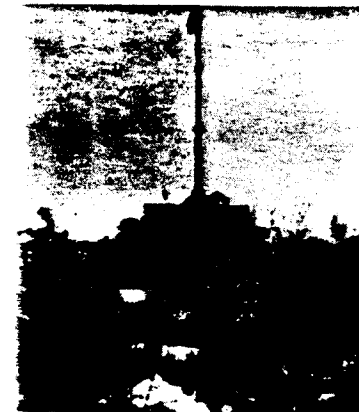
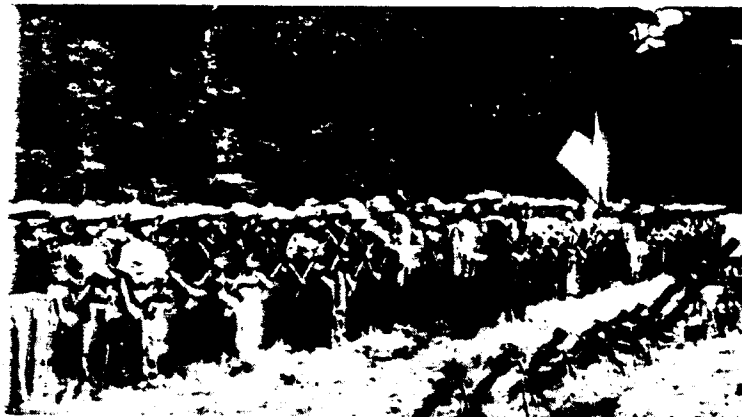
spearheads¹, organize a front of worker-peasant-soldier alliance, firmly grasp the guiding principle of waging a protracted and difficult war and relying on our own strength, but we must also take advantage of every favourable opportunity to win as soon as possible.

The US war of aggression in the South of our country remains, in its character and purpose, a war of aggression aimed at *imposing US neo-colonialist rule*. At first relying mainly on the puppet army, it has grown into a *US war relying on two strategic forces, namely the US expeditionary force and the puppet army*. Thus it will be an even more atrocious war. However, the US imperialists are intensifying and widening the war while they are in a position of defeat, deprived of all initiative, and forced to follow a strategy full of contradictions, which is leading them into a blind alley. Though the US imperialists have the most powerful economic and military potential in the imperialist camp, the situation in the world as in the United States will not permit them to use all that potential. They can neither send unlimited troop reinforcements to South Vietnam nor ignore the difficulties they are sure to encounter on the Vietnam theatre of operations, in the world, and in the United States itself.

[...] We must mobilize all the strength of the Party, the armed forces and the people in order to resolutely foil the war of aggression of the US imperialists in any circumstances, defend the North, liberate the South, complete the people's national democratic revolution in

**11th and 12th Meetings of
the Party Central Com-
mittee (Mar. and Dec. 1965)**

(1) Political action, armed struggle, agitation among enemy troops (Ed.)



A unit of the Liberation Army before launching an attack

To fight the enemy and carry on production at the same time

Failure of the two US dry season strategic counter-offensives (1965-66 and 1966-67)

Victory of people's war in the North over the US air "war of destruction"

Flag of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation over Hue (Tet of Mau Than — 1968)

Fiasco of the "limited war" strategy and start of the strategy of "Vietnamization of the war"

Cessation of American bombings over the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam



the whole country, and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country.

In the South :

We must firmly grasp the fact that the objective of the war as a whole as well as the concrete targets of our operations are both the US and the puppet troops ; we must carry on both armed and political struggle ; we must, in particular, rapidly develop our armed forces in every respect, especially our regular forces, in the strategic areas. While stepping up the guerilla movement everywhere, it is of decisive importance to establish 3 or 4 strong combat groups while building up our strategic reserves.

In the North :

We must oppose the US imperialists' war of destruction, defend socialist construction, mobilize manpower and material resources to help the liberation war in the South, while standing ready to defeat the enemy should he expand his "limited war" to the whole country.

The Americans have made their most strenuous efforts in Vietnam. In 1968, the trend is for them to retreat into a more defensive position. For our part, we have defeated the enemy on both the strategic and the tactical planes. We are now in a victorious and advantageous situation while the enemy is in a losing and difficult posture. We face bright prospects and favourable strategic opportunities. This enables us to shift our revolutionary war to a new stage.

The tasks ahead :

To mobilize the greatest efforts of the entire Party, army and people in both zones, follow up the successes already won, carry on and step

**14th Session of the Party
Central Committee (Jan.
1968)**

**18th Session of the Party
Central Committee (Jan.
1970)**



Four-party Conference in Paris

**Nixon-Mao communiqué and open Sino-American collusion
(Feb. 1972)**

Economic restoration in the North



American B.52 strategic bombers attacked North Vietnam

Vietnamese air forces stood combat ready



up the war of resistance, further implement the offensive strategy all-sidedly, continuously and vigorously, intensify military struggle and political struggle in coordination with diplomatic struggle; attack the enemy while developing our armed forces and political strength, frustrate the US imperialists' "*Vietnamization of the war*" scheme, foil their plan of *de-escalating the war* in order to prolong it and build a strong position to maintain the US neo-colonialist regime in the South of our country; to render the enemy's defensive strategy ineffective, bring about a new turning-point in the war, secure gradual successes until decisive victory is attained, drive away all US aggressors and topple the puppet regime.

The orientation of economic development must reflect the line of priority to, and rational development of, heavy industry based on the growth of agriculture and light industry, of building a centrally-run economy while developing regional economies and coordinating economy with national defence.

The task of economic reconstruction and development and of cultural development must be aimed at satisfying the requirements of the patriotic resistance against US aggression, ensuring the people's livelihood, building and safeguarding the material and technical bases of socialism, step by step setting up the structures of large-scale socialist production, and preparing for future economic development.

The Nixon clique is trying hard to carry out its designs. This shows on the one hand that the imperialists are very stubborn in their war-like schemes; on the other, that the situation in the world is very

19th Session of the Party
Central Committee (Jan.
1971)

Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (1 June
1972)



Signing of the Paris Agreements on the Cessation of the War (Jan. 1973)

American troops went home

Restoration of peace in the North

Our tanks on the Ho Chi Minh trail



complex. Our people must maintain their resolve, heighten their vigilance, and fight on till victory under all circumstances.

The *fundamental task of the revolution in the South* in the new stage is to complete the people's national democratic revolution. Its immediate task is to unite the entire people, fight on the political, military and diplomatic fronts with initiative and flexibility, coordinate this struggle according to time and place in order to compel the enemy to strictly implement the Paris Agreement, while preparing for a counter-offensive to win complete victory.

In the new stage, the *overall task of the North* is to unite the entire people, struggle for the maintenance of peace, strive to carry on socialist industrialization, step up the triple revolution, take the North rapidly, vigorously and firmly to socialism, closely co-ordinate economic activity with national defence, heighten our vigilance, stand ready to foil every scheme of the US imperialists and their henchmen, exert every effort to fulfil our duty in the struggle to achieve independence and democracy in the South and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country; to fulfil our internationalist duty toward the revolutions in Laos and Kampuchea.

To mobilize to the utmost the efforts of the Party, army and people in both zones of the country in 1975 and 1976, to accelerate armed and political struggle in coordination with diplomatic action in order to bring about a rapid and all-round change in our favour of the balance of forces on the battlefield in the South, to make urgent and complete preparations for a general offensive and uprising to wipe out and

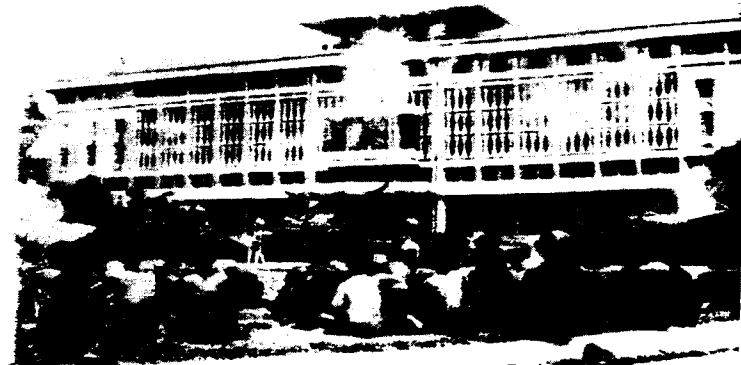
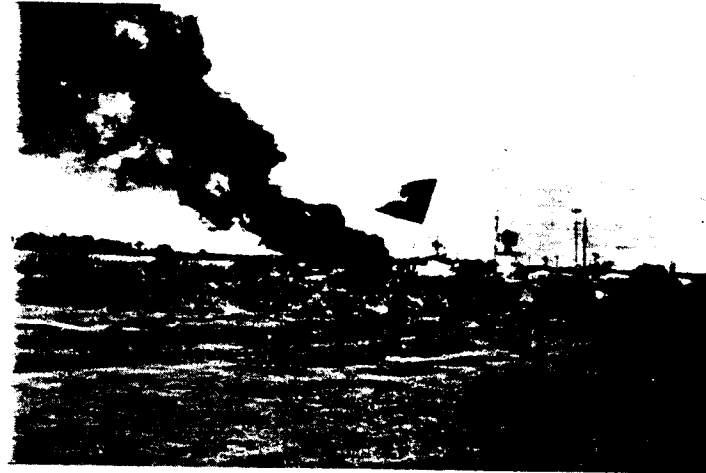
**21st Session of the Party
Central Committee (July
1973)**

**22nd Session of the Party
Central Committee (late
1973)**

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (Oct. 1974
and Jan. 1975)**

Liberation of Ban Me Thuot

Liberation forces entering the presidential palace of the puppet regime



disintegrate the puppet army, overthrow the puppet administration at all levels, seize power and liberate the South.

As regards both posture and strength our superiority is overwhelming. The enemy troops are powerless and facing total collapse; the time is ripe to launch a general offensive and uprising against the last stronghold of the enemy. We need great determination if we are to secure final victory by April 1975.

In the space of 55 days and nights, showing overwhelming strength in both the military and political fields, our army and people won complete victory. This splendid success led to the total collapse of the neo-colonialist regime which had been laboriously set up by five successive US presidents. It also terminated more than a century of imperialist rule and fulfilled the historical tasks of national liberation and reunification.

This was a severe blow to neo-colonialism.

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (31 Mar.
1975)**



Le Duan at the rally celebrating victory

The South entirely liberated

Rebuilding of the trans-Vietnam railway



PART FOUR
THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

“As a people who have made tremendous sacrifices to win peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, the Vietnamese people are determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples throughout the world to safeguard peace, struggle tirelessly for national independence, democracy and social progress, and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.”

LE DUAN: Speech at the meeting to
celebrate victory — 15 May 1975

To complete the reunification of the country and take it rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism. To speed up socialist construction and perfect the socialist relations of production in the North, to carry out at the same time socialist transformation and construction in the South.

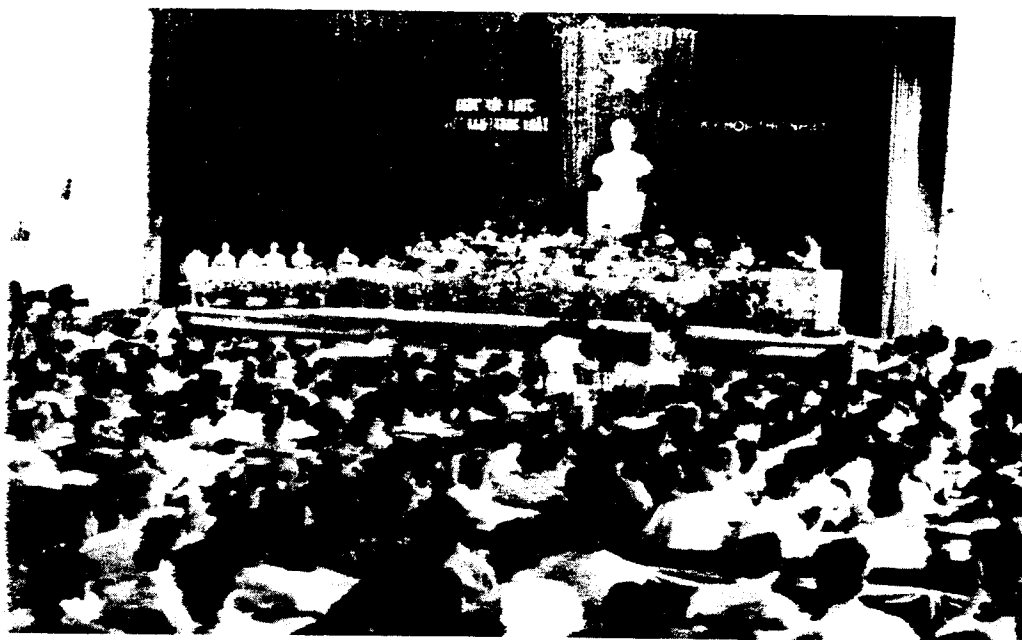
In applying the general line drawn up for the period of transition to socialism, it is necessary to firmly grasp the main principle of socialist transformation and construction, namely to closely combine transformation and construction all through the revolutionary process in every field: political, economic, technical, cultural and ideological, in the whole country and in each unit.

The combination of transformation and construction must effectively develop production, raise social labour productivity, turn out more goods, improve social life and better the people's material and cultural living standards.

24th Plenum of the Central Committee, (August 1975)



Truong-Chinh, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party and President of the S.R.V. State Council



General elections to the National Assembly were held all over the country (25 Apr. 1976)

The country's new name is Socialist Republic of Vietnam (June 1976)

The National Assembly of reunified Vietnam

The tasks ahead : to build a firm people's revolutionary administration at all levels, resolutely repress counter-revolutionaries ; eliminate compradore capitalism and the vestiges of feudal landlordism, rehabilitate and develop production ; do away with unemployment left by the former regime ; satisfactorily solve the problems of circulation, credit, finance, banking and currency ; apply adequate measures of economic management, eradicate the bad effects of the culture and ideology of the former regime, build a new culture and ideology, boost the revolutionary movement among the masses, strengthen the work of Party building to ensure the successful implementation of the revolutionary task in the new stage.

We must consolidate the revolutionary power at all levels [...] hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship and rely on the strength of the labouring people as collective masters of the country to strictly implement the line and concrete policies aimed at eliminating the compradore bourgeoisie and the vestiges of feudal landlordism, and, on the basis of developing the State economy rapidly, vigorously and steadily, carry out step by step socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade.

To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, to promote the right to collective mastery of the working people, carry out the triple revolution : the revolution in relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, of which the scientific and technological revolution is the key, step up socialist industrialization, which is the central task of the

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party in
July 1976**

Transformation and construction in the South

**4th National Congress of
the Party (14-20 Dec.
1976)**



The Fourth National Congress of the Party

period of transition to socialism; establish the system of socialist collective mastery and large-scale socialist production; develop the new culture and form the new, socialist man; abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do away with poverty and backwardness; unceasingly uphold vigilance, constantly consolidate national defence, maintain political security and social order, successfully build the Vietnamese homeland into a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist country; actively contribute to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence and socialism.

The line for building the socialist economy in our country is as follows :

To step up socialist industrialization, build the material and technical bases of socialism, and take the economy of our country from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. To give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry, build industry and agriculture in the whole country into an integrated industrial-agricultural economic structure; build the central economy while developing regional economies, combine the central economy and the regional economies into a unified national economic structure; combine the building of productive forces with the setting up and perfection of new relations of production; combine economic building with national defence, strengthen the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, while developing our economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty and



The fall of Pol Pot (7 Jan. 1979)

Chinese aggression (17 Feb. 1979)

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee discussed plans to resist Chinese aggression

6th Plenum of the Central Committee (Aug. 1979)
Central Committee plenum on the urgent economic tasks

A complementary class in Ho Chi Minh City



ensuring mutual benefit; turn Vietnam into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, firm national defence and a civilized and happy life.

The line of socialist revolution and the foreseen development of Vietnamese society in the coming quarter-century give education the following objectives:

1. To educate the young generation from childhood to maturity with a view to creating the necessary premises for the Vietnamese man to exercise his right to collective mastery over society and to develop his personality.

2. To give the entire population access to education and allow them to progressively attain the level of secondary education; the right to study is guaranteed for the entire people. Adequate attention must be given to education among the national minorities.

3. To train ever larger numbers of new-type workers with high consciousness and the revolutionary virtues, scientific and technological level, and managerial capacity required by the division of labour in large-scale socialist production.

Educational work must highlight the principle: *theory combined with practice; study associated with productive labour; the school linked to society.*

"At present, the Beijing reactionary rulers are the immediate and most dangerous enemy of our people. They have become the dangerous enemy of the whole socialist system and of the movement for national

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Party Cen-
tral Committee (11 Jan.
1979)**

**On the Reform of Educa-
tion — Orientation and
Content**

**Appeal of the Central
Committee (4 Mar. 1979)**

independence, democracy and peace in Asia and in the world. To defeat the reactionary Chinese aggressors is both a *glorious national duty* and a *lofty international duty* of the Vietnamese people."

**6th Plenum of the Central
Committee (Aug. 1979)**

**The Urgent Tasks of the
Party and People**

The urgent task is to boost production, stabilize and ensure the people's livelihood, strengthen national defence and security, stand ready to fight and defend the homeland, overcome negative aspects in economic and social activities.

We must step up socialist transformation and perfect the new relations of production so as to allow the State sector to hold the key positions in the economy. However, we must advance step by step, without precipitation, and avoid all unnecessary disturbances. Besides the State sector, other sectors are to be maintained: cooperative, joint State-private, and individual. The centrally-run economy and the regional economies will develop simultaneously under the unified leadership of the State plan. The free market will continue to operate under the leadership of the socialist market with regard to the flow of goods not directly managed by the State.

Nearly all the resources in manpower, land, and other means of production are to serve the State and cooperative economies. They must be turned to the best possible account and an end must be put to waste and embezzlement. The productive capacity of the private sector and the family economy is not to be neglected: we must encourage, assist, and guide them, for them to develop and contribute to the strengthening of the State and cooperative sectors.

To promote the role of science as motive power in all the fields of economic, cultural and social activity; to push forward the scientific and technological revolution in close coordination with the revolution in relations of production and the cultural and ideological revolution; to turn science into a direct productive force effectively serving the effort to implement the *socialist revolutionary line* and the *building of the socialist economy*, and contributing to the satisfaction of the *people's material and cultural needs*: food, clothing, housing, health, education, travel, and other requirements, and of the demands of *national defence and security*. At the same time we must strive to acquire vanguard science and technology.

All along the period of transition to socialism, scientific and technological activities must be so oriented as to serve *socialist industrialization*, the central task. They must contribute to the progressive implementation of the plan for the reorganization and re-equipment of the whole national economy on the basis of automation, electrification and chemicalization. They must take our small-scale production to large-scale socialist production with a *modern industrial-agricultural structure*. They must actively contribute to the building of the *material and technical bases of socialism* in the space of three or four five-year plans. At present science and technology must push forward the development of some *important industrial branches*: energy and fuels, raw materials, mechanical engineering and metallurgy, chemical products, transport and communications, etc., and other industrial branches which are directly connected with agricultural production.

**Meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Central
Committee (20 Apr. 1981)
Tasks and Objectives of
the Science and Technol-
ogy Policy**

In the coming years, we must give a vigorous impulse to scientific and technological activities, and apply scientific and technological progress on a large scale with a view to *quickly developing a diversified agriculture — a fundamental task* —, enhancing our *strong points* in manpower, land, and tropical resources, gradually building a large-scale socialist agriculture, and meeting our pressing needs in food, materials for industry, consumer products, and articles for export.

Science and technology must contribute, for an important part, to the reorganization of production, the *improvement of economic and social management and scientific and technological management*, so as to build a new managerial system in our country.

We must widen international cooperation in science and technology, combining it with economic cooperation and causing it to contribute to economic cooperation; study and select the most adequate forms of cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interest. We must pay great attention to the selective introduction of various technologies, and carry out various forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation likely to push forward the development of major branches of the national economy conducive to a fast growth of exports.

