COMMUNISM IN NORTH VIETNAM: ITS ROLE
IN THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

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In recent years the world situation has developed in accordance with the predictions of the declaration and statement of the meetings of representatives of Communist and workers' parties in Moscow in 1957 and 1960. The socialist camp has recorded new and great achievements in all fields in the building of socialism and communism and the defense of world peace. The national liberation movement continued to gain momentum, and the colonial system was disintegrating in quick succession. In the capitalist countries the struggle of the working class against monopoly capitalism has drawn in many more strata of working people and has become stronger with every passing day. The contradictions rending the world capitalist system have deepened further.

The imperialists, headed by the United States imperialists, have shown more and more clearly their cruel, aggressive, and warlike faces. They continued their policy of creating tension, feverishly carried on the arms race, prepared a new world war, sought by all means to repress the national liberation movement and to maintain colonialism in many forms, and schemed to sabotage the socialist camp and split the international Communist and workers' movement. However, they have met with the resolute struggle of the world's peoples, and the situation has become more and disadvantageous to

them and favorable to the people.

The struggle of the people of various countries for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism could have won still greater successes and caused many more setbacks and difficulties to imperialism if the socialist camp and the international Communist movement had united and coordinated actions more closely. However, it is regrettable that discords have arisen between a number of brother parties.

In the face of this situation, in January 1962, the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party sent letters to a number of fraternal parties expressing its concern and proposing that a meeting be held between representatives of Communist and workers' parties to settle the discord together and that, pending such a meeting, the parties cease attacking one another in the press and over the radio.

After that the situation was at times somewhat improved. However, over the recent period events took place which aggravated the relations between a number of fraternal parties. All the imperialists and reactionary forces in the world are rejoicing over this and are seeking by all means to take advantage of it in an attempt to aggravate this state of things still further. Meanwhile in all the Marxist-Leninists, the broad masses/ various countries, and many progressive people in the world have shown concern and sorrow.

The Lao Dong Party holds that in a situation wherein the Communist movement has become powerful, the Communist and workers' parties are carrying out their activities in very different conditions, and the development of the revolutionary movement has
raised before the parties many complicated problems; hence the fact that one party holds different views on certain questions from another is something difficult to avoid.

Nevertheless such divergences of views should not be allowed to harm the fraternal unity between our parties. The unity of the Communist and workers' parties is the nucleus for uniting the revolutionary movement of peoples all over the world. In the face of the enemy, the imperialists, who are seeking by all means to split the international Communist movement, sabotage the socialist camp, and sabotage peace, we should endeavor all the more to strengthen solidarity. The interests of socialism, world peace, and the future of mankind make it essential for us to unite. Solidarity is the guarantee of all our successes.

Communists have all the necessary conditions to overcome divergences of views and firmly to maintain and enhance unity within their ranks. We have a common enemy--imperialism. We have a common ideology--socialism and communism. We have a common program--the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. These declarations and statements have laid down principles on the strategy and tactics of the international Communist and workers' movement, rules guiding the relations among Communist and workers' parties, and methods to overcome divergences of views which may arise between parties--that is, to meet and consult one another in order to reach unanimous views. All Communist and workers' parties must most scrupulously respect all stipulations of these declarations and statements which have been recognized by all.
The Lao Dong Party holds that unity among the Communist and workers' parties of the countries in the socialist camp is of extreme importance for the unity of the international Communist movement, and that the unity between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples' Republic, constitutes the mainstay for uniting the socialist camp as a whole.

The great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin, is the vanguard of the international Communist movement. The Soviet Union is the first country to have carried out the socialist revolution, the country which has successfully built the first socialist society in the world, and is building communism. The victory of the October Revolution and the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union have strongly stimulated the working people and land-oppressed peoples of the world to rise up and struggle for self-liberation and to build a new life for themselves. The experiences of the great October Revolution and of socialist construction in the Soviet Union are of tremendous significance for the international Communist movement as a whole.

The great Communist Party of China has led the peoples' democratic revolution to victory and is taking the 650 million Chinese people to socialism. Following the victory of the Soviet October Revolution, the victory of the Chinese Revolution is of tremendous historic significance. The victory of the Chinese Revolution and the achievements recorded by China in the building of socialism have dealt crippling blows to imperialism and helped the balance
of world forces tip in favor of the socialist camp and world peace. They are strongly stimulating the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples.

The Soviet Union and China, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, have very great strength and prestige. Close solidarity between the Soviet Union and China, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, is of special importance. The Lao Dong Party always defends the Soviet Union, China, and the other fraternal countries in the socialist camp and unceasingly makes all-out efforts to contribute to strengthening the unity between the Soviet Union and China, the unity of the socialist camp, and the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement.

Recently a number of brother parties proposed that the parties stop criticizing one another in the press and over the radio and make active preparations for the holding of a meeting of representatives of Communist and workers' parties. Proceeding from its sincere desire to strengthen unity within the international Communist movement, the Political Bureau of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee welcomes such views and deems it necessary to recall the proposal previously made by our party. We propose the following concrete points:

1. The Communist and workers' parties should stop all reciprocal criticisms in the press, over the radio, and so on, and avoid any actions likely to bring about further misunderstanding and differences in order to create favorable conditions for the convening of a meeting of representatives of Communist and workers' parties.
2. That a meeting of Communist and workers' parties is aimed at further assessing together the situation and the tasks of the international Communist and workers' movement, and together discussing and settling divergences of views in order to strengthen unity and coordinate actions for common goals of struggle.

3. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China have the greatest share of responsibility in preparing all necessary conditions for bringing that international meeting to achieve good results.

We think that in the present situation such an international meeting as was mentioned above needs careful preparations. We hold, however, that these preparations should be speedy so that the meeting can be held as early as possible. We earnestly call on all fraternal parties and all Communists to make active contributions to restore unity and to avoid all that may create further discords.

Sharing the view of many fraternal parties, we hold that within the international Communist movement at present discords are only temporary. We firmly believe that, with the common efforts of all Communist and workers' parties, we will overcome that situation and strengthen unity within the international Communist movement, and that under the surely victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism we will march shoulder to shoulder towards greater successes in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.
APPENDIX B

A Comparison of Certain Joint Statements

The manner and the extent of DRV concessions to the viewpoint of distinguished Communist visitors during their presence in North Vietnam are exemplified by the following comparisons made between the texts of two joint statements recently issued by Ho Chi Minh and a visitor. The first joint statement is that signed by Presidents Ho Chi Minh and Antonin Novotny of Czechoslovakia on January 26, 1963, referred to below as Statement A; the second is that signed by Ho Chi Minh and Chairman Liu Shao-chi on May 16, 1963, referred to as Statement B.

1. Agreement.

Statement A.

In an atmosphere full of friendship, the two sides are completely unanimous on all questions discussed...

Statement B.

The talks were held in an extremely sincere, cordial, and friendly atmosphere.

Comment: The difference in the wording suggests that Ho Chi Minh and Liu Shao-chi were unable to agree on all matters discussed, and this is born out by the omission from their statement of references to peaceful coexistence and by the attribution of certain passages to either Ho Chi Minh or Liu Shao-chi. All passages in Statement A are attributed to both signatories.
2. The World Situation.

Statement A.

The representatives of the two countries have reviewed the world situation and note that the forces of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism have developed and consolidated day by day. The socialist countries are taking vigorous steps in their economic construction and developing the great influence of the world socialist system on the evolution of the world situation. The Soviet Union, the center of the world socialist camp, is making great strides forward in building communism and is leading the world in advanced branches of science and technology. China and the other brother socialist countries are also recording big achievements in building socialism. The CPSU, the party of the great Lenin, the tested and experienced vanguard of the international Communist movement, and the Communist and workers' parties of other countries, continue to exert their great influence upon the development of human society.

Statement B.

Both parties unanimously hold that the present international situation is favorable to the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries but unfavorable to imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. The might of the socialist camp has become more powerful. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is on a continual upsurge. The struggles of the working class and the masses of the people in the developed capitalist
countries against monopoly capital, for improved living conditions, and for democratic rights have seen new development. The movement of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in the defense of world peace is growing in breadth and depth. The general crisis of capitalism is daily deepening. The contradictions among the imperialist powers, especially between United States imperialism and other imperialist powers, have become more and more acute. The imperialist camp is heading further toward disintegration. The emergence of this situation is the result of the protracted struggle by the socialist camp and the people of the world against imperialism and the reactionaries, and the result of mutual support and joint struggle by the great forces of our time, namely the forces of the socialist camp, the forces of the national liberation movement, the forces of the international working class movement, and the forces of the peace movement, and particularly the forces of the socialist camp and those of the national liberation movement. But the aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. The more it approaches its doom, the more it will give frenzied and desperate kicks. United States imperialism is redoubling its efforts in pushing ahead with its aggressive war plans, actively fostering the reactionary forces of various countries, and particularly the militarist forces of West Germany and Japan, and is increasing its attacks on the peoples of the world. It is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations, getting ready to fight both a nuclear war and conventional wars, and is already waging "special warfare."
Comment: Note the peaceful nature of Statement A on the international situation, consonant with a policy of peaceful coexistence, and the belligerent nature of Statement B, with its references to war, to struggle, and to national liberation movements. Statement B omits references to the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

3. Disarmament.

Statement A.

The two sides hold that the most urgent problem in the present world situation is to struggle continuously for settling the question of general and complete disarmament. They are of the opinion that the drafts advanced by the Soviet Union constitute a basis for settling this very important question. The two countries will continue striving to impel the imperialist circles, who have so far obstinately repudiated general and complete disarmament, to constructive and concrete negotiations. The two sides attach particular importance to the question of ending nuclear weapon tests. They hold that it is necessary to strive to reach an agreement providing for the definite cessation of nuclear tests. The representatives of the two countries declare that they are in favor of a rapid liquidation of military bases abroad and withdrawal of troops from other countries' territories. In connection with the problem of general and complete disarmament the governments of the DRV and the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia have on many occasions expressed the willingness to take part in the elaboration and realization of measures likely to relax world tension and help create a
favorable atmosphere in relations among states, such as the formation of atom-free zones in Central Europe, the Far East, and other parts of the world, the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between the member states of NATO and those of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and the prohibition of war propaganda.

Statement B.
The two parties hold that to preserve world peace, to stop imperialism from launching a new world war, and to prevent a nuclear war the peoples of the world must heighten their vigilance and further join hands to form the broadest possible united front and wage an indefatigable struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys. The two parties firmly believe that in the present time, when the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism, and the forces of peace have surpassed those of war, it is possible to safeguard peace, prevent a world war, and prevent a nuclear war by relying on the unity and struggle of the masses of the people of all countries and on the proletarian parties of various countries. The two parties stand for general disarmament, for the total prohibition of the use, stockpiling, manufacture, and testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific region including the United States of America. The two parties believe that through persistent struggle by the people of various countries it is possible to force imperialism to accept certain agreements on disarmament and an agreement to ban nuclear weapons. In the circumstances in which imperialism rejects disarmament and continues preparations for a nuclear war, it is highly necessary to strengthen the
national defense might of the countries in the socialist camp, including the development of nuclear superiority of the socialist countries...

Comment: Note the more belligerent tone of Statement B throughout and particularly the apparent approval given by the DRV to Chinese development of nuclear weapons. Again Statement B omits any reference to the Soviet Union.

4. Cuba.

Statement A.
The two sides hold that, thanks to the resolute stand of the Cuban people and government, thanks to the persistent efforts and firm and correct measures of the Soviet Union, and at the same time to the support of the other socialist countries and all forces of peace in the world, it was possible recently to stay the invasion of Cuba by United States imperialist forces, to safeguard the fruits of the Cuban revolution, and to discard the imminent danger of a devastating nuclear war. The two sides express their admiration for the valiant struggle of the Cuban people to defend the fatherland and declare total support for the five demands of the Cuban Government.

Statement B.
The two parties express immense admiration for the heroic Cuban people, who have won great victories in their struggle against United States imperialist aggression and in defense of their sovereignty, dignity, and fruits of revolution. Both parties are unanimous in their support for the five just demands
put forward by Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban people's revolution. The two parties note with satisfaction that the revolutionary ideas of the "Havana Declarations" are exerting an ever greater influence among the Latin American countries where the national-democratic movement is surging daily.

Comment: Note the complete omission from Statement B of any mention of Soviet actions in Cuba and the emphasis placed upon revolution in Latin America.

5. India.

Statement A.

The two sides express their satisfaction at the decision of November 21, 1962 of the Chinese Government on cease-fire and withdrawal of troops in the Sino-Indian border areas and its readiness to negotiate with the Indian side. At the same time they welcome the efforts made by the six countries meeting recently in Colombo and by other Asian and African countries to speed up the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary problem. They express the hope that China and India, the two great countries in Asia, will find a just and honorable solution to the border problem in conformity with the interests of both peoples and to the benefit of the consolidation of Asian-African solidarity and the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world.

Statement B.

The Government of the DRV firmly supports the consistent stand of the Government of the CPR for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. It warmly
praises the cease-fire, the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards, the release of all captured Indian military personnel, and other important measures taken by China on its own initiative, and deems that these measures fully demonstrate China's sincere desire to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. President Ho Chi Minh expresses the hope that China and India may quickly start direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Comment: Note that Statement B omits all mention of the six Colombo countries and, indeed, seeks to exclude them from further negotiations by the use of the word "direct" in the reference to future negotiations. It makes no reference to India's being a great Asian country.

6. Peaceful coexistence.

Statement A.

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Its successes/construction and its policy of peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation among nations have heightened the prestige of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia in the world and have helped consolidate the solidarity, increase the strength, and broaden the international influence of the socialist camp as a whole.

Statement B ignores the policy of peaceful coexistence.

7. Revisionism.

Statement A says nothing about revisionism or modern revisionism.
Statement B.

Both parties uphold the correct thesis in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement that in the present circumstances revisionism— in other words right opportunism—is the main danger in the international Communist movement. Revisionism, or right opportunism, is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. It seeks persistently to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, deny the historical need of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class and laboring people, and undermine their confidence in socialism.

8. Yugoslavia.

Statement A does not mention Yugoslavia.

Statement B.

Yugoslav revisionism is the concentrated expression of modern revisionist "theories." The Yugoslav revisionist clique has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, has led Yugoslavia out of the socialist camp, and is engaged in sabotage against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement, and in activities detrimental to the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist clique remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries.
9. **Peaceful evolution.**

Statement A makes no mention of peaceful evolution.

Statement B.

In regard to the socialist countries, United States imperialism, besides perpetrating military aggression and war threats, is intensifying subversion and infiltration and is pushing ahead with its policy of peaceful evolution, vainly attempting to have capitalism restored in these countries.