

dictatorship of the whole people against the very small reactionary minority ready to grab back their age-old domination and hinder the march of the revolution. Not being firmly repressed, the reactionaries at home have been used by the French and international reactionaries to create difficulties for the revolutionary power and to divide our people. One wonders why the Administrative Committee of Nam Bo immediately after its foundation, did not order the immediate arrest of the pro-French Nguyen Van Thinh traitors, some of the most dangerous and mischievous elements among the pro-Japanese, and the most confirmed trotskyite, sabotage experts, which fact allowed these people to prepare the return of the French by creating provocations before and on Independence Day (Sept. 2, 1945)? One wonders why in Bac Bo, after the foundation of the people's power in the capital, many pro-Japanese traitors and other machiavellian agents from abroad were not arrested?

CHAPTER V

CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION

Character of the August Revolution

The August Revolution was a revolution of national liberation. It aimed at liberating the Vietnamese people from the colonial yoke and making Vietnam an independent nation.

However, because it struggled against the Japanese and French fascists as well as their lackeys, the feudal reactionaries, and because it contributed a part, though small, in the great world anti-fascist struggle, it had the character of a democratic revolution, though it has not abolished all the vestiges of feudalism in Vietnam, nor realised agrarian reform so as to distribute the land held by the landlords to the peasants.

In the present historic conditions, a colonial revolution must have the following double character: first, it must be an *anti-imperialist revolution* aimed at overthrowing the imperialist domination, and second, it must be an *agrarian revolution* so as to confiscate the lands of the feudal landlords and distribute them to the peasants. The August Revolution has only aimed at overthrowing the imperialist rule and that of the feudal puppets, and setting up the democratic republican regime; but it has not abolished land ownership by the feudal landlord class and all other vestiges of feudalism to create conditions for industrial and commercial development. Thanks to the August Revolution, a portion of the imperialists and traitors' lands have been confiscated, land rents

have been reduced by 25 per cent and some of the old compound-interested debts have been cancelled. However, in the agrarian field, generally speaking, the relations between landlords and peasants have not changed. Therefore we can say that, though the August Revolution has a democratic character, this character is not strongly marked enough.

Some people have said that, because the August Revolution has abolished the Imperial Government with its machinery composed of mandarins and notables, it has a distinctly anti-feudal character. But by abolishing the Imperial Government, we have abolished only one aspect of the feudal regime; because its basis, which is rooted now in the relations between landlords and peasants in the agrarian field, is still alive, the feudal regime is still in existence. We must see to it that we advance the anti-feudal struggle, and not be complacent about the achievements of the August Revolution.

It is clear that the August Revolution has established in Vietnam a democratic republican regime having the character of a new democracy. Popular representation has been widely established at all levels by universal suffrage; complete equality between the sexes, wide democratic freedoms, as well as personal liberty and equality between all nationalities big and small, have been promulgated; the regime of popular assembly, ensuring the legislative and executive powers of the people, has been established and there exists a democratic regime completely different from bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which grants the people only limited rights in making proposals and in criticizing the government; the State economic sector is taking

shape; the people's conditions of life are improved; attention is paid to the life of the working and peasant masses; the 8-hour-working day is officially recognized; the proletarian class now actually holds power, etc... All these facts make it amply clear that the Vietnamese regime is that of a democratic republic of a new style quite different from the old-style bourgeois democratic regime (for example the French bourgeois parliamentary regime).

However, the democratic regime in Vietnam is different from the present Soviet democratic regime. Indeed, the democratic regime in Vietnam guarantees the interests of all social strata, while the parliamentary republican regime in France is a disguised dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; under the cloak of democracy the bourgeois class exerts a dictatorial power which defends only the interests of a minority of exploiters, the capitalists. As for the Soviet democratic republican regime, it is a regime, in which the proletarian class officially exercises the dictatorship, suppresses all vestiges of the exploiting class (landlords, bourgeois and kulaks) and guarantees the widest interests of all labouring people (workers, peasants, intellectuals) who liberated themselves and are cooperating to build a new life under the leadership of the proletarian class.

The republican democratic regime in Vietnam is in keeping with the stage of development of our country and with the present world democratic movement. Though it has been established in a backward agricultural country, it carries a new and progressive character, because it was born of the hard and fierce struggle against the French and Japanese fascists, out of the struggle for national

liberation led by the proletarian class. A struggle led by the most revolutionary class against the most reactionary enemy must be crowned with the installation of a non-conservative regime, quite the reverse of the retrograde regime of the enemy.

Moreover, if our regime has the character of a new democracy, that is because it was born at a time when the vanguard democratic regime of the Soviet Union has fully triumphed over its enemies, and is being consolidated after surviving the terrible test of war, after the collapse of the world system of fascism, and while the great movement of progressive democracy is spreading throughout the world.

Born in the new times, the democratic republican regime in Vietnam inevitably bears the mark of the new times. The August Revolution is a revolution of national liberation in its form and one of new democracy in its content. In other words, the August Revolution is a revolution of national liberation with a new democratic character. It constitutes a step in the national democratic revolution of Vietnam.

The historic significance of the August Revolution

The August Revolution has highlighted the indomitable spirit of the Vietnamese people, a people who are struggling untiringly to shake off the foreign yoke. It is the completion of 80 years of uninterrupted struggle of the Vietnamese people against the French colonialists. It also constitutes the greatest historic event in our country since the victory gained by Quang Trung who drove the Manchu troops out of Vietnam in 1789. In fact, since

then there has been no national movement which has, as fully as the August Revolution, given evidence of the indomitable heroism and of the strong unity of the Vietnamese people. It has not merely broken the double yoke imposed by the Japanese and the French, but it has also overthrown the monarchic regime established for thousands of years in Vietnam, changed the country into a new democratic republic, promoting the Vietnamese people to the rank of a vanguard people. Therein lies the great significance of the August Revolution; and President Ho Chi Minh, the first President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the leader of the August Revolution, thoroughly deserves the title of national hero.

Through the August Revolution, the Vietnamese people have clearly shown their anti-fascist spirit and their attachment to democracy and peace. The revolution constitutes the splendid completion of the great movement against the French and Japanese fascists in Vietnam during World War II, especially from March last year. Before the August Revolution, the Vietnamese people struggled in very hard conditions to harass and exhaust the rear lines of the Japanese forces. From the end of 1944, the Japanese sea-lines were attacked by the Allied forces; Indochina had become a "bridge" over the Japanese "Great Oriental Asia Road", a bridge extremely important for the movement and supply of Japanese troops from the Northern position to Indonesia. The blocking of this bridge to the Japanese forces was the task assumed by the Vietnamese people. Therefore, in March 1945, the Indochinese Communist Party launched the great movement of struggle against the Japanese for National Salvation, by organizing and actively leading

the Vietnamese people to the attack on important Japanese strategic positions, thus causing a block in the traffic of the Japanese over the "Great Oriental Asia" road.

From March to August last year, Japanese territory suffered more and more violent bombing raids. In Indochina, the Vietnamese guerillas were fighting the Japanese with increased strength. A free zone was established in the Highlands and Midlands of North Vietnam and constituted a permanent obstacle on the path of the Japanese from Southern China to Indochina. In this zone, the guerillas exhausted the Japanese forces, not allowing them a moment's respite. In this way the Vietnamese people had effectively contributed their part, beside the Allies, to speed the overthrow of the Japanese and indirectly, to hasten the Soviet army's victory. It is an indubitable fact that the Vietnamese people have made their share of sacrifices in the struggle against the fascist aggressors during the recent years.

The French reactionary colonialists purposely call the August Revolution "pro-Japanese", "Japanese-led" to belittle its significance. But there is plenty of evidence to smash their treacherous slanders. Today everybody has to admit that the reactionary attitude of the French colonialists with regard to the August Revolution is that of the robber who loots and at the same time cries "Stop thief". In point of fact, did not the French colonialists, assisted by the British imperialists, make use of the Japanese troops to counter-attack the Vietnamese Revolution?

Among the peoples oppressed by the Japanese, the Indonesian, Chinese, and Vietnamese peoples have been the most successful in availing themselves of the

Japanese capitulation last August to rise up and win democracy and freedom (1),

By the fact of the August Revolution, the Vietnamese people have lodged this general claim to the U.N.O.: *the Great Powers must recognize the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people, in accordance with the Atlantic and San Francisco Charters.* As a natural consequence of the Japanese collapse, all peoples under the Japanese yoke must be liberated, and nobody must be allowed to replace the Japanese in oppressing and exploiting them. The Vietnamese people have suffered from Japanese domination since 1940 and they have worthily played their part side by side with the Allies in the struggle against the Japanese, thus they fully deserve their independence. The Vietnamese people will resolutely oppose the return of the French oppressors as well as the regime of a "mandated country" because they have already attained their majority.

The August Revolution and the war of self-defence waged for almost a year by the Vietnamese people against the French reactionaries have proclaimed these eager aspirations to the world. They show clearly that the colonial imperialist system is disintegrating and

(1) The peoples of Burma, Malaya and of the Philippines also organized guerilla forces to resist the Japanese invaders but when the Japanese surrender took place, their forces were still insufficient to cope with the invasion of the U.S. and British imperialists, who were more powerful than their congeners, the French and the Dutch. Therefore, in spite of their relatively big efforts and sacrifices, their struggles have not brought as important results as those obtained by the peoples of Indonesia, China and Vietnam.

that the hour of liberation has struck for the oppressed peoples. The Vietnamese Revolution, like the Chinese and Indonesian Revolutions, strongly promotes the liberation movements of the Laotian and Cambodian peoples and other colonial countries in South-East Asia: this fact explains clearly why the British imperialists have done their best to help the French colonialists to repress the Vietnamese Revolution in South Vietnam and why the international reactionaries have made concessions to one another to allow the French to relieve the troops of Chiang-Kai-Shek in North Vietnam.

In fact, from September 23 last year and all through our struggle waged against the French, our forces have met the British, Indian, French and Japanese troops in many a battle. Our struggle of self-defence has unveiled the perfidious schemes of the international reactionaries. It has exposed before world opinion that from the start of their landing in Indochina, the British troops, only commissioned by the Allies to disarm and repatriate the Japanese soldiers, instead of setting to this task of repatriation, used many of these soldiers to help the French colonialists to counter-attack the Vietnamese Revolution and repress the Vietnamese people's struggle of self-defence; thus, we can say that *the Vietnamese people are not fighting for themselves only, but also to a certain degree, for the defence of world peace.*

At the end of the anti-fascist war, the task of all progressive world forces is to develop democracy and build peace. With the August Revolution and the present Resistance War, the Vietnamese people have shouldered a part of the responsibility to fulfil this mission side by side with the progressive and democratic forces

struggling for a better world. Whether one likes it or not, the August Revolution is part of the great movement of mankind for the building of peace and democracy. The Vietnamese people fully understand their international role in this post-war period. They are determined to fulfil this task, whatever the obstacles may be!

This is precisely the reason why the August Revolution is warmly acclaimed by progressive opinion and why the Vietnamese people now enjoy tokens of solidarity and sympathy from all democratic countries throughout the world, especially from the oppressed peoples!

CHAPTER VI PROSPECTS OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Favourable conditions of the Vietnamese Revolution

What conditions will advance the Vietnamese Revolution and ensure its final victory?

Here are two important conditions:

First, subjectively speaking, the Vietnamese people, weighted for a long time under the French yoke and recently by the double oppression and exploitation of the French and Japanese fascists, have realized that only Revolution can liberate them. Closely united under the national banner they are determined to support the Republican Government in national liberation and national reform. The National United Front, under the remarkable leadership of President Ho, Chi Minh, and with the bloc of national salvation and democracy — the Vietminh — as its base, will certainly achieve its duty of mobilizing the whole people to counter all reactionary forces, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and march forward.

Secondly, from the objective point of view, since the world war, the international situation has brought new prospects to the Vietnamese Revolution: the Soviet Union, completely victorious, has become an invincible force. In several countries, the Communist Party has organized power or taken part in it, new democratic movements are developing in many countries, especially in those just liberated from the fascist yoke, the

movement for national liberation is boiling up in colonial and semi-colonial countries. After the collapse of fascism, the imperialist system has grown weak. The movement for the consolidation of peace against international reaction has attracted the majority of mankind. The Vietnamese Revolution, as part of the world movement of peace and democracy, is inevitably deeply influenced by the international progressive movement.

The Vietnamese Revolution also stands between the revolutionary streams of China, Indonesia and India, from which it receives a good influence and with which it is in tune; at the same time the Vietnamese revolution exerts a considerable influence upon those movements.

In short, the Vietnamese Revolution has sufficient conditions to march forward strongly to final victory.

Objectives to be achieved

Nevertheless, no matter how important the achievements of the August Revolution are at present, we must recognize this objective truth: the national liberation of Vietnam has not yet completely succeeded. The August Revolution seized power for the people, but from September 23, 1945, the French colonialists attacked us and partly wrested it back. In the South of Vietnam, they set up the puppet government under Nguyen Van Thinh and reestablished their domination in some towns. According to the Preliminary Agreement of March 6, 1946, Vietnam and France came to a compromise: France agreed to recognize Vietnam as a free state having its own Government, its Parliament, its army and its own system of finance; Vietnam agreed to remain part of the French Union; French troops

were given the right to station on the territory of Vietnam for a fixed period, and generally speaking, French economic and cultural interests in Vietnam are to be ensured. So, our country is only a free state, but not yet a completely independent one.

What is complete independence? The whole of Vietnam from Nam Quan to Ca Mau must be placed under the people's power organized by the people; there should be no foreign troops on the territory of Vietnam; Vietnamese economy must be independent, not tied to French economy or to that of any country; Vietnam must develop its national culture. In a word, the Vietnamese people must be the masters of their country in every respect and the Revolution for national liberation must complete its task of shattering all imperialist bonds.

The Franco-Vietnamese Preliminary Agreement as well as the Franco-Vietnamese treaty which may be signed soon are not ultimate aims but only temporary measures in order to give our people a moment's breathing space in which to consolidate the position of the democratic republican regime brought into being by the August Revolution, to strengthen our real forces to march towards a new stage.

The Vietnamese Revolution must unceasingly progress, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, sometimes by leaps and bounds, sometimes stopping for a time to regain breath, or move a step backwards to jump across a deep ditch, sometimes dodging to avoid an obstacle so as to reach rapidly its goal.

During the course of its development, the Vietnamese Revolution must not only fulfil its anti-imperialist

task but also complete its anti-feudal task which is land reform. Because so long as these tasks are not realized, Vietnam will not get rid of its backwardness and become really strong and prosperous ; so long as these tasks are not realized, people's happiness cannot be guaranteed.

Indeed, to become prosperous and happy, Vietnam, now an agricultural country, must change into an industrial one (because only with a developed industry can a country produce sufficient arms for its national defence and sufficient goods for the people's well-being). But the long imperialist domination has always kept Vietnam in a backward agricultural state. The French imperialists monopolized heavy industry for French capitalists in France and established only light industry in Indochina. In the development of small industry, the capitalists of our country suffered from imperialist competition, while under the French and Japanese domination, the question of installing heavy industry was far beyond their reach. Thus, the French imperialists monopolized heavy industry with the aim of compelling Vietnam to consume their goods and preventing all competition with them. How can an essentially agricultural country compete with a country which has a developed heavy industry? It cannot. That is why, to become a prosperous country, Vietnam must get free of all imperialist links and develop its heavy industry, so as to be completely liberated from foreign economic subordination. This means that it must be independent in the economic field as well as in political and cultural fields. The Vietnamese Revolution has not yet thoroughly abolished all imperialist privileges

from our country, but has only restricted them. It must progress further to fulfil its anti-imperialist task.

In the other field, the French imperialists continued to maintain all forms of feudal exploitation to make use of them in order to exploit our people more and more. In the mountainous regions, even today, they continue to carry out serfdom and forced labour. In the delta, the tenancy regime with high land rents is still maintained. Moreover there are still heavy taxes and requisitioning, side by side with many privileges for a few. Most of the people are peasants and they are cruelly exploited, and as a result, many of them have become impoverished; they cannot continue to live in the countryside and have to go to the towns hoping to find jobs in factories; but as industry in our country cannot develop, the few enterprises which exist (factories, mines, plantations, etc...) can only employ a small number of these people while the remainder go to increase the ranks of the "Reserve army for industry", in other words, the army of unemployed or vagrants. The greater the number of unemployed, the lower the wages. The very low wages have a considerable influence on technical improvement in agriculture and industry. As the exploitation of cheap labour was sufficient for their own interests, the colonialists did not bother to improve production techniques, and as a result, the economy of Vietnam under the imperialist yoke was unable to escape from a vicious backward circle. The Vietnamese peasants are still short of land to till and the workers heavily exploited. In an agricultural country like ours, in speaking of the people's happiness, we must speak of the improvement of the peasants' and workers' life,

particularly when nearly 90 per cent of the people are peasants. But how can the peasants' living conditions be effectively improved if they have not enough land to till? Therefore, the question of the people's happiness is basically one of giving land to the peasants.

Finally, for this reason, the regime of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation must be abolished, and "land to the tillers" must be realized. So far, the Vietnamese Revolution has only restricted that feudal and semi-feudal exploitation. It must progress further to realize land reform and wipe out all vestiges of feudalism. In brief, the Vietnamese Revolution must fulfil both the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks to realize independence, freedom and happiness for the people. In other words, it must complete the task of democratization to pave the way to the socialist revolution in the future: to socialize all means of production, abolish from Vietnam the regime of exploitation of man by man.

Process of development of the Vietnamese Revolution

The wrong conception of the progress of the Vietnamese Revolution must be wiped out now. People think that the Vietnamese Revolution must progress step by step: that after the revolution of national liberation (anti-imperialist) comes the agrarian revolution (anti-feudal) then the socialist revolution.

This theory of "successive progression" according to a fixed plan, cutting the Vietnamese Revolution into three stages, is not right. Abroad, the Soviet Union, the socialist state, has triumphed and the new democratic movement is in full development. At home, the leadership of the Vietnamese Revolution grows stronger and

stronger in the hands of the proletarian class in power; the progressive democratic forces form an unshakeable bloc. In such historic conditions, the Revolution for the national liberation of Vietnam can fulfil its anti-imperialist task and at the same time realize a part of the agrarian task. The Vietnamese democratic revolution does not have to wait for a determined date before it breaks out, but can be realized in the course itself of the development of new democracy in Vietnam, a development which may be rapid thanks to the support of the new democratic movement throughout the world (particularly in China and in France); and because the movement for the socialist revolution is growing steadily all over the world, the Vietnamese socialist Revolution may also be achieved even if it has not all the necessary social conditions (for instance: heavy industry is not yet developed, all forms of small capitalist exploitation are not yet abolished etc..) As is stated in the Communist International Programme:

"...Although the social relations of every colony and semi-colony have not yet ripened, all movements for national liberation in these countries can also develop into socialism, if these movements enjoy, in particular, the help and support of proletarian dictatorship and in general, that of the international proletarian movement,"

CHAPTER VII

THE URGENT TASKS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

Four chief points, four slogans

After the second world war, the Vietnamese Revolution, developing in the new conditions prevailing in the world, has several allies and enjoys much support. But no matter how favourable conditions are, the Revolution might fail if our people, and especially our revolutionary fighters, were to go the wrong way.

Moreover, the French reactionaries, collaborating with the international reactionaries, are carrying out a perfidious policy designed to rob us of our power.. Officially, they recognize our country as a free state, but in actual fact, they want to make of our country an autonomous one.

Under the cover of "New France", they have signed an agreement with us, but at the same time they use fascist methods which run counter to the French people's will: indulging in acts of provocation, acts of "faits accomplis", and gradual encroachment, so that finally the "Agreement" becomes a worthless scrap of paper.

Cunningly and according to a systematic plan, they apply the traditional imperialist policy, of "divide and rule": territorial parcelling, division between different nationalities, religions, political parties, etc... aimed at rendering us powerless to fight against them. They savagely terrorize people in the occupied zones or in the zones where their strength is greater than ours, hoping to annihilate our cadres and to intimidate and demoralize our compatriots.

We are faced with a machiavellian and experienced enemy. New difficulties await us. All our compatriots must remain most vigilant and thoroughly understand their urgent task.

What is the aim of our people in the present stage? In our opinion, our people's task can be summed up in these four chief points :

**INDEPENDENCE, UNIFICATION, DEMOCRACY,
REBIRTH.**

a) **INDEPENDENCE** : Our country is not yet completely independent. The foreign army is still on our territory. We must struggle to force them to withdraw from our country in the near future. We must struggle for our national sovereignty, so that in addition to our own government, army, finances, and Parliament, we also have our own diplomatic representation. We must struggle to change our position from that of a free state to a completely independent state on the principle of "the right of nations to self-determination" ; this means that we have the right to adhere to the French Union *of our own free will* (if France remains a progressive country) or to withdraw from it if need be.

b) **UNIFICATION** : Vietnam must be one, and its territorial integrity must be guaranteed. To achieve this, we must wreck the reactionary French colonialists' plot to partition our territory and to form what they impudently call the " Namky state ", " Moi state ", " Thai state ", " Nung state " etc... There could not be set up in our country three states differing from one another in their political, economic and cultural regimes. There is all the

less reason, why there should exist in our country a free state North of the sixteenth parallel and an autonomous one in the South. Vietnam must be worthy of the name *nation*; that is to say, it is one and indivisible because Vietnam is a *territorial, political, economic and cultural unity*; this unity is not a fortuitous or a temporary combination, but one which, in the course of various historic epochs, has been built up by the sweat and toil of our people.

c) **DEMOCRACY**: In maintaining and developing the democratic republican regime, strengthening the people's power and building the new democratic constitution, we must guard against changing our constitution into a meaningless and out-of-date one, along the lines of the bourgeois constitution. We must furthermore oppose all tendencies to sap the regime of popular representation, a progressive and adequate regime worthy of its birthright won by the people's revolutionary initiative in the course of their struggle for liberation. The country must always have a constitutional government which is elected, supported and controlled by the people.

We must reorganize the administrative services, eliminate the reactionary and corrupt elements from the administrative offices as well as from the public services, and wipe out bureaucracy. We should do our utmost to transform Vietnam into a really democratic country in the Far-East, worthy of ranking among the new democracies which have just been liberated from the fascist yoke.

d) **REBIRTH**: We must build up and consolidate the bases of the democratic regime by economic and

cultural restoration and by national reform in material and spiritual fields.

On the one hand, we must produce and produce again, without interruption. We must push forward industrial, agricultural and cultural production to make good the war wounds so as to put an end to all signs of misery, corruption and devastation caused by eighty years of slavery. Everyone should make a contribution to the national restoration: the rich should put their capital into the enterprises, the able-bodied should work hard, those who have political and intellectual abilities should put all their initiative into drawing up plans and policies. We must respect labour, encourage private enterprises, reward those who have made sacrifices and punish all speculators and saboteurs. It is not enough simply to make Vietnam a democratic state; we must change it into a country with a progressive and independent economy.

On the other hand, we should meet the people's material needs, especially those of the working people (both manual and intellectual), so that they will have the necessary strength to produce; we should strive to protect our race from physical degeneration, to reduce infant mortality and fight against all diseases.

Resistance war and national reconstruction

The resistance war consists of struggling for national unification and independence and repulsing the French colonialist attack. National reconstruction aims at establishing and consolidating the democratic republican regime, restoring and transforming the country. Like China, which struggled for many years against the Japanese,

for a year now our people have been waging the resistance war and at the same time have been carrying out national reconstruction. That is an inherent characteristic of the struggle for the liberation of our country, one part of which is liberated and the other still oppressed by the imperialists.

In the reconstruction work, for a year now our people have striven to increase production, simultaneously supply the front and fight against famine; and repair roads, bridges, dykes, etc. This year, our people have won victories over three big enemies: famine, illiteracy and floods. Those are our tangible achievements. But we still lack a general plan for all our reconstruction work. The following examples are enough to prove that:

Putting into effect the slogan "not an inch of waste land", our compatriots in the mountainous regions have in some places burnt down parts of the forest, clearing land for cultivation at random — a practice which is harmful to the preservation of forests and the prevention of floods.

In every province and locality, the slogan "increase production" is carried out without close guidance as to the nature of the crops, their quantity, time of growth and consumption, etc..

The efforts exerted by our people in a year are beyond imagination. However, one has the impression that they have thrown themselves into production like a wood-cutter who chops wood with his eyes shut — vigorously, but with much wasted effort.

It is time to work out an overall reconstruction plan for the whole country, to readjust every branch of

production and to give rational guidance to national reform work.

Of course this work of planning will meet with difficulties because the situation has not yet been stabilized and the question of French interests in Indochina has not yet been settled. Nevertheless, it is not absolutely impossible to draw up a preliminary plan on simple and realistic lines.

If we strive only for national reconstruction but neglect to struggle for sovereignty and territorial integrity, national independence will certainly not be recognized and our country will be reduced to an autonomous state. Our people are not a warlike people. In keeping with our people's deep love for peace, our government signed the Preliminary Agreement of March 6, 1946. But the treacherous behaviour of the French colonialists forced us to pursue the Resistance war to defend ourselves. We are ready to accept *an honourable armistice*, but as long as the French forces continue to attack and terrorize us, we must remain armed to defend ourselves until they recognize the impossibility of establishing again their domination over our country and of partitioning our territory. Has the Resistance war in the South only a local and provisional character or will it be transformed into a long-term resistance? That is for the French to answer. As for us, we must thoroughly support the struggle of the people in the South in every field and we will increase our forces everywhere so as to be ready to face any eventuality and fight to the end.

Great Unity : a key task

To carry out Resistance and national reconstruction, we must mobilize all the forces of our country, fight

against the French colonialists' policy of division, consolidate our ranks inside the country and win new support from outside.

That is why the internal unity of the whole people must be consolidated.

The policy of *great unity* advocated by President Ho Chi Minh must be carried out thoroughly and broadly.

Unity between nationalities : To frustrate the colonialist schemes to dupe the national minorities into opposing the majority population.

Unity between religions : To fight against the colonialist plot to make Catholic, Hoa Hao and Cao Dai compatriots oppose their own people.

National unity : To smash the colonialist scheme to make our compatriots in the South fight against those in the Centre and the North.

Unity between all different strata of the people : Side by side they must struggle against the common enemy to gain national independence.

Unity between all parties : All patriotic and democratic parties must put aside all prejudices so as to struggle hand in hand against the French reactionaries, the Vietnamese traitors and their organisations.

The entire people should unite into a *National Front* to fight the reactionary French colonialists and wrest back complete independence. For a year, nothing has been able to shake that Front, cemented by the blood of our fighters coming from the four corners of the country to defend the South. On that front, the whole people should act as one to fight the aggressors, repress the traitors, defend the Democratic Republican regime and reform

our country—in short, to change Vietnam into an independent, unified, free and happy country.

That is the objective aimed at by the *Vietnam National League*. That Front represents an adequate form of national unity which our people have achieved in the struggle against the French reactionaries and the Vietnamese traitors. It must be broadened to include all parties and sects which are for national independence and democracy, as well as all patriotic non-party elements.

It might be asked: Is the Vietnam National League only a political manoeuvre being used to neutralize temporarily other political parties? Certainly not! It must be a lasting organisation able to mobilize all the broad masses to fulfil the tasks of national salvation and national reconstruction. It should never be regarded as a temporary and insignificant form of alliance between the parties.

But to broaden and consolidate the Vietnam National League, we ought to develop and strengthen the *Vietminh Front*, because the Vietminh Front with its strong organizations naturally constitutes a firm basis for the National League. And to develop and consolidate the Vietminh Front, it is necessary to unite and develop all organisations of the vanguard class—the Vietnamese working class. The alliance between workers, peasants and intellectuals must be especially firm.

Inside, our compatriots must closely, broadly and effectively unite. But that national unity alone is not enough. We must also unite with the allies outside our country. First we must unite with the French people who have made many sacrifices in their struggle for liberty and the just cause, and who with us, have a common enemy.

the French reactionaries, the greedy monopolies and their lackeys, the reactionary colonialists. We have agreed to take part in the French Union but this Union must be a "democratic and fraternal union between free and equal people", to use the words of Comrade Lozeray, member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party at a session of the French Constituent Assembly on March 20, 1946. That Union should not be used as a cage to imprison the colonial peoples after "clipping their wings". In our struggle to demand from France the respect of our sovereignty and territorial integrity, we must achieve unity of action with the French people and with all organizations faithful to the ideals of the French Revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity. For that reason we warmly hail the formation of the "Franco-Vietnamese Association" and we hope that it will become a steady bridge between the two peoples who are linked to one another by the same ideal.

We should ally ourselves not only with the French people, but also with all peace-loving and democratic peoples, particularly with the Chinese people, our great neighbours who are resolutely struggling for democracy, unification and independence. In a word, we must unite with all the oppressed peoples who are fighting to liberate themselves. During the second world war, we joined our efforts to those of the forces of counter-oppression in order to defeat the fascists. Today, the war is over but we must continue to stand side by side with the progressive forces to fight against the remnants of fascism and the international reactionaries, to build democracy and world peace and to smash the schemes to draw mankind into an atrocious atomic third world war.

For that reason, our people must claim their place in the United Nations Organisation and in the international arena, as a people who have participated in the struggle against aggressive fascism, wrested power from the Japanese fascists, and now continue to struggle to exact from the French colonialists the respect of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation which was supported in San Francisco by France itself.

Wiping out errors

To fulfil these tasks, the entire people, and particularly the communists and the revolutionary fighters, must correct their shortcomings and reject what is wrong. President Ho Chi Minh often says: "*We don't fear the enemy; we only fear the errors of our comrades!*"

Indeed, has not the enemy attacked us successfully by exploiting our inadequacies, shortcomings and errors? That is why we must with determination eliminate all erroneous tendencies.

We should wipe out the *tendencies to anarchy and indiscipline* seen in carelessness and disobedience to orders from superiors, as well as infringements of government instructions and of Party discipline: tendencies showing a misunderstanding of the democratic regime. There are some who do not clearly realize the meaning of democratic order and discipline; they think that a democratic regime can connive at disorder, confusion and heedlessness. From this anarchy and indiscipline will emerge, on the one hand, regionalism, regional autonomism, on the other, corruption, abuse, militarism and bureaucracy.

We must root out the tendencies to isolation and narrow-mindedness which are seen in the abuse of cadres' abilities and in a wrong attitude towards certain events as in carrying out the policy of national unity outlined by the Party and President Ho Chi Minh. This harmful tendency comes from the fear of the masses and from a lack of confidence in the masses and in oneself; at the same time it shows a mechanical interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theories expressed in abstract clichés and repeated parrot-fashion.

Eliminate *subjectivity and "leftist" tendencies* which lead to acting even in unfavourable conditions; to believing that one's personal desires are those of the masses; to travelling "post-haste" without paying attention to the objective conditions of the situation and the real possibilities of the movement.

Eradicate *conservative and rightist tendencies* which lead us to cling to routine and to be hampered by the old formulas, to stick stubbornly to the old prejudices, to fail to recognize new changes early enough, to act with determination, the only spirit in conformity with our revolutionary era.

Eliminate the *tendency to compromise* beyond all principles with either the reactionaries or the companions in struggle. This tendency demonstrates a lack of determination in keeping firmly to one's position, an overestimation of the enemy and an underestimation of the strength of the masses, a failure to rely upon the masses or to use them as a strong rearguard. This tendency also demonstrates a wrong understanding of the policy of the National Front, and the existence of the belief that because we are in the same front we must always excuse

one another, not criticising each other even moderately and with the support of evidence! Like tendencies to isolation and narrow-mindedness, this tendency comes from a "lame policy" which doesn't take into account that criticism without solidarity is bad, but solidarity without criticism is worse.

Reject the *tendency to complacency*, being satisfied with one's small success; that makes us become short-sighted, lessens our vigilance, weakens our spirit of criticism and self-criticism and creates the conception that the revolution is infallible, a detestable and dangerous conception which hinders our progress and keeps us away from the masses.

Wipe out the *tendency to pessimism* which makes us grumble and lack courage when facing the smallest obstacles, or makes us doubt and lose our heads at the least defeat, and consequently leads to worthless criticism or makes us give up the struggle and run away from our responsibility.

Those shortcomings and errors are the most widespread today among the people, cadres and the as yet unorganized masses, as in organizations, and in political, administrative, military and technical offices, etc... If we do not correct those errors in time, we cannot hope to realize true national unity to build up an *independant, united, democratic and prosperous country*.

Why do the above-mentioned shortcomings and errors exist? In our opinion, due to the four following causes:

1° — The greater part of our economy comes from agriculture and handicrafts. The technical level of our people is low, and as a result, they lack generally a sense

of organization. Our work is still routine, non-scientific and without perspective.

2^o/ — Our country is a country of small production. Although led by the proletariat, the movement for the liberation of our country possesses many petty-bourgeois characteristics such as wavering, lack of determination, hesitancy, lack of thoroughness. These defects are still numerous in our movement.

3^o/ — For a long time our compatriots have not only been oppressed and exploited, but have also suffered from the obscurantist policy; they have never participated broadly in political and cultural activities, therefore their limited knowledge has a bad influence on the work of national salvation and of national reconstruction.

4^o/ — The August Revolution was not carried out with sufficient determination and was therefore not strong enough to wipe out all rottenness of the outmoded regime. Many evil practices of that corrupt regime still persist and do harm to the new regime.

Our shortcomings and errors arise out of the concrete conditions of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement in its present stage.

However we are convinced that under the clear-sighted leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and thanks to our people's march towards progress, we will effectively remedy those errors and shortcomings.

We should not delude ourselves into thinking that in a short time the Revolution can wipe out all the bad habits and customs of the old regime, which have become deeply rooted in our thoughts. Along with the political revolution, the cultural revolution with its "New life"

movement must achieve the reformation of thoughts and customs, and the economic revolution should improve the people's living standards so as to create favourable conditions for the success of the political and cultural revolution which is in full swing. But if we are determined to fight those bad tendencies by all means, it will be possible to correct them rapidly, provided every citizen and every revolutionary combatant sincerely exercises criticism and self-criticism and clearly understands his duty to exterminate all these evil tendencies.

Training of cadres

After settling the question of the political line to be followed and the tasks to be fulfilled, the question of cadres proves to be the most important one to solve.

Effectively, who applies the political line and carries out the tasks? Of course it is the whole people, but first of all it is the cadres, who are the vanguard elements devoting themselves actively to the work of propaganda and organization, who devote themselves to leading the masses to carry out the policies of the Government and the Party, and to serving as good examples for the people.

We must admit that one of the shortcomings of our present movement lies in the lack of cadres. Few cadres for much work, hence the weakness of one person having too many irons in the fire. Many cadres are unable to accomplish their tasks or to complete them thoroughly, or they work thoughtlessly in a slapdash manner without any pre-established plan, or display a narrow-minded approach to their work.

Therefore, a decisive task in this present hour is to strive to have a greater number of cadres, and to have good cadres; to promote existing cadres in a rational and just way and to train new ones patiently and methodically. Every cadre must guide the novices who work side by side with him so as to create new cadres. So many active workers and peasants, so many youths fully devoted to the Revolution are ready to accept all sacrifices! Have confidence in them, employ them boldly, guide them patiently, *but do not forget to control them.*

At present, we are overwhelmed with work. It is necessary to mobilize all manpower and wealth. No ability, no effort must be wasted. Affairs of State are not the monopoly of some special group of persons, some party or some revolutionary class, but they are the common business of the whole people. Naturally the choice of cadres must not be prompted by personal feelings, but we must not either be too rigorous in the selection of new recruits, as the case is for some comrades at present.

There are not enough of the schools founded by the Government to ensure the training of new administrative, judicial, military and technical cadres. In addition to these, the revolutionary organization must frequently open political training courses and organize talks and lectures to which the public will be widely admitted.

Simultaneously with the extension of mass education and the struggle against illiteracy, the development of higher education is greatly needed as well as a revision of the curriculum, and the selection of students to be sent abroad.

At the present time the question of cadres is a contradictory one. The great majority of cadres, schooled by the revolutionary struggle, are loyal, eager and skilful elements with a good political background, and a fair degree of organization, but most of them have a poor educational level (the fault is not theirs, for being in the majority born of the labouring masses, they have remained illiterate or have not been able to complete their schooling). On the other hand, the technicians and intellectuals who formerly graduated from the French Universities have a certain cultural level but know little about politics: (We cannot reproach them with this either, for throughout our eighty years of slavery, have the imperialists ever thought of educating the Vietnamese people politically? Have they ever allowed the Vietnamese people to study or go in for politics? Their sole concern was the formation of a class of young Vietnamese intellectuals who would serve them merely as their tools...)

Therefore the training of existing cadres as well as of new ones at this present time must aim at suppressing this contradiction. Existing cadres must be granted time and material conditions in which to raise their educational level and theoretical political knowledge. A movement to stimulate a fervent eagerness for study, without causing any neglect of their daily task, but coordinated with this task, must be launched. By our propaganda, we must encourage the intellectuals and technicians to join political groups and attend political training classes.

We must criticize the wrong attitude of some Vietminh cadres (including communists) who make

light of intellectuals and technicians, are prejudiced against them, keep no contact with them, do not employ them and are adverse to learning from them. But at the same time we must put right the point of view of some non - Vietminh intellectuals who think that the Vietminh and communist cadres who have worthily led the Revolution to the seizure of power must now "withdraw" from the political arena and transfer the task of national reconstruction to trained intellectuals and technicians.

Those who nurture these thoughts fail to understand that the Communist and Vietminh militants who marched in the vanguard during the period of underground struggle for the liberation of the Fatherland must now more than ever keep their vanguard role, devoting their political knowledge and revolutionary spirit to the work of national defence and national reconstruction.

A comforting knowledge for us is the fact that, from the August Revolution onwards, intellectuals have adhered in ever greater numbers to the Vietminh League. Struggling among the people's ranks, they have shown an eager patriotism and respect for Party discipline. They are now developing into good revolutionary cadres, greatly deserving the confidence of the entire people.

CONCLUSION

August 1945,

August 1946.

One year has passed, worth a whole decade for the experiences gained. By the August Revolution, the Vietnamese people have broken the imperialist fetters, to march forward with giant strides. Steeled through their millenary past of struggle and sacrifice, the Vietnamese people are enthusiastically launched upon the conquest of a bright future. They have always been a young, healthy people whose rich and powerful vitality continues to develop with every passing day, to the astonishment of the whole world.

The Vietnamese people have covered quite a good distance on their path of independence and liberation. However, the goal has not been reached yet. They have to press forward and continue to press forward. Many obstacles have arisen on the road already travelled, but thanks to their *spirit of unity, to their struggle and their strenuous efforts*, the Vietnamese people have gained their first victories.

In these days, the resistance in South Vietnam and South-Central Vietnam is still going on. This heroic, tenacious struggle for self-defence develops the achievements of the August Revolution and further steels the traditional virtues of our people.

The French reactionary colonialists hoped to solve the Vietnamese problem by armed force according to their own will. But the Resistance war carried out by the Vietnamese people has shattered their illusions.

The Vietnamese people are ready to wage a long struggle to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and resolutely fight all brutal plunderers and their stooges until they recover the integrity of their territory and gain complete **INDEPENDENCE, LIBERTY** and **HAPPINESS.**

On the way to the new Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have already achieved many successes. They have liberated their territory from the hands of the French colonialists and the American imperialists. They have established a democratic republic and a government of the people. They have carried out a series of reforms in the economic, cultural and social fields. They have won the respect and admiration of the people of the world.

The Vietnamese people are now determined to continue their struggle for independence, liberty and happiness. They are ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of their country and their people. They are confident that they will eventually achieve their goals and build a new, free and prosperous Vietnam.

Glimpses of the life of
Ho Chi Minh

President of the Democratic
Republic of Vietnam

The name of President Ho Chi Minh is now widely known throughout the world, as are the Vietnamese Revolution of August 1945, the war of resistance and the Dien Bien Phu victory in 1954.

Few people, however, know much about the past life of this legendary revolutionary.

"Glimpses of the life of Ho Chi Minh" will fascinate all readers who are eager to learn about this great leader of the Vietnamese people, the guiding spirit of the August Revolution.