

collaborators, reactionaries, and cruel rural despots, including the landlords and their hirelings who actively sabotage the land reform campaign.

For these reasons the following stipulations are necessary :

a) *With regard to the peasants.*

Land shall be distributed to peasants who have no or little land : poor and landless peasants, and middle peasants who are in need of land.

Rich peasant tenants who lack land may also receive shares of land.

b) *With regard to war martyrs, disabled and sick soldiers, and revolutionary military personnel :*

War martyrs, revolutionary military personnel, disabled and sick soldiers, whose families in the countryside are entitled to receive land, shall be listed as members of households to receive land, and are given priority treatment in the distribution.

Revolutionary military personnel, disabled and sick soldiers who have no families, who return to their native villages after their demobilization, shall receive part of the reserve land.

Disabled soldiers receive shares of land in their native places. When they are living temporarily in another village, disabled soldiers are provisionally allowed to use part of the land in this village.

c) *With regard to other strata of the people.*

Poor strata of the rural population (small traders, fisher-folk, people who live on rod-fishing or net-casting, handicraft

workers, porters, carters, practitioners of traditional medicine, teachers, etc.) who do not earn enough to live on but who can work shall receive part of the land to supplement their earnings.

Part of the land shall be distributed at their request to unemployed workers who are recognized as such by the people's administration or the local trade union, and whose families live in the countryside.

Cadres, functionaries, personnel serving the resistance, and workers at State-run factories whose families live in the countryside and belong to the categories entitled to shares of land, shall be listed as members of recipient families.

People evacuated to the countryside who do not earn enough to live on but who can work and who apply for land, shall receive shares of land if the locality can afford it and if the peasants there agree. But they are only allowed to use the land allotted to them and do not have the right to appropriate them. When they return to their own homes, they must hand this land back.

d) *With regard to the churches, pagodas, and family shrines.*

When confiscating, requisitioning or purchasing land from the Catholic church and from pagodas, we must leave part of it to the local parish or pagoda, for worshipping purposes.

Land used to finance seminaries, convents, orphanages, etc. are also requisitioned, but the Government will make sure that the activities of these organizations can be maintained.

Land shall be distributed to religious people who do not earn enough to live on, but who can work, and who apply for land.

Much family land is bound up with the worship of ancestors ; but most of the families that own family land are feudal families and most of those who make use of family land to exploit the peasants are landlords. For these reasons most family land will be requisitioned. But in this process, depending on the decision of the masses, part of the land can be reserved for worshipping purposes.

e) *With regard to puppet soldiers, officials in the pay of the colonialists, personnel of the puppet administration and their families.*

Puppet soldiers who are labouring peasants are also allotted land if they have no or little land. Puppet military personnel, including soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the puppet army, also receive shares of land in absentia. So long as these soldiers do not leave the puppet army's ranks and return to the side of the Fatherland, their lands shall be provisionally entrusted to the local peasants' association for management. When these soldiers return, they will receive these plots of land.

Families of rank-and-file personnel working for the colonialists and puppets, who are living in the free rural areas, and who belong to the categories entitled to land shall receive shares of land. If these personnel return to the free zones and can work but know no trade, and apply for land distribution, they shall also receive shares of land.

f) *With regard to the landlords.*

During the land reform, landlords and families of landlords who are not collaborators, reactionaries, or cruel rural despots, shall be allotted land to till and earn their own living.

Due consideration shall be given to democratic personalities and landlords who support the resistance.

Landlords who have been collaborators, reactionaries, or cruel rural despots, but who have not been jailed, or have served prison terms of less than five years, are also entitled to shares of land. The land belonging to prisoners and managed by the peasants' association shall be handed back to them on their release.

Collaborators and traitors who do harm to the country, and the cruel rural despots who have committed grave crimes and are hated by the local population, and the reactionaries who are dead set on sabotaging the resistance and the land reform campaign, must be severely punished. They are not entitled to shares of land.

But their families shall receive shares of land to live on provided they are not accomplices with them in their crimes. The families of collaborators and reactionaries now living in enemy-held areas, who live in the free zones, and who are not guilty, shall receive shares of land; but these persons (ie. collaborators and reactionaries) shall not be listed as members of the households recipient of land.

Landlords who have fled to enemy-held areas, but have not engaged in actions harmful to the country and the people, and who have now returned to the free zones, have no way of earning their living, and apply for land distribution, shall also receive shares of land to live and work on, if the people agree.

g) *With regard to foreign residents.*

Foreign residents who have no means of earning their living, but who can work and who apply for land, shall

receive shares of land, but they have no right to give away, pawn or sell the land distributed to them.

h) *Rights of land recipients.*

Peasants and people of other strata who receive shares of land *shall be issued with land deeds, shall not have to pay any sum of money to their former owners or to the administration, and have the right to keep this land as their own property* (that is, they can keep them to till, or give away, pawn or sell them).

Foreign residents who receive shares of land shall also receive deeds establishing their right to use these lands.

3. ON WHAT PRINCIPLES IS THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BASED ?

Fair and equitable distribution of land should be based on the following principles :

— those who need more land shall receive more, those who need less shall receive less, those who do not need land, shall receive none ;

— on the basis of respect for land now under cultivation, those who own little land shall receive more, those who own infertile land shall receive more fertile land, those whose plots are far from their home shall receive additional plots closer to their homes ;

— land shall be allotted in proportion to the number of members of each household, and not to the labour available.

— the norm for land distribution is based on the average acreage and output in the locality ;

— land shall be distributed according to its location, the commune being the determining unit.

The principle of distributing more land to those who own little land, less land to those who own enough, and no land at all to those who do not need it, is aimed at meeting the demand for land by the poor, landless, and middle peasants who lack arable land.

When allotting land to the poor and landless peasants, draught animals, farming implements, surplus food and surplus housing facilities of the landlords must also be distributed to them.

In implementing the land reform, attention must be paid to the interests of tenants because they are victims of land rent exploitation by the landlords. For that reason, while distributing land, we must make sure of correct application of the principle of *allotting land to those who are tilling it, allotting more to those who have little land, giving fertile land to those who own infertile land and the principle that those whose land is far from their homes shall receive plots closer to their homes; and in this way distribute the land in a fair and reasonable way.*

When allotting land to tenants, we should give them fertile plots they are already cultivating. We should avoid withdrawing all or part of the fertile lands they are leasing for distribution to other farmers, for this would be prejudicial to unity among the peasants. Nor should we let one tenant enjoy all the fertile land near his home, while another tenant receives land far from his. In this situation we can take part of the leased land near the home of one tenant and allot it to another tenant.

To encourage increased production, no land owned by peasants as a result of their opening of virgin land not more than three years ago shall be listed as land owned by the peasants to be subtracted in the process of distribution.

To distribute land in proportion to the number of household members and not in proportion to the labour available in the household means that the more members a family has, the more shares of land it shall receive, without distinction as to their age and physical condition. Special attention should, however, be paid to households of poor peasants with only one or two members, where these members are capable of plenty of work. In these cases, more land shall be shared to these households than stipulated in the norms.

The distribution of land must be based on the acreage owned by each household member in the area and the average output of each kind of land. What is the acreage of each household member? We add the total area of land confiscated, requisitioned or forcibly purchased to the land already owned by the recipients, then divide it by the total number of household members, and we get the acreage to be allotted to each household member. (Land to be reserved as described above should be excluded).

The average yield of each hectare varies according to the quality of the land. The acreage and yield of land distributed will vary: we should see to it that after the distribution, the part owned by each recipient in terms of area and yield is equivalent to those of the other recipients. If we base our distribution solely on yield and not on acreage as well, one household may receive many plots of infertile land some of which they cannot cultivate, while other households will receive only fertile land, and have more labour force than

needed to till them. Conversely, if we base ourselves solely on acreage and not on yield also, then this would be prejudicial to households receiving infertile land. We should therefore combine the acreage with average yield as the basis for land distribution.

In the land reform, the village is the basis for distribution, that is why the peasants of each village shall receive shares of land situated in their own village in principle. Only surplus land is ceded to nearby populous villages that lack land, if the peasants in the village concerned agree.

If the land of a landlord in one village is situated in another village and tilled by the peasants of the latter then this land shall be distributed to the peasants in the village where it is situated.

In the case of peasants of one village tilling the land of landlords in another village, a distinction must be made between these two cases.

1. If the peasants concerned have come to live in the other village, and are considered as tenants of this village, they shall receive shares of land as peasants of this village.

2. But some peasants only go to the other village to till their land and actually live in their own village somewhere else. The main solution in the land reform for these peasants is for them to make use of the land allotted to them in their own village. But if too much land is withdrawn from them in this way, partial compensation must be made to them.

Communal lands of one village which lie in the territory of another village shall normally be distributed to the peasants of the other village on the principle of distributing land where it is situated.

IV

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAND REFORM REQUIRES MOBILIZATION OF THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE

Land reform is a very difficult and relentless class struggle, a revolution in the countryside. To adopt an authoritarian method and carry out the reform in the place of the masses, bestowing favours on the masses, would lead to failure. We cannot carry out the land reform in a peaceful manner either. Implementation of the land reform requires that we make propaganda, educate and rouse the masses, to voluntarily throw themselves into struggle, and compel the landlord class to return land to the peasants it has been oppressing and exploiting for thousands of years now. The campaign for land rent reduction conducted over the past few years has provided us with precious experience: only when the peasants are awakened, voluntarily rise up and unite and struggle unremittingly against the landlord class, can they win back what is owing to them; otherwise the policies of the Party and the Government, however judicious they may be, would remain dead letters. To rouse the masses to struggle for land rent reduction is only the first step in weakening the strength of the feudal landlords. To overthrow the feudal landlords for good, to achieve the political

superiority of the labouring peasants, and make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality we must make all-out efforts to rouse the masses to struggle.

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

Such has been the reaction of the landlords to our campaign for land rent reduction and to the demand that they pay back the rent they had previously collected. Now that we

are actually carrying out the land reform, how can we avoid waging a ruthless struggle against the landlords? We should not forget that all through history, the nearer their doom, the more strongly an exploiting social class struggles for its survival.

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

The following are some problems concerning the mass mobilization for land reform:

1. GUIDELINE AND METHOD OF WORK IN THE LAND REFORM

Our guideline and method of carrying out the land reform are, as President Ho Chi Minh has said, "To mobilize the broad masses of the peasants, to rely on the masses, and to strictly follow the mass line; to organize, educate and lead the peasant masses to struggle". On the whole, the work of mobilizing the masses to carry out the first stage of land reform is directly assigned to land reform teams.

Cadres engaged in mobilizing the masses to carry out the land reform must organize and array the forces of the masses and rouse them to struggle against the landlord class.

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

The peasants' association is the main form of organization for rallying the peasant masses to struggle. *The Conference of Peasants' Representatives* and the *Executive Committee of the Peasants' Association* are the official organs through which the agrarian policy of the Party and the Government will be implemented in the mobilization of the masses in a village. The Executive Committee of the Peasants' Association must be free of bad elements so as to ensure the satisfactory fulfilment of its tasks.

In villages where the *Administrative and Resistance Committee* has been reorganized to some extent through the mass mobilization for land rent reduction, the Committee must meet with the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Association to discuss the implementation of the policies of the Party and Government and coordinate their actions during the mass mobilization.

Experience gained from the mass mobilization for land rent reduction shows that it is not necessary to set up Poor and Landless Peasants' Groups during the implementation of the land reform, but when it is really necessary, cadres can hold separate meetings of poor and landless peasants or hold poor and landless peasants conferences (with the

participation of representatives of the middle peasants). The narrow-minded tendency to separate the poor and landless peasants from the middle peasants must be avoided.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With regard to the *workers*, we must help them understand clearly that to mobilize the masses to implement the land reform is an excellent way to *strengthen the worker-*

peasant alliance, boost agricultural production, and encourage the development of industry and trade, provide jobs to the workers, and further developing the working class. The working class, through the Viet Nam Workers' Party, leads the peasants to struggle to make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality, and afterwards helps the peasants to advance together with them to socialism. That is an extremely important task.

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

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

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

With regard to the rich peasants, we must explain to them the policy of seeking their support and protecting

their economic interests so as to reassure them and make them sympathize with the struggle of the labouring peasants against the feudal landlords.

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

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

3. HOW TO DETERMINE PEOPLE'S CLASS STATUS

Judicious determination of class status is very important in the mass mobilization for land reform, because it has a direct bearing upon the implementation of our line and policy in the countryside: in deciding whom to rely on, whom to unite with, whom to rally, whom to overthrow, who our friends are and who our foes. Moreover, correct determination of people's class status in the countryside has a direct bearing on the question of whether to confiscate, requisition or forcibly purchase the land of the landlords to distribute to the peasants. For that reason, the class determination must be made very carefully. Considering the practical situation in the countryside at present, the draft definition of classes which has already been made public, should be revised.

Quite a long period has elapsed since the August Revolution of 1945, and our country has gone through many changes. After our State promulgated the decree on

reduction of land rent and usurious interest rates, and the decree on agricultural taxes, the landlords and rich peasants have transferred many of their crop fields to evade the implementation of land reform policies and to falsify their class status. Peasants in the free zones have been provisionally allotted land, and the living standards of a number of them have changed for the better. We cannot use people's class status before the August Revolution of 1945 to define their class positions at present. For that reason, we must take the 12th of December 1953 as our starting-point, that is, the day when the Land Reform Law will be promulgated, then go back five years to determine landlord status, go back three years to determine rich peasant status, and go back one year to determine the status of labouring peasants. Some examples :

a) *Fall in class status*

Any *landlord* who has been impoverished since the beginning of 1949, has been one of the main workers in his family five years running, does not exploit by land rent (or exploits just a little) shall be allowed to change his class status.

Any *rich peasant* who throughout the period from early 1951 to the present has not exploited according to the rich-peasant method (or exploited just a little) and whose living standard has dwindled to that of a middle peasant shall be allowed to change his class status.

Any *middle peasant* or *poor peasant* who for one reason or another has become and remained impoverished (i.e. a middle peasant has become a poor peasant, or a poor peasant has become a landless peasant) for more than a year is allowed to change his class status.

b) *Rise in class status*

Before and after the promulgation of the Land Reform Law, *rich peasants* exploiting according to landlords' methods and enjoying the living standard of landlords, and *middle peasants* exploiting according to rich peasants' methods and enjoying the living standard of rich peasants three years running are considered as having changed their class status.

If a *poor or landless peasant* has changed his main source of livelihood or income by purchasing more land (not belonging to the category of land illegally transferred by the landlords), bought more draught animals, etc. and if consequently his living standards have risen to the level of a higher class (landless peasant to poor peasant or middle peasant; poor peasant to middle peasant) for more than a year, he shall be regarded as belonging to the upper stratum.

Some poor and landless peasants, because they have leased some land, or have received land provisionally allotted or distributed to them, or have newly opened land or have received land transferred by the landlords, have seen their living standards rise. Former poor peasants have reached the level of middle peasants. Former landless peasants have reached that of poor peasants or middle peasants. However, if these changes have taken place less than 3 years ago, they will return to their former class status.

These stipulations have the advantage of avoiding confusion between landlords, rich peasants and labouring peasants, increasing the numerical strength of the poor and landless peasants — our prop in the countryside — and also making the united forces in the countryside stronger and more stable.

4. SCOPE OF THE LAND REFORM

Land reform is stipulated for the whole country, including areas behind enemy lines. But it will take place first in places where the necessary conditions obtain, and those places which do not yet have the necessary conditions will do it later.

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

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

Many areas inhabited by the *ethnic minorities* and ruled by a system of *tho ty, lang dao, phià tao, and ca ra*,¹ may have already been liberated, but the land reform shall not yet be carried out there because the land conditions and the nationalities problem there are complex. Besides, since the political consciousness and organization of the local population are still limited and cadres are still lacking, it is not advisable for the land reform to be hurriedly undertaken there.

1. Local tyrants (*Translator*).

In the *guerrilla and enemy-held areas*, the land reform cannot yet be carried out for the conditions required do not exist there yet. Implementation of the land reform in these areas shall be decided upon in the light of future developments in the military and political situation.

In the *Fifth Inter-zone* (south central Viet Nam — *Ed*) and in *Nam Bo* (former Cochinchina — *Ed*) the campaign for land rent reduction and restitution of land rent shall be carried out first, to be followed later by the land reform. The situation in Nam Bo in general at present has a guerrilla character, and the problem of land there has many special aspects. Implementation of the land reform there requires more concrete stipulations taking into account specific conditions of Nam Bo.

5. MOBILIZE THE MASSES ACCORDING TO PLAN, IMPLEMENT
THE LAND REFORM STEP BY STEP, IN AN ORDERLY MANNER,
AND UNDER CLOSE LEADERSHIP

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

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

We must also oppose the erroneous idea that to mobilize the masses means to leave them free to do whatever they like,

improvising their actions, causing the cadres to give up Party leadership, and causing social disorder, which is not only harmful to the unity necessary for the war of resistance but also not in the interests of the peasants.

To mobilize the masses does not mean to let the local cadres and masses do whatever they like, not following the plans of the Central Committee, in disorder, and without leadership. *Even in the free zones, the land reform shall be carried out in a number of localities first, and then in others, according to a common plan.*

The whole aim of the mass campaign for land rent reduction this year has been to prepare conditions for the land reform in the coming year; and the mass campaign for land rent reduction will continue to spread. Next year, in the free zones, there will be places which will proceed to the land reform after land rent reduction has been achieved there, while in other places where the campaign for land rent reduction has not yet started, a mass campaign for thorough reduction of land rent shall be conducted.

We will reach a point, however, when we have enough experienced cadres, when we can mobilize the masses both in areas where the land rent reduction has been achieved and in places where the land rent reduction has not yet been started, in order to implement land reform.

In areas where the land rent reduction campaign has not yet started, it is necessary to mobilize the masses for land rent reduction and restitution of land rent to topple the collaborators, reactionaries and cruel rural despots, and improve the organizations before proceeding to the land reform.

In areas which have already conducted the campaign for land rent reduction, measures shall be taken to scrutinize the ranks of the masses and the composition of the organizations, to carry out propaganda and help the masses grasp the land reform policy, investigate the ownership of land and other property of the landlords, before going on to implement the land reform.

However in areas where the campaign for land rent reduction has been carried out, but where the masses have not yet been fully motivated and the leading collaborators, reactionaries and cruel rural despots still hold sway, it is necessary to extend the campaign of denunciation of landlords' crimes, to overthrow the leading reactionaries and cruel thugs once and for all before proceeding to the land reform.

The Party Central Committee will work out a plan for step-by-step implementation. In areas where conditions are ripe, the land reform will be carried out sooner or later. Cadres as well as the masses should avoid rushing things and improvising courses of action. *Localities where the Party Central Committee and the Government have not yet approved the mobilization of the masses for the implementation of the land reform shall refrain from doing so on their own.*

6. PREPARATORY WORK

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

— preparation of policies ;

- ideological preparation ; and
- preparation in organization (including preparation of cadres).

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

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

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

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

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

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

In areas where the land reform is not yet carried out, we must coordinate the improvement of military, civilian, administrative, and Party organizations with the mass campaign for land rent reduction, so as to strengthen these organizations. In particular, the village Party cells, Peasants' Associations and administrative organs (including the village resistance and administrative committee, the militia guerilla

and security forces) must be reliable, under the control of poor and landless peasants, so as to support the masses' struggle and repress the reactionaries. This is a very important thing. At the same time, we must, through the mass struggle, discard the bad elements, win over and educate people who have made mistakes, find out active elements, and foster them into good activists and cadres. Thus the further we carry out the campaign for land rent reduction, the more cadres we train before moving on to the land reform.

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

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

7. HELP THE PEASANTS BOOST PRODUCTION FOLLOWING THE LAND REFORM

A problem to which we must give some attention is that during the mass mobilization campaign and after the distribution of land to the peasants, we must guide and help them

to increase production. We should not forget that an important aim of the land reform is to develop agricultural production.

Experience has shown us that when provisionally allotting lands of the French colonialists and collaborators to the peasants, we did not help solve their problems, or assist them. That is why a number of peasants have not produced enough to meet their needs, and have had to give their land back. There are some places where our cadres have forced the peasants to join mutual-aid organizations, or joint-labour teams, or cooperative farms, causing peasants in many places to have doubts about the policy of the Party and Government.

For that reason, the leading organs in the land reform and the land reform teams must pay attention to production, guide the peasants to unite and help one another and get down to cultivation immediately. We should not hinder production under the pretext of its interfering with carrying out the land reform.

After distributing land to the peasants, we must immediately proceed *to mobilize the peasants to boost production*. In this connection, we must solve the following problem :

First, *to stabilize the new relations of production in the countryside*, to reassure the peasants, to combat their fear of having to make greater contributions if they have more land, their fear that if their production goes well and they get rich, they might be subject to struggle and denunciation, their fear of having to pool their lands to build collective farms, the fear that the enemy troops will extend their attacks on the free zones and help the landlords take back

their land and other fears, all of which might cause them to lose enthusiasm in production. We must help the peasants see clearly that it is they who are the masters of the countryside, that they must unite to increase production, unite to fight the aggressors and safeguard what they have gained.

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

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

The Government and the Peasants' Associations should have plans for concrete guidance in production for the peasants. We must encourage agricultural production fighters, make use of the practical experiences the peasant masses have, educate the peasants, and strive to provide the peasants with means of production such as: organizing supply and consumer cooperatives, developing credit and trade organs, helping with the sale of farm and forest produce, granting

loans, draught animals, farming implements, etc. Then we will gradually mobilize the peasants to organize *agricultural production cooperatives*.

The Government and trade unions should help the peasants to improve techniques. This must be done step by step depending on the awareness of the peasants and the stage of industrial development and we must make experiments in the State farms *to set examples for the peasants to follow*.

In the above work, the stabilization of the new relations of production must be carried out first, then we must help the peasants solve the difficulties they face with regard to draught animals, farming implements, food and seeds, coordinated with the development of mutual-aid teams, joint-labour teams and agricultural cooperatives, etc.

Only when these things are achieved can we consolidate and develop the success of the land reform and create conditions for developing the people's democratic economy, and advance to socialism.

TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND ENHANCE ITS LEADERSHIP IN THE LAND REFORM

The mass campaign for implementation of the land reform is a very good opportunity to perfect the Party cells in the countryside, train and promote cadres, and enhance the Party's leadership.

1. TO IMPROVE THE PARTY CELLS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

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

In the mass campaign for thorough land rent reduction, our Party cells have been reorganized to a certain extent. The requirement of the work of improving the organization of the rural Party cells in the mass campaign for land rent reduction is: ideologically and organizationally to make a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves and clearly differentiate the landlord class from the labouring people. Have we met this requirement in the recent successive drives of mass mobilization for land rent reduction? On the whole, we have met it. But in those places where work was not

very well done, the landlords managed to misuse the Party cells. Given the above requirement for improving the organization of the Party cells, even in areas where the work was done best, the Party cells have not yet become the core of leadership in the countryside. We must go one step further in the land reform, and perfect the Party cells, making them real leading cores in all branches, in all mass organizations, as well as in the administration in the countryside.

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

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

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

The Party's leadership of the peasants must thus aim at mobilizing the masses to implement the land reform, and through this mobilization develop the great strength of the peasants, develop production, and step up the war of resistance. We must strive to lead the peasants gradually along

the path to socialism, because only socialism can completely liberate the peasants from the regime of exploitation of man by man and from the old backward mode of production.

For these reasons, we must take effective steps to improve the organization of the Party cells in the countryside, get rid of any ideas of neglecting the building of Party cells during the land reform.

The improvement of Party cells during the land reform mainly consists in *drawing a clear line between the Party and the exploiting classes* ideologically as well as organizationally. To meet this demand, the following concrete steps must be taken :

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

b) We must mobilize all Party members to take an active part in the mass campaign for land reform, and through the practical struggle of the masses help them to heighten

further their class consciousness, to make a clear distinction between the Party and the exploiting classes, and to thoroughly implement Party policies.

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

2. IMPROVE LEADERSHIP AND TRAIN CADRES IN THE LAND REFORM

The work of mobilizing the masses for a land reform provides *a very good opportunity for our cadres to strengthen their stand, remould themselves ideologically and improve their style of work*. That is why the various executive levels and cadres of branches under the executive levels, from the centre down to the districts, should take turns participating in the mass mobilization campaign. For both leading cadres and specialist cadres, taking part in the mass mobilization after attending a rectification course is attending another rectification course: one at the school of revolutionary struggle of the masses. This will further strengthen their class stand and their mass viewpoint, correct their erroneous

ideas, cause them to show more concern for the interests of the masses, and further heighten their sense of wholehearted service to the people and the Party.

During this last period, many of our cadres have got "stuck" in their offices or have been working in a bureaucratic manner, without making investigations or doing research, without going deep into matters to inquire about the situation and therefore have not understood realities in the countryside. Their participation in the mass mobilization is a good opportunity for them to correct their bureaucratism, their superficiality, and their distance from reality, to clearly understand the demands of the masses and increase their confidence in the strength of the masses, clearly understand the capabilities of and difficulties confronting the movement at the lower levels. As a result, they will indulge less in wishful thinking and one-sidedness, and their style of work will be less bureaucratic and authoritarian.

With such great interests at stake, executives at all levels should avoid relying entirely on the land reform teams, but should take part in these teams personally to assume close leadership and learn from realities, and at the same time to prepare for the future by acquiring the necessary experience to lead the mass mobilization in their own areas.

To lead the land reform and other tasks successfully, the Central Committee as well as the regional authorities should follow the movement closely and keep the situation firmly under control. We must give *specific guidance* with a view to studying realities and researching the land reform problem in depth. We will steel ourselves and try out our policies, check the correctness of the slogans, sum up experiences and

enhance our leadership in the fire of the struggle of the masses. Through the mass mobilization for land reform we will step up other tasks. At the same time, in the course of the mass agitation we will appraise the cadres, promote good ones, and deal appropriately with bad ones.

3. SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING LEADERSHIP OF THE LAND REFORM

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

a) *Correct wrong ideas about the land reform*

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

Rightist ideas include :

— *The fear that the land reform may break unity, and prejudice the war of resistance.* This is due to the failure to see that the land reform is one of the best methods both of consolidating the National United Front on the firm basis of the worker-peasant alliance, and of developing the National United Front, because a grassroots organization of the Front — the Peasants' Association — will draw in millions of labouring peasants ; the failure to see that the land reform is aimed at making the ranks of the Front more reliable, because it makes it possible to discard local rotten feudalist

elements who have misused the name of the Front so far to oppose the resistance and the policies of the Party and the Government; the failure to realize that the land reform is one of the best methods of mobilizing millions of people to take part in the war of resistance, to increase production, to strengthen our rear area in all fields — political, military, economic and cultural.

— *The fear that land reform conducted during the war of resistance, would scatter and split our forces, and weaken our capacity.* This is due to the failure to see that it is the land reform that is the most effective method of building up the people's strength, developing the great force of resistance of the people; the failure to see that during the land reform we will discover and train many good cadres, steel and temper our cadres and enhance our leadership.

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

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

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

Another mistake is that in the mass campaign for land reform, some cadres *only pay attention to the land reform and neglect other resistance and production tasks.* They only pay attention to the anti-feudal task and neglect the anti-imperialist task; they do not know how to coordinate these two tasks; they only see the landlords, and not the imperialists. These are rightist tendencies. During the land reform there were cases of imperialist troops making a thrust into an area and our cadres failing to immediately turn the mass mobilization for struggle against the feudalists

into a mass movement to serve the front, take part in the guerrilla activities, and fight the enemy. Or they let the land reform interfere with production schedules, and failed to fulfil the tax-collection task, etc.

“Leftist” ideas include the following :

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

In contrast, the reforms carried out by the revolutionary administration have a revolutionary character, for they shatter the resistance of the hostile enemy class, serve the interests of the masses, aim to benefit the masses and consolidate the people’s revolutionary power. Does not our land reform policy aim at eliminating the feudal landlord class, and liberating the broad masses of the peasants from the feudal yoke ? We should not focus our attention only on the flexible aspect of the measure which consists in forcibly purchasing land from the landlords, and lose sight of the radical character of our land reform policy.

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

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

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

Some cadres lose their temper, show impatience, and neither wait for instructions nor follow the Central Committee's plan for mobilizing the masses to carry out the land reform; they act on their own, thus creating chaos and disorder, enabling the imperialist aggressors and the reactionary feudalists to take advantage of the situation and

carry out provocations and cause further disturbances. This has a bad influence both on the resistance and on the peasant masses.

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

b) *Make the campaign spread like an oil stain in a series of drives*

The land reform campaign shall begin in the free zones first. This winter, it will be carried out in a number of villages on an experimental basis. Then it will be extended to many other villages, beginning in areas which have the most favourable conditions.

Like the land rent reduction campaign, the mobilization of the masses for land reform must be carried out in a series of drives. After each drive we must sum up experiences, check the concrete stipulations of the land reform policy, correct the erroneous ideas and work styles of cadres, then move on to a new drive. This is the way to proceed. This is because the land reform is a new problem, because we do not have many cadres, and their stand is not yet firm; moreover they lack experience, and our organizations have not yet been fully consolidated. There are a number of peasants who are still influenced by feudal ideology. Class struggle in the countryside is very complex. We are also fighting the aggressors, and it is not in our interest to allow the situation in the countryside to be strained for a long time. That is why we must mobilize the masses to carry out the land reform *well, rapidly, steadily and neatly.*

Only if the land reform is conducted in a series of drives can the leadership firmly control the situation, find timely solutions to the complex problems arising in the mass agitation work, and avoid serious mistakes. We must combat the tendency to work in an egalitarian, massive, widespread manner, with the aim of getting quick results, but which is counter-productive, as it wears out our cadres and the masses, gives the landlords an opportunity to oppose us, and easily drives the leadership into a passive position.

The plan for guiding land reform work consists of the following: to combine key reform areas with secondary areas, the two helping and stimulating each other. The best method is to concentrate our forces on making a breach, to advance a step, gain experience in the key village, pass on these experiences to secondary villages, then move part of the forces there, start the land reform in all villages, send more cadres to the secondary points so as to rectify the uneven advance, and strive to achieve the land reform everywhere at approximately the same time.

The key and secondary key areas must have unified leadership and a unified plan, and use cadres according to a common plan. We must immediately popularize elsewhere experiences acquired in places where special guidance is undertaken and use the realities of the mass movement to educate the masses, and train and foster cadres.

This constitutes both the law governing the development of the mass movement and the art of leading the movement to ensure a good, rapid, steady and neat implementation of the land reform.

c) *Combine land reform work with other tasks*

According to the instructions of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, next year our whole country will have to carry out two central tasks simultaneously, namely, fighting hard against the aggressors, and carry out the land reform. There will be another three major tasks to accomplish: to step up the building of the armed forces in all fields; to foster and raise the ideological standard of cadres, promote and transfer cadres, and improve the Party organizations in the countryside; to increase production, meet the requirements of the resistance and ensure food supplies for the people, thus giving strong stimulus to the national economy. In areas behind the enemy lines, we must fight the enemy, oppose mopping-up operations, maintain and develop our grassroots organizations, in coordination with the implementation of the land rent reduction as has been done so far. We must take advantage of the resounding effects of the mass mobilization for land reform in the free zones to demand that the landlords reduce land rent in keeping with the Government's policy.

The land reform is aimed at fostering peasant forces and pushing forward the war of resistance. A victorious struggle against the aggressors will encourage and ensure success to the mass campaign for land reform. These two central tasks are closely related and stimulate each other. While performing one task we should not neglect the other. On a nation-wide basis, fighting the aggressors is the number one central task, and *the land reform must bow to the first claim of a victorious resistance*. But a decision must be taken in each place and each branch of activity, depending on the development

of the military situation, whether it is the fight against the enemy or the land reform that is the number one central task for this locality or this branch of activity. However, the major tasks must everywhere be focused on and serve the two central tasks.

d) *Set up Land Reform Committees*

From the centre down to provincial level, it is necessary to set up Land Reform Committees. Under the Party's leadership, these committees have the task of implementing the Land Reform Law promulgated by the National Assembly and give concrete guidance to the mass movement for land reform. They will follow the development of the mass mobilization for land reform in the various places, study problems relating to the concrete policies and land reform work so as to make proposals to the leadership for the solution of problems. They can also issue orders relevant to the implementation of policies worked out by the leading echelons.

To ensure a broad-based guidance of the land reform each land reform committee must include representatives of the political parties, mass organizations and democratic personalities.

The Party executives must participate in these committees directly and lead them closely.

In the present situation, it is not necessary to set up Land Reform Committees at the district level.

In the villages, the Conferences of Peasants' Representatives and the Executive Committees of the Peasants' Associations are the legal bodies leading the masses' struggle, and their official task is to implement the land reform in the villages.

CONCLUSION

Dear comrades,

President Ho Chi Minh has clearly pointed out the great benefits of the land reform :

“Successful implementation of the land reform will help us overcome many difficulties, and resolve many problems.

“*Militarily*, our peasants will feel great enthusiasm about taking part in the resistance, and the expansion of the army and the mobilization of the war-service volunteers will be facilitated. Our soldiers will feel more reassured about their families and will fight still harder.

“*Politically*, the political and economic power in the countryside will be held by the peasants, the people’s democratic dictatorship will become a reality, and the worker-peasant alliance will be strengthened. The National United Front will include more than 90% of the rural population and will be very broad and powerful.

“*Economically*, once free from the yoke of the feudal landlords, the peasants will joyfully increase production and practise thrift, their purchasing power will increase, industry and trade will develop, and the national economy as a whole will be expanded.

“Thanks to increased production, the life of our peasants, workers, soldiers and cadres will be more rapidly improved.

“In the *cultural and social* fields, the overwhelming majority of the people will have enough to eat and to wear, as ‘one can only do one’s work properly if one has enough to eat’. They will study harder, and develop fine customs and habits.”

In short, the land reform, carried out successfully, is sure to provide us with more conditions to push forward our resistance to final victory, regain real independence and unity, consolidate and develop our people’s democratic regime and make active contributions to the defence of world peace.

The land reform is aimed at eliminating the regime of feudal exploitation which has existed in our country for thousands of years, liberating tens of millions of peasants of our country from oppression by the feudal landlords, liberating the productive forces in the countryside, creating the necessary conditions for the development of the national economy, smashing the social basis of imperialism in our country, consolidating our rear areas, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, strengthening the Party’s leadership, consolidating and broadening the National United Front, strengthening and developing the people’s armed forces, and strengthening the people’s democratic administration.

Together with the war of resistance, the land reform will radically change the face of Vietnamese society; it will change the countryside and take Vietnamese society one big step forward on the road of people’s democracy, which will lead us to socialism. The land reform is a great endeavour, conforming to the law of development of Vietnamese society, and with the aspirations of our entire people.

To mobilize the masses in order to implement the land reform is to launch a broad offensive against the feudalists, a great opportunity to steel and temper all our cadres and Party members. Our entire Party must achieve identity of will and action, reinforce their determination to win in this offensive and rapidly mature in this drive.

We must implement the agrarian policy of the Party and Government actively, and serve the people wholeheartedly, determined to make the slogan "National Independence and Land to the Tillers" a reality at all costs.

Simultaneous implementation of the land reform and fighting against aggression is difficult; but the masses of our people have great revolutionary ardour, and with the leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, and the precious experiences of the revolution in other countries we have learned, we are sure to win resounding success.

- Defeat aggressive imperialism and down with the feudal landlord class!
- Long live independent and unified Viet Nam!
- Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!
- Long live President Ho Chi Minh!