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President Ho Chi Minh has laid down two central, immediate and closely related tasks: to fight hard against the enemy and to implement the land reform. My report deals with the essence of the land reform policy and the method of carrying out land reform in our country in the present conditions of the war of resistance. p467

Since the beginning of French imperialist rule in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese landlord class has relied on the imperialist forces to oppress and exploit the Vietnamese peasants still more harshly. A considerable number of peasants toil all the year round and yet do not have enough to eat and to wear. Under the colonialist and semi-feudal regime, when any natural calamity occurred enormous numbers of labouring peasants would die of starvation. At the end of 1944 and early in 1945, two million of our peasants died of starvation not only due to savage exploitation by the feudal landlord class, but also because the Japanese fascists and the French imperialists brutally robbed them of their resources. This has aroused deep hatred in the hearts of every peasant in our country.

Feudal exploitation has also meant that the landlord class has so far "sat in the cool shade and eaten out of golden bowls", feeling no need to improve farming techniques. They have even objected to technical improvements and arrested the development of productive forces. No wonder that our harshly exploited peasants neither show any enthusiasm for increasing production, nor manage to improve techniques.

The peasants are the largest body of consumers in our country, yet they are the poorest stratum. They lack everything, their purchasing power has decreased, home markets have shrunk, and consequently it is difficult for industry and trade in our country to develop. The under-development of industry and trade in their turn affect agriculture, providing it with insufficient conditions to develop rapidly.

The French imperialists, who hold the monopoly of heavy industry, are unwilling to develop heavy industry in our country. They also have the monopoly of imports and exports and control our home market and use their position to hinder development of Vietnamese industry and trade.

The French imperialists have followed a policy of pauperizing our peasants and have joined the feudal landlords in robbing our peasants of their land. They protect the landlords in their harsh exploitation of the peasants, driving many peasants to destitution. As a result, the imperialists obtain more dirt-cheap manpower, exploit the working class more ruthlessly, and reap more profits.

In addition, the French imperialists have sought to maintain the regime of feudal exploitation to increase their exploitation of the labouring people of our country. Since the feudal forms of exploitation suit their purposes, they see no need to improve techniques in keeping with modern scientific developments. The imperialists and feudalists have hindered the development of our national economy and hindered the growth of the productive forces of our society.

The imperialists and feudalists are the two major obstacles to the advance of Vietnamese society at present. The Vietnamese people must smash both these forces and clear the way for the development of Vietnamese society. We must smash the colonial and feudal shackles, liberate our productive forces, liberate our people, liberate our nation. pp471-472

We must combat the idea that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks are separate and the idea that imperialism alone is the main enemy, while feudalism is the secondary enemy. p473

4. THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT
Proceeding from this appraisal of the social conditions of Viet Nam and from the character and tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, what should our agrarian policy be?

The aim of the policy is:

- To abolish imperialist and feudal landownership in this country, make the peasants landowners and carry out the slogan "Land to the Tillers".

- To liberate the productive forces from feudal relations of production to create conditions for developing production, developing agriculture, industry and trade, so as to raise our country from its economic backwardness, and lay the foundations of the people's democratic economy.

- To improve the living conditions of the peasants, replenish the forces of the people and the resistance forces, maintain and give impetus to our protracted resistance so as to wipe out the French colonialists and the US interventionists, topple the puppet administration, achieve national liberation, develop people's democracy and contribute to the defence of peace and democracy in the world.

- To smash, the political power of the feudal landlords, bring the labouring peasants in the countryside to political power, liberate the peasants from the feudal yoke, from the rural despots; and to improve local organization of the military, people's, administrative and Party organizations at all levels.

To attain these goals, we must carry out a land reform. However, because the balance of forces between us and the imperialists is a decisive factor, because we must concentrate our forces on overthrowing our foremost enemy - imperialism - and cripple the resistance of the feudal landlord class for a definite time, our agrarian policy will be carried out in three steps:

1. Confiscation of the land belonging to the imperialists and the Vietnamese collaborators, redistribution of communal land and disposal of land belonging to absentee owners; spearheading our agrarian policy against the imperialists and the most reactionary feudalists.

2. Reduction of land rent and usurious interest rates, moratorium and abolition of debts; to weaken the economic forces and initially reduce the political power of the feudal landlord class in the countryside, and take the first steps towards fostering the forces of the labouring peasants.

3. Achievement · of the land reform, abolition of feudalist ownership of land, an end to the political power of the feudalists, realization of the slogans "Land to the Tillers and "The Labouring Peasants as Complete Masters of the Countryside".

The first step prepares the ground for the second, and the second step paves the way for the third.

We are now engaged on the second step; and it is time to move on to the third. pp474-477

On the other hand, the feudal landlord class is more and more actively opposed to our agrarian policy, agricultural tax and the movement to increase production. Feudal landownership continues to hinder development of the productive forces of the countryside, hinder the supply of food to our armed forces and to our people, and it also hinders our continuing war of resistance and our efforts

to bring it to total victory.

Since the August Revolution of 1945, the landlords have seized the leadership in our rural organizations in many places. The political power of the landlords has not been weakened as much as is necessary; and the political power of our peasants in the countryside has not yet been fully effective. That is why our backing in the countryside is not yet steady, our rear area is not yet consolidated.

While our patriotic war is becoming daily more ruthless, the feudal landlord class is becoming daily more reactionary, and its defeatist and capitulationist tendency increases day by day. The further we proceed with necessary democratic policies (agrarian policy, agricultural tax policy, etc.) the more strongly the feudal landlord class reacts and the more closely it colludes with the imperialists to oppose the resistance and oppose the people's administration. pp478-479

Thus in order *to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, to consolidate our rear area, to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, to develop production, and ensure supplies to enable us to persist in and step up our patriotic fight, it is necessary to carry out the land reform, overthrow the feudal landlord class, end smash the social basis of imperialism in our country*. p480

In the past few years, however, we have had a one-sided concept of the policy of broad national union to fight the aggressors. We also lacked experience, and failed to fully assess the demands and prospects of a protracted resistance. We somewhat under-estimated the role of the peasants in the resistance and in the people's national democratic revolution.

This is why we did not take steps to actively implement the agrarian policy ; we did not dearly realize the necessity of carrying out land reform concurrently with the resistance. although we did recognize that possibility theoretically. p482

These mistakes and shortcomings have not only resulted in our failure to initiate a timely land reform and to make the requisite preparations for its implementation, but it has also affected the land rent reduction.

Our main mistake in implementing the agrarian policy lay in not dearly realizing that the implementation of the agrarian policy of the Party and the Government was bound to be a difficult and ruthless class struggle; we did not fully realize that in order to carry out the agrarian policy, we must achieve broad mobilization of the masses, and follow the mass line. This explains why the method we used to carry out the agrarian policy was bureaucratic and high-handed.

As a result, stubborn landlords refused to implement the policy of the Party and Government correctly, while the class consciousness of the peasants was not raised, nor were they strongly organized for struggle. In some places, the agrarian policy was simply not carried out; in others, it was only carried out half-heartedly. In some isolated cases, the campaign for implementing the agrarian policy has been turned into an extremist "leftist" political struggle, faulty both in strategy and tactics. p483

The mobilization of the masses for land rent reduction this year has brought good results. In those places where the masses were mobilized, the peasants have regained part of their economic interests and seized considerable political power in the countryside. The reactionary landlords and the cruel rural despots have begun to be overthrown and .the economic power of the landlords has been reduced. We have summed up a number of experiences gained in leading broad mass movements and have trained a number of cadres to continue extending land rent reduction and to prepare for the implementation of land reform in the years ahead. p485

To carry out land reform, the most important thing is to clearly define the general line of the Party in the countryside at present. As President Ho Chi Minh has said, that line is to "rely fully on the poor and landless peasants, unite closely with the middle peasants, ally ourselves with the rich peasants, wipe out the regime of feudal exploitation gradually and judiciously, and develop production and the resistance".

The landless peasants are the proletarians and the poor peasants are the semi-proletarians in the countryside. The poor peasants make up about 5 per cent of the rural population. They contribute the most labour, but are the poorest stratum in the countryside, and they either have no land at all or own very little land. For centuries now they have been harshly oppressed and exploited by the feudal landlords (the kings, mandarins and rural despots) and the imperialists. The August Revolution of 1945 brought them very little land. The poor and landless peasants are the strata which work with the most ardour to make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality. They take the lead in revolutionary enthusiasm both in fighting the aggressors and in resolutely opposing feudalism in the countryside. p486

In this situation the guideline for the land reform policy and the plan for implementing that policy can include the following points:

a) On the basis of meeting the labouring peasants' demand for land, we must be judicious in dealing with the various kinds of landlords, differentiate them properly and give due consideration to the resistant landlords, so as to reduce the number of our enemies to a minimum.

b) It is necessary to be judicious in dealing with the different kinds of land, in such a way as to benefit the peasants, the resistance, and production.

c) We must deal appropriately with the landlords' scattering of their land, so as to have enough land to distribute to the peasants, and turn the slogan "Land to the Tillers" into reality.

d) We must implement the land reform step by step, and in accordance with local conditions. We should avoid carrying out the land reform as a massively concentrated campaign. In some special areas, special decisions must be taken.

e) While implementing the land reform, we should train and foster cadres. The leading organs themselves must also gain more experience, complement policies, and readjust and strengthen themselves through practical work. pp490-491

We should not only deal with the landlords' scattering of land and their opposition to the agrarian policy until now, but also deal with scattering of land and opposition to the agrarian policy from now on.

To prevent landlords from scattering land, destroying property and opposing our land reform policy, from noto on and until the land reform is completed, the transfer and scattering of land by landlords shall be considered illegal, except for special cases to be stipulated by the Government. Destruction of crops, farming implements and water conservancy works, as well as slaughtering of buffaloes, oxen, horses and mules, shall be severely punished. Legitimate slaughtering or selling of draught animals shall be the subject of stipulations by the administration. p500

Land reform is a very difficult and relentless class struggle, a revolution in the countryside. To adopt an authoritarian method and carry out the reform in the place of the masses, bestowing favours on the masses, would lead to failure. We cannot carry out the land reform in a peaceful

manner either. Implementation of the land reform requires that we make propaganda, educate and rouse the masses, to voluntarily throw themselves into struggle, and compel the landlord class to return land to the peasants it has been oppressing and exploiting for thousands of years now. The campaign for land rent reduction conducted over the past few years has provided us with precious experience: only when the peasants are awakened, voluntarily rise up and unite and struggle unremittingly against the landlord class, can they win back what is owing to them; otherwise the policies of the Party and the Government, however judicious they may be. would remain dead letters. To rouse the masses to struggle for land rent reduction is only the first step in weakening the strength of the feudal landlords. To overthrow the feudal landlords for good, to achieve the political superiority of the labouring peasants, and make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality we must make all-out efforts to rouse the masses to struggle.

In general, the campaign for land rent reduction this year has brought about good results. We have mobilized the masses. made relevant changes in our organization, and successfully carried out the first steps towards overthrowing collaborators, reactionaries and cruel rural despots. During our agitation work among the masses, the landlord class has sabotaged the movement and opposed the peasants frenziedly and treacherously, dividing, enticing, threatening, and even murdering them. When the land reform campaign is concluded somewhere, the landlords use any means at their disposal to counter-attack the peasants. In some places their treacherous manceuvres include bribing, working through corrupt elements they arc related to, and which still remain in our organizations, especially in the Party cells, in order to undermine the growing strength of the peasants. In some places, where we have consolidated our organizations during the mass agitation, no sooner have the land reform teams been withdrawn than the landlords devise ruses and used their hirelings to oust poor and landless peasants from the village leadership, and manage to control the leadership in the hamlets and villages through their hirelings. In short, in the villages where the masses have been mobilized for land rent reduction, the class struggle, far from waning remains difficult and relentless and continues in new forms.

Such has been the reaction of the landlords to our campaign for land rent reduction and to the demand that they pay back the rent they had previously collected. Now that we are actually carrying out the land reform, how can we avoid waging a ruthless struggle against the landlords? We should not forget that all through history, the nearer their doom, the more strongly an exploiting social class struggles for its survival.

The struggle of the masses in the land reform is very necessary. We have had a people's administration for eight years now : our administration is also a sharp weapon in the struggle against the feudal landlord class. We should make use of it, and develop its effect, and combine the mass struggle with the administrative struggle of the people's power. This method of struggle will be even more beneficial to the mass movement, and the masses will struggle still more effectively. pp519-521

In mobilizing the masses to carry out the land reform, the cadres must keep strictly to the general line of the Party in the countryside, namely *to rely on the poor and landless peasants, closely unite with the middle peasants, rally the rich peasants, wipe out the feudal regime of exploitation gradually and discriminatingly, boost production, and advance the war of resistance*. p522

The main thing is to admit labouring peasants into the Peasants' Association, but it is also necessary to admit other poor people in the countryside, such as peddlers, handicraft workers, hired hands and servants, because they also are members of the proletariat and semi-proletariat in the countryside.

We must firmly grasp the principle of simultaneously mobilizing peasants of both sexes, admit both young men and women into the Peasants' Association, and pay special attention to the role of

women in struggle and production.

To motivate the masses ideologically and to consolidate the peasants' association and make it strong and stable are important tasks of a decisive character in the mass mobilization to carry out the land reform. p523

2. DIFFERENTIATE AMONG THE LANDLORD CLASS; RALLY ALL ANTI-FEUDAL FORCES IN THE MOJIlLIZATION OF THE MASSES

The target of our struggle is the feudal landlord class. We must isolate and differentiate within it so as to topple it. Our agrarian policy is based on the principle of distinguishing between the various kinds of landlords, with the aim of splitting the landlord class up as far as possible. In the mass mobilization for the implementation of the land reform as well as in the mass mobilization for land rent reduction, it is necessary to explain the policy of the Party and the Government clearly to the landlords, in order to win the approval of democratic personalities and divide the feudal forces.

The administrative organs shall convene the landlords, tell them clearly about our policy, urge them to implement it, and warn them against taking action to oppose or sabotage the mass mobilization for land reform. Those landlords who abide by the laws of the Government and submit to the decisions of the Peasants' Association, shall enjoy leniency; those who stubbornly oppose them shall be severely punished.

Experience shows that a number of landlords who are collaborators, reactionaries. or cruel rural despots, usually oppose or scheme to sabotage the peasants' struggle for land reform by one means or another.

Timely measures must be taken to repress the actions of those landlords, and they must be tried by special people's tribunals and given due punishment. But it *is absolutely forbidden to arrest or kill them unwarrantedly, to beat them, torture them or use other forms of physical, violence against them*.

At the same time, we must rally the anti-feudal forces in the mass mobilization. Apart from the Peasants' Association, we must unite *all anti-feudal elements* (including a number of democratic personalities).

During the land reform. we must carry out widespread propaganda to help . all strata of the people to understand the agrarian policy of the Party and Government clearly, so that everybody will take part in or support the struggle of the peasants enthusiastically and ardently.

With regard to the *workers*, we must help them understand clearly that to mobilize the masses to implement the land reform is an excellent way to *strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, boost agricultural production, and encourage the development of industry and trade*, provide jobs to the workers, and further developing the working class. The working class, through the Viet Nam Workers' Party, leads the peasants to struggle to make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality, and afterwards helps the peasants to advance together with them to socialism. That is an extremely important task.

With regard to the soldiers, we must make clear to them that the land reform *is in their families' interests; it ensures the supply of manpower and material resources for our soldiers to fight the enemy*. We must help the army understand clearly that to struggle against the feudalists is to boost the anti-imperialist struggle and that the immediate goals of the fighting our soldiers are engaged in are national independence and land to the tillers.

With regard to *intellectuals and students*, including the children of landlords who are not directly responsible for exploitation, we must win them over to our cause and help them understand clearly that the land reform is a measure *which favours the development of the national culture*, and that giving land to the tillers is only fair and reasonable.

To *industrialists and traders* we must point out that the land reform is aimed at *expanding the home market* and that this will be very good for their enterprise; this with the aim of encouraging their active support for the peasants' struggle.

With regard to the rich peasants, we must explain to them the policy of seeking their support and protecting their economic interests so as to reassure them and make them sympathize with the struggle of the labouring peasants against the feudal landlords.

We must help *persons related to the landlords* to side unequivocally with the peasants, not to plead for the landlords, but instead point out to the landlords that the only sensible way open to them is to abide by the law and submit to the peasants' demands.

We must pay attention to these points in rallying the anti-feudal forces to support the mass mobilization for land reform. pp523-526

Only those places in which all the following three conditions obtain shall mobilize the masses to carry out the land reform:

1. A stable political and military situation.

2. Most of the people actively demand a land reform.

3. There are enough cadres to lead the mass campaign for the reform. As these three conditions exist in the free zones only the land reform shall be carried out in the free zones first. Generally speaking, our guerrilla bases at present do not yet have the necessary conditions for a land reform. Later, as the situation changes, those guerrilla base areas where the necessary conditions for the land reform obtain, shall be assigned the job of implementing the land reform. p529

The mass mobilization for land reform must be carried out in a planned way, step by step, in an orderly manner, and under close leadership.

We must combat wishful thinking, the tendency to underestimate the enemy, to think that after the mass campaign for land rent reduction this year the power of the landlord class has been definitively crushed, and the peasants strongly motivated, and that we can extend the land reform throughout the free zones. p530

6. PREPARATORY WORK

In order to assure the land reform satisfactory success, preparation is necessary in all fields :

- preparation of policies;

- ideological preparation; and

- preparation in organization (including preparation of cadres).

To prepare policies, the Party Central Committee has ordered investigations in the countryside, and the gathering of data as basis on which to work out a concrete land reform policy. After the policy has been approved by the Party's National Conference, the Party will propose it to the Lien Viet Front and the Government.

After laying down the land reform policy, we must extend propaganda among the cadres and the masses and help them to understand it. Propaganda and education must take place in the army units and the public organs, factories and schools; in the countryside and the provincial capitals and townships; in the free zones and the areas behind the enemy lines. We must convene the necessary conferences, write newspaper articles, make radio broadcasts, open short-term training courses, send cadres who understand the policy to conferences and ideological rectification courses to talk about and explain the policy.

In short, we must strive to disseminate the land reform policy, so as to help the cadres and people understand and accept the policies of the Party and the Government.

We must make use of these opportunities to study the *frame of mind of the cadres and the masses*, inquire about their worries in order to try and reassure them and correct their mistaken ideas, such as fear of dissensions, lack of confidence in the masses, working hurriedly, indulging in wishful thinking, under-estimating the enemy, taking spontaneous actions, etc.

The first stratum of people to be helped to understand the land reform policy and to be reassured is the peasantry. For this reason, in those places where the masses are mobilized to carry out the land reform, we must help them fully understand the policy. The aim of this is for the policy of the Party and the Government to be absorbed into the consciousness of millions of peasants and help them realize their duty to rely on that policy in their struggle for self-liberation. In areas where the people are not yet mobilized for the land reform, propaganda should emphasize the aim and significance of the land reform, help the masses to heighten their enthusiasm, boost production and take part in all resistance activities, while refraining from acting either hurriedly or spontaneously,

Preparatory work in terms of *organization* includes improving the organization and training cadres for the land reform. We have been carrying out preparatory work in the Party's and the army's rectification campaigns as well as in the mass campaign for land rent reduction this year. But this is not sufficient. In the near future, we must make more preparations in the field of organization, and first *of all we must train and foster cadres to carry out the land reform in the mass movement itself*.

In areas where the land reform is not yet carried out, we must coordinate the improvement. of military, civilian, administrative, and Party organizations with the mass campaign for land rent reduction, so as to strengthen these organizations. In particular. the village Party cells, Peasants' Associations and administrative organs (including the village resistance and administrative committee, the militia guerilla and security forces) must be reliable, under the control of poor and landless peasants, so as to support the masses' struggle and repress the reactionaries. This is a very important thing. At the same time, we must, through the mass struggle, discard the bad elements, win over and educate people who have made mistakes, find out active elements, and foster them into good activists and cadres. Thus the further we carry out the campaign for land rent reduction, the more cadres we train before moving on to the land reform.

The factories and the military, civilian, administrative and Party organs must also have plans for cadres, workers and personnel inside and outside the Party to take turns participating in the mass mobilization for the land reform, so as to give them an opportunity to raise their ideological level, strengthen their stand, correct their style of work and learn from good styles of work.

After the present National Conference, we must carry out the land reform on an experimental basis in a number of typical villages so as to draw experiences on the definition of social classes, on the confiscation, requisition forcible purchase and distribution of land, so as to amend our policy and train cadres and activists for the land reform in the future. pp532-535

We must *help the peasants solve difficulties in production* such as shortage of draught animals, farming implements. seed, food, etc. if during the land reform the distribution of these things obtained through struggle has not yet been solved satisfactorily. There are two ways of solving this problem. Firstly, the Peasants' Associations will organize the peasants to help one another; secondly, the administration and the trade-union will assist the peasants.

We must persuade the peasants *to develop mutual-aid teams, production teams and village credit cooperatives*. Cadres of the Party and Peasants' Associations must directly take part in fostering mutual-aid teams. These organizations should be on a moderate scale, suitable for the level of our peasants at present. We must reject the idea of building large scale organizations and forcing the peasants to join them, only to meet with failure. p537

I. TO IMPROVE THE PARTY CELLS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

In an agricultural country like ours, especially at this time when most of our cities and towns and industrial areas are not yet liberated, the rural Party cell is an. important grassroots organization of the Party. To consolidate the rural Party cells is therefore a task our Party must give special attention to.

In the mass campaign for thorough land rent reduction. our Party cells have been reorganized to a certain extent. The requirement of the work of improving the organization of the rural Party· cells in the mass campaign for Iand rent reduction is ideologically and organizationally to make a clear distinction between the 'enemy and ourselves and clearly differentiate the landlord class from the labouring people. Have we met this requirement in the recent successive drives of mass mobilization for land rent reduction? On the whole, we have met it. But in those places where work was not very well done, the landlords managed to misuse the Party cells. Given the above requirement for improving the organization of the Party cells, even in areas where the work was done best, the Party cells have not yet become the core of leadership in the countryside. We must go one step further in the land reform, and perfect the Party cells, making them real leading cores in all branches, in all mass organizations as well as in the administration in the countryside.

To perfect the rural Party cells with the aim of meeting the above requirement is an important political task of the Party in the land reform. Because this is the most effective way to ensure the leadership of the working class over the peasantry, because this is the most important condition for continuing to guide the peasants forward, and because this is one of the valuable results the Party must obtain in the land reform.

Facts have clearly shown that if the rural Party cells are not steady and reliable, then the policies of the Party and Government cannot be fully implemented, and cannot even be carried out in some places.

After the distribution of land to the peasants, the small production economy of the latter is good breeding-grounds for capitalist development. If the Party does not give the peasants strict leadership after the land reform then the latter may take the road to capitalism. p539-540

The improvement of Party cells during the land reform mainly consists in drawing a clear line between the Party and the exploiting classes ideologically as well as organizationally. To meet this

demand, the following concrete steps must be taken:

a) On the one hand, resolutely exclude from the Party cells those elements belonging to the exploiting classes that are directly involved in exploitation (except for special cases, i.e. Party members from exploiting classes who so far have resolutely carried out Party policies and submitted to education by the Party. They are to be transferred to other places). The presence in the Party of elements from exploiting classes is not beneficial to the building and consolidation of Party grassroots organizations. After the land reform. we must cease admitting elements from exploiting classes to the Party altogether. On the other hand, we should admit to the Party a number of active and conscious poor and landless peasants who have recently become active in the war of resistance to the French and in the mass campaign for land rent reduction and land reform.

b) We must mobilize all Party members to take an active part in the mass campaign for land reform, and through the practical struggle of the masses help them to heighten further their class consciousness, to make a clear distinction between the Party and the exploiting classes, and to thoroughly implement Party policies.

c) We must appoint a number of the most active elements of poor and landless peasant origin to the Party executive committees. These should be selected among old and new Party members, so as to enhance leadership of the Party cell. We must make the Party cells cooperate democratically with active non-Party members, and strengthen the relationship between the Party and the masses. When the Party members work actively and are exemplary in all fields, the Party cells can provide effective leadership of the mass organizations and administration in the countryside. pp541-542

3. SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING LEADERSHIP

We are carrying out the land reform while fighting against the foreign aggressors. It is the responsibility of the leadership, to assure both the success of the land reform and the satisfactory execution of all other tasks of the resistance. The following are some problems concerning leadership of the mass mobilization for the land reform which deserve special attention:

a) *Correct wrong ideu about the land reform*

Before the mass mobilization to carry out the land reform, we should concentrate on *combating rightist ideas*, and after starting the campaign, we should guard against *leftist ideas*.

Rightist ideas include:

- *The fear that the land reform may break unity, and prejudice the war of resistance*. This is due to the failure to see that the land reform is one of the best methods both of consolidating the National United Front on the firm basis of the worker-peasant alliance, and of developing the National United Front, because a grassroots organization of the Front - the Peasants' Association - will draw in millions of labouring peasants ; the failure to see that the land reform is aimed at making the ranks of the Front more reliable, because it makes it. possible to discard local rotten feudalist elements who have misused the name of the Front so far to oppose the resistance and the policies of the Party and the Government; the failure to realize that the land reform is one of the best methods of mobilizing millions of people to take part in the war of resistance, to increase production, to strengthen our rear area in all fields - political, military, economic and cultural.

- *The fear that land reform conducted during the war of resistance, would scatter and split our forces, and weaken our capacity*. This is due to the failure to see that it is the land reform that is the most effective method of building up the people's strength, developing the great force of resistance

of the people; the failure to see that during the land reform we will discover and train many good cadres, steel and temper our cadres and enhance our leadership.

As a result, our forces will be increased and the fulfilment of our resistance and national construction tasks will be accelerated.

- *The fear that the landlords would strongly oppose us, and upset the social order*. This is due to the failure to see that the landlord class is only a very small minority in Vietnamese society and that it is bitterly hated by the broad masses of the people. In the present mass mobilization for thorough land rent reduction, the landlord class is indeed reacting strongly, but the campaign for land rent reduction has partially weakened their opposition. Moreover, we have our administration and our army, and the broad masses of our people have closely rallied around the Party and the Government. Any landlord who acts in opposition to the land reform shall be severely punished.

- *The lack of confidence in the petulant masses, the tendency to tail after the masses*. This is due on the one hand to the failure to see that when educated and imbued with the land reform policy, and when well-organized and well led, the peasant masses will have an extraordinary strength. They will be capable of earth-shaking feats, and will certainly implement the land reform in keeping with the line, policies and plans of the Party and the Government. Our land reform policy is clear and judicious, our cadres, the masses and Party executives at all levels have accumulated more experience with each passing day. If we lead well, there shall be fewer shortcomings and mistakes in the mass mobilization. On the other hand, this error leads to failure to educate the peasant masses perseveringly ; after the masses have been mobilized some of our cadres have slackened their leadership and tailed after the movement, leaving a number of people with wrong ideas among the masses free to act wrongly, indulge their greed and selfishness, take personal revenge, force others to admit crimes they have not committed, put them to torture, and generally fail to abide by Government policy.

Another mistake is that in the mass campaign for land reform, some cadres *only pay attention to the land reform and neglect other resistance and production tasks*. They only pay attention to rhe anti-feudal task and neglect the anti-imperialist task; they do not know how to coordinate these two tasks ; they only see the landlords, and not the imperialists. These are rightist tendencies. During the land reform there were cases of imperialist troops making a thrust into an area and our cadres failing to immediately turn the mass mobilization for struggle against the feudalists into a mass movement to serve the front, take part in the guerrilla activities, and fight the enemy. Or they let the land reform interfere with production schedules, and failed to fulfil the tax-collection task, etc.

"Leftist" ideas include the following :

- *Some cadres criticise our land reform policy for being reformist and the forcible purchase of land from the landlords as not being revolutionary*. As a result, rhey do not carry out the land reform policy enthusiastically. They fail to see that when carrying out the land reform while fighting against the aggressors, the fewer enemies we have, the better, and that we must therefore make distinctions within the landlord class (confiscation, requisition, and forcible purchase of land) so as to cripple their ability to resist as far as possible. There are two kinds of reform: "reforms" undertaken by the reactionary administration are of course reactionary, for they aim at curbing the spirit of struggle of the masses and further consolidating the ruling position of the exploiting minority.

In contrast, the reforms carried out by the revolutionary administration have a revolutionary character, for they shatter the resistance of the hostile enemy class, serve the interests of the masses, aim to benefit the masses and consolidate the people's revolutionary power. Does not our land

reform policy aim at eliminating the feudal landlord class, and liberating the broad masses of the peasants from the feudal yoke? We should not focus our attention only on the flexible aspect of the measure which consists in forcibly purchasing land from the landlords, and lose sight of the radical character of our land reform policy.

Other "leftist" errors consist in indulging in wishful thinking; underestimating the enemy; making light of the resistance of the landlord class and the collusion between the feudal landlords and the imperialist aggressors; or thinking that as a result of the mass mobilization for land rent reduction, the landlord class has been toppled, and has no more strength to oppose us ; and as a consequence : relaxing vigilance, dropping one's guard against their acts of sabotage, failing to repress the reactionary landlords who oppose the land reform campaign. (This is an example of "leftist" tendency turned rightist).

Another mistake is to use physical violence against the landlords and their families in the search for movable property, to compel the landlords to admit to political crimes or common offences and to "connections" (with other enemies of the revolution - Translator), etc., thus causing chaos in the countryside and creating favourable conditions for bad elements to carry out counterpropaganda against the policy of the Party and Government.

Another mistake consists in *burning or destroying* cultural items (books, pictures, fine arts articles etc.) and objects of worship belonging to the landlords' families with the wrong idea that because these are products of the feudal regime, they must be "obliterated" in the land reform.

Some cadres lose their temper, show impatience, and neither wait for instructions nor follow the Central Committee's plan for mobilizing the masses to carry out the land reform; they act on their own, thus creating chaos and disorder. enabling the imperialist aggressors and the reactionary feudalists to take advantage of the situation and carry out provocations and cause further disturbances. This has a bad influence both on the resistance and on the peasant masses.

To carry out the land reform and assure its success we must first of all overcome the wrong ideas and tendencies described above. pp544-549