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FORMATION OF INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

[Comintern Directive of 27 October 1929 on the Formation of the Indochinese Communist Party; Hanoi, Nhan Dan, Vietnamese, 6 January 1970, pp 1, 2]

Our party is the vanguard of the Vietnamese workers' class and at the same time it is part of the international vanguard of the workers' class in the world. Since the end of 1931, our party has been recognized by the Executive Committee of the Comintern as a (reserve) organ of the Communist International. In our efforts to build our party into a new party of the workers' class, we have received great assistance from the international communist movement, first of all from the Communist International.

We would like to present to our readers the following historic document: the directive of 27 October 1929 of the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the formation of a communist party in Indochina.

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1. In the French colony of Indochina, the contradictions between the workers, farmers, and the poor people on one side and the French imperialists, the landlords, and the feudal bureaucrats on the other side are becoming more and more serious. We have now in Indochina all the objective conditions for a democratic bourgeois revolution (anti-royalist and land revolution). The recovery of the revolutionary movement in Indochina is taking place amid the great development not only of the

international revolutionary movement but also of the revolutionary movement in neighboring countries such as India and China. All these factors are creating the conditions and capabilities for a rapid recovery and development of the revolutionary movement and for the taking place of great revolutionary events in Indochina.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in Indochina, the hate of the majority of the people for French imperialism, and especially the development of the independent workers' movement and the survival of communist organizations in the country are creating the necessary conditions and the urgency for the formation of a communist party in Indochina.

2. Until now, the formation of a communist party has been very slow compared to the development of the revolutionary movement in Indochina. The absence of a communist party in the midst of the development of the workers' and people's movement is becoming very dangerous for the immediate future of the revolution in Indochina. That is why the doubts and hesitations exhibited by certain groups about the immediate formation of a communist party are completely erroneous. But the recent divisions among the various communist groups are even more dangerous and cannot be tolerated. These divisions and the struggle among these communist groups constitute the greatest danger to the entire revolutionary movement in Indochina. The most urgent and most important task of all the communists in Indochina is the formation of a revolutionary party possessing the class characteristics of the proletariat, that is a popular communist party in Indochina. This party should be the only communist organization in Indochina.

3. The Indochinese Communist Party should be formed by the getting together of all the truly communist elements in all the communist groups. To achieve this aim, we should form immediately, under the leadership of a representative from the Executive Committee of the Comintern, an intergroup committee composed of representatives from all the organizations recognizing the principle, regulations, and resolutions of the Comintern and working actively among the workers and people. At least half of the members of this committee must be active workers and leaders of the people's movement.

4. Before convening the party congress, this committee must assume the responsibilities of a provisional central executive committee of the Indochinese Communist Party. Its main task is to gather all the communist elements into a unified communist party with unified local organizations; it must step up popular work among the workers and farmers, first of all in the enterprises (factories, mines, plantations, and so on).

The provisional central executive committee and all local organizations must work with determination to recruit workers for the party and establish communist chapters in the enterprises. They must strengthen their relationships with the enterprises, rural areas, and schools built up by previous revolutionary organizations (VNCMTN, TV, the Northern group, and so on).

5. The provisional central executive committee of the Indochinese Communist Party will guide the merging of local organizations with the chapters of various groups into unified local organs of the Communist Party; it will investigate and decide on the merging of various groups and organizations into organs of the Communist Party; it will also approve the composition of the local provisional committees of the Communist Party. All these problems will be tackled under the supervision of the representative of the Comintern Executive Committee and the solutions to these problems will be carried out only when they have been approved by the representative of the Comintern Executive Committee. Objections to these resolutions could later be presented at the congress of the Indochinese Communist Party.

Only the groups and organizations which completely approve the resolutions of the Comintern Executive Committee and the Communist International can be recognized as organs of the Indochinese Communist Party and can send their representatives to the party congress. As for organizations which do not consist of workers, only those which take an active part in the mobilization of the workers and farmers should be accepted. All organizations and individuals who do not recognize the resolutions of the Comintern must be expelled from the party. As for the organizations which do not consist of workers but which recognize the resolutions of the Comintern and at the same time still remain as associations for political training with no participation in popular movements or in specific missions (secret liaison, distribution of leaflets, and so on), these organizations and their members can only be considered as sympathizers with the Indochinese Communist Party and they can later be accepted into the party. These organizations cannot send their representatives to the coming congress of the Indochinese Communist Party. The better elements of these organizations should be encouraged to form a Union of communist youths and they will be allowed to join this union.

6. Workers should be made to take part in all the committees of the organizations which will be accepted into the party if there are workers in these organizations. If there are industrial chapters in a locality, then the workers representing these chapters should take part in the various committees. It is of great importance for the future of the party that the percentage of workers in the organizations should be increased, that

the workers should become the majority in all the nucleus forces of the party and in the various party committees, and that communist intellectuals should be selected to educate active workers.

7. The Communist Party must be established on the basis of enterprises, that is the communists must organize themselves into chapters at their places of work, in the factories, mines, plantations, villages, schools, and so on. Without the chapters in the industrial enterprises, especially in the big enterprises, without the chapters which will act in fact as liaison organs between the party and the workers, then the Communist Party cannot be communist and bolshevik. The formation of communist chapters, even small ones, in the large enterprises, is a basic premise for the formation of a communist party in Indochina.

Another important premise for the formation of the communist party in Indochina is the stepping up of the activities of the communists among the workers and farmers. The central task of the Indochinese communists is to increase the influence of the party among the people, expand the workers' struggle and strikes, guide this struggle, and expand and guide the anti-imperialist movement and the farmers' struggle against the landlords. It is only through the development of popular work that we can successfully establish a communist party. One of the biggest errors of the present communist groups is their failure to use their legal capabilities in their mobilization and organization work. The provisional central executive committee should strive to correct this error.

8. The provisional central executive committee must publish a newspaper as the central organ of the Communist Party. This newspaper must first of all publish and explain the resolutions of the Comintern and fight against all manifestations of opportunism. Simultaneously with the presentation and explanation of the common problems of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and in other countries, this newspaper should also concentrate on exposing the reformist nationalism, denouncing imperialism and the actions of the local mandarins, presenting and commenting on the workers' livelihood in the factories, mines, plantations, in the transportation sector, and so on, and presenting and commenting on the livelihood of the farmers, students, and the poor people in the cities. To achieve this objective, we must recruit and train correspondents who come from the workers' and farmers' class.

9. Once the merging of local organizations has been completed, regional and municipal conferences should be convened so that the local provisional committees can report their activities to these conferences. On the other hand, these conferences should also discuss the main problems of the revolutionary movement and the concrete work of each organization. During these conferences, the party permanent local committees should also be elected.

10. Moreover, before the congress is convened, the Indochinese Communist Party must be considered as formally established immediately after the formation of the provisional central executive committee and its approval of the merging of local organizations. All previous names (VNCMTN, TV, and other organizations) must be cancelled and all the secret activities of the party organs and local organizations must be conducted under the name of the Indochinese Communist Party.

11. Once this work has been completed, a party congress should be convened. The provisional central executive committee must report to this congress. The congress should discuss and solve the main problems of the revolutionary movement and appoint a permanent central executive committee. Before the congress is convened, the provisional central executive committee must publish communist books and newspapers and propaganda leaflets, guide local organizations and set up their work objectives, establish communist party groups in the workers' and farmers' organizations, maintain constant contact with the Comintern, and discuss and solve all the problems of the workers' movement in Indochina as well as those of the international communist and workers' movement.

The provisional central executive committee must contact the members of the Chinese Communist Party who have emigrated to Indochina and draw them into the party work and the popular revolutionary work in Indochina.

The Indochinese Communist Party must maintain constant contact with the French Communist Party and report its work to the Central Executive Committee of the French Communist Party. On its side, the French Communist Party will do its best to help the Indochinese Communist Party.

The Indochinese Communist Party must also establish relationships with other brother communist parties, especially with the Chinese Communist Party and the Indian Communist Party.