stood and resolved the peasant problem and constantly consolidated the worker-peasant alliance. The actual activities of our Party proves that "only a worker-peasant alliance led by the working class can resolutely and thoroughly overthrow the counter-revolutionary powers, secure and consolidate the political power of the working people, complete the historic task of the national democratic revolution, and move forward to socialism." (52)

3. During each stage of the revolution, our Party assembled all patriotic and progressive forces into a broad united national front based on the stable worker-peasant alliance and led by the Party, achieving unity of action among all those forces in order to combat the common enemy, which is the imperialist and its clique of henchmen, and materialize the program of the Front. In the course of building and consolidating the United National Front, our Party always struggled on two fronts: against narrow-minded tendencies to go it alone and to undervalue the task of winning over all those forces which can be won over, and combatting the tendency toward one-sided solidarity, a solidarity devoid of struggle within the Front and devoid of efforts to resolutely fight schemes to lower the leadership role of the Party and to lower the position of the workers and peasants, the foundation of the united national front.

4. In the struggle against the enemy of the class and the people, our Party used revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence, mobilizing the masses to rise up and carry out revolutionary war in order to win political power and protect the political power of the people. During each stage, our Party determined appropriate revolutionary struggle forms based on the concrete situation and cleverly combined forms of armed struggle and political struggle in order to overthrow the enemy and secure victory for the revolution. Our Party devoted very serious attention to developing the People's Armed Forces composed of the three types of troops: main force troops, local force troops, and militia and guerrilla forces or militia and self-defense forces. These forces, along with the political forces of the masses (i.e., the political organizations in the United National Front), achieved a close coordination between armed struggle and political struggle in order to overthrow all enemies.
5. After winning political power for the people, our Party always worried about strengthening and consolidating the political power, using the political power to suppress counterrevolutionary elements, to maintain order and security, and to motivate and organize the masses in the resistance war against foreign aggression and in protecting national independence and unity. It also used the political power to develop the democratic rights of the people, to motivate and teach the people to emulate in developing the new life, to develop the economy and culture, and to constantly improve the life of the people. The Party clearly recognizes that this political power must be people's democratic dictatorial political power carrying out the historic duty of the worker-peasant dictatorship during the people's national democratic revolutionary stage and carrying out the historic task of the proletarian dictatorship during the stage of transition to socialism and communism.

6. Our country's revolution is an integral part of the world revolution. Every victory in our country's revolution is inseparable from the enthusiastic support of the fraternal socialist countries, of the international communist and workers' movement, of the national liberation movement, and of the movement for peace and democracy in the world. Consequently, our Party always sought to strengthen international solidarity. Because it learned how to combine the revolutionary movement at home with the revolutionary movement of the international working class (including the struggle movement of the working class and working people in the imperialist countries invading our own country) and with the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, our Party was able to win many friends and allies abroad for the Vietnamese revolution, to create additional strength for our country's revolution in achieving victory, and to worthily contribute to the world revolutionary movement.

In summary, the 40-year history of our Party's activities -- President Ho's Party -- is a history replete with sacrifices and hardships but a very proud history. It is the history of the vanguard units and staff element of the Vietnamese working class which led all the Vietnamese people in the fight against the Japanese and in overthrowing the pro-Japanese puppet government, in carrying out the successful August Revolution, in establishing the DRV -- one of the first people's democratic countries in Southeast Asia --, in the prolonged war of resistance, in the defeat of the
aggressive French colonialists, and in completing the people's national democratic revolution and moving ahead to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction in North Viet-Nam. The Party also is leading all our people in the resistance war against the United States for national salvation in order to liberate South Viet-Nam, protect North Viet-Nam, and eventually achieve peace and national reunification.

Countless communist fighters and patriots have "given their lives so the Fatherland could definitely live!" (53) Countless communist fighters have selflessly worked for the noble ideals of the Party! People have fallen and others have come behind them and many have charged ahead and ignored dangers and hardships so that we could be where we are today.

Such has been the path in the past. However, not all of the difficulties have been eliminated. Great and difficult tasks await us. Our Party still must lead all our people to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, the international gendarmes and the common enemy of our people and of mankind. At the same time, our Party must lead our working class and people to successfully build socialism in a backward agricultural country without going through the stage of capitalist development. On the basis of this, the Party will lead all the people to successfully build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Viet-Nam.

Filled with confidence and pride, let all our Party, Army, and people tighten ranks, develop revolutionary heroism and the beautiful traditions of our people, overcome all hardships and sacrifices, resolutely carry out the correct lines and policies of the Party, and bring the ever-victorious banner of President Ho to its final destination!
Footnotes

(1) Ho Chi Minh: Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 705.

(2) Carried out by the Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang Party on 11 February 1930.

(3) i.e., the French colonialists.

(4) An article by Comrade Nguyen on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Party on 3 February 1934.


(7) Excerpted from the Resolution of the 8th Conference of the Party Central Committee in May 1941.

(8) The anti-Bolcheviks were a provocative group who disguised themselves as communists in order to fight the communists. During the period 1939-1945, the French fascists organized the anti-Bolcheviks in the hope of using provocative methods to split our Party and to sabotage the Indochinese revolutionary movement.

(9) Composed by the three provinces of Liaoning, Kirin, and Heilungkiang.


Sua Doi Loi Lam Viec (Changing Methods of Operation), 1955, p 33. Since the Party had not yet become overt, the author used the word Doan The (Group) instead of Dang (Party).


"Discussion of the Vietnamese Revolution."

Strategically, the prolonged resistance war of our people against the aggressive French colonialists went through three stages. At present, there are still different opinions about the name and starting point of the third stage.

The first idea holds that the third stage was the stage of the general counteroffensive, as observed by the Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party in February 1951. Begun in the autumn and winter of 1953, this stage was marked by a series of strategic attacks by our Army and people in all of the theaters, the pinnacle of which was the attack of strategic importance against the enemy's strongest cluster of strongholds at Dien Bien Phu, forcing the enemy to switch from the strategically defensive posture to withdraw and defeat.

The second idea holds that the third stage was the counteroffensive stage begun with the border campaign in the fall of 1950. After the border campaign, our Army and people secured and maintained the initiative and launched one significant offensive campaign after another, forcing the enemy into a defensive and passive position and into a position of gradual withdrawal from important areas of the battlefield. This limited form of counteroffensive developed into a all-encompassing counteroffensive during the winter and spring of 1953-1954, the pinnacle of which was the great victory of Dien Bien Phu.

This issue is continuing to be studied.

According to the Final Statement of 21 July 1954 of the Geneva Conference on the restoration of peace in Indochina, Cambodia
and Laos were to hold general elections in 1956.

(21) Ho Chi Minh: *Tuyen Tap* (Selected Works), p. 171.

(22) Ho Chi Minh: *Tuyen Tap* (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, 1961, p 637.

(23) Congress Documents, Volume I, p 23.


(26) The "three firsts" (score the maximum achievements, have the maximum uniformity, and have the maximum excellence) were the substance of the emulation movement of the People's Army and of the militia and self-defense forces between 1959 and 1961.

Dai Phong was an agricultural cooperative in Phong Thuy Township, Le Thuy District, Quang Binh Province. It has been a standard bearer in emulation movement to improve the management of cooperatives, to improve techniques, and to accelerate production since 1960 in the agricultural sector.

Duyen Hai is a machinery works in Haiphong. It has been the standard bearer in the emulation movement to rationalize production and improve techniques since 1961 in the industrial sector.

Thanh Cong is a handicraft cooperative in Thanh Hoa. It has been the standard bearer in the emulation movement to display a spirit of self-reliance and frugality in building cooperatives since 1961 in the handicraft sector.

Bac Ly is a level 2 general school in Ly Nhan District, Nam Ha Province. It has been the standard bearer in the emulation movement to "study real well and teach real well" since 1961 in the education sector.

(27) The figures are as of 1964.

(28) Report at the Special Political Conference in March 1964,
(29) Resolution of the 12th Conference of the Party Central Committee in December 1965.

(30) Statement by the First Congress of the NFLSVN on 3 March 1962.

(31) Statement by the Central Committee of the NFLSVN on 22 March 1965.


(33) The 12th Resolution of the Party Central Committee in December 1965.

(34) As of 22 December 1969, the North Vietnamese Army and people had downed 3,328 U.S. planes.

(35) Ho Chi Minh: *Ve Nhiem Vu Chong My, Cuu Nuoc* (Concerning the Task of Fighting the United States and Saving the Nation), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 118.

(36) There are various types of operational machinery: water pumps, rice threshers, milling machines, and grinders.

(37) Combat readiness: readiness to join the army, readiness to go anywhere and do anything needed by the Fatherland.

(38) Production and operational responsibility: the responsibility to shoulder family tasks and the responsibility to serve the fighting and to fight.

(39) Studying well and teaching well.

(40) Improving operations, improving organization, and improving methods of operation.

(41) Fighting expertly and producing expertly.

(42) Ho Chi Minh: *Ve Nhiem Vu Chong My, Cuu Nuoc* (Concerning the Task of Fighting the United States and Saving the Nation), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 57.


Ho Chi Minh: Ve Nhiem Vu Chong My, Cuu Nuoc (Concerning the Task of Fighting the United States and Saving the Nation), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, pp 55, 57.

In South Viet-Nam, there are seven months to the dry season. It begins in October and continues until the end of April of the following year.

The four points of the Government of the DRV are summarized as follows:

1. To recognize the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people for peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

2. While waiting for the achievement of peace and the unification of Viet-Nam, it is necessary to thoroughly respect the military clauses in the 1954 Geneva Accords on Viet-Nam.

3. The affairs of South Viet-Nam are to be determined by the South Vietnamese people themselves.

4. The achievement of peace and the unification of Viet-Nam is to be determined by the Vietnamese people in the two zones themselves.

The 10 points of the NFLSVN and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam are summarized as follows:

1. To respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people for independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

2. The U.S. Government must withdraw all forces, military personnel, weapons, and war materiel of the United States and the satellites from South Viet-Nam without any conditions.
3. The right of the Vietnamese people to fight to protect their Fatherland is an inviolable, sacred right of self-defense. The problem of the Vietnamese Armed Forces in South Viet-Nam will be determined jointly by the two Vietnamese sides.

4. The people of South Viet-Nam will determine their own internal affairs without intervention from abroad.

5. During the period after the restoration of peace until general elections are held, neither side can force the South Vietnamese people to accept its political system.

6. South Viet-Nam will carry out a peaceful and neutral policy.

7. The reunification of Viet-Nam will be achieved gradually through peaceful methods and on a basis of discussions and agreements between the two zones without intervention from abroad.

8. North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam pledge not to join military alliances with foreign countries, not to permit foreign countries to have military bases, armies, or military personnel on their territory, and not to recognize the protection of any country or any military alliance or block.

9. To resolve the consequences of the war:

   a). The various parties will negotiate about returning military personnel captured during the war.

   b). The U.S. Government must agree to accept complete responsibility for the damages and destruction caused by the United States to the people of Viet-Nam in both zones.

10. All parties will reach agreement about international supervision of the withdrawal of the troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materiel of the United States and foreign countries of the American camp from South Viet-Nam.

(50) Appeal of the Party Central Committee on 3 September 1969.

(51) Speech on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Party.

(52) Ho Chi Minh: Cach Mang Thang Muoi Vi Dai Mo Ra Con Duong Giai Phong Cho Cac Dan Toc (The Great October Revolution Opened the Way for the Liberation of All Peoples), November 1967.

Section II

A Review of Forty Years of Party Activity
A REVIEW OF FORTY YEARS OF PARTY ACTIVITY

From the Birth of the Party to the August Revolution in 1945

The book devotes an important part to the eminent services of President Ho Chi Minh, the founder and educator of the Party. In the twenties of this century, after studying the different lines of revolution in Western and Eastern countries, President Ho Chi Minh came to this conclusion: "To save our country and liberate our people, there was no other way for us than proletarian revolution."

He made untiring efforts to popularize Marxism-Leninism in Viet Nam and laid the groundwork for the Vietnamese working class to found its own Party.

To this effect, President Ho Chi Minh and a number of other patriots established the Viet-Nam Young Revolutionary Comrades' Association, transitional organization to supply the Vietnamese patriots with facilities to master Marxism-Leninism and apply it to their national liberation movement.

To set up the Viet-Nam Young Revolutionary Comrades' Association and not immediately a Communist Party in Viet-Nam in 1925 was a great inspiration of President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. "For the Vietnamese revolutionaries," the book says, "it was not simple to switch from their patriotic position dictated by the old concept to one in line with the Marxist-Leninist concept." The pamphlet gives this explanation: "In a colonial and economically backward country like ours at the time, there had been no socialist tradition as yet not only in the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie but also in the working class..." and "the immediate founding of a proletarian party surely would be a sudden development that would eventually lead to a split in the stirring patriotic movement at that time."

The Viet-Nam Young Revolutionary Comrades' Association completed with merit the preparations for the founding of the Party in all the three aspects—ideological, political and organizational.

On February 3, 1930, the Viet-Nam Communist Party which was later renamed Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet-Nam Workers' Party) came into being, "marking a great turning point..."
in the history of the Vietnamese revolution and opening a new period in which the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution is assumed by the Vietnamese working class and its vanguard brigade, a Marxist-Leninist Party.

"Right after its birth," the book writes, "the Party charted the right revolutionary line for the Vietnamese revolution. This was laid down in clear terms in the Summarized Political Program and Tactics drafted by President Ho Chi Minh and adopted at the Founding Conference of the Party on February 3, 1930, and later elaborated on in the Political Thesis drafted by Tran Phu, first Secretary-General of the Party, and passed at the Party Plenum's first meeting in October 1930. It is as follows:

"In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution after the success of the Great October Revolution in the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese revolution has become an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. It will go through two stages: first, the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution carried out under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists, wrest back national independence and give back land to the tillers. The tasks of fighting imperialism and feudalism are closely linked. The main force of the revolution is made up by the workers and peasants. The Party must achieve the worker-peasant alliance and use revolutionary mass violence to stage insurrections and seize power.

"After having fulfilled in the main the above tasks, the revolution will switch to the second stage, that of taking Viet-Nam directly to socialism by by-passing the stage of capitalist development.

"The essential condition for the success of the revolution is to have a Communist Party with Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation and a judicious political line to lead the revolution, a Party organized according to democratic centralism, strictly disciplined, with close ties with the masses, and which grows in the course of revolutionary struggle."

The book reviews the revolutionary movements in Viet-Nam from the birth of the Party to the August Revolution in 1945.

Within only 15 years, under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, the Vietnamese people rose up to a man in a
general armed insurrection that led to the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the first people's democratic State in South-East Asia.

The success of the August Revolution was the outcome not only of the national liberation movement in 1939-45 but also of the whole revolutionary process since the emergence of our Party, going through two full-dress rehearsals which were the revolutionary high tide of 1930-31 and the period of the Indochinese Democratic Front in 1936-1939. Through 15 years of unremitting struggle from 1930 to 1945, the Party encouraged, enlightened and organized various strata of the people, brought into play the big force of the workers and peasants, and established the worker-peasant alliance. On the firm basis of the latter, the Party rallied all patriotic forces within a broad national united front--the Viet Nam League for Independence (Viet Minh)--and set to building revolutionary forces throughout the country, in the mountain areas, the rural plains and the towns. The Party set up the People's Armed Forces, combined armed struggle with political action, regional guerrilla warfare with partial insurrections in the countryside, and when the moment came, it mobilized in time the masses in a general insurrection in both country and town to overthrow the whole power of the imperialists and the feudalists--their henchmen--and wrested back power for the people.

The book says:

"The Vietnamese August Revolution is a model of how a national liberation revolution led by the working class can win victory in a colonial and semi-feudal country through a general armed insurrection of the masses and through the skilful combination of military operations with the political struggle of the masses in various forms to seize State power and set up the people's rule. This Revolution has breached the colonial system of imperialism at its weakest link and made an important contribution to its disintegration."

The Resistance War Against the French Colonialists

"Right in its early days," the book begins in its second part, "Viet-Nam had to face countless difficulties. Hardly had the terrible famine resulting from the predatory policy of the French and Japanese imperialists been overcome that a big flood occurred in Bac Bo.
Then came a drought which caused delay in the sowing, while all branches of production were brought to a standstill and the national treasury was left empty by the Japanese.

"It was when our people were confronted with piling difficulties that 200,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops swarmed into North Vietnam. They claimed they had to come and discharge the task entrusted by the Allied forces--disarming Japanese troops in Indochina--but in fact they were henchmen of the US imperialists, instructed by the latter to carry out their dark scheme to destroy our Party and the Viet Minh and help the reactionaries in Viet-Nam overthrow the revolutionary power and set up a puppet government, at US beck and call. Meanwhile, British troops moved into South Viet-Nam also under the pretext of disarming Japanese troops. They were actually expeditionary troops that opened the way for the French colonialists to invade Viet-Nam for the second time. While the imperialists joined hands in an attempt to reduce the Vietnamese people politically and militarily, the Vietnamese traitors, flunkeys of France, the US and Chiang Kai-shek, went on a rampage of provocation and sabotage. However, the Vietnamese people overcame all these seemingly unsurmountable obstacles and succeeded in maintaining firmly the revolutionary power."

"The main problem at that moment, " the book points out, "was to safeguard with might and main the revolutionary power. It was a life-and-death struggle between our entire people and imperialism and its lackeys... In face of the fiery revolutionary spirit of our people and the firmness of our Party, Chiang Kai-shek's provocative maneuvers were frustrated and his hirelings were duly punished for their acts of treason."

About the signing on March 6, 1946 by the DRVN Government of a preliminary convention with the French Government, the book notes: "The signing of the preliminary convention was a very sound and lucid move of our Party. Thanks to it, the Vietnamese revolution got rid of a wicked enemy subservient to the US imperialists to concentrate all its fire on the French colonialists, the immediate and most dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese people at that time. Also thanks to it, our people made the most of little valuable time left to prepare for a protracted resistance war."

About this historical period, the book remarks:
"The difficult and complex situation in the period between the success of the August Revolution and late 1946 was full of very hard trials for our Party and government. The very existence of our budding revolutionary power was hanging by a thread. But our Party and government, headed by esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, led our people and our country through all obstacles and dangers and succeeded in making the revolutionary power secure and developing their potential strength."

Our people's war of resistance under the Party's leadership against the French colonialists and US interventionists lasted nearly 9 years. It was a nation-wide, allround, protracted and self-relying resistance war. Our Party's independent, sovereign and creative line of resistance found clear expression in the Party's documents, especially in President Ho Chi Minh's Political Report and the Report On the Vietnamese Revolution by Truong Chinh (then Secretary-General of the Party), both delivered at the Party's Second National Congress in February 1951. The book says:

"The Political Program of the Viet Nam Workers' Party approved by the Congress on the basis of the Political Report and the Report On the Vietnamese Revolution is an extension and improvement of the Party's general line in the national people's democratic revolution."

"At the beginning of the resistance war, the unequality between the forces of the Vietnamese people and their adversary was such that some people likened our resistance war to a contest between a grasshopper and an elephant?

"In his Political Report," the book recalls, "President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "It was so if things were seen from the material point of view, in their actual conditions and with a narrow mind. We had then to fight airplanes and artillery with bamboo sticks. But guided by Marxism-Leninism, our Party did not think only in terms of the present but also of the future and had firm confidence in the spirit and strength of the masses, of the nation. Therefore we reassure wavering and pessimistic people with this distich:

'Today the grasshopper is fighting the elephant

'But tomorrow it is the elephant which will be knocked down, its bowels stuck out.'
"Facts have shown that the colonialist elephant's guts have begun protruding while our Army has been growing into a formidable tiger."

From 1951, the Vietnamese people's resistance forces increased in all fields. In May 1954 the Vietnamese Army and people completely wiped out the enemy's strongest fortified position in Dien Bien Phu, putting out of action over 16,000 enemy troops, making a decisive contribution to the victory of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina.

The book comments: "The Dien Bien Phu victory was the greatest feat of our armed forces and people in the protracted war of resistance against the French colonialists and US interventionists, and is one of the biggest annihilation battles in the history of the oppressed peoples' confrontation with the professional armies of the colonialists."

"In this resistance war," the book points out, "our people had to fight not only French colonialist aggression but also the scheme of imperialism to conquer our country, crush our Party and the revolutionary movement in our country, and undermine the world revolutionary movement. By resolutely carrying out the resistance war and bringing it to success our people discharged not only their national duty but also their duty towards the world revolution."

The book quotes the following important conclusion drawn by President Ho Chi Minh on the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against the French colonialists:

"For the first time in history a small and weak colony defeated a big and powerful colonial power. This was not only a glorious victory of the Vietnamese people, but also one of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world.

"Once again Marxism-Leninism has blazed the trail for the Vietnamese working class and people to carry the day in their fight for national salvation, and preserve their revolutionary gains" (Ho Chi Minh's Selected Works, the Vietnamese Edition, page 771).
Socialist Revolution in the North and National People's Democratic Revolution in the South

In its third and fourth parts, the book treats socialist revolution in North Viet-Nam and national people's democratic revolution in South Viet-Nam.

By late 1954, the revolutionary forces, though having grown up, were not yet strong enough to liberate the whole country while the enemy, despite his bitter setback, was not yet completely defeated. Therefore, Viet-Nam was temporarily divided into two zones. North Viet-Nam, after being completely liberated, switched to socialist revolution, while South Viet-Nam remained under the rule of the US imperialists and their henchmen.

The book continues:

"In face of this situation, the people throughout our country had to keep up their effort to liberate South Viet-Nam, with a view to completing national people's democratic revolution all over the country and achieving the peaceful reunification of the country.

"With the combined strength of socialist revolution in North Viet-Nam and national people's democratic revolution in South Viet-Nam, our people will certainly succeed in building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam."

The theme of the third part is the Third National Congress of the Party in September 1960. The Political Report delivered at the Congress by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, made a penetrating appraisal of the situation in the country and the world since the Party's Second National Congress (February 1951), summed up the basic experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and asserted: "At the present international juncture even a small and weak nation, if it rises up to a man to fight resolutely for independence and democracy under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, will be in a position to triumph over any aggressor."

The book says: "Together with the Party's resolutions, the Political Report is a beacon illuminating the road of our people to socialism and to national reunification. The Political Report sets forth the common task of socialist revolution in the present period"
as follows: 'To strengthen the unity of the entire people, to strive hard to preserve peace, to push up socialist revolution in the North, at the same time, to impel forward national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam, and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in South-East Asia and in the world.' The Political Report also makes clear that 'The task of socialist construction in the North is the most decisive factor for the development of the revolution in our country as a whole and for our national reunification.'

The book retraces the process of socialist construction in North Viet-Nam, especially since the Third National Congress of the Party. It highlights the spirit of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance, the singleness of purpose which defies all difficulties to build socialism in the specific conditions of Viet-Nam, "when the North, newly freed from the colonialist and feudal yoke, is advancing directly to socialism by by-passing the period of capitalist development and when the country is still temporarily divided into two zones."

The book quotes statements by President Ho Chi Minh and the Party's Central Committee concerning socialist revolution in the North. In March 1964, President Ho Chi Minh said: "Over the past ten years, the northern part of our country has made such big strides as never seen before in the history of our nation. Our country, society and men have changed" (Report delivered at the Special Political Conference).

In December 1965, the Party's Central Committee said in the Resolutions of its 12th Plenum: "Over 10 years of socialist revolution and construction, North Viet-Nam has become the firm base for the Vietnamese revolution throughout the country with a fine political regime and considerable and strong economic and national defense potentials."

In an attempt to extricate themselves from the South Viet-Nam impasse, the US imperialists engineered on August 5, 1964 the Bac Bo Gulf incident as a pretext to bomb North Viet-Nam.
From February 1965, they attacked with force, razing to the ground whole district towns like Ha Tu (Quang Ninh) and Ho Xa (Vinh Linh). However, they eventually met with bitter failure and the North Vietnamese people completely defeated their war of destruction.

The book says: "By defeating the US war of destruction, we did short work of the US imperialists' aggressive war in Viet-Nam, and badly shook their aggressive will..."

"Realities have shown that the US war of destruction could neither prevent the North Vietnamese people from giving powerful support to their South Viet-Nam kith-and-kin, nor weaken our entire people's determination to resist US aggression and save the country, nor delay socialist construction in North Viet-Nam. On the contrary, our socialist regime has been strengthened in many spheres."

"Our fight against US aggression, for national salvation," the book notes, "proves the great vitality of our superior socialist regime and the people's democratic dictatorship in the North of our country."

Along with steady advances of socialist revolution in the North, national people's democratic revolution in the South has been progressing by leaps and bounds. From 1960, under the judicious and clear-sighted leadership of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese people carried out concerted uprisings, shattered the US-puppets' grip, overthrew the dictatorial and fascist rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and successfully resisted the "special war". They are now defeating the local war waged by US imperialism.

In fact, the Vietnamese revolution as in the past forty years successively got the better of the Japanese fascists and French colonialists and is now holding in check the imperialist ringleader -- US imperialism. To see clearly that US imperialism is the enemy, to dare to mobilize the masses and succeed in organizing forces to fight and defeat the US is a great achievement of our Party. It testifies to the spirit of thorough-going revolution and the spirit of dauntless, unyielding struggle of a people who are writing glorious pages of history under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.
Conclusion

In conclusion, the book says:

"Over the past forty years, the Indochinese Communist Party in the past, now the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, headed by esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, has been the sole leader and organizer of all successes of the Vietnamese revolution. These have been possible thanks to our Party's strict application of these fundamental tenets:

1. Our Party always adheres to the position of the working class, is unreservedly loyal to the class and national interests, applied creatively Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in charting the correct line and policies to lead the Vietnamese revolution from one success to another. Our Party has been combating unremittingly the reformist tendencies of the bourgeoisie and the impulsiveness of the petty bourgeoisie during the national movement, the 'leftist' deviation of the Trotskyists in the workers' movement; against the rightist and 'leftist' inclination within the Party at each stage. The Party's line and policies serve the basic interests of the broad masses of the working people and therefore enjoy warm support from them. As a result, our Party was able to seize and keep the leadership of the revolution throughout the country and smash all maneuvers of the national bourgeoisie to divert it of such leadership.

2. Through the various stages of the revolutionary movement, the Party has, on the whole, had a thorough comprehension of, and correctly solved, the peasant question, and has not ceased consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Its practical activity shows that only with the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class can revolution resolutely and completely overwhelm the counter-revolutionary forces, wrest back and consolidate power for the labouring people, fulfill the historic tasks of national people's democratic revolution and advance to socialism (Ho Chi Minh: The Great October Revolution Has Opened the Way to the Liberation of Peoples. Nov. 1967).

3. In every stage of the revolution, our Party has succeeded in rallying all patriots and progressive forces into a broad national united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the Party, realizing unity of action among these forces
against the common enemy - the imperialists and their lackeys, -
and carrying out the Front's program...

"4. - In its struggle against the enemy of the class and
nation, our Party has met revolutionary violence with counter-
revolutionary violence, mobilized the masses to rise up and
conduct a revolutionary war to seize power and defend the people's
power. Through each stage, our Party has been prompted by
realities in the choice of the appropriate forms of revolutionary
action, has used and skilfully combined the various forms of
armed struggle with those of political action to overthrow the
enemy and win success for the revolution. Our Party has attach-
ed great importance to the building of the People's Armed Forces
composed of three categories of troops: the regular army,
regional army and the militia-guerrilla or militia-home guards.
Together with the political forces of the masses (namely the
political organizations within the national united front), these
forces have successfully coupled armed struggle with political
struggle against all enemy.

"5. - Since winning back power for the people, our Party
has always been concerned with strengthening and consolidating
it, using it on the one hand to suppress the counter-revolution-
aries, maintain law and order, mobilize and organize the mass-
es to resist foreign aggressions, defend national independence
and unity, and on the other hand, to fully enforce the democratic
rights of the people, mobilize and educate the people to emulate
one another in shaping a new life, developing economy and
culture, and constantly improving their living conditions. That
power must be the people's democratic dictatorship carrying out
its historic task of worker-peasant dictatorship in the period of
national people's democratic revolution and its historic task of
proletarian dictatorship in the transitional period to socialism
and communism.

"6. - The Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the
world revolution. None of its successes can be dissociated from
the wholehearted support of the fraternal socialist countries,
the international communist and worker's movement, the move-
ments for national liberation, peace and democracy. That is
why, our Party has never ceased working for the strengthening
of international solidarity. It is precisely because it knows how
to ally the revolutionary movement in the country with that of the
international working class (including that of the working classes and labouring peoples of the imperialist countries which commit aggression against our country) and with the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples that it has won over for the Vietnamese revolution many friends outside the country, thereby strengthening it and leading it to triumph and making a worthy contribution to the world revolutionary movement."
Section III

Landmarks in the Party's History
LANDMARKS IN THE PARTY'S HISTORY*

February 3, 1930: A "Merger Conference" presided over by Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (earlier name of President Ho Chi Minh), standing member of the Eastern Department directly in charge of the Southern Section of the Communist Internationals, is held in Kowloon near Hong Kong (China) to unite various communist organizations in Viet-Nam into the Viet Nam Communist Party (later renamed Indochinese Communist Party, now the Viet-Nam Workers' Party). The conference adopts the Party's "Summarized Political Program and Tactics" inaugurating the stage of new-type bourgeois democratic revolution in Viet-Nam.

May 1930: The Party launches a vigorous revolutionary movement throughout the country which culminates in the Nghe Tinh Soviet Uprising (September 12, 1930) during which Soviet Committees are set up first in Vo Liet village, then in Bich Hao canton and later throughout Thanh Chuong district, Nghe An Province. For the first time in the national history, an administration which really belongs to the workers and peasants is established.

October 1930: The First Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee meets in Hong Kong to approve the "Political Thesis" drafted by Tran Phu, first Secretary-General of the Party Central Committee, defining the strategy and tactics of the Viet-Nam National Democratic Revolution.

June 5, 1931: Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc is arrested and detained by the British Government in Hong Kong. The French colonialists undertake demarches with the British imperialists to get his extradition to Indo-China. He eventually manages to escape.

September 5, 1931: Arrested in Saigon where he has been detained since March 1931, Comrade Tran Phu, first Secretary-General of the Party, dies in Cho Quan hospital in Cholon from atrocious torture by the enemy.

1934: The Overseas Leading Committee of the Party is founded in Macao (China) under the leadership of Comrade Le Hong Phong. Its task is to unify the Party's organization in the country, train cadres and prepare for the first Congress of the Party.

* From Viet-Nam Courier, No. 254, 2 February 1970.
March 27, 1935: The First Congress of the Party held in Macao passes the Political Resolution, Program of Action, the Statute of the Party and the statutes of the various mass organizations. The Congress elects the new Central Committee of the Party.

July 1935: The Seventh Congress of the Communist Internationale held in Moscow recognizes the Indochinese Communist Party as an official cell of the Communist Internationale. The Congress focusses its discussion on the setting up of an "Anti-Fascist Front."

1936: The First Session of the Party Central Committee presided over by Comrade Le Hong Phong, alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale, decides to set up the People's Anti-Imperialist Front (later renamed Indochinese Democratic Unified Front) in order to spearhead the revolutionary struggle against fascism and the colonialist reactionaries, and to demand democratic freedoms and better living conditions for the people.

June 1936: The Indochinese Communist Party launches the Movement for the Indochinese Congress on the occasion of the sending by the French Government (of the Popular Front) of a fact-finding mission to the French colonies to investigate the situation there and inquire into the local people's aspirations. Action Committees are established everywhere to collect the people's desiderata and send them to the French Government delegation. In Cochinchina (South Viet-Nam) alone, 600 such bodies are set up.

The Indochinese Congress Movement's activity exerts a great influence, drawing ever larger numbers of the people into open and legal organizations and forms of struggle.

June-December 1936: Under the Party leadership, demonstrations and strikes break out one after another on a much wider scale than previously, including the strike staged on August 20, 1936 by workers of the Michelin rubber plantation in Dau Tieng (Cochinchina), that of 6,000 coal miners at the Cam Pha colliery which starts on November 21, and lasts for several days.

Early 1937: The Party expands the mutual aid unions to draw more and more people into open and legal organizations.
to poor peasants. The decree fills the peasants with enthusiasm and encourages them to contribute actively to the resistance war and to boost production.

January 18, 1950: China, and later, the Soviet Union (January 30) and the People's Democratic Republics in Asia and Europe, one after another, recognize the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

January 21, 1950: The Party convenes the Third National Conference. The Conference discusses and decides on such major problems as: consolidation of the great national unity bloc; active building of the regular and regional armed forces to step up attacks on the material and moral forces of the enemy; the struggle for world peace; the general mobilization of manpower, material and moral forces of the people according to the slogan "All for the frontline, all for victory"; the consolidation of the people's power; the development of the people's democratic economy, the realization of the land policy; the strengthening of the Party leadership in all spheres and the consolidation of the Party.

Early 1950: The US imperialists directly intervene in Indochina (sending US advisors to Viet-Nam, organizing a spy net, setting up pro-American parties and factions in the zones occupied by the French...). The Party issues the slogan "Wipe out the French colonialists, oppose the US imperialists' intervention in Indochina, struggle for independence, democracy and peace."

September 16, 1950: The Party Central Committee decides to open the Border Campaign to break the enemy encirclement of Viet Bac, expand the nerve base area of the Resistance War.

February 1951: The Second Congress of the Party meeting in Tuyen Quang Province decides to change the name of the Party into Viet-Nam Workers' Party, adopts the Party's new Political Program and Constitution. The Congress elects a new Central Committee, with Comrade Ho Chi Minh as President of the Party and Comrade Truong Chinh, its Secretary General.

March 3, 1951: The Viet Nam Workers' Party is presented to the people throughout the country at the National Congress held in Viet Bac to merge the Viet Minh and Lien Viet into a unified front.
March 1937: The Committee of the Indochinese Democratic Front sponsored by the Party is founded. The Party papers and other democratic mouthpieces appear and multiply rapidly, reflecting and encouraging the mass movement. These papers are eagerly read by the public. Many books propagating Marxism-Leninism are published.

During 1937, the legal mass movement for democratic freedoms gains momentum and reaches a level as never seen in Vietnam.

March 29 and 30, 1938: The Party Central Committee meets to review the movement, lay down directives for the new tasks with a view to pushing the movement forward. The session also exposes the reactionary character of the Trotskyites and points to the necessity of fighting them.

May 1st, 1938: A 25,000-strong rally held in the Fair Centre (now the sites of the open-air People's Theatre) in Hanoi to mark May Day.

Responding to the call of the Party, the Vietnamese people express their sympathy with the Chinese people in their resistance against the Japanese fascists. The papers of the Indochinese Democratic Front daily report on the Chinese people's resistance and protest against the French colonialists for closing the Tonkin-China border.

September 1939: The Second World War breaks out. The colonialist reactionaries frantically crack down on the revolutionary movement and scheme to wipe out the Indochinese Communist Party. The facilities for legal activities having terminated, the Party switches over to clandestine activity.

November 1939: The Party Central Committee holds its Sixth Session attended by Comrades Nguyen Van Cu (Secretary General), Phan Dang Luu, Le Duan and others. The session decides to effect a re-orientation in the strategic leadership in order to rally all patriotic forces, spearhead the revolutionary struggle against the main and immediate foes--the fascist imperialists and their henchmen--and set up the Indochinese Anti-Imperialist National United Front.

September 23, 1940: The Bac Son uprising breaks out, the first guerilla unit under the Party leadership is formed,
November 1940: The 7th Session of the Party Central Committee decides to prepare for an armed insurrection, set up a revolutionary base, launch the guerilla movement and develop armed guerilla units operating on a scattered basis.

November 23, 1940: The Nam Ky uprising is staged. Revolutionary power and revolutionary courts are set up in Tan An, My Tho, Bac Lieu, Soc Trang etc.

May 10, 1941: The 8th Session of the Party Central Committee is convened in Bac Bo (Cao Bang Province) from May 10 to May 19, under the chairmanship of Comrade Ho Chi Minh. It upholds the slogan of national liberation, decides to set up a broad national united front (the Viet Minh Front), organize the People's Liberation Armed Forces, build base areas, lead the people to carry out partial uprisings, eventually a general insurrection to win back power throughout the country. Comrade Truong Chinh is elected Secretary General of the Party.

June 6, 1941: Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (President Ho Chi Minh) sends a letter from abroad calling on the Vietnamese people to support the Viet Minh Front.

June 1941: The Hitlerite fascists treacherously attack the Soviet Union, the imperialist world war becomes a war conducted by the imperialist forces against the fascist aggressors. The Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee instructs Party officials to support the Soviet Union's efforts to defend the Fatherland and defeat the Hitlerite fascists.

1942: The revolutionary base begins to expand vigorously. At the end of the year, the provisional interprovincial branch of the Viet Minh (for Cao Bang, Bac Can and Lang Son provinces) is set up. Armed self-defense units are formed and go into action.

January 23, 1943: The Standing Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee meets and decides to found the Indochinese Anti-Fascist Democratic Front to prepare for the general insurrection. The Gaullist group in Indo-China turns down the Party's proposal.

The meeting sums up the experiences of the insurrections in Bac Son, Nam Ky and Do Luong and decides to speed up preparations for the uprising and get the revolutionary forces ready for stirring the masses into action when the opportune moment comes.
1943: While the political struggle is urgently carried out, the Party publishes the "Viet-Nam Cultural Programme" laying the first bases for the revolutionary national and democratic culture advancing to socialism, imbued with a national, scientific and mass character.

May 7, 1944: The Viet Minh General Headquarters issues the orders for the insurrection.

December 22, 1944: The "Viet-Nam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation" is founded in a jungle area belonging to Tran Hung Dao and Hoang Hoa Tham cantons.

March 1945: The Standing Bureau of the Party Central Committee holds an enlarged session in Dinh Bang village (Bac Ninh Province) and issues a document called "The French-Japanese Clash and Our Task." It decides to change the slogan "Drive out the Japanese and French fascists" into "Drive out the Japanese fascists and their henchmen" and calls for the setting up of revolutionary power.

March 11, 1945: The Ba To Uprising (in Quang Ngai Province) breaks out, and the Ba To guerilla area is built into a revolutionary base in preparation for the uprising in Quang Ngai province.

April 15, 1945: The Standing Bureau of the Party Central Committee convenes the North Viet Nam Revolutionary Military Conference (from April 15 to April 20) to delimit the resistance zones and unify the armed forces under the Party leadership.

Also in this period, the Viet Minh General Headquarters issues instructions on the organization of National Liberation Committees.

August 13, 1945: The National Conference of the Party convened in Tan Trao, Tuyen Quang Province, under the chairmanship of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, decides to stage the General Insurrection and put forth directions for domestic and foreign policies after the success of the action.

September 2, 1945: President Ho Chi Minh, in the name of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam reads the historic Declaration of Independence at Ba Dinh Square (Hanoi).
November 25, 1945: The Party Central Committee issues instructions on "Resistance and National Reconstruction."

January 6, 1946: General elections to the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. More than 90 per cent of the registered voters including those in the areas controlled by the enemy in South Viet-Nam go to the polls.

March 6, 1946: In furtherance of the Party's policy of "seeking a temporary compromise to progress later" the Government signs a preliminary Convention with the French to gain time for the consolidation and development of the resistance forces.

December 22, 1946: The Party Central Committee issues instructions on "all-people resistance", laying down the basic line and directions for the resistance, which must be carried out by the entire people and in all spheres, must be protracted and self-relying.

January 15, 1948: The Party Central Committee meeting in enlarged session takes note of the favourable situation in all fields following the Viet Bac (northern part of North Viet-Nam) victory in 1947.

June 19, 1948: A patriotic emulation movement starts throughout the country in response to an appeal of President Ho Chi Minh.

July 16, 1948: The National Cultural Conference is held in North Viet-Nam to rally all the national and democratic cultural forces to serve the resistance war. The report "Marxism and the Cultural Problem in Viet-Nam" submitted by Comrade Truong Chinh, defines clearly the line and policies of the Party on the cultural front.

August 1948: At the 5th Conference of Party Cadres, Comrade Truong Chinh delivers the report "We Fight for Independence and Democracy." The conference maps out the directions and tasks for stepping up the resistance war and national construction.


July 14, 1949: President Ho Chi Minh signs the decree on the reduction of land rents and interests and the temporary allotment of land taken back from the French colonialists and the Vietnamese traitors.
to poor peasants. The decree fills the peasants with enthusiasm and encourages them to contribute actively to the resistance war and to boost production.

_**January 18, 1950:** China, and later, the Soviet Union (January 30) and the People's Democratic Republics in Asia and Europe, one after another, recognize the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam._

_**January 21, 1950:** The Party convenes the Third National Conference. The Conference discusses and decides on such major problems as: consolidation of the great national unity bloc; active building of the regular and regional armed forces to step up attacks on the material and moral forces of the enemy; the struggle for world peace; the general mobilization of manpower, material and moral forces of the people according to the slogan "All for the frontline, all for victory"; the consolidation of the people's power; the development of the people's democratic economy, the realization of the land policy; the strengthening of the Party leadership in all spheres and the consolidation of the Party._

_**Early 1950:** The US imperialists directly intervene in Indochina (sending US advisors to Viet-Nam, organizing a spy net, setting up pro-American parties and factions in the zones occupied by the French...). The Party issues the slogan "Wipe out the French colonialists, oppose the US imperialists' intervention in Indochina, struggle for independence, democracy and peace."

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_**March 3, 1951:** The Viet Nam Workers' Party is presented to the people throughout the country at the National Congress held in Viet Bac to merge the Viet Minh and Lien Viet into a unified front._
Mid-March 1951: The First Session of the new Party Central Committee decides on the following: firmly hold the leadership in the military field, pay greater attention to the economic and financial services, actively take part in the movement to safeguard world peace, propagate and implement the resolutions of the Party Congress and the National Merger Congress of the Viet Minh and Lien Viet.

Early October 1951: The Party Central Committee holds its Second Session, decides especially to step up the fight against the enemy's scheme "to feed war with war, and to use Vietnamese against Vietnamese", intensify resistance work in the occupied zone, build and consolidate the guerilla bases.

Early 1952: The Party Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh laid down three major tasks: destroy the enemy manpower, step up guerilla warfare, and foster the people's forces.

January 25, 1953: The Party Central Committee holds its Fourth Session, decides on the all-out mobilisation of the masses to carry out reduction of land rent and interest and speed up preparations for the land reform.

November 1953: The Party Central Committee's Fifth Session and the first National Conference of Party Cadres discuss the policy of land reform. The Party's program on the land question is unanimously passed at these meetings.

December 1953: In implementation of the decision of the Political Bureau, the Central Party Committee in the Viet-Nam People's Army decides to launch the great offensive on the cluster of fortified positions of the French at Dien Bien Phu.

January 18, 1954: The Party Central Committee, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh decide to observe a month of friendship with the fraternal socialist countries called "Month of Viet Nam- Soviet - China Friendship," a major event in the political life.

July 15, 1954: The Party Central Committee holds its Sixth Plenum, adopts the directives and tactics in a period of struggle to consolidate peace, reunify the country and win complete independence and democracy for the whole country.
March 1955: The Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee decides that the immediate tasks of the North Vietnamese people is to complete land reform, suppress counter-revolutionaries, re-habilitate the economy, boost production and improve the people's living conditions.

November 1958: The Party Central Committee convenes its Fourth Session, decides on the general line, directions and tasks for the socialist revolution in North Viet-Nam.

January 1959: The Party Central Committee calls its Fifteenth Session to define the general tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, namely to consolidate the North, actively take the North to socialism, resolutely complete the national democratic revolution in the South.

September 5, 1960: The Third National Congress of the Party officially lays down the two strategic tasks of the revolution, approves the new Constitution of the Party, maps out the tasks and directions for the First Five-Year State Plan (1961-1965) and elects the new Central Committee. Comrade Ho Chi Minh is re-elected President of the Party Central Committee; and Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee.

July 1961: The Party Central Committee summons its Fifth Session to discuss on the tasks and directions for the development of agriculture in the First Five-Year Plan.

April 1962: The Party Central Committee meets in its Seventh Session to map out on the tasks and directions for the development of industry in the First Five-Year Plan.

December 1963: The Party Central Committee calls its Ninth Session to elaborate the international line and tasks of the Party.

December 1964: The Party Central Committee holds its Tenth Session to consider trade activities and retail prices, and lays down the tasks for the domestic and foreign trade service.

August 1965: The Party Central Committee convenes its Eleventh Session to assess the situation in which the whole country is in a state of war, decide on the new tasks of effecting timely the re-orientation of the ideological and organizational work, of economic
construction, and strengthening of national defense, affirms the determination to fight and defeat the U. S. aggressors completely.

1965-1969: The entire people carry out the war of resistance against the US aggressors, for national salvation, to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

On July 17, 1966, President Ho Chi Minh calls for the entire Army and people's greater identity of mind and firmer resolve to fulfill the nation's glorious historic task of defeating the US aggressors. He says: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." In response to the appeal of the Party, Government and President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people in the North launched a big movement of resistance against US aggression for national salvation, to completely foil the US imperialists' war of destruction.

On July 20, 1969, President Ho Chi Minh marks this appeal: "Let our armed forces and people throughout the country, millions as one man, upholding revolutionary heroism, and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, be determined to carry on and step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win, till the complete withdrawal of the US troops and till the total collapse of the puppet army and administration, in order to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country."

On September 3, 1969 President Ho Chi Minh passes away at the age of 79. He leaves a historic Testament to the entire Party, people and armed forces of Viet-Nam.

On September 9, 1969, Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, delivers the funeral oration at the solemn ceremony at Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Le Duan reads the five formal pledges to the memory of President Ho Chi Minh.