

The Manifesto and Platform of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party

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Manifesto of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party, the Party of the Working Class and the Working People, was founded at a National Congress held in North Viet-Nam in February, 1951.

The Congress elected the Central Executive Committee of the Party and Truong Chinh as General Secretary of the Party. It also adopted the Party's Manifesto, Platform, Constitution and other important resolutions. The following is an unofficial translation of the full texts of the Manifesto and Platform of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party—Editor.

Dear fellow countrymen and women!

The world of today is clearly divided into two camps:

There is the anti-democratic imperialist camp led by the American imperialists and composed of imperialist states and reactionary governments, lackeys of imperialism. They plan to seize the lands of other peoples in order to dominate the world; to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples; to destroy world peace and democracy and to provoke a third world war which would plunge mankind into darkness and misery.

There is the anti-imperialist democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and composed of the countries of Socialism and People's Democracy, of the oppressed peoples, and of the working people and progressives in capitalist countries. This camp is striving to carry on the work of national construction; it is struggling for national liberation, for the defence of national independence and the maintenance of world peace and democracy; and it seeks to enhance the unity, progress and happiness of mankind.

That the democratic camp has become stronger than the imperialist camp is clearly shown by the fact that the Soviet Union is daily growing more prosperous and powerful; that the work of national construction is swiftly moving ahead in the People's Democracies; that the Chinese People's Revolution has been victorious; and that the Korean people are waging a successful struggle.

Our country and our people stand in the democratic camp.

The French colonialists stand in the imperialist camp. They want to plunder our land. In this they have the all-out assistance of the American imperialists. Our people, who definitely do not want to be enslaved, are determined to fight in defence of their land and homes. They are now preparing for an early general counter-offensive.

The forces of our Resistance spring from the people. Over 90 per cent of our people are working people, that is, the workers, peasants and intellectual workers. Thus, the working people are the main driving force of our armed Resistance and of our national construction.

The central task of the working class and the working people of Viet-Nam now is to unite the entire people, to carry the War of Resistance to complete victory, to build an independent, united, democratic, strong and prosperous Viet-Nam, and to

fully realise People's Democracy so as to gradually advance towards Socialism. In order to fulfil this task, the working class and the working people of Viet-Nam must have a vanguard army, a general staff, a powerful, clear-sighted, determined, pure and thoroughly revolutionary political party: the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party.

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party will be composed of the most patriotic, the most enthusiastic, the most revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectual workers. It will be comprised of those who are determined to serve the Motherland, to serve the people, to serve labour, who place the overall interests of the country and the people above their own personal interests and who set the example in the War of Resistance and in national construction.

The theoretical foundation of the Party is Marxism-Leninism.

The principle of organisation of the Party is democratic centralism.

The discipline of the Party is a strict, voluntary discipline.

The policy of the Party aims to serve the interests of the country and the people.

The law governing the development of the Party is criticism and self-criticism.

The present main tasks of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party are: to unite and lead the working class, the working people and the whole Viet-Nam nation in their liberation struggle; to wipe out the aggressive French colonialists and defeat the American interventionists; and to lead the War of Resistance of the people of Viet-Nam to complete victory, thereby making Viet-Nam a genuinely independent and united country.

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party fully supports the government of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic, unites and co-operates closely with other parties and organisations in the Lien Viet Front (the Viet-Nam League of National Union—Ed.) with a view to fully realising People's Democracy in all fields—political, economic, social and cultural.

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party stands for the safe-guarding of the legitimate interests of all strata of the people.

Special care shall be taken to raise the material standard of living and cultural level of the army which is fighting for the defence of the country against the enemy and which has been enduring the greatest hardships.



President Ho Chi Minh

The workers who are production fighters in enterprises shall have their living conditions improved and take part in the running of enterprises.

The peasants who are production fighters in the rural areas shall benefit from the reduction of land rent and interest rates, and from appropriate agrarian reforms.

The intellectual workers shall be encouraged and assisted to develop their abilities.

Small-scale traders and small workshop owners shall be assisted to develop their trade and handicrafts.

The national bourgeoisie shall be encouraged, assisted and guided in their undertakings in order to contribute to the development of the national economy.

The right of patriotic landlords to collect land rent in accordance with law shall be guaranteed.

National minorities shall be given every assistance and shall enjoy perfect equality of all rights and duties.

Effective help shall be extended to women so as to achieve equality between men and women.

Followers of all religions shall enjoy freedom of belief and worship.

Overseas citizens of Viet-Nam in foreign countries shall be given protection.

The lives and properties of foreign residents in Viet-Nam shall be protected. In particular, Chinese nationals, if they so desire, shall be allowed to enjoy the same rights and perform the same duties as citizens of Viet-Nam.

In the sphere of external affairs, the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party recommends that the people of Viet-Nam closely unite with and help the peoples of Cambodia and Laos in their struggle for independence, and, jointly with them, liberate the whole of Indo-China; actively support the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples; closely unite with the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies; and closely ally themselves with the peoples of France and of the French colonies so as to contribute to the anti-imperialist struggle for the defence of world peace and democracy.

Fellow countrymen and women!

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party will carry on the glorious historic mission of all the revolutionary parties which have preceded it, and will develop the heroic revolutionary traditions of the people of Viet-Nam.

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party is resolved to overcome all difficulties and to struggle to the end in order to bring independence, freedom and happiness to the whole people and at the same time to liberate the working people.

Fighters in the regular people's army, the local people's armies and people's militia and guerrillas! Compete with one another in annihilating the enemy and scoring military victories!

Workers, peasants, intellectual workers, and all fellow countrymen and women, compete with one another in increasing food production, and in developing your creative abilities and inventiveness in order to serve the Resistance and national construction.

All compatriots at home and abroad! Unite closely around the People's Government of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic, the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party and the leader of the people, of the working class and working people of Viet-Nam—President Ho Chi Minh!

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party earnestly requests other organisations sincerely to criticise Party cadres and rank and file members and the policy of the Party, so that it can make constant progress and act in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Confident in the efforts of all Party members, in the support of the workers and the response from the entire people, the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party will certainly fulfil its tasks:

To lead the Resistance to complete victory;

To develop the People's Democratic regime;

To contribute to the defence of World Peace and Democracy;

To march towards Socialism.

THE VIET-NAM LAO DONG PARTY

February, 1951

Platform of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party

Chapter One

The World and Viet-Nam

(1) The end of the Second World War brought the collapse of German, Italian and Japanese fascism. While capitalism entered a period of grave crisis, the Soviet Union became more prosperous and powerful with each passing day, and the democratic movement daily gained in strength. The world divided into two camps: the anti-imperialist, democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union, and the anti-democratic, imperialist camp led by the United States.

The democratic camp has become stronger while the imperialist camp has become weaker day by day. With the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution and with the founding of the German Democratic Republic, the balance of power was changed further in favour of the democratic camp.

At the present time, the American imperialists and their accomplices are making frenzied preparations for a third world war and are expanding their war of aggression. The danger of a new world war has become apparent. The central task of the working class and the peoples of the world at present is to struggle for the defence of peace. Under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the world peace camp is strongly opposing the imperialist warmongers. The peace movement has become stronger and more widespread than ever before in history. If the imperialists ever start a third world war, they will be signing their own death warrant.

(2) After the Second World War, thanks to the victory of Socialism over fascism, the people's democratic revolution spread and achieved victory in several countries of Eastern Europe and the Far East. A number of People's Republics were established and broke away from the imperialist system.

The people's democratic regimes have day by day become more consolidated and are developing and laying the basis of Socialism: People's Democracy, under the present historic conditions of the world,

is in many countries a transitional stage towards Socialism.

(3) A striking characteristic of the world scene since the end of the Second World War is the widespread liberation movement which gains in strength day by day and which is shaking the very foundations of imperialism. The liberation movement has become an integral part of the world-wide movement for peace and democracy and against the imperialist warmongers.

The British, French, Dutch and other imperialists are using various cunning means to deceive the colonial peoples, such as granting them pseudo-independence, buying over the reactionary feudal landlords and bourgeois compradores, attempting to split the ranks of these peoples so as to maintain their rule over their colonies. The American imperialists are striving to turn the colonies of other countries into markets for their own goods and into their aggressive military bases.

However, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are becoming more and more convinced that the only path to national liberation is that of national unity, close alliance with other peoples in the world and unremitting, persistent armed struggle under the leadership of the working class. Experience shows that any oppressed people that faithfully takes this path is assured of victory.

(4) Viet-Nam is an outpost of the democratic camp in Southeast Asia. The Viet-Nam revolution is a part of the world-wide movement for national liberation and for the defence of peace and democracy. In their struggle for their own independence and freedom, the people of Viet-Nam contribute to the maintenance of world peace and to the development of People's Democracy in Southeast Asia.

Thanks to the efforts of all the people of Viet-Nam and the progress of the democratic camp, especially the gigantic victory of the Chinese people, the Viet-Nam revolution will surely achieve success.

Chapter Two

Viet-Nam Society and the Viet-Nam Revolution

(1) Prior to the French imperialist conquest, Viet-Nam society was a feudal society. After the establishment of French domination, Viet-Nam became an exclusive market, a source of raw materials and manpower, an object of usurious exploitation, and a military base for the French colonialists.

After the First World War, the French mining industry and light industries were expanded in Viet-Nam. The Viet-Nam feudal regime began to totter.

The working class of Viet-Nam was formed and matured quickly. Capitalism in Viet-Nam came into being but was unable to develop owing to the domination of French capital.

French colonial policy made Viet-Nam completely dependent on France. It hampered the development of the productive forces of Viet-Nam. It combined the forms of capitalist oppression and exploitation with those of feudal oppression and exploitation, driving the people of Viet-Nam, especially the



Truong Chinh, General Secretary of the Party

workers and peasants, into the darkest misery. For this reason, the people of Viet-Nam never ceased to struggle for independence and democracy.

In 1930, the Communist Party of Indo-China was founded. Since then the hegemony of the revolution has been exclusively in the hands of the working class of Viet-Nam.

During the Second World War, the Japanese occupied Viet-Nam. Under the yoke of Japanese and French fascism, the people of Viet-Nam were subjected to untold sufferings. Many uprisings broke out. Guerrilla bases were established and developed. The People's Rule was set up in the liberated area of the uplands of North Viet-Nam after the *coup d'etat* of March 9, 1945. (The Japanese displaced the French in Indo-China on March 9, 1945—Ed.)

As a whole, however, Viet-Nam society was still a colonial and semi-feudal society.

In 1945, under the crushing blows of the Soviet Red Army, the Japanese fascists surrendered. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Indo-China, the Viet-Minh League together with the people of Viet-Nam launched a successful general uprising. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was founded.

But the French imperialists invaded Viet-Nam once again in the hope of restoring their old colonial rule. The nation-wide, all-out and protracted War of Resistance of the people of Viet-Nam began.

The American imperialists made the utmost efforts to help the French colonialists. However, as a result of the unity and single-mindedness of our people and the heroic struggle of our army, the French colonialists were able to occupy temporarily only a part of our territory. In fighting for liberation and in realising democratic reforms in all fields—economic, political, social and cultural—Viet-Nam has stepped on to the path of People's Democracy.

Today, Viet-Nam society is, therefore, a society which is popular-democratic and partly colonial and semi-feudal in character.

The people of Viet-Nam earnestly desire a People's Democracy. The colonial regime has been a scourge to the whole of the people. The remnants of feudalism and semi-feudalism hamper the progress of the new Viet-Nam and have been a heavy burden to the peasants who are the majority of the people of Viet-Nam. The entire people of Viet-Nam demand independence and freedom, and are determined never to be enslaved again. The great majority of the people of Viet-Nam—the peasants—need land.

The fundamental task of the Viet-Nam revolution, therefore, is: to drive out the imperialist aggressors; to gain complete independence and unity for the people, to wipe out the colonial regime in the temporarily enemy-occupied areas and uproot the remnants of feudalism and semi-feudalism so that the tillers may have land; to develop People's Democracy; and to lay the foundations of Socialism.

The motive forces of the Viet-Nam revolution at present are the people comprising primarily the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, followed by the patriotic and progressive personages and landlords. The basic mass of the people consists of the workers, peasants and intellectual workers (intellectual workers belong to various strata of the people, mostly to the petty bourgeoisie). The leading class in the Viet-Nam revolution is the working class.

From the point of view of the basic tasks it aims to fulfil and because its motive forces are the people led by the working class, the Viet-Nam Revolution is at present a national people's democratic revolution.

This national people's democratic revolution will lead Viet-Nam towards Socialism. The road towards Socialism is a road of protracted struggle which will pass through several stages.

In the present stage, the Viet-Nam revolution is spearheaded against the imperialist aggressors. It is necessary to rally all the forces of the people, to consolidate the national united front to carry on the protracted Resistance against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the living conditions of the people, especially the working people, so that the people can take a still more active part in the Resistance.

The main task at the present stage is to fight against imperialist aggression. The other tasks must be carried out so as to contribute to the fulfilment of this main task.

Chapter Three

Policy of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party is resolved to fulfil the mission of liberating the people of Viet-Nam, to curb the influence of feudalism so as to further eradicate feudal and semi-feudal remnants, to develop People's Democracy, to build an independent, united, democratic, prosperous and powerful Viet-Nam and lead it towards Socialism.

During and immediately after the War of Resistance, the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party stands for the realisation of the following policies aimed to give a powerful impetus to the Resistance to achieve complete victory, and to lay the basis for the building up of a prosperous and powerful state.

1. Fighting to Complete Victory

The entire people of Viet-Nam are resolved to fight to the end in order to wipe out the French colonialists, defeat the American interventionists, punish the traitors and gain complete independence and unity for the Motherland.

The War of Resistance of the people of Viet-Nam is a people's war, with the characteristics of a nationwide, all-out and protracted war. It must pass through three stages: a defensive stage, a stage in which the opposing forces approach a balance and a stage of counter-offensive.

The central task of the Resistance from the present time till final victory is to complete the preparations for and to launch a victorious general counter-offensive. In order to win complete victory, it is necessary to mobilise manpower, material and financial resources for the War of Resistance in accordance with the slogan. "All for the front, all for victory!" and continually to replenish the Resistance forces of the people. At the same time, the following strategic directives of the Resistance must be strictly observed:

All political, economic and cultural work must aim at ensuring military victories, and the military struggle must be co-ordinated with the political, economic and cultural struggle;

Fighting at the front against the enemy must be closely co-ordinated with guerrilla fighting and sabotage in the enemy's rear;

The War of Resistance of the people of Viet-Nam must be closely co-ordinated with the armed Resistance of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and with the world-wide struggle for peace and democracy.

2. Consolidating the People's Rule

The political power in our country is a democratic power of the people, that is, of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and patriotic and progressive personages and landlords. The form of this power is the People's Democratic Republic. Its content is the People's Democratic Dictatorship: democratic towards the people, dictatorial towards the imperialist aggressors and traitors.

The People's Rule relies on the national united front based on the alliance between the workers, peasants and intellectual workers, and is under the leadership of the working class.

The organisational principle of the People's Rule is democratic centralism.

Our People's Rule owes its strength to the active participation and support of the people, to the leadership of the working class, and to the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies. Thus, in order to consolidate our People's Rule, we must:

Continually consolidate the links between the state power and the popular masses;

Increase the number of workers, peasants and women participating in the government organisations, particularly in the People's Councils;

Put into effect a genuine People's Democratic constitution;

Strengthen the Party's leadership in government organisations of all levels;

Consolidate Viet-Nam's friendly relations with the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies.

3. Consolidating the National United Front

The National United Front of Viet-Nam unites all political parties, organisations and patriotic persons irrespective of class, nationality, religion, or sex in the common struggle for Resistance and national construction.

The National United Front is one of the pillars of the People's Rule. It has the task of mobilising, organising, educating and leading the people to implement the policy of the government, and of informing the government of the people's aspirations and proposals.

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party co-operates closely with all the political parties, organisations and personages in the National United Front according to the following principles:

Sincere solidarity and friendly mutual criticism for the sake of common progress;

Joint action and consultation in the struggle for a common programme;

Long-term co-operation during and after the protracted War of Resistance.

In order to consolidate the national united front, we must complete the merger of the Viet-Minh and the Lien Viet; consolidate the alliance of workers, peasants and intellectual workers as a solid basis for the Front; mobilise all circles of the bourgeoisie and the landlords to participate actively in the Lien Viet Front; develop the organisations of the Front in the temporarily enemy-occupied areas, in the areas inhabited by religious groups and by the national minorities; consolidate the Party's leadership in the national united front, etc.

4. Building Up and Developing the People's Army

The Viet-Nam Army is a people's army organised, maintained and assisted by, and fighting for the people. It is national, popular and democratic in character.

Its discipline is strict and voluntary. While fighting it carries on widespread political work, strengthening the unity of purpose between officers and men and between the army and the people, and strives to carry out propaganda work among enemy troops with a view to breaking down their morale.

In order to build up and develop the people's army, we must develop the local people's armed militia groups and guerrillas in the villages so as continually to replenish our regular army. At the same time, we must capture the enemy's arms, ammunition and food supplies so as partly to solve our equipment and supply problems.

5. Developing the Economy

Our economic policy now is: to increase production so as to meet the demands of the War of Resistance and to raise the living standard of the people, benefiting both the government and private individuals, and both Labour and Capital.

In the present stage, while special attention must be paid to the development of agriculture, we must develop industry, handicrafts and home trade, we must establish and develop trade relations with friendly countries, and lay the basis for a state economy and the development of co-operative economy. With regard to the national bourgeoisie, our Party encourages, assists and guides it in its enterprises.

In the financial field, we advocate increasing the national income through increased production, reducing expenditures through economies and putting into practice the system of democratic contributions.

As regards the enemy's economy, we urge planned sabotage and blockade in ways beneficial to the Resistance and the people, and confiscation of the imperialist aggressors' and traitors' properties and the putting of these properties at the disposal of the People's Rule.

6. Carrying Out Agrarian Reform

Our agrarian policy at present aims mainly at carrying out the reduction of land rent and interest, as well as other reforms such as:

- Regulation of the land-rent system;
- Provisional allocation of the land formerly owned by the imperialists and traitors to the poorer peasants and families of disabled ex-servicemen and war dead;
- Re-distribution of communal lands;
- Appropriate use of land belonging to absentee landlords and of wastelands, etc.

These reforms must be thoroughly carried out so as to improve the living conditions of the peasants and to mobilise the majority of the people, that is, the peasants, to participate actively in the armed Resistance, to increase production and ensure supplies.

In order to carry out these reforms thoroughly, our Party must organise and awaken the great peasant masses and give steady leadership to the peasant movement.

We must carry out this agrarian policy step by step, according to local circumstances. In South Viet-Nam where land is more concentrated than in North and Central Viet-Nam, the agrarian policy of the Party must be carried out more vigorously than in North and Central Viet-Nam.

We must prepare the conditions for gradually giving each peasant his own plot of land.

7. Developing Culture and Education

In order to train new men and new cadres and to push forward the war of Resistance and national construction, it is necessary to wipe out the remnants of colonial and feudal culture and education, and develop a national, scientific and popular culture and education.

Thus the task of Viet-Nam culture and education at the present stage is:

To develop the people's hatred for the imperialist aggressors, and to develop their genuine patriotism and spirit of internationalism;

To develop the best of the people's national culture and at the same time to study the progressive culture of the world, especially of the Soviet Union and of China; to develop the culture of the national minorities;

To develop the people's science, technique and art;

To mobilise the people to observe a new way of life;

To liquidate illiteracy, reform the educational system and develop vocational schools.

8. The Party's Stand Towards Religion

The Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party respects and guarantees the freedom of religious belief of the people.

It opposes the French imperialists' policy of utilising religion to deceive the people and to split the National United Front of Viet-Nam.

9. The Party's Policy Towards the Nationalities

All the peoples living in Viet-Nam's territory are equal in rights and duties. They must unite with and help one another in order to carry forward the armed Resistance and national construction.

Our Party resolutely opposes narrow-minded nationalism and is determined to smash the plots of the imperialists and traitors to sow hatred among the people and divide them.

Our Party seeks to raise the living standards of the national minorities, to help them progress in all spheres of activity, to ensure their participation in the government and the use of their own language for their education in their own areas.

10. The Party's Policy Concerning the Temporarily Enemy-Occupied Areas and the Newly-Liberated Areas

We attach the same importance to the work in enemy-occupied areas as to that in the liberated areas.

The work in the enemy-occupied areas consists in bringing about a broad unity between all strata of the people, intensifying and extending guerrilla warfare, building up and consolidating the People's Rule, destroying the puppet administrations and shattering the ranks of the puppet troops, mobilising the people to struggle against the enemy's oppression and exploitation, and co-ordinating action in enemy-occupied areas and liberated areas.

With regard to the lackeys of the enemy, we recommend the punishment of the leading unrepentant traitors and clemency towards those people who have been misled but who seek to atone for their mistakes and return to the side of the Motherland.

With regard to the newly-liberated areas, we must pay great attention to the realisation of unity among the whole population, to the question of ensuring the people's security, to vigilance against traitors and their extermination, to rehabilitation of the economy.

11. External Policy

Viet-Nam's external policy must be based on the principle of mutual respect for national independence and territorial integrity, equality of rights and defence of world peace and democracy.

Consequently, it is necessary for Viet-Nam to consolidate her friendly relations with the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies, to actively support the national liberation movements of colonial and semi-colonial countries and to establish diplomatic relations with all countries that are willing to respect Viet-Nam's national sovereignty on the basis of freedom, equality and mutual benefit.

We stand for broadening the sphere of the people's diplomatic activities.

We stand for the protection of Viet-Nam nationals in foreign countries.

12. Our Policy Towards Laos and Cambodia

The people of Viet-Nam must unite closely with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and give them

every assistance in the common struggle against imperialist aggression, for the complete liberation of Indo-China and for the defence of world peace.

In the common interests of the three peoples, the people of Viet-Nam are willing to enter into long-term co-operation with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, with a view to bringing about an independent, free, strong and prosperous federation of the states of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, if the three peoples so desire.

13. Our Policy Towards Foreign Nationals

Those foreign nationals who respect Viet-Nam law are assured of the safety of their lives and properties, and they have the right to reside and carry on business in Viet-Nam.

Foreign nationals belonging to the People's Democracies, especially overseas Chinese in Viet-Nam, are allowed to enjoy the same rights and perform the same duties as citizens of Viet-Nam if they so desire, subject to the approval of the government of their own country and of the Viet-Nam People's Government.

14. The Struggle for World Peace and Democracy

To fight for the defence of world peace and democracy is an international task of the people of Viet-Nam. To fight against the imperialist aggressors is the most active means whereby our people can fulfil this task.

We recommend that the people of Viet-Nam co-ordinate their War of Resistance with the struggles of other peoples of the world, and especially with those of the peoples of France and the French colonies.

15. Patriotic Emulation

The patriotic emulation campaign is a nationwide movement reaching into all branches of activity and mainly aiming at checking three enemies: illiteracy, famine and foreign aggression.

The army, rural areas, enterprises, schools and organisations are the main places where the emulation campaign is to be carried out.

We recommend that emulation heroes and labour fighters be promoted so as to mobilise the entire people to take part in the War of Resistance and national construction.