WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE BASIC SPIRIT OF THE REVISION OF PARTY STATUTES

- NORTH VIETNAM -

by Nguyen Chuong
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To understand clearly the spirit of the revision of the party statutes, it is necessary to grasp firmly the responsibilities and demands of the present construction task of the party. To do so, it is necessary to see clearly the revolutionary situation and the responsibilities of the party at the present time.

A. Situation and Responsibilities of the New Revolution

As all of us know, thanks to our victorious resistance, the revolution in our country has stepped into a new stage since the restoration of peace. The northern part of our country was liberated while the southern part is still under the domination of Ngo Dinh Diem and the Americans. We have the responsibility of achieving the national democratic revolution in south Vietnam and of realizing the unification of our country. This means continuation of our anti-imperialist antifeudalist revolution under new circumstances and with new aspects; we must proceed with determination and persistence toward our complete victory.

That concerns the whole nation. As for North Vietnam, a new stage has come because we have fulfilled our anti-imperialist, antifeudalist task: it is the stage of socialist revolution. We must reform the entire national economy in accordance with socialism, lead more than 10 million farmers and handicraftsmen from individualistic production to collective production, and extirpate every aspect of class exploitation. We must industrialize our country, develop industry, agriculture, means of communication and transportation ..., and transform our economically and culturally backward nation into a modern and advanced one.

That is a revolutionary responsibility which is extremely great, radical, and profound; it is also very difficult and complex. The more we penetrate into the task of building our fatherland and fighting for the unification of the country, the more clearly we see that difficult and complex nature.

From the experiences learned throughout the previous stage,
the leadership of the party is necessary for our revolution to be victorious. Now that our revolution has stepped into a higher stage and our responsibilities have become heavier, the leadership of the party and the role of its organizations are all the more vital. It can be affirmed that the socialist revolution and the unification of our country will not succeed if there is no vanguard party of the working class whose organization and ideology are well consolidated, which solidly grasps the rules of revolution and of socialist construction, and which is tightly connected with the masses and supported by millions of workers.

B. The Party's Situation and the Task of Building the Party

The higher and more difficult our revolutionary responsibilities are, the higher and heavier the demands on the party. What is the situation of our party at present?

Throughout 30 years of struggle, our party has matured greatly. It has become a party holding governmental powers. Its ranks have swollen to include more than half a million members. There are more than 10,000 basic party organizations deep-rooted among the masses. Through the classes in resistance, land reform, economic restoration, construction and reform, political training and education, party members have been trained and strengthened a great deal in political, ideological, and organizational aspects. The party has thousands of cadres who have been tested in the struggle against the enemy, and in the movement of the masses, cadres who have always been devoted to the interests and rights of the people, and who have constructively fought for the completion of every task entrusted to them by the party and the people. Those are the basic strengths of the party.

But in the face of the new developments of the revolution, our party also has weaknesses and shortcomings. It has victoriously organized and led the democratic national revolution, but the socialist revolution is still a new thing for it. It has achieved important deeds in its Marxist-Leninist campaign in order to guide the revolution of Vietnam, but its level of reasoning is still low; it has had many experiences, but has not been able to generalize them. The party cadres still do not know much about economics, science and technology. The workers' elements in the party are still scarce and its bases among the workers are narrow. In general, party members are eager and constructive, but many of them have not yet acquired a high socialist concept and a few of them have an inadequate revolutionary will. A number of cadres are afflicted with bureaucratism, greed and waste, and are away from the masses.

In this situation, the task of building the party must be aimed at developing the strengths and overcoming the weaknesses and shortcomings mentioned above. It is necessary to consolidate the
party further so as to be more appropriate to the new demands of our revolutionary responsibilities. It is necessary to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist reasoning of the whole party, first of all that of cadres; economics, culture, science, and technology must be studied exhaustively. It is necessary to raise incessantly party members' socialist awareness, their proletarian stand and their Communist philosophy of life. It is necessary to widen democracy within the party to the highest degree as well as to strengthen the centralized, unified leadership of the party to the utmost. It is necessary to strengthen the party's organs among the workers, to consolidate basic party organizations, to keep on tightening the relationships between the party and the masses, to guard against and to overcome officialism, order-giving addiction and aloofness from the masses.

The above responsibilities and demands dealing with the construction of the party are indeed the foundations on which the revision of the party statutes is based.

C. Thorough Understanding of the Basic spirit of the Revision of Party Statutes

The party statutes are its code of laws. They stipulate clearly the purpose of our struggle, the basic political responsibilities of the party, our ideological foundations, organizational principles, action principles, and conditions essential to guarantee the realization of these principles.

The basic Marxist-Leninist principles for the building of the party—such as, the party is the organized vanguard party of the working class, the organizational principle of the party is democratic centralization, etc.—are "unchangeable and insalvable." However, the organizational formulas and operational methods of the party, and the ways of realizing the above principles must be appropriately changed to suit the situation of the revolution, the developmental stage of the organization of the party, and the needs of the building operation. When studying the party statutes, that is the first thing that needs to be recognized.

The second and most important point is as follows: as the above analysis states, since the revolution has stepped into a new stage and our responsibilities have become heavier, the "demands for the building of the party and demands on party members are higher, stricter, and tighter." It is wrong not to grasp this point firmly; it is incorrect to maintain that the demands on the party and its members are at present the same as those in previous years. And it is more incorrect to think that since at present the revolution has triumphed and is in the stage of building peace, the demands for building the party and the standards for party membership can be lowered. To guarantee the building of a stabler party and to raise the standards for membership are the ruling
principles of the entire revised statutes of the party in their
genral policy lines as well as in chapters dealing with mem-
ship, principles of organizing the party, the party's discipline,
etc...

Finally, the party revised statutes must reflect and blend
the experiences related to the building of the party in the past.
In the task of building the party, we have had experiences of suc-
cess as well as of weaknesses and shortcomings. We must learn from
those experiences so as to amend the new statutes of the party.

One must grasp firmly the above points when introducing or
studying the revised statutes of the party. All cadres and mem-
bers must recognize and constructively participate in studying and
discussing the revised statutes of the party so as to make a suc-
cess out of the party's Congress, to share in building a stable
party as well as to raise the party concept of each of us one step
higher.
THE NATURE AND MISSION OF THE LAO DONG PARTY

- NORTH VIETNAM -

Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Chuong in the Vietnamese-language newspaper Nhan Dan (People), Hanoi, No. 2219, April 15, 1960, page 3:

In the regulations of the party there are very basic items of which the nature and objectives of the party form the nucleus. Therefore, it is necessary to study and discuss them carefully.

A. The Labor Party in Vietnam Is That of the Working Class

In the draft of the party regulations, the following main principle is mentioned: "The Vietnamese labor party is that of the working class, representing both the interests and rights of the laboring people and the supreme interests and rights of the nation."

Is there any difference between this draft and previous regulations? Basically, there is none. In accordance with previous regulations or this draft, and from the standpoint of the nature of the party, our party is still that of the working class. In society, each class has its own status, rights and interests, and nature that differ from those of other classes. There are progressive, revolutionary classes as well as decadent, reactionary ones; again there are intermediary classes. The working class is the most revolutionary one because it is closely connected with modern industry. The working class has a great collective spirit, an organizational tendency, and strong discipline. The Vietnamese labor party follows Marxism-Leninism, struggles to build socialism and Communism, and it is organized according to the collectivist and democratic principle; it is thus the party symbolizing the rights and interests as well as the ideals of the workers; it is built in accordance with the ideational basis of the workers.

When one says it is the party of the working class, does one mean it defends only the rights and interests of this class? And, if so, is it "narrow"? No. The party not only fights for the rights and interests of the working class, but also fights for those of all workers as well as for the supreme rights and interests of the nation. Furthermore, the party does not recruit its members only from among the workers. The party is always ready to draw into its ranks all the progressive elements in the laboring masses, who approve the policy line and objectives of the
party and follow the workers' stand in their endeavors. Thus it is not "narrow".

But why not say, "The party of the working class and of the laboring people" as previously? It is because circumstances have changed. Today, the level of enlightenment of the masses has been raised. At the same time, socialism has become a daily direct responsibility. As a result, the party can and must bring out more clearly its stand and ideas of the working class, so as to educate party members and the masses according to a higher demand and direction.

B. The Vanguard Nature of the Party

The draft of the revised regulations of the party states: "The party is an organized vanguard troop as well as the highest organization of the laboring class; it includes the most enlightened, progressive, exemplary, courageous and self-sacrificing elements from among the working class, the laboring farmers, the revolutionary intellectuals, and other laboring classes, which pledge to enter the ranks of the party and to fight."

The party belongs to the working class, but the former should not be mixed up with the latter. The party differs from the working class because of its "vanguard" nature.

"Vanguard" means the party must include all of the most enlightened, loyal, enthusiastic and determined revolutionaries.

"Vanguard" means the party must have progressive reasoning and must include the most experienced persons. Loyalty is a precious thing, but experiences and methods are needed to enable the revolution to triumph.

The party being the vanguard troop of the working class, the line of demarcation between them cannot be eradicated; party members cannot be mixed up with ordinary people. This distinction was necessary in the underground days and during the resistance. Party members must be the vanguard troops in every domain: production labor, technological improvement, protection of public property, cultural and ideological revolution, etc.

The party is the vanguard troop of the working class, but ideologically must not be separated from it; it must not be conceited, self-sufficient and haughty. In its operations, it must not be bureaucratic, inclined to give orders, and separated from the masses. Only in tight connection with the masses can the party be strong.

C. Final Objective of the Party

The main principle in the revised regulations of the party provides that: "The purpose of the party is to liberate the nation, and to realize socialism and Communism in Vietnam."
The difference between these regulations and the previous ones is clearly written out: to realize socialism and Communism in Vietnam.

All of the revolutionary works assumed by the party in Vietnam include two steps and two periods: people's democratic revolution aimed at realizing national independence and providing the farmer with land, and socialist revolution aimed at building socialism and Communism.

In reality, previous regulations did contain the socialist objective. However, because socialism was not yet a direct responsibility and since education and training were inadequate, many persons did not have a clear concept of that objective. With the development of the revolution, its goal and direction was temporarily unclear, a fact which created perplexity, even the thought of relaxation and halt.

Today, socialism has become the way of life in North Vietnam. Consequently, the party regulations not only contain the socialist objectives in general, but also clearly record the responsibility, the ways and the means for carrying out the socialist revolution and construction.

Furthermore, not only socialist objectives but also Communist goals are clearly recorded. Communism has two stages: the lower stage is socialism, whereas the higher one is Communism. In the socialist stage, production has increased much as compared with that in previous times, but it has not been really high yet; as a result, the principle of "working according to potentialities and distributing according to labor" has been applied. In the Communist stage, production will be extremely high and the principle of "working to the utmost and distributing according to needs" will be adopted. That will be the most beautiful and the happiest social system; that will be the ideal of the working class and of all mankind. Only after realizing that ideal system will the mission of the Communist party and of the Communists be completed; at that time there will be no organizing of the party any longer.

The recording of the socialist and communist objectives in the draft of the revised party regulations has a very important political and ideological significance. For a party member, it is a basis for determining his ideology and philosophy of life. A Communist must see far and wide. While working to realize the people's democratic revolution, he must see and be prepared for the socialist revolution. While in the process of building socialism, he must see the Communist goal clearly so as to get ready to move ahead. He must have a socialist stand and ideology and Communist morals, and live and work like a genuine Communist.

The nature and purpose of the party is the core which determines all of the other matters in the principles and regulations of the party: regulating the guiding thoughts of the party, its operations and organizations, its rules of activities and develop-
ement; the requirements and criteria of party members are also determined by the nature and purpose of the party.

Consequently, when studying and discussing the revised regulations of the party, one must constantly use the nature and purpose of the party as guiding principles.