

50 Years of Activities of the Communist Party of Vietnam  
Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980

‘Vietnam became [under colonialism] a source of cheap labour and rich raw materials.’ p11

‘The French policy thus deprived Vietnam of its ability to develop and independent economy and to build a heavy industry, leaving the country in a state of a crippled light industry and monoculture.’ p12

‘The capitalist mode of production, brought into Vietnam by the French colonialists, engendered the forming of new classes of which the proletariat was the one endowed with the mission of giving leadership to the ‘grave-digging’ of imperialism.’ p13

‘..... bourgeois democracy was not the way to save the nation from misery and slavery.’ p14

‘This crisis was in essence *the crisis as regards the leading role, in the revolution, of the most vanguard class* in society.’ p15

‘..... there is no other way than that of the proletarian revolution.’ p19

‘..... the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam in the new era.’ p23

‘.... to fight bourgeois reformism and the bourgeois tendency of half-hearted revolution, thus enabling the masses to realize the difference between reformism and revolution, between the half-hearted revolution and genuine, thorough revolution.

Large numbers of activists, imbued with ardent patriotism and a primary consciousness of Marxism-Leninism, were assigned to various industrial centres, urban and rural areas to propagate the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and the revolutionary line.’ p24

‘The Indochinese are keeping under cover something, constantly seething and thundering, which will explode in a terrible manner when the opportunity comes. The advanced section has the duty to accelerate the coming of the opportunity.’ (Nguyen Ai Quoc: “*Indochina – For Independence AND Freedom, for Socialism*”, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p20).’ p26

‘.... Marxism-Leninism had won the confidence not only of the workers’ movement but also the patriots’ movement.’ p26

‘The advanced elements of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association soon realized that a patriotic organization with *socialist orientation* [my italics] like their own was no longer capable of leading the revolution.’  
p27

‘..... the Indochinese Revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, a land revolution to abolish all feudal vestiges, to give land to the tillers and an anti-imperialist revolution to overthrow the French imperialists, to win back complete independence for Indochina, and to advance to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development.’ p32

‘As soon as it came into being, our Party correctly worked out the strategies and tactics for the revolution. This constituted a great success. This success was possible for, right from the start, our Party had given due attention to the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam in a correct, independent, sovereign and creative way.’ p33

‘The Vietnam Communist Party came into being when the worldwide economic crisis of 1929-1933 was underway in the capitalist and colonial countries in both the industrial and agricultural fields, causing unprecedented damage.’ p35

‘Under the Soviet power, there prevailed a constant jubilant atmosphere among the rural toiling masses. The Nghe Tinh soviets left the local people and the people all over the country with profound sentiments and memories. By the actual deeds of the Soviet power, our people clearly realized that to overthrow the imperialists and their henchmen for the seizure of power was the only way for the toiling masses to fulfil the requirements of their lives.’ p39

‘The 1930-1931 high tide of revolution gave the peasants a chance to observe, to test through reality and to confirm their confidence in the leading ability and the thorough revolutionary spirit of the working class....The 1930-1931 high tide of revolution created a firm confidence, among the worker-peasant masses, in the strength of their revolution and brought home to them that the road to liberation of workers and peasants and to national liberation could not be one based on foreign assistance, but was essentially one of relying on oneself for self-liberation.’ pp40-41

‘..... our Party drew precious lessons on *the realization of the worker-peasant alliance*, the essential condition ensuring the Party’s leadership

and the basis for the building of a unified national front and the armed forces in subsequent upsurges in revolution.’ p41

‘Shaken by the rising mass movement and the ever growing influence of the Party, the French imperialist resorted to extremely ruthless terror, in a hope to suppress the revolutionary movement and to eliminate the Party. Many leading organs of the Party were destroyed. Tens of thousands of cadres, Party members and patriots were arrested, imprisoned or killed.’ p42

‘Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc managed to escape from the enemy’s claws. In summer 1933, he arrived in the Soviet Union.’ p43

‘During these years of hardship, our Party enjoyed the wholehearted assistance from the Communist International and other brotherly parties.’ p46

‘The First Party Congress ..... had a shortcoming: it failed to see through the danger of fascism in the world and the possibility of staging an intensive campaign against fascism. War and for freedom, welfare and peace.’ p47

‘The years of restoring and developing the movement enabled the Party to draw rich experience in the ideological work and the organizational work during the period of preserving its forces, in the use of various forms and methods of social activities to cover the underground organizations and to rally the masses, and in the preparation to bring the movement to a new height.’ p48

‘The guiding principles for the building of the Party at the time were: ‘It is better to have a smaller Party membership which is pure than a bigger one which is not wholly reliable’, ‘concerning the mass organizations, quantity is the key point, but for the Party organization, quality is essential’.’ p51

‘..... such ‘rightist’ deviations as overconfidence in the legal method, complacency in partial victories leading to negligence in the consolidation of the Party’s underground organizations, lack of vigilance against the Trotskyist peril and unprincipled cooperation with the Trotskyist elements, overestimating the persuasion work as regards the bourgeoisie and the landowning class, underestimating the need to consolidate and to develop the workers’ and peasants’ revolutionary forces and underestimating the importance of the worker-peasant alliance.’ p55

‘Once more, our Party was tempered and, to a great extent, matured. Having had a firm grasp of the strategic line and experience in handling the method of revolution, our Party became well-versed in both strategy and tactic.’ p56

‘The conference [of the Party CC in November 1939] stressed the unity of mind and action within the entire Party and made clear that this unity should be based on Marxist-Leninist theory, a correct political line and the principle of democratic centralism, while maintaining a close relationship with the masses and fostering the determination, the readiness to sacrifice and the devotion to the revolutionary cause of all Party members.’ p59

‘The conference paid particular attention to the training of cadres, the increase of the worker proportion of the Party’s membership.’ p63

‘.... to combine military action with political one, the former holding priority over the latter.’ p68

‘Note paraphrasing Ho Chi Minh: stress must be laid on political rather than military matters. Skillful propaganda methods should be used to organize the masses and convince them to rise up against the enemy.’ p68

‘..... stepped up the political struggle combined with the armed struggle.’ p69

‘The key measure to intensify the revolutionary movement then [March 1945] was to instigate the people ‘to break open the rice stores to avert the famine’, with a view to rallying a mass political army in preparation for the general insurrection.’ pp70-71

‘While our people were making urgent preparations for the general insurrection, a terrible famine occurred in the North and northern central Vietnam. Two million of our compatriots died as a result.’ p74

‘The opportunity ‘which occurs only once in a thousand years’ for the revolution had come ‘We can’t afford to dally’. (Nguyen Ai Quoc: *“Letter to fellow-countrymen for general insurrection in August 1945”*. Party’s Documents 1930-1945, published by Commission for the Study of the History of the Party, 1977, p405.)’ p76

‘..... [The All-Nation Conference of the Party, concluding on 13 August 1945] worked out the key foreign policies which were to make more friends and less enemies.....to take advantage of the contradiction

between the British-French bloc and the American-Chiang bloc in their scramble for bigger gains in Indochina, to avoid being driven to a solitary confrontation with several imperialist forces and to get ready to deal with a concession made by the British, Americans and Chiang to the French, allowing the French to come back to Indochina. The conference laid stress on the guiding principle for the conduct of foreign affairs: only our own strength could determine the victory in the struggle between us and imperialism.’ p77

‘The August Revolution materialized President Ho Chi Minh’s teaching: i.e., to rely on one’s own strength to liberate oneself, not to stand with folded arms and wait for the success of the proletarian revolution in France or Japan, not to bank on any assistance from outside.’ p82

‘President Ho Chi Minh wrote: ‘Not only the working toiling classes and the people of Vietnam but also the toiling classes and the oppressed people in other parts of the world can take pride in the fact that this was the first time in the history of revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial nations, a Party of no more than fifteen years of age led a successful revolution and held power in the whole country’. (Ho Chi Minh: *“Political Report at the Party’s Second Congress”*, For Independence, freedom, for socialism. Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p101.)’ p82

‘That was the success of building a Marxist-Leninist Party in the conditions of underground activities, ensuring the Party’s correct line at all times, the thorough propagation of that line among the people during the preparations for and the staging of the insurrection for the seizure of power and the high quality, compactness, purity, cohesion and solid foundation, among the masses, of the Party’s organizations.’ p84

‘As soon as it was established, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam faced tremendous difficulties. After a terrible famine which was the sequel of the policy of exploitation of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists, there was a big flood in the North followed by a drought, and the land was left uncultivated. Production ground to a standstill, goods were scarce, the state stores left by the Japanese were empty. Colonialism and feudalism left a most heavy cultural heritage. Over 90% of the population were illiterate. Though much reduced after the August Revolution, such social scourges as opium addiction, drinking, gambling, theft, superstitions were still a big problem.’ p85

‘At the suggestion of President Ho Chi Minh, the government decided to launch a movement to increase production and fight famine. In a short time, tens of thousands of tons of rice were collected. Rice crops and

subsidiary crops were grown everywhere. High yields were obtained from maize, sweet potatoes, manioc and other crops. The areas under rice were restored. Famine was rapidly stamped out.’ p88

‘..... confiscation of the lands belonging to the French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors for distribution to poor peasants; fair redistribution of communal land to all citizens (men and women); reduction of land rent by 25% for the peasants, application of 8 hour work day, protection of the workers’ interests in their dispute with the employers.’ p88

‘..... a revolutionary constitution which consecrated the right to mastery and democratic liberties of the Vietnamese people.’ p89

‘The unity of the entire people on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the cornerstone of the people’s power, was more and more established.’ pp89-90

‘This policy [of flexible tactics] was to compromise with Chiang-Kai-shek in order to direct our spearhead on the most dangerous enemy – the French colonialist. On the one hand, the Party launched among the population the movement to contain the Chiang-Kai-shek troops; on the other, it made concessions to them to secure the people’s power.’ p91

‘On 11 November 1945, it [the Party] declared its ‘dissolution’; in fact it disappeared for the time being to engage in underground activities but still led the revolutionary power and went on consolidating its ranks.’ p92

‘On 3 March 1946, the Party Standing Bureau issued a directive which read: ‘In face of this situation, are we resolved to fight or compromise? We can say straight out that: if the French advocate the policy of granting autonomy to Indochina in accordance with the 24 March 1945 declaration we shall surely fight and fight for a long time by guerilla warfare. However, if they recognize the sovereignty of Indochina, our policy was to compromise to frustrate the scheme of the Chiang-Kai-shek clique, the Vietnamese reactionaries and the fascist among the French, who were contemplating to drive US in a state of isolation and compel us to fight many foes at the same time in order to wear out our forces’.’ pp92-93

‘.... the policy of compromising with the French to thwart the enemy[s] perfidious scheme to place us in a dilemma – to fight simultaneously three opponents: the Chiang-Kai-shek troops, the French colonialists and the Vietnamese reactionaries who were doing their utmost to topple the people’s power and rig up a puppet administration. The policy to compromise with the French was also aimed at exploiting the

contradictions between the French and Chiang-Kai-shek clique to speed up the withdrawal of the latter and to work against time to consolidate and develop our forces and to prepare a new fight for complete independence.’ pp93-94

‘However, hardly had the ink on the preliminary accord dried up when the French colonialists refused to honour their commitments.’ p94

‘This was our experience to secure *leadership of strategy and tactics*, when, in the conditions of the newly won revolution, we had not enough strength to frustrate all the schemes of the aggressors and to secure control of the whole country, it was an experience to differentiate between the main enemy at that time and the dangerous enemy whose presence was not yet conspicuous; it was our experience on the *organization of the revolutionary forces*, on the *exploitation of peace time to make preparations for war*.’ p96

‘We must wage the war on all fronts - military, political, economic and cultural.’ pp98-99

‘.... in September 1947, the Party pointed out ‘All our national forces should be mobilized to foil the French colonialists’ scheme of ‘pitting Vietnamese against Vietnamese’.’ p100

‘..... the French ..... touted for American aid.’ p101

‘In the *economic and financial* field, we shall improve the material and spiritual life of the people so that they could carry on a long war, we shall develop the economy on the basis of new democracy, expand state enterprises, prepare conditions for the planning of the state economic sector, organize foreign trade, carry out the Party’s land policy in order to replenish the force of the peasantry, develop agricultural production and undermine the economy in the enemy-held regions.’ p102

‘..... speed up the movement to build a new life, to do away with bad customs and habits, to care for the people’s health.’ pp102-103

‘The worker-peasant alliance was consolidated as the result of the implementation of the policy of reduction of land rent, of temporary distribution of land belonging to the French planters and Vietnamese traitors, of allotment of communal land to the peasants.’ p104

‘..... during the growth of the Party, there were cases in which its nature as a party of the working class and the criteria of Party members were forsaken and the education of communism was neglected.

That is why, to be equal to its task of leading the war of resistance, the Party always paid attention to its consolidation and the intensification of education of its members. In 1947, President Ho Chi Minh sent letters to comrades in northern and central Vietnam and wrote the booklet 'Let us Change the Style of Work' in which he stressed the necessity to instill into the Party members communist ethics, public spiritedness, industry, thrift, integrity and uprightness and the method of leading the revolution, and warned them against bureaucracy, commandism, subjectivism, megalomania, selfishness, narrow-mindedness, divorce from the masses. The Party recommended its members to base themselves on these documents to carry out regularly criticism and self-criticism.' pp104-105

'In January 1950, the Soviet Union, China and other people's democratic republics recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and established diplomatic relations with our government,' p105

'In the economic field, France was more and more dependent on the US, her financial situation was deteriorating.' p109

'After the opening speech by Comrade Ton Duc Thang, the [2<sup>nd</sup>] Congress heard the political Report read by President Ho Chi Minh, the report on the Vietnamese revolution by Comrade Truong Chinh, and approved the Declaration, Thesis and Constitution of the Party.' p110

'..... [Ho] assessed that the political line followed by the Party was correct and the cadres and Party members were most zealous and disinterested and had close relations with the masses.' p110

'Led by the working class, with the toiling people as motive force, this revolution not only fulfils its anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist task but develops vigorously the people's democratic system, sows the seeds of socialism and paves the way for socialist construction'. (Truong Chinh: 'The Vietnamese revolution'" Report at the Second Party National Congress, Commission for the Study of the Party's History, Hanoi, 1965, p101.)' p111

'The mistake of the [2<sup>nd</sup>] Congress was that, though it put forward the problem of carrying out the land policy step by step, it however did not advocate the policy of carrying out land reform during the war of resistance when this policy was required.' p113

'During the war, the Party carried out the policy of reduction of land rents and interest rate in order partially to improve the peasants' living conditions. But with the development of the war, these measures were



not sufficient to replenish the peasants' force and raise the strength of the resistance. At its 4<sup>th</sup> plenum held in January 1953 the Party Central Committee reviewed the implementation of the land policy since after the August Revolution and advocated the carrying out of land reform to give land to the tillers during the resistance war.

The Fifth plenum of the Party central Committee in November 1953 approved the land programme, the general line of the Party in the countryside, the principle of land reform, the policy of confiscation, requisition and compulsory purchase of land in order to abolish the right of land ownership of the landlord class and to allot land to the toiling peasants.' pp114-115

'Finally, the Laniel-Bidault government found a way out by relying on American aid despite the harsh conditions imposed by the Americans.' p116

'After their defeat in Korea, the American imperialists interfered more and more deeply in Indochina, they granted aid to the French, gradually laid hold of the puppet administration, seized the command of the Indochina war, and actively prepared to oust the French colonialists.' p116

'The Dien Bien Phu battle was one of the greatest battles in the history of struggle of oppressed people against a seasoned army of colonialism.' p121

'..... paved the way for the success of the agrarian revolution in half of our country.' p122

'As a peace loving country advocating the policy of settling all disputes through negotiations and in the condition of the Chinese rulers compromising with France (1) we accepted the solution that France and all countries participating in the Conference shall undertake to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, carry out the cease-fire order in Vietnam and the whole of Indochina.

(1) The Chinese policy at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina was to keep the French in Indochina, create a buffer zone south of China, avoid a direct confrontation with the US, while permanently partitioning our country in order to weaken and annex the three Indochinese countries, prepare the ground for Chinese expansionism to Southeast Asia. taking advantage of their international position and their relations with us at that time, from April to June 1954, the Chinese rulers many times made

bargains with the French to find a solution advantageous to both China and France, and check the victories of the Vietnamese and Lao peoples and to completely sacrifice the interests of Kampuchea.’ pp122-123

‘..... the French government was overthrown 20 times; eight French commanders licked the dust in Indochina.

During our resistance to French aggression, we had to cope not only with French colonialism but also with the scheme of aggression by imperialism headed by the US, who wanted to annihilate our Party and suppress the revolutionary movement in our country and in the world. With our determination to bring our resistance to success we not only discharged our national duty but fulfilled our obligations to the world revolution.’ p124

‘The victory of the war against the French colonialists was due to the fact that ours is a Marxist-Leninist party having a correct war policy, a tight organization, a strict discipline, a close link with the masses, that we are a heroic people tightly knit in a united front set up on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.’ p125

‘In the process of leading the war, our Party applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in the country and set forth a correct independent line ..... *with reliance mainly on our own forces.*’ p125

‘[In September 1954] The Party reminded its members to heighten their vigilance, to sharpen their fighting spirit and that it is necessary to do away with such erroneous thinking as relaxation, hedonism; and to be cautious not to fall prey to bourgeois’ temptations when taking over urban centres.’

‘Our advantages are that our Party secures the leadership of the revolution and its prestige is raised, we have a people’s democratic state which begins to fulfil the task of proletarian dictatorship; we are rich in natural resources, our people are united, patriotic and painstaking, we enjoy the staunch support from the socialist countries.’ pp129-130

‘At that time, only a small part of land reform was achieved. As it was the fundamental task of the national people’s democratic revolution, the requirement of the socialist revolution was to compete it radically. Our Party mustered tens of thousands of cadres and urgently launched a widespread mobilization campaign for land reform. In summer 1956, this campaign was completed in the delta and midland of North Vietnam. In the mountainous regions it continued through the ‘mobilization for agricultural cooperation and development of production in coordination

with the completion of democratic reforms', this was to abolish the feudal ownership of land, to implement the watchword 'Land to the Tillers', and the peasants' right to be masters of the countryside in the highlands and to strengthen solidarity among the various nationalities.

Land reform and democratic reforms were crowned with great success ..... the watchword 'Land to the Tillers' got implemented, the peasants were completely freed from the feudal yoke existing for thousands of years in our country, the peasantry in the North gained its right to mastery of the countryside, politically and economically, the worker-peasant alliance, the firm basis of the national united front and the people's democratic power was strengthened.' pp130-131

'The 10<sup>th</sup> plenum of the Party central Committee held in September 1956 confirmed the success of land reform as fundamental and having a strategic character. However, it also reviewed the serious mistakes committed and took energetic measures to correct them.' p131

'Thanks to the great efforts of our people ..... this task [restoration of the national economy] was completed in the main at the end of 1957..... The state sector was strengthened ..... we were able to lessen our difficulties and initially raise our people's living standard and prepare ourselves to shift to the period of socialist transformation and construction.' p131

'..... our Party set forth correct policies aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthening the Party's leadership.' pp131-132

'After the success of land reform and economic restoration, important changes were brought about in the North. But, generally speaking, our economy was most heterogeneous, in which the individual economy of the peasants, artisans, small traders and small manufactures accounted for the largest part. The workers in private enterprises were not yet freed from capitalist exploitation. This situation called for socialist transformation on a large scale as a necessary step to take the North to socialism.' p132

'..... after the restoration of peace and complete liberation of the North we embarked on the period of the transition to socialism. However, our cadres and Party members did not have a clear understanding of this irresistible development of the revolution. The Party Central Committee took many important measures to instill socialist thinking into them so that they could differentiate between the socialist path and the capitalist path and realize that the North should inevitably develop along the

socialist line and fight all tendency to allow capitalism to develop freely for a time before advancing to socialism.’ p133

‘In the particular conditions when the North was just freed from the yoke of colonialism and feudalism, bypassed the stage of capitalist development and advanced directly to socialism ..... the method, form and rate of development of socialism were most urgent problems confronting our people. The 14<sup>th</sup> plenum of the Party Central Committee (November 1958) advocated the policy to step up the socialist transformation of the private economic sector of the peasants and artisans and of the private capitalist sector and to develop the state economic sector as the leading force of the national economy. The main point was the transformation and development of agriculture.

At the 16<sup>th</sup> plenum held in April 1959, the Party Central Committee adopted two important resolutions: one regarding agricultural cooperation, the other on the transformation of private capitalist industry and trade in the North.

The Party’s line of socialist transformation of agriculture was to take the individual peasants step by step from work-exchange teams (having the seed of socialism) to low-level agricultural cooperation (semi-socialist) then to high-level agricultural cooperation (socialist). This was the line of carrying out cooperation before mechanization and cooperation simultaneously with irrigation and reorganization of the labour force. Agricultural cooperation would impel industrialization, would create conditions for the strengthening and development of agricultural cooperation.

With regard to artisans, the Party organized them in handicraft cooperatives, supplied them with equipment and raw materials, helped them to improve their technique and raise their labour efficiency and the quality of their goods and to contribute to the fulfillment of the state plan.

The private capitalist manufacturers and traders were peacefully transformed. In the economic field, the means of production of the national capitalists were not confiscated but redeemed by the state .....

Regarding the small traders, they were re-educated and helped to take the collective path, and most of them were shifted to the productive sector.’ pp133-135

‘In the countryside from 1959, the movement for agricultural cooperation had been most seething. The struggle between the socialist path and

capitalist path, between the collective path and private path was very hard.’ p135

‘Socialist transformation would not be possible if the Party members do not transform themselves and raise their knowledge. Socialist revolution requires that they should have a very firm class stand and a high socialist awareness, that they get rid of all influence of the exploiting class and of individualism and have the spirit of collectivism’. (Ho Chi Minh: ‘Speech opening the class of theory, first intake, Nguyen Ai Quoc school’, *Selected Works*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p637.)’ p135

‘..... to successfully carry out the Party’s line of socialist transformation. In three years ending in 1960, agricultural cooperation at low level was completed in the main in northern Vietnam. Over 80% of peasant households joined the cooperatives with 68.06% of lands; 11.3% of these households were organized in high-level cooperatives. In the towns, 783 households of capitalist manufacturers (or 100%), 826 households of capitalist traders (97.1%), and 319 households of owners of mechanized transport (99%) subjected to transformation have taken the socialist path. Tens of thousands of workers were freed from the exploitation of capitalists ..... 150,000 small traders were brought under cooperation, accounting for 45.1% of the total number of traders under transformation.’ p135-136

‘Parallel with the success of transformation of relations of production, the targets of the three-year plan for the development of agriculture, industry, culture, education and public health were also fulfilled. Unemployment and social diseases left by the old regime were basically liquidated.

The great success of the three-year plan of socialist transformation, and initial development of the economy and culture was the *establishment of the socialist relations of production*, abolition of the regime of exploitation of man by man in the North and the transformation of a multisector economy into a homogeneous economy having a socialist and semi-socialist character.’ p136

‘The far-reaching change in North Vietnam’s society was reflected in the 1959 Constitution ..... This first socialist constitution of our country reflects the aspirations of our people to resolutely build socialism.’ p137

‘A comparison between socialism in the North and US neo-colonialism in the South would definitely show the superiority of the former over the latter.’ p139

‘From 1954, to 1959, there were 466,000 communists and patriots arrested, 400,000 jailed and 68,000 killed.’ p139

‘Examples of bravery, sacrifice and revolutionary virtues were seen everywhere in the country among various nationalities and at all ages.’ p141

‘The Party kept a close relationship with the masses and led them in their struggle against the enemy.’ p143

‘..... the Chinese rulers left no stone upturned to prevent our people from unifying it [our country]. They ‘recommended’ us to wage a persevering political struggle, to ‘a long ambush’; they even said that the ‘the (sic) partition of Vietnam is a problem that cannot be solved in a short time but in a longer time, if need be in ten or even one hundred years’. True to the vital interests of our people and firmly grasping the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party did not follow their ‘advice’.’ p143

‘..... to build Vietnam into a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, rich and powerful country.’ p143

‘..... *the revolution in the South must be carried out through violence.*’ p144

‘President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: The present Party Congress [the 3<sup>rd</sup>] is the Congress of socialist construction in the North.’ p148

‘The *Political Report* [of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress] also pointed out that the building of socialism in the North was the most decisive *task* in the entire development of the revolution in Vietnam and the reunification of the country.’ p149

‘..... to strengthen solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries with the Soviet Union at the head.’ p149

‘To achieve this aim [the building of socialism in the North], it is necessary to make use of the people’s democratic power assuming 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.’ (From Documents of the [3<sup>rd</sup>] Congress, published by the CC of the Vietnam Workers’ Party, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. 1, pp179-180.)’  
p150

‘The new Rules of the Party clearly laid down: ‘The Vietnam Workers’ Party is the party of the Vietnamese working class, the organized vanguard and the highest organization of the working class....’ The Party assessed that at this stage, our cadres and Party members should have not only an anti-imperialist and an anti-feudal stand, but also a high socialist consciousness. The task of leading a socialist building required that our cadres and Party members rapidly deepen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, their cultural, scientific, technological and economic managerial level.’ p151

‘..... it [the Party] will surely lead the socialist revolution to success.’  
p152

‘Since the Third National Congress of the Party, the North of our country has moved into a period in which the central task is to build the material and technical bases of socialism, while continuing to complete the socialist transformation and to consolidate and perfect the new relations of production.’ p152

‘..... the three revolutions: revolution in relations of production, scientific and technical revolution and ideological and cultural revolution, stressing that the scientific and technical revolution was *kingpin*.’ p153

‘In the course of these three revolutions, such important problems as primary accumulation, relationship between accumulation and consumption, between economic construction and the strengthening of defence, between industry and agriculture, between heavy industry and light industry, between centrally-run industry and locally-run industry, were settled by our Party in a manner which has become more and more concrete, correct and suited to the characteristics of the country.’ p153

‘Through these movements, thousands of production and work teams and brigades were recognized by our government as socialist labour teams and brigades, thousands of farming co-operatives became advanced co-operatives, thousands of units of the people’s armed forces were recognized as ‘determined-to-win units’. Our people’s spirit of self-reliance, industry and thrift in building socialism was greatly enhanced.’  
p154

‘.... we still find many difficulties ahead. These are not accidental and temporary difficulties, but ones that have deep roots in our economy.’  
pp154-155

‘In April 1961, the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee discussed the problem of strengthening the leadership of the Party, mainly in organization and executive guidance.’ p155

(1) ‘..... ‘drive to build *four-good* (1) Party cells and branches’. Good work, good implementation of Party and Government policies, good mass work, good Party-building work.’ p155

‘Early in 1963, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee pointed out that economic management was one of the weak points. It put forward three great drives: the drive to improve cooperative management and techniques in agriculture; the drive to heighten responsibility, strengthen economic and financial management, and improve techniques, and to oppose bureaucracy, waste and corruption – in short, the ‘three for and three against’ drive – in industry and trade; and the drive to develop economy in the highlands. Through those drives of revolutionary significance, we better realized that the tendency to spontaneous capitalist development in the economy of our North, though weak, could, however, arise and grow, especially among those still working individually on the free market ..... in socialist building as well as in socialist transformation, the struggle between the two roads in the North to settle the question ‘who will win’ is still going on under the various forms of the revolution in relations of production, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution.’  
pp155-156

‘..... *to strive and promote the spirit of independence and sovereignty*, and in a creative way to apply Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of fraternal countries to the specific conditions of our country, while holding firmly to our Party’s correct lines and policies for socialist revolution in the North and the people’s national democratic revolution in the South.’  
pp156-157

‘Also in 1963, our Party resolutely struggled against the Peking leaders’ schemes to split the international communist and worker movement, and rejected their 25-point programme on the general line for the communist movement by which they plotted to abolish the socialist system, grasp the ‘leadership of the world revolution’ and set up a new ‘Communist International’ led by Beijing. This the Beijing leaders’ 25-point programme found no echo and their scheme to establish a new International did not materialize.’ p157



‘By 1964, the North of our country was self-sufficient in staple food and produced 90% of its consumer goods at the same time having a little accumulation. By the end of 1965, 80% of its farming cooperatives had been turned into higher-level ones.’ p158

‘Over the past ten years, the North has made big strides forward, without precedent in our national history. Both the society and man of the country have changed’. (Ho Chi Minh: *Report at the Special Political Conference.*)’ p158

‘In December 1965, the Party Central Committee asserted that: ‘After over ten years of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the North has become the firm base for the Vietnamese revolution in the whole country, with its *superior political regime and its powerful economic and defence forces.*’ (Resolution of the 12<sup>th</sup> Plenum of the Party CC.)’ p159

‘In these [liberated] areas [in the South] the people were masters. A new social order appeared. The traitors’ land was confiscated and distributed to poor peasants.’ p169

‘Note 1.

While the Vietnamese people were waging a valiant and staunch fight against the US aggressors and their henchmen and the Chinese people were supporting and helping our people fight, the Chinese ruling circles said: if the United States leave China alone, China will not bother it. In other words, the United States are free to strike at Vietnam. Since early 1964, the United States already had contacts with China and knew that China gave it the green light to introduce combat troop into South Vietnam and bomb North Vietnam. US Defence Secretary McNamara reported this to the US Senate Armed Forces Committee on 29 January 1964 and the US State Secretary Dean Rusk let it be known in his speech in Washington on 25 February 1964.

In January 1965, Mao Zedong sent word to Washington through the American journalist Edgar Snow:

‘The Chinese troops will not cross their border to fight. This is perfectly clear. Only when the United States attack will the Chinese fight. Isn’t it clear? The Chinese are very busy with their internal affairs. To fight outside one’s border is to commit a crime. Why do the Chinese act likewise? The South Vietnamese can cope with the situation.’ (Edgar Snow: *The Long Revolution*)’ p170

‘..... and becoming aware of the betrayal of the Peking ruling circles toward Vietnam.’ p171

‘..... the overwhelming majority of the people were united in the *South Vietnam National Front for Liberation*.’ p174

‘The *revolutionary movement in the cities* was developing with ever greater vigour.’ p174

‘The Southern Party organization ..... was tempered in battle, closely related to the masses and well-experienced in political and armed struggle as well as in organizing the implementation of the Party’s correct line.’ p174

‘After over ten years of socialist revolution and construction, the North had become the firm base area for the revolution in the whole country.’ p174

‘.... the Northern people with a plough in one hand and a rifle on the other, and with a hammer on one hand and a rifle in the other fought back the US war of destruction and kept on building socialism right in wartime.’ p182

‘..... the urgent task of the revolution in the North was to effect a timely change in the orientation of ideological and organizational work of economic construction and consolidation of national defence.’ p182

‘..... to meet the requirement of building the material and technical basis of socialism in the North.’ p182

‘Under the leadership of our Party, the people in the North promoted the absolute superiority of the socialist regime, making a rational division of labour and a rational use of all forces, and closely combining these forces so as to achieve the best results in performing their task.’ p184

‘..... nor hinder socialist construction in the North. On the contrary, in many respects, our socialist regime had been strengthened. The socialist economy fared well in the main and some branches were even developed. In the flames of war cooperative agriculture continued to prove the strength and superiority of the collective way.’ p185

‘The Party played great attention to raising the ideological and theoretical standard of the cadres and Party member’s training and promoting young cadres, women cadres, and cadres of workers origin; training tens of thousands of scientific and technical cadres as well as economic

managers; strengthening local Party committees and basic Party organizations; improving leadership and working style, opposing bureaucracy and commandism, reminding cadres and Party members to strengthen their ties with the masses. The Party also started education drives to heighten revolutionary qualities and morality, combat individualism, promote the spirit of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, enhance the sense of responsibility, oppose all influences of revisionism, defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, safeguard unity and single-mindedness within the Party. However, the Party Central Committee also held that those achievements were not sufficient to meet the requirement of carrying into effect the Party's strategic determination. Our victory was limited by many weaknesses and shortcomings. There existed such negative aspects as taking advantage of the war conditions to encroach upon and undermine the collective economy, steal public property, practise speculation and profiteering. A number of cadres and Party members still had bureaucratic and arbitrary manners, violating the people's right to mastery and even socialist legality to some extent. Some were not yet really concerned with the masses' livelihood. A number of working people did not observe labour discipline. Therefore, since 1968, the Party paid more attention to strengthening its leadership on the economic front, opposing lax management, educating and promoting the sense of collective mastery of the people.' pp187-188

'.... clarified our Party's independent, sovereign and creative revolutionary line and method.' p191

'To achieve this strategic objective ['Vietnamization' of the war], he [Nixon] made the utmost use of the US military strength, coupled with very cunning political and diplomatic manoeuvres in the hope of securing a strong position and isolating and strangling our people's resistance war.' p195

'His [Nixon's] most cunning political and diplomatic manoeuvre was to play the 'Chinese card', capitalizing on the Peking ruling circle's betrayal and China's ambition to achieve great power status and solve the Taiwan issue so as to compel China to put pressure on Vietnam to yield to US demands.' p195

'..... the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation ..... carried out democratic reforms in the liberated areas, particularly its agrarian policy. The watchword 'Land to the Tillers' was put into effect. The great majority of the South Vietnamese peasants were given land to work on.' p200

‘He [Ho] was the first Vietnamese to have creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country.’ p202

‘The Last Tribute of the CC of the CPV to Ho Chi Minh:

‘To go on devoting all our strength to realize the lofty ideals of socialism and communism that he set for our working class and people, achieve prosperity of our land and happiness for our fellow-countrymen.....

..... do our utmost to contribute to the restoration and development of solidarity and unity in the socialist camp and among fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism’.’ p203

‘Within the Party, to establish broad democracy and to practise self-criticism and criticism regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop solidarity and unity. Each Party member, each cadre must be deeply imbued with revolutionary morality, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness.’ p204

‘..... to contribute to strengthening the solidarity between the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in a way conforming to both reason and sentiment.’ p205

‘..... *building of socialism and communism in our country.*’ p205

‘..... strengthen the collective mastery of farming co-op members.’ p206

‘..... *to struggle for taking small production to large-scale socialist production and to hold firm to proletarian dictatorship so as to carry out at the same time three revolutions* ..... the basic factor of all victories was the leadership of our Party, a new type proletarian party mastering Marxism-Leninism.’ p207

‘..... solved a number of problems of line, policy and organization so as to take the Northern agricultural economy a step further toward large-scale socialist production.’ p208

‘..... *priority 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* ..... *building and safeguarding the material and technical basis of socialism, step by step setting up the structures of large-scale socialist production and preparing for future economic development.*’ p208

‘Early in 1972, the 20<sup>th</sup> Plenum of the Party Central Committee assessed that economic management was a weak link of ours. An urgent and important work of the Party and state was, therefore, to strengthen and improve economic management. The Plenum set the following basic orientation for the improvement of economic management to abolish the supply system and carry out socialist business; do away with the artisanal and scattered organization of small production; set up big industry organization so as to boost the process of taking small production economy to large-scale socialist production.’ p209

‘Faced with this situation [the problems surrounding the Presidential campaign of 1972], the White House plotted to compromise with the Chinese rulers to retrieve it.

Early in 1972, while the USA stepped up its bombings and minings of Vietnam, Nixon went to Peking where he was warmly welcomed by the Chinese authorities. Meanwhile, the USA and China made a commitment: China would help the USA maintain the Thieu administration in South Vietnam and the USA would leave Taiwan to China. (1).

Note 1.

The Shanghai joint communiqué between the USA and China (February 1972) clearly stated: ‘The USA asserts that its ultimate objective is to withdraw all US forces and military bases from Taiwan. Pending this, with the easing of tension in this area the USA will gradually withdraw its forces and military bases in Taiwan’. Clearly enough, the easing of tension in this area must mean the end of the Vietnam war. The purport of the communiqué was: If China wanted the USA to withdraw its troops from Taiwan, it had to press Hanoi into yielding to the USA in South Vietnam. This was expressed time and again by the Chinese leaders themselves: ‘The toppling of the Saigon puppet administration requires time.’

After issuing this joint communiqué, Kissinger said to the journalists that he was stunned when he learnt that China regarded Vietnam as the biggest obstacle on the way to improve Sino-American relations, and that from now on Nixon and himself had only to cope with Moscow and crush Vietnam.

(After Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kall: *Kissinger*)’ p211

‘.... *‘the spearhead of the world revolution must be aimed at US imperialism and no one else’*. (Truong Chinh: On the work of the Front,

Speech delivered at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, December, 1971.)’ p212

‘... the great family of non-aligned countries.’ p214

‘To help materialize these frenzied ambitions, the US imperialists colluded with the Chinese leaders to press Vietnam to make concessions.

In view of Washington’s about-face and Beijing’s betrayal.’ p215

‘As the North had advanced directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, and the remaining economy of predominantly small production heavily ravaged by war, difficulties were inevitable numerous. The greatest difficulty was a too weak material and technical basis of socialism and a low labour productivity.’ p219

‘Under our Party’s leadership, our people have defeated US imperialism and will without doubt succeed in building socialism.’ p219

‘It also pointed out the shortcomings in leadership, guidance and management. The slowness in redressing these shortcomings was at the origin of the slackness in economic and social management, which engendered negative aspects in social life [in 1973].’ p220

‘2. Further consolidate and perfect the socialist relations of production in both State and collective sectors, do away with negative aspects in economic and social life.

3. Strengthen Party leadership in State encouragement, readjust managerial work from central to grassroots level, correctly solve immediate problems while preparing long-term economic and cultural development.’ p221

‘In 1973, though gross national product was a bit higher than in 1965, the civil service greatly increased, the consumption of raw materials was high, labour productivity only two-thirds of that of 1965 and national income even lower than in 1965.

However, in 1974, things were better.’ p222

‘New progress was made in building the material and technical bases of agriculture. the collective peasantry strove to restore and improve the water conservation network, fill up bomb craters in rice-fields, restore and build more seed-supplying and animal breeding stations and farms, reclaim virgin land, build new economic zones, carry out afforestation. ....

Attention was given to the consolidation of agricultural cooperatives. In many cooperatives land was better managed, illegally used land retrieved and wasteful use of land put an end to. The movement to reorganize production and improve agricultural management in the direction of large-scale production was launched in a number of districts and cooperatives.’ pp222-223

‘However, shortcomings and weaknesses were committed in economic rehabilitation and development. The results obtained in the execution of our plans failed to meet the increasing demands of the national economy. The needs for many kinds of materials and commodities were not fully met while great potentialities were not exploited. Economic management improved but slowly. The State plan failed to reflect a good application in the North of the economic law of socialism which is to progress from small production to large-scale production. In some places, there were still manifestations of a lack in the sense of responsibility, discipline and organization in implementing directives, resolutions, rules and regulations and striving for State plan targets. There were even cases of violation of the laws and of infringing on State and collective property. Bureaucracy, lack of democracy, and slackness in economic management and in the maintenance of order and security were not resolutely overcome.’ p224

‘[In 1974] The people’s livelihood was stabilized and gradually improved.’ p225

‘To ensure the fulfillment of all revolutionary tasks in the new stage, the Party gave utmost attention to cadre work.’ p225

It laid stress on the problem of implementing the Party’s working class line in building a contingent of cadres for the Party and the State. The resolution clearly set five criteria for a cadre’s morality and ability: loyalty to the Fatherland and the revolution; unity of mind with the Party’s line and viewpoints; capacity to fulfil the task entrusted by the Party; respect for the promotion of the people’s right to collective mastery; a high sense of organization and discipline. The education content of the formation of cadres had to be aimed at raising revolutionary qualifications and working capacity following those five criteria.’ pp225-226

‘..... our Party constantly and firmly grasps and creatively applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the new conditions of our revolution.’ p226

‘.... the trend of détente in the world and the close coordination of Chinese great-nation expansionism and hegemonism.

After the signing of the Paris Agreement, the Beijing ruling circles outwardly hailed it but inwardly strove to hinder our people’s fight to liberate the South, reduced their aid to the least possible, and connived with the US imperialists at maintaining the Thieu administration and prolonging the partition of the country. (1)

(1) At that time the Chinese rulers counselled the Americans not to lose in Vietnam, not to withdraw from Southeast Asia (Gen A Haig *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 June, 1979.)’ p228

‘With US agreement, on 20 January 1974, the Chinese rulers sent troops to occupy Vietnam’s Hoang Sa islands (Paracels).

Once again the collusion between the United States and China was laid bare before world opinion. Ten years ago, China connived at the US introduction of troops into the South and the bombing of the North, now the United States connived at the Chinese occupation of Vietnam’s territory.’ p233

‘..... the Chinese rulers also plotted to set many puppet brass hats and functionaries against our army and people’s general offensive and uprising. However, the fate of the Saigon puppet administration war (sic) sealed and Beijing’s design to salvage it was nipped in the bud.’ p244

‘The US counter-revolutionary global strategy was upset, US imperialism was seriously weakened militarily, politically and economically, and will bear the numerous and serious consequences for a long time to come.’ p247

‘..... taking our entire country toward socialism.’ p247

‘.... the strength of the socialist regime in the North.’ p249

‘From July 1954 to April 1975, in the process of leading the successful implementation of two revolutionary strategies, our Party accumulated many experiences having the character of law.’ p249

‘..... simultaneously carried out two revolutionary tasks, national people’s democratic revolution in the South and socialist revolution in the North.’ p249

‘Our Party thus combined our people’s strength with that of the three revolutionary torrents of our times (1) into strength defeating the enemy.



(1) The three revolutionary torrents of our times are:

- the world socialist system as a decisive factor in the development of humanity;
- the movement of national liberation in the colonial and dependent countries;
- the struggle for the amelioration of living conditions for democracy and for social progress of the working class in the different capitalist countries.’ p250

‘..... our Party’s *scientific and creative revolutionary methods*. These are: to use a compound revolutionary violence of the political force of the masses and the people’s armed forces, to stage localized insurrections and develop from there into revolutionary war.’ p251

‘..... *fights resolutely under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party armed with a correct revolutionary line and methods*.’ p252

‘In the process of leading the socialist revolution in the North, our Party assessed that to achieve complete success for the socialist revolution, *the first condition is to establish and unceasingly strengthen proletarian dictatorship and to exercise and constantly bring into full play the working people’s right to collective mastery*.’ p252

‘..... a process of step-by-step establishment of the system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the socialist new type of man.’ p253

‘In August 1975, the Party Central Committee convened on 24<sup>th</sup> February: ‘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’.’ p255

‘..... ‘to closely combine the transformation and construction all through the revolutionary process and in every field: political, economic, technical, cultural and ideological, in the whole country and in each unit’.’ pp255-256

‘With regard to the socialist construction in the North, the resolution pointed out, it was necessary in the new stage to make the greatest efforts to overcome all difficulties while continuing to promote the active impact of the North upon the development of the revolution in the whole country.’ p256

‘..... realized that their Homeland would inevitably be reunified and their whole country would go socialist - the only way to preserve independence and freedom, and obtain civilization and happiness.’ p257

‘Production reorganization and managerial improvement increasingly made their impact felt.’ p258

‘A system of state trade was set up, thus helping curb speculation, hoarding and market manipulation.’ p258

*‘.....holding firmly to proletarian dictatorship and relying on the strength of the labouring people as collective masters.....on the basis of developing State economic forces rapidly, vigorously and steadily to carry out step by step socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade.’* p259

‘..... thanks to which cadres and Party members raised their knowledge and sense of responsibility as well as their determination to fulfil their tasks as communists in the state of socialist revolution and construction in the whole country.’ p260

‘The Fourth National Congress of the Party met from 14 to 20 December 1976 ..... our country was in the process of advancing from a society with a predominantly small production economy straight to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.....

..... the struggle ‘which will win’ between revolution and reaction in the world was still hard and fierce.

*..... To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, to promote the right to collective mastery of the working people, carry out three revolutions simultaneously: ..... abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do away with poverty and backwardness ..... combine the building of productive forces with the setting up and perfection of new relations of production ..... turn Vietnam into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, firm national defence and a civilized and happy life.’* pp260-263

‘The contents of socialist collective mastery covers many fields: political, economic, cultural and social; mastery of society, mastery of nature and mastery of oneself, mastery over the whole country, in each locality and each base; it is the organic combination of collective mastery with the genuine freedom of each individual. This is genuine mastery, in its fullest sense.

Socialist collective mastery finds its concentrated expression in the collective mastery of the working people (of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core) chiefly through the socialist state under the leadership of the vanguard Party of the working class.

The economic basis of the system of socialist collective mastery is large-scale socialist production.

Together with the establishment of the system of socialist collective mastery and large-scale socialist production, it is necessary to develop new culture and mould the new, socialist people.’ p263

‘..... to build the material and technical basis of socialism and the new economic structure in the whole country (the main part of which being the industrial agricultural structure) and to improve a step further the working people’s material and cultural living standard.’ p264

‘..... the transformation of the old relations of production, the consolidation and perfection of socialist relations of production.’ p264

‘While expanding the Party’s ranks, importance must be attached to quality instead of going after quantity, development must go along with consolidation. On the one hand, outstanding and qualified persons must be admitted and on the other, degenerates and corrupt elements must be expelled from the Party. We must guard against the infiltration of opportunist elements, spies and reactionaries into the Party.’ p266

‘The foremost task of this plan [the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan] was to concentrate on developing agriculture all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily while boosting forestry, fishery and consumer goods industry.....building consolidating and perfecting the socialist relations of production.’ p268

‘The Plenum [July 1977] asserted that uniform socialist relations of production should be established throughout the country. Together with consolidating and vigorously developing State farms in both zones, it was necessary to consolidate agricultural cooperatives in the North and carry out socialist transformation of agriculture in the South.’ p269

‘The hostile acts of Chinese great nation expansionism and hegemonism and of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary puppet clique against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam caused many new difficulties to our people, and at the same time set to our country new and great requirements in national defence.’ p270

‘In the South, great successes were recorded in the socialist transformation of economic components. Private capitalist enterprises were turned into socialist ones under various forms ..... The socialist economic system absolutely prevailed in industry and trade, and became the core leading the economy in the South. This success created conditions to boost the transformation and development of agriculture. the peasants joined work-exchange teams. Solidarity in production teams and production unions. These cooperation-in-production organizations impelled the movement for irrigation, intensive farming, putting back land under cultivation, mobilizing the peasants’ contribution to the State, while acquainting them with collective labour. The forms and steps to be taken in gradually bringing the peasants’ to collective production, based on the peasants’ willingness, ensured economic efficiency, closely combined transformation with building, taking into account both the law of cooperativization and the specific conditions in the South ..... Production markedly increased in many cooperatives. The income of many co-op members was better than under individual enterprise.’  
pp271-272

‘Theoretical education for cadres and Party members was stepped up by long-term training and fostering in accordance with basic curricula on short-term fostering on line and policies. The dismissal of unqualified Party members was done as a matter of routine along with the raising of Party members qualifications and the strengthening of Party cells.’  
pp272-273

‘However, these efforts were insufficient to make our people rapidly overcome the difficulties caused by natural calamities and enemy’s destruction. This was partly one of our shortcomings in the guidance of implementation and organization of management. Our line and orientation of economic development were correct but they were not fully grasped in policies, organization of management and of implementation; we did not pay due attention to building an independent and sovereign economy and therefore did not actively strive to solve urgent economic problems we were able to deal with. Our policy and system of economic management did not show a correct and creative application of the economic laws of socialism to the characteristics of our country and did not really encourage production. Little progress was made in amending our regime of administrative management which belittled economic efficiency. Our managerial apparatus and guidance of implementation failed to ensure strict observance of the Party’s line and policies and to firmly grasp the foremost task of vigorously developing agricultural production and taking agriculture to large-scale socialist production. The system of production organization still needed revamping. The work of organization and cadre work has not yet ensured the fulfillment of our

task in the new stage. Along with our economic achievements in both zones of our country, our diplomatic activities were vigorously stepped up. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam into the United Nations Organization was a great victory.’ pp273-274

‘..... the Resolution of the Fourth Congress....pointed out the new difficulties caused by the Chinese reactionaries schemes and acts ..... as well as the shortcomings in economic management.’ p274

‘..... the victory of the Vietnamese revolution had upset the counter-revolutionary global strategy not only of the imperialist (sic) but also of the Beijing reactionaries. It was ..... a setback of Chinese expansionists ..... the Beijing reactionary clique did their utmost to collude with the imperialists, undermine our people’s socialist construction, weaken our country, prepare for the conquest of Vietnam.’ p275

‘..... the Beijing reactionary ruling clique made use of the despotic and bellicose Kampuchean traitors Pol Pot-Ieng Sary as a shock force to test China’s great nation expansionism and hegemonist strategy.’ p275

‘Immediately after the south of our country was completely liberated, the Kampuchean reactionaries staged operation after operation of encroachment and provocation against our country.’ p276

‘In May, 1978, the Beijing reactionary rulers impudently staged a ‘victimized overseas Chinese’ farce, coaxing and forcing the Hoa in our country to leave for China then accusing us of ‘ostracizing’ them ..... On 3 July 1978, the Chinese government unilaterally decided to cut all economic and technical aid to Vietnam then withdrew Chinese engineers and technicians in Vietnam.....

These acts showed to the world people that they sided with the exploiting classes against the working-class and the labouring people, with imperialism against the revolution and the entire progressive mankind.

In this conjuncture, there took shape in the world two opponent forces: on the one hand, the revolutionary and progressive forces in the three revolutionary currents of our time; and on the other, the imperialist and reactionary forces opposed to socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, with the United States as the imperialists ringleader and the Beijing reactionary ruling clique as the biggest international reactionary force allied to the United States.’ pp278-279

‘The Beijing reactionary ruling clique plays the role of the biggest counter-revolutionary shock force.’ p279

‘... to contribute to the defence and strengthening of socialism in the world and in China to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism.’ p279

‘This great victory [the establishment of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea] saved the Kampuchean people from the peril of genocide caused by Chinese great nation expansionism and hegemonism.’ p283

‘The Chinese aggressors burnt houses, plundered properties, massacred people, and committed most savage crimes against our fellow countrymen on the border. Taking advantage of their numbers, the Chinese commanders madly sacrificed their men to penetrate deep into our territory 50km at certain places, occupying and razing four towns Lao Cai, Cam Duong, Cao Bang and Lang Son, as well as many areas in six border provinces.

Trampling underfoot our border areas for over a month, the Chinese aggressors committed extremely savage crimes. They killed in cold blood crowds of civilians, women and children, like in the executions ordered by medieval despots, blood thirsty Hitlerite fascists or Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers. All the four towns they set foot on were razed, all the 320 villages devastated, 691 creches, 428 medical establishments, 735 schools destroyed. Irrigation works, important factories, mines, state-farms and logging yards were destroyed. Their perfidious aim was to eliminate our people’s living conditions and weaken us economically.’ pp286-287

‘No sooner had the Chinese aggressors set foot on our territory than they were grimly fought back by our people.’ p286

‘However, warlike and stubborn, they [the Chinese] stated that they were ‘keeping their right to teach Vietnam another lesson’. (1)

(1) Before launching his troops against Vietnam, Deng Xioping stated in his talks with US President Carter that he “will teach Vietnam a lesson”. On 1 May 1979, he again made the above mentioned statement before Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General (AP, Beijing 1 May 1979). Early in July 1979, Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien said in an interview with Newsweek correspondent: ‘Vietnam has not yet learnt from our February counter-attack again: I do not want to rule out the possibility of another Chinese counter-attack in self-defence against Vietnam (Vietnam News Agency, 13 July 1979).’ p289

‘The Chinese reactionaries brazenly aggressed our country and carried out their design of imperialism, US imperialism in the first place, in the hope of getting imperialists technical aid to achieve their ‘four modernizations’. However, the Chinese aggressors lamentable defeat in Vietnam’s border lowered imperialist confidence in the Beijing reactionary clique. This war of aggression increased China’s difficulties in many aspects. The social situation became all the more unstable.’ p291

‘Inciting their henchmen to attack Vietnam and invading it, the Chinese reactionaries exposed themselves as a reactionary, bellicose, cruel, wicked, stubborn and perfidious clique.’ p292

‘The Chinese reactionaries were past masters in deceit, slander, distortion, about-face: they turned aggressors into aggressed and changed victims of expansionism into expansionists.

By waging two wars of aggression against Vietnam the Chinese reactionaries revealed their true colours. The signboard of sham revolution and sham socialism they had used to deceive gullible people was torn down.’ p293

‘The Chinese reactionaries attempt to make use of the weakness of imperialism after the Vietnam war to seek superpower status was also dealt a heavy blow.

The victory of our people and that of the Lao and Kampuchean peoples greatly contributed to strengthening the socialist system, the three revolutionary torrents in the world, the possibility to safeguard national independence, peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia. This was a common victory of the peace and justice-loving peoples in the whole world, of progressive mankind, including the Chinese revolutionary people and the genuine communists in China.’ p294

‘Basing itself on the time for socialist revolution and that for economic development mapped out in the Fourth National Congress, and basing itself on the laws of socialism and the practical experiences in the recent past, the Plenum [August 1979] decided to amend a number of policies and measures aimed at promoting the people’s right to mastery, ensuring the common interest of the people, the collective and each producer, caring for the working people’s material interests, bringing about a turn in production and livelihood, and advancing the revolution a step further.’ p295

‘..... completely liberated the South, and took the whole country to the socialist path; the North did away with the regime of exploitation of man by man, established the regime of socialist ownership and set about building the material and technical basis of socialism; the South achieved in the main socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and embarked in cooperativization and collectivization.’ p296

‘We have to eradicate small production, poverty and backwardness to attain large-scale socialist production. Our people’s basic goal is to build an independent, reunified and socialist Vietnam, with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, firm national defence and a civilized and happy life. [Three pages from the end and in a chapter headed ‘3 February 1930 - 3 February 1980’.]’ p297

‘Our socialist state is a state of the people, for the people and from the people.’ p298