

# The Road to Revolution

Ho Chi Minh, 1927

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Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. . . the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory.

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V.I. Lenin, *What is to be done.*

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Footnotes from the source PDF use arabic numerals.

Footnotes added in the English translation use roman numerals.

# The character of a revolutionary

To yourself

Diligent while still economical  
Amiable without selfishness  
Self critical  
Careful without being cowardly  
Inquisitive  
Patient  
Always reasearch and review  
Do rather than say  
Firm grip on ideology  
Selflessness  
Refraining from material desires  
Secretive

To your comrades

To individual one must be forgivingful  
To organization one must be strict  
Willing to educate  
Be direct without being reckless  
Be considerate

To your work

Careful examination of every situation  
Decisive  
Brave  
Loyal to the organization

## The purpose of this pamphlet

1. Whatever you do, big or small, of any difficulty, if you don't work hard, you won't succeed. There is a Chinese proverb that says, "A lion catches a rabbit with all its might". For the strength of a lion, even if it's not hard to catch rabbits, you still have to use all your strength, let alone do such a great job as freeing the shackles of slavery for your fellow citizens, for humanity, if you don't try your best, how can you?

2. Many people would find the task so difficult that they get

discouraged, not understanding that “with the flow of water even rocks wear away” and “with patience and grit, a hunk of iron can become a needle”. No matter how difficult the task, with determination it can be done. If few people can’t do it, together many people can. If you can’t do it in a lifetime, it must be done in the next.

3. For us to be united and persistent in a mission, everyone must first understand why it has to be done, why you can’t not do it, why everyone has to lend a hand, why you have to do it right away rather than wait for each other. With this we’re united in purpose; with the same purpose we’re united in will; with strong will we’re united in hearts, combined knowing how any task can quickly be done.

4. The theory and history of revolution are written in thousands of works. The French were afraid of this, so they forbade us to study, and forbade us to watch, so our compatriots were still vague about the word revolution. Some had proposed a little, but did it in a very confused way, inciting people to riot without showing how to organize; or make people get used to dependency, and forget about self-reliance.

5. The purpose of this book is to tell our compatriots clearly: (1) Why must we be revolutionary if we want to live? (2) Why is the revolution a matter of everyone, not a matter of one or two individuals? (3) Bringing the revolutionary history of other countries as an example to learn from. (4) Bringing the world movement to the eyes of our compatriots. (5) To know who is our friend? Who is our enemy? (6) What is to be done in a revolution?

6. This pamphlet needed to be brief, easy to understand, easy to remember. Surely some people will criticize its literary value. Yes! Its purpose is to be as simple and to the point as possible, as sure as 2 times 2 is 4, no embellishments.

For more than sixty years, we have been under the jackboot of French imperialism; more than twenty million dying compatriots are still at death’s door. You have to speak up loudly and act quickly to save the people, there’s no time to waste on refining

every word!

Hopefully this pamphlet will be read by compatriots, for the people that read it to think, think then wake up, wake up then stand united to commit to a revolution.

Every word and desire of this pamphlet lies in only one word: Revolution! Revolution!! Revolution!!!

# Revolution

## 1. What is revolution?

Revolution is breaking the old into the new, breaking the bad into the good. For example, Mr Galileo (1633) was a revolutionary scientist. In the past, everyone thought that the Earth was flat and the center of the universe, and through calculations and surveying<sup>1</sup>, he found that the Earth was round and revolved around the sun.

Mr. Stephenson (1800) was a revolutionary mechanic. In the old days there was only walking and horse-drawn carriage to travel on land; he revolutionized transport through the railways.

Mr. Darwin (1859) was a revolutionary biologist<sup>2</sup>. In the past, no one understood the biological principles<sup>3</sup> in the change of all life, he discovered why there was such a mechanism, evolution.

Mr. Marx was a revolutionary economist. He had clearly studied and pointed out where capitalism, imperialism, class struggle, and so on comes from; what is their history, what is their phenomenon, and what will be its results.

## 2. How many parts does the revolution have?

That is revolutionary thought, revolutionary people and from there are the 3 revolutions of our time:

- A- Capitalist Revolution.
- B- National Revolution.
- C- Proletarian Revolution.

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<sup>1</sup>Surveying: measurement.

<sup>2</sup>Biology: the study of life.

<sup>3</sup>Evolution: transformation of life.

Capitalist Revolution like the French Revolution in 1789. American Revolution in 1776 (evicted Britain), Japanese Revolution in 1864<sup>4</sup>.

The revolutionaries like the Italians chased the Austrian power in 1859. The Chinese revolted and pushed out the Manchus in 1911.

The revolutionary class like the Russian workers and peasants defeated the forces of capital and took power<sup>5</sup> in 1917.

### 3. The origins of capitalist revolutions

A. Capital in the city is new capital, it owns factories and makes goods. If you have factories, you want more workers to work in them to operate machineries. If you create products, you want more people to buy them. If you want more people to buy and sell, you need convenient transportation.

B. The capital in the countryside is the landlord, they want to keep the feudal system, and their sovereignty of farmlands; power is in the hands of the nobility there; they treat the people like cattle and livestock, refusing the peasants from moving to plow the field for them. To the merchants, how much tax they will collect is completely of their whims with no measure or restraints, money for each regions is just as restrictive, for travel the merchants have to ask them for permission, it creates many obstacles for new business.

Landlords tried their best to block new capital, and new capitalists tried their best to overcome landlords, and the two sides clashed causing capitalist revolutions.

Never have the two sides fought each other so vehemently and clearly, more conspicuously than in the United States. From 1861 to 1865, the northern provinces (new capitalist) sent troops to fight the southern provinces (plantation owners) like two hostile countries<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup>The Meiji restoration

<sup>5</sup>Forming the dictatorship of the proletariat

<sup>6</sup>The American Civil War lasted from 1861 to 1865 between the industrial bourgeois corporations of the North and the corporations of the

## 4. The origins of nationalist revolutions

When a country that relies on strength comes to conquer a weak country, governs its people by force, and takes all economic and political rights. The people of that country have lost both their freedom and independence, and the more they make, the more they are plundered by those powers.

After they have taken all the goods and rights of the people, when there is a war, it forces the people to die as their cannon fodder. As in the Great European War of 1914-1918, the French forced us to join the army, and then taxed the families of those conscripted. If you win, they will benefit, if you lose, you will die and lose all that you have.

In short, these powerful nations enslaved other peoples, like France with Annam. When the enslaved people could not stand it anymore, waking their national consciousness, united, knowing that it would be better to die free than live as a slave, joined forces to drive away their oppressors; this is the nationalist revolution.

## 5. The origins of class revolutions

In the world now there are 2 classes:

- A. Capitalists (not working but benefiting).
- B. Workers and peasants (working hard but not benefiting).

For instance an An Nam worker, working at Hon Gay coal mine, working 11 hours a day, every day til the end of the year, only getting 3 dimes a day, not eating enough to live, wearing little to no clothes, having no medicine to treat his diseases, dying without even a coffin.

As for the mine owner, he never got involved in any work, but he ate and wore luxuriously, traveled on his horses and automobiles, and earned a few hundred million dong a year in profits (in 1925 he got 17,000,000 dong). Let's ask whether if those 17 million was made by the Western owner or was it made by An Nam workers? Our peasants do not have fields to plow, but the

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Southern slave owners (BT).

Western plantations occupy all 122,000 acres of good farmlands in An Nam, and 150,000 acres in Cochinchina.

Our people in some places do not have enough to eat, starving to death, but every year the landlords sell rice for nearly 1,000 million of french money<sup>7</sup> (in 1925 it sold 911,477,000 quan).

Our country is like that, so are other countries. Workers and peasants could not stand it, united to drive capital away, as in Russia, this was the class revolution; in short, the oppressed class stages a revolution<sup>8</sup> to overthrow the class that oppresses them.

## **6. How many parts does a revolution consists of?**

Revolution is divided into two parts:

A. Just as Annam fights the French, India fights Britain, Goryeo<sup>9</sup> fights Japan, the Philippines fights America, and China chased away the imperialists to win the freedom and equality of their own people, those are all nationalist revolutions.

B. All peasants and workers in the world, of any country, any race, unite together in brotherhood, to destroy all capital in the world, making any country, any people can achieve happiness, making the world truly equal - that is the world revolution.

Although the two revolutions are different, because the national revolution were not divided into classes, but all scholars, farmers, and merchants all agreed to oppose the imperial powers. In the world revolution, the proletariat will be the leading vanguard class. But those 2 Revolutions are still intrinsically related to each other. For example: if Annam is successful in the Revolution, then it weakens the French capitalists. And when the French capitalist is weakened, the French workers and peasants can easily become the Revolutionary class. And if the French Revolution workers and peasants succeed, the Annamite people will be free.

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<sup>7</sup>Frans

<sup>8</sup>With the core being the proletariat

<sup>9</sup>Now Korea

Therefore, the Annam Revolution and the French Revolution has to communicate with each other.

## **7. Who are the revolutionaries?**

From oppression, revolutions are born, so the more oppressed the person, the stronger the revolutionary will. Before capital was oppressed by feudalism, it was revolutionary. Now capital is oppressing the workers and peasants, so the workers and peasants are the masters of the revolution<sup>10</sup>.

1. Because workers and peasants were more severely oppressed,
2. It is because workers and peasants are the most numerous, therefore the most powerful,
3. It's because the workers and peasants own nothing, if they lose, they only lose a miserable life, if they win, they gain the whole world, from this they gain their bravery. For these reasons, workers and peasants are the root of the revolution; and students, small traders, small landowners were also oppressed by capital, yet not as miserable as workers and peasants; those 3 classes are just revolutionary companions of workers and peasants.

## **8. Is staging a revolution difficult?**

It is very difficult to change an old society which is thousands of years old and to build a new one. But by knowing how to do it, knowing how to work together for that goal, then you can definitely do it, then it's not difficult. It's only difficult because of yourself, if you're determined to do it, it can be done. But if you want to make a revolution, you need to know:

A- The capitalists and imperialists use religious and cultural dogmas to make the people ignorant, tie the people down by law, use force to frighten the people, and make them greedy with material wealth. With these methods they make people shiver when they hear the word "revolution".

Therefore, the revolution must first enlighten the people.

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<sup>10</sup>That is, workers and farmers are the core force, the main vanguard of the revolution.



B- People suffer too much so riots are frequent, such as the An Nam people who resisted taxes, the poison plot of Ha Noi, and Cochinchinese destroying French outposts; because they had no ideology, no plan, failure was continuous.

So a revolution has to explain theory and ideology<sup>11</sup> to the people.

C- Because the people do not understand the situation in the world, do not know how to compare, lacking strategies, so they rebelled when they should not do it, or didn't rebel when the time was right<sup>12</sup>.

Revolutionaries must understand the world's tides, and must present these strategies to the people.

D- The common people are divided<sup>13</sup> from one faction to another, like our people, the South is suspicious of the Midlands, and the Midlands despise the North, leading to our strength being weakened, like separated chopsticks.

Therefore, the revolutionary power must be concentrated, and in order to concentrate, there must be a revolutionary vanguard party.

## 9. What is needed first in a revolution?

First of all, there must be a revolutionary party, in order to mobilize and organize the people domestically, and to communicate with the oppressed nation and the class proletariat abroad. If the Party has a firm hold on the revolution, it will succeed, just as a great helmsman running a stable boat. If the party wants to be strong, it must have ideology as its core, everyone in the party must understand it, and everyone must follow it. A party without ideology is like a person without wisdom, a ship without a compass.

Now there are many doctrines, many theories, but the most genuine, most certain, most revolutionary ideology is Leninism.

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<sup>11</sup>Meaning explaining revolutionary theory and Marxism-Leninism

<sup>12</sup>That is, not knowing how to seize the revolutionary opportunity

<sup>13</sup>The common people are divided (due to the colonialists' plot to divide and conquer)

# History of the American revolution

## 1. What is American history?

In the 14th century, no one knew where the American continent was. In 1492, a merchant named Christopher Columbus went on a trade ship to India, but lost his way, but fortunately landed in the Americas. The people of that land are Indians, hunters and gatherers who do not know the ways of commerce and doing business.

Since Columbus discovered the Americas, people from European countries have flooded there to do business. The whites wanted to make the Indians slaves, but they wouldn't bow down, so they killed all the Indians and then forced the blacks in Africa to work for them. Every country has Europeans coming to America, but the largest number is British (3,000,000 people). So Britain took America as a colony.

## 2. Why did America stage their revolution?

The Americas are very rich with resources, copper, iron, coal, cotton, wheat, cattle, etc. . . everything is abundant. The British were greedy and wanted to collect all of it for themselves, so they set up 3 policies as follows:

1. All natural resources, America must supply to the British, cannot be sold to other countries.
2. Americans are not allowed to set up factories and trade associations.
3. Countries are not allowed to trade with America, only the British can trade.

Because of these 3 policies, plus heavy taxes, making the American economy very miserable. Therefore in the 1770, the American people were agitated and a movement "boycotting" Britain was born.

## 3. What was the result of that movement?

The "boycott" movement lasted for up to 5 years. The British brought soldiers over, and arrested the leaders of the movement.

Each time a leader was arrested, this further agitated the people. In 1775, when the British soldiers arrested more leaders, the people pulled together to resist, but the British soldiers killed 9 people at a result. This is the spark that ignited the powder keg, the people erupted in anger, live or die, they needed to expel the British Government.

A year later, on July 4, 1776, the revolution was achieved and the United States declared its independence, and it became a republic.

Now America has 48 states and 110,000,000 inhabitants.

#### **4. What does the American revolution mean to the Annam revolution?**

1. The French policy towards Annam is now worse than the British towards America, because the French have plundered all our people's wealth and barred our people from doing anything and everything; they forces our people to smoke opium and drink alcohol. The British only wanted American money, France was greedy for money and wanted to destroy our people, for us to lose our Annamese likeness. Yet the people of Annam have not learnt from the United States' example to stage a revolution of their own!

2. In the American declaration of independence, there is a saying that: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government".

But now the US Government does not want anyone to talk about the revolution, or anyone to change the Government!

3. The US, although the revolution has been successful for more than 150 years, but the workers and peasants are still suf-

fering, still worrying about staging a second one.

That's because the American revolution is the capitalist revolution, but the capitalist revolution is a revolution not yet there.

If we must sacrifice for the revolution, we should do it until the end, that is, after the revolution, the power should be given to the masses, not in the hands of a few. Only then will the people be happy without sacrificing many times.

## **The French Revolution**

### **1. Why did France have a revolutionary movement?**

In the 18th century, the king was arrogant and decadent, the aristocrats and priests were rampant; heavy taxes compounded the misery to the people.

Partly, Canada and India, formerly French colonies, were now taken by Britain.

On the other hand, educated men like Montesquieu (1755), Voltaire and Rousseau (1778) propagated liberal egalitarianism.

Partly, the movement was affected by the English revolutionary movement (Where Sir Cromwell executed the English king and established a Republic in 1653) still new in the minds of people, and the recent American democratic movement (1776).

And especially because capital was hindered by the feudalists, while the people were oppressed by kings, nobles, and priest-hoods. Therefore, the capitalist formed an alliance with students, farmers and workers to break feudalism.

### **2. When did the French Revolution begin?**

When the king saw that the people were upset, he persecuted the propagandists and organizers. Witnessing this, the people were so angry that on July 14, 1789, they stormed the Bastille. The king brought soldiers to guard the capital; the people organized revolutionary militias to fight back. In the end, the king retreated to the province of Versailles.

On October 5 of that year, the workers and women of Paris,

went to Versailles to arrest the king for his crimes, and signed the declaration:

1. To abolish feudalism and liberate the serfs.
2. To nationalize properties of religious institutions.
3. To free people to make newspapers, organize, and so on.
4. To form a constitution, in which the king cannot be autocratic.

In 1792, because the king sought help from foreigners and communicated with the counter-revolutionaries, the people deposed the king and founded a republic.

On January 21, 1793, the king and his wife were convicted of treason, and then executed.

### **3. How did other European countries react to the French revolution?**

People from all over the world were secretly overjoyed and in solidarity. But the monarchs and aristocrats of other countries were afraid that their people would imitate the French, so outside they joined forces in a coalition to crush the revolution while helping the counter - revolutionaries inside France.

Although the French people had little food and lack of guns, it was only thanks to their courage to fight with their lives on the line that they suppressed the internal rebellion and destroyed the foreign coalitions. At that time, the soldiers were called “Sans-culottes” or soldiers without breeches, who are without hats, people without shoes, torn shirts and tassels, thin faces and hungry stomachs. But wherever the soldiers went, the foreign soldiers lost, because they were so daring to sacrifice, no one could fought back with equal fervor.

Then know: one revolutionary having guts is more than a thousand people with no will.

### **4. How many revolutions did the French have?**

From 1792 to 1804 it was the 1st Republic. In 1804 counter-revolutionary Napoleon crowned himself emperor.

In 1814, the countries defeated Napoleon and brought the old

king line to the throne until 1848.

In 1848 there was the second revolution.

In 1852, Napoleon's nephew became Emperor again.

In 1870, when he lost to Germany, Napoleon III fled, and France established the 3rd Republic.

## **5. What was the Paris Commune (Commune de Paris)?**

In 1871, with the French king lost and fled, the Germans came to besiege the French capital, Paris. French capitalists sold off two provinces as offering to appease for peace with Germany. Because of the war, many people died and a lot of livelihood was lost. People lacking bread, workers losing jobs. On March 18, the Parisian workers revolted in a communist revolution (Communalism).

Because the workers were immature, poorly organized, and Germany helped the French capitalists fight the workers, so by the end of May, the revolution failed.

## **6. What was the purpose of the Commune?**

As soon as Paris was liberated, the Commune set up a People's Government and announced that the Commune would practice the following:

1. How many private enterprises are taken over as public property.
2. All children in the country, whether boys or girls, must go to school. Tuition fees must be given by the state.
3. People have the right to freely organize, make newspapers, open associations, go abroad, etc.
4. Any man or woman, anyone has the right to political, to vote and to stand for election.
5. The government is elected by the people, and the people have the right to change the government.

## **7. What was the outcome of the Commune?**

French capital at that time was like a house on fire on both sides. On one side, Germany started to encroach, on the other side, the revolution was arising before their eyes. French capitalists swear to rather suffer humiliation with Germany, than to reconcile with the revolution. Germany was also afraid of the revolution, so they wholeheartedly helped French capitalists in their fight. When the French had just surrendered, the Germans forced France to disband all their soldiers, keeping only 40,000 culottes. When the revolution emerged, Germany allowed the French capitalist to add 100,000 soldiers to suppress the revolution.

Seeing this, we can understand that: “Capital has no Fatherland”.

Once the revolution is over, capital took revenge on the people by terror. It killed 30,000 people including men, women, elders and children. It exiled 28,000 people. It imprisoned 650 children, 850 women, 37,000 men.

## **8. What does the French revolution mean to the Annam revolution?**

a) In the three revolutions, 1789, 1848, 1870, all because the people had a lot of courage, but few intellectuals, so they got taken advantage of by the capitalists.

b) The Paris Commune failed because of its poor organization and lack of contact with the peasants.

c) Capitalism uses the words Liberté, égalité, fraternité to deceive the people and incite the people to overthrow feudalism. After the people overthrew feudalism, it replaced feudalism as the oppressor.

d) The French Revolution was like the American Revolution, that is to say, the revolution of capitalism, the revolution where the final goal had not been reached. They called themselves a republic and a democracy, but in fact, it exploits the workers and peasants inside and oppresses the colonies outside. The revolu-

tion has already occurred 4 times, but now French workers and peasants still have to plan the revolution again to escape the cycle of oppression. The revolution of Annam should remember these things.

## **9. What did the French Revolution set an example for?**

The French Revolution taught us:

A. The workers and peasants are the root of the revolution, capital only support it at first, when it can no longer take advantage of the people, it is counter-revolutionary.

B. Revolution requires a very stable organization to succeed.

C. Women and children also took a large part of the revolution.

D. With a strong civilian population, no soldier or gun will be able to suppress it.

E. The French Revolution sacrificed many people without fear. If we want to stage a Revolution, we shouldn't be afraid to make sacrifices.

## **History of the Russian revolution**

### **1. Where did the Russian Revolution come from?**

Russia is a very large country, half located in Asia, half in Europe. More than 90 percent of Russians were peasants, less than ten were workers. In the past, the system was serfdom, meaning that much of the land and peasants were under the power of landlords. Landlords treated serfs like animals, only lived as the lords allowed, and died if they forced it. When they needed money, they sold their serfs like cattle. Peasants were not allowed to leave from one region to another.

By the first half of the 19th century, capital was marginally prosperous, they had just opened factories and needed workers. Because of this they mobilized to abolish serfdom and let peasants work for them. Only in 1861, the regime finally abolished serfdom.



The new capitalist and the landlords from this have since generated a great deal of animosity, and from there the worker - peasant revolutionary movement also sprang up.

## **2. Once the serfs were liberated, what then?**

After being liberated, some people went to the cities to work, others stayed behind to work in the fields.

Working in factories, they got get little pay, the hours were long, the people had to be slaves to capital. Staying in the fields, the farmlands were small, the cattle lacking, they had to endure exploitation from the kulaks. Although the people were called free, they were actually slaves: the workers were miserable, and the peasants were not happier.

Revolutionaries formed a party to unite the peasants, but did not pay attention to the workers.

In 1875, there was a revolutionary party called the “Narodniks” (the people’s party). In 1878 there was a new party called “Narodnaya Volya” (the people’s will).

But those two parties, with little strength and members, were persecuted by the Government, turning them into fierce violence, only worried about assassinating the tsars and other state officials.

## **3. What were the results of those two parties?**

Assassinations were risky, and gained few results. Because killing one villain another would take their place, and you can’t kill them all? The revolution must unite the oppressed people to overthrow their oppressive class, not just by killing 5, 7 people, 2, 3 kings, 9, and 10 officials alone. Although these two parties sacrificed many people and made many heroic assassinations, because they went on the wrong way of the revolution and did not have the people’s power as a basis, so they were repressed by the Government until dissolution.

In 1883, Mr. Plekhanov founded the party “Emancipation of Labour”. This party organized according to the way Marx taught, that is, to unite both peasants and workers to do both

economic and political revolution.

#### **4. How did this party conduct revolutionary activities?**

This party took the workers as the core of the revolution, and the peasants supplemented it.

They worked in secret.

In Russia, there were too many police and secret agents, so Party organizations had to be set up abroad (London).

In 1894, Mr. Lenin joined the Party.

In 1898, the Party opened a congress once in the country, unfortunately it was discovered by the Government and many party members were arrested. Even with their arrests, the Party's manifesto was spread throughout the country, further heightening the revolutionary movement. Those who had escaped arrest continued very secretive propaganda and organizing.

After a while, the name was changed to "Social Democratic Labour Party", then changed to "Communist Party".

In 1904 - 1905, Russia and Japan fought, taking advantage of the turmoil, the Party tried to mobilize the revolution.

#### **5. How do you know that people are agitated for campaigning?**

a) Before fighting the Japanese, the Tsar tricked the capitalists into printing money, luring them with a prosperous economy if they won, and capital would gain great benefits. After the defeat, the capital lost a lot of money but gained nothing, so they resented the king.

b) The workers who already hated the Tsar, with the defeat, they were more oppressed, further cementing the resentment.

c) The peasants had hated the king since the beginning, then they were conscripted to the army to die, and with the heavier taxes, and their abhorrence for the Tsar was made worse.

These three classes had different goals, but the hatred for the Tsar is the same. The Party knew that, then mobilized the revolution to oust the Tsar.

## **6. At that time, how did the Tsar react?**

Knowing that the workers were the most revolutionary, the Tsar set up a way to separate the capitalists, the peasants, and the workers. It instigated a religious leader to organize a trade union, both to distract the workers and arrest anyone who was enthusiastic for it.

On January 9, 1905, a religious (whose name was Gapon) marched the workers to the the Tsar's palace to petition. But he forgot to warn beforehand. The Tsar seeing the gathering crowd, fearful of riots, sent his soldiers to suppress them, shooting and killing many people. Gapon fled abroad. The workers of other provinces heard the news, they went on strike and riot, and set up a workers' conference.

The revolution fought against the Tsar and the government from January to October. The Tsar used his soldiers to suppress the revolution, while on the other hand, pretended to establish a parliament for the people's representatives to discuss the country's affairs.

## **7. Why did the 1905 revolution fail?**

1. Because at first, the capitalists wanted to take advantage of workers to overthrow the Tsar; but when they saw that the workers were so enthusiastic, that they became afraid to see workers overthrow them and the Tsar, so the capitalists betrayed the workers and helped the Tsar.

2. Because workers and peasants did not agree with one another. When the workers emerged, the peasants did not immediately follow. The workers lost. Only by then the peasants emerged, giving the Tsar the chance to suppress both, one after the other.

3. The workers weren't very experienced, and the organization wasn't complete.

4. The soldiers were not mobilized and the people's guns and weapons were too few.

## **8. When the 1905 Revolution failed, were the workers and the Party discouraged?**

No. Experiencing that failure, the Party researched and re-criticized, where did it go wrong, and why did it fail? Knowing clearly the shortcomings to fix is half the battle. Just like forging a knife, only when cutting do you know where it is sharp and where it is blunt; then continue to sharpen the dull places, so that a new sharp knife is made.

Thanks to the failed movements in 1905, the workers understood that: firstly, they had to be well organized, second, they had to contact the peasants, third, they had to mobilize soldiers, fourth, they couldn't believe in the moderates, and fifth, they knew capital and the tsar is the same league, if you want to expel the tsar, you must also expel the capital.

The failed 1905 Revolution laid the foundation for the successful 1917 Revolution.

## **9. What was the historical context of the 1917 Revolution?**

The Revolution of 1917 had the following reasonings:

1. During the European war, the British and French imperialists took advantage of the Russian Tsar to fight Germany. But the Russian Tsar was messy, spent a lot of money, killed a lot of soldiers, sure to be defeated by Germany. These imperialists were angered by this and helped capital to oust the Tsar.

2. Capitalists were outrage due to the Tsar only favoring the aristocrats by giving them military power, yet the aristocrats were incompetent, losing wherever they fought. And capital in Russia was mostly in league with English and French capital; if Russia lost to Germany, then not only Russian capital, but English and French capital were also in danger; and if they kept the Tsar, they would certainly face defeat. That's why the capitalists also wanted to depose the Tsar.

3. Workers and peasants already treated the Tsar as if they were enemies.

4. The Trudoviks took advantage of that opportunity, they made use of these two groups to expel the Tsar for the Russian capitalists and the British and French imperialists. In turn, capitalists and imperialists supported these Trudoviks.

## **10. How had the Trudoviks control the government?**

Using the pretence of the massive deaths of soldiers, the starving and miserable people, the unemployed workers, the government in disarray; the Trudoviks proclaimed that if people now was to drive the Tsar away, the land would go to the peasants, the factories would go to the workers, the people would get government power, and the war would end in peace.

Unexpectedly, in February, when the Tsar was chased away, the Trudoviks and the capitalists took over the government, how many promises they had made were quickly forgotten. They kept taking soldiers to fight the war; the land remained in the hands of the landlords, the factories remained in the hands of the rich; workers and peasants were also not allowed to participate in the Government.

## **11. Why didn't the Communist Party take action?**

When the revolution kicked out the king, the Communist Party was still the vanguard of the people. But at that time the party members were still few, and the opportunities had not yet come, so they did not seize the government.

The revolution ended in February. From February to April, many people still thought that the new provisional government had not yet implemented the policies that benefit the people, because there was no time for them to do so.

In April, Mr. Lenin and many comrades from abroad returned. From April to November, the new provisional government had further revealed its anti-revolutionary nature on a day by day basis. As for the communist party members, they went to propagate to the people, saying: "There, you see! The first rev-

olution are the masters and servants of capitalism and imperialism, they are no better than the Tsar...”, making everyone resent the provisional government, while part of them were involved in the peasantry, workers, soldiers, and secret organizations to practice revolutionary communism.

## **12. When did the communist revolution succeed?**

At the end of October, there are organizations everywhere, everyone wants to act. But Mr. Lenin said: “Wait! Wait a few more days for everyone to oppose the Government, then we will act out our plans.” On November 5, the Government opened an association to promulgate new laws, which benefited capital but harmed workers and farmers. Mr. Lenin told Party members that the 6th day of the election was too early, because the people did not know all these policies, and if they did not know the policies, they would not be agitated at the provisional government very much. On the 8th, the election was too late because at that time, the Government would know that the people were resentful and take strict precautions.

Sure enough, on the 7th of the Communist Party’s revolutionary order, the workers rushed to surround the Government, and the peasants rushed to chase the landlords. The government sent soldiers to break them up, but those soldiers then followed the workers and turned to fight the Government.

From that day on, the initial government fled, the Communist Party took power, organized a government of workers, peasants and soldiers, distributed land to the peasants, assigned factories to workers, did not force the people to die for the capitalists and imperialism powers, trying to organize a new economy to practice egalitarianism.

## **13. How does the Russian Revolution relate to the Annamese Revolution?**

In today’s world, only the Russian revolution has succeeded, and it has succeeded to the final destination. That is, for the people

enjoy the true happiness of freedom, true equality, not the false freedom and equality like the not the false freedom and equality of the imperialist empires that the French often brags about in Annam. Not only has the Russian Revolution already driven out the kings, capitalists, and landlords, it continues to work hard for the workers and peasants of other countries and oppressed peoples of the colonies to stage revolutions overthrowing all imperialism and capitalism from the world.

The Russian Revolution teaches us that in order for the revolution to succeed, the people (the workers and peasants) must be the base, the party must be strong, the party must be persistent, the sacrifices must be made, and the unity must be achieved. In short, we must follow Marxism and Leninism.

## **Internationalism**

### **1. What is Internationalism?**

Internationalism means that people in the world, of any country, of any people, having the same goal, working together to achieve that goal. Just as imperialists communicate with each other, to suppress the weak (France contacted Spain and Japan to take Annam, etc.), capitals communicate with each other to exploit workers (British, American, and French capitalists contacted German capitalists to oppress German workers). Therefore workers from different countries contacted each other to fight against capital (such as the Industrial Workers of the World). We must also contact all the revolutionary parties in the world to fight capitalism and imperialism (such as the Third International).

### **2. What is the Third International?**

If you want to know what the Third International is, you must first know the First and Second International.

From the 18th century onwards, capital was very prosperous, oppressing workers very harshly. When workers are oppressed, in their rebellious character was to oppose such injustices, through

organizing trade unions and staging violent strikes. But most provincial workers only knowing their own, and every national workers only knew of their own country, because of this their overall strength was not very significant.

In 1840, German workers founded an association called The League of The Just. The slogan of that association is “All men are brothers”. That slogan, though very good, is not true; since the imperialists and counter-revolutionary capitalists are enemies of the people, how can they be called brothers?

In 1847, the association was revised into the: “Communist League” - Mr. Marx and Engels joined that association. Thanks to them the program and slogans were corrected to: overthrow of the bourgeoisie - establishment of the rule of the proletariat - the construction of a communist world.

### **3. Were these two associations the First and Second International?**

No. Although there were German and French workers in the two associations, they were few, and their strength was still weak, so they couldn't do anything. They were just an expression that workers from all over the world had to help each other and bridged towards the First International.

In 1862 in the British Capital (London) opened the Great London Exposition; capitalist countries sent workers over to examine the new industrial machines. The workers again met the Russian, German, French and other revolutionaries taking refuge there. The two sides discussed the establishment of a world revolutionary society.

In 1864, (February 28) they established as the First International.

### **4. What had the First International done?**

Even though there were many leaders of workers from all over the country, this association, but because:

1. People were few,
2. The unions in the countries were still weak,



3. No consensus had been reached, so it only propagated communism but has not done any significant actions.

The disagreement was due to the three opposing ideologies:

1. Proudhonism (France);
2. Bakuninism (Russia);
3. Marxism (Germany) (see the section on revolutionary ideology).

After the failure of the Paris Commune, many members were killed or arrested, so the association gradually disintegrated, until 1874 it was disbanded.

Although the First International only stood for 10 years, the slogan “Working men of all countries, unite!” and the revolutionary spirit is still alive to this day. Although not able to do many things, but the merits of teaching the workers in the world of revolution was massive.

## **5. When was the Second International established?**

The First International has ended, just as capital had flourished, worker activism had also prospered. During those 15 years (from 1874 to 1889) in many countries, many new labor parties were established, and each party understood that the workers of different countries could not cease helping each other.

In 1889, representatives of the labor parties met in Paris to form the Second International.

From its inception, to the days of the European War, the congress was held nine times of discussions and decrees:

1. Every country must form a labor party;
2. Every year on May 1, the world’s workers go on strike and petition;
3. All workers in the world strive to work only 8 hours a day;
4. Opposition to imperialism;
5. Labor parties must not negotiate with capital;
6. Party members are not allowed to work with capital;
7. If the imperialists have a war, the workers of all countries will go on strike and find a way to take over the government.

The 7th issue was discussed in all 9 times the congress was held.

## **6. Why does the Second International often talk about war?**

Because at that time, capital had turned into imperialism. And imperialism, either often fought each other to gain colonies, or conquering weak countries as colonies. Like:

- In 1894, Japan fought against China;
- 1895, England fought against Egypt;
- 1896, France fought against Madagascar;
- 1898, America fought with Spain to take over the Philippines;
- 1900, Britain fought with South Africa;
- 1904, Russia against Japan;
- 1912, the Balkans fought, and so on.

The workers saw this and knew that the imperialists of the world would come ahead to a Great War. So they tried to seek precautions. Unexpectedly, in 1914, when the countries fought, most of the members of the Second International helped imperialism, and the labor parties of every country advised the people to go to war.

## **7. When was the Third International established?**

Because the activists in the Second International were anti-revolutionary and turned out to be hunting hounds for capitalism and imperialism, it was revealed to be counter-revolutionary; truly revolutionary people like Mr. Lenin, Mr. Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, etc., consider that International as good as dead and they must establish another International. In 1915 and 1916, the revolutionaries gathered in Switzerland about to establish the Third International, to follow the First International in spirit and stage revolutionary communism.

In 1917, Russia successfully staged their communist revolution.

In 1919, the Third International was established in the Russian capital, Moscow (on March 6th). In the opening of the first

congress, there were communist party delegates from 24 countries attending the meeting.

The Declaration of the Third International clearly states that:

1. By any means, the destruction of capitalism must not be reformist as the Second International;
2. By any means, the power must be in the hands of workers and peasants.

## **8. Since its founding (early 1927), how many times has the Third International been held?**

In 1920, the 2nd Congress was held, with 31 countries attending. The opportunistic leaders of the Second International saw that this association was strong and wanted to intervene to “jump on the bandwagon”, so the Congress set out a very strict organization; only anyone admitted under the 21 new rules can enter. (See the end of this section).

In 1921, the 3rd Congress. From the time of the Third International, the workers of different countries divided into two factions, the communist faction (the Third International) and the reformist faction (the Second International). Therefore, the combine strength of both decreases; therefore, the Congress decided that when struggling with capital, the two factions must work together and not be divided. In 1922, the 4th Congress. On the eve of the revolutionary movement cementing in many countries, capitalism was on the verge of death, they founded the Fascist Party fiercely opposed to revolutions. The congress decides how to treat that party.

In 1924, the 5th Congress, up to 61 countries attended. As opposed to some at the time still mistakenly believe that capitalism will return to its golden age before the European War, the Congress had clearly shown that prosperity to be a farce; in fact, capital in the world is close to an end, and the revolutionary workers and peasants must be ready to take action.

## **9. How is the Third International organized?**

a) Every year or every few years, the congress is held once. The Congress has the power to judge all the affairs of the parties in the countries.

b) The Congress appoints a 24 - member Central Committee. This association represents the general assembly. Parties in all countries must follow the orders of the Central Committee.

c) There is the Youth Ministry, to see about youth mobilization; women's ministry, to see the women's advocacy; the Asian - Eastern ministry, to see about the revolution of the colonies in Asia and the East. Propaganda, organization, relief, etc., all have their own ministries.

d) The Third International is a world Communist Party. The parties of all countries are like branches, all must follow the common plans and rules. All the parties cannot do without orders and plans from the Third International.

## **10. What are the similarities between the First International and the Third International? What is different?**

The First International is different from the Third International.

a) The First International was small, the Third International was big;

b) The First International only discussed theory, the Third International practiced;

c) The First International was not unified, the Third International commanded all communist parties in all countries to follow;

d) The First International only said: "Working men of all countries, unite!"; the Third International added, "Workers and oppressed peoples of all countries, unite!". The First International did not force its members to help the colonists in fighting imperialism like the Third International.

That is because the circumstances of the two Internationals are different. For instance the First International said little on

national oppression, because at that time imperialism was not very developed. As well as, the Third International, being born later, has more experience than the First International.

When it comes to revolutionary ideology, making the world egalitarian, the two Internationals are still the same. Only that the First International could not achieve those goals, but the Third International probably will, thanks to this revolutionary Russia has succeeded to serve as the foundation for the world revolution.

## **11. What is the difference between the Second International and the Third International?**

The previous Second International was still revolutionary, but because it lacked strict disciplines, the organization was not effective, allowing the reformists to interfere too much; later turning them to counter-revolutionary. These two Internationals differ in the following:

The Third International advocated the destruction of capital for a world revolution.

The Second International advocated a concession with capital.

The Third International helped the colonists fight imperialism.

The Second International helped imperialism suppress the colonists (Governor - General Varenne was a member of the Second International).

The Third International teaches the world's proletariat - whatever race, profession, religion - to unite for revolution.

The Second International instigated the people of one country against the people of another, one profession against another.

## **12. How does the Third International relate to the revolution of Annam?**

As seen in the organization of the Third International, there is a separate ministry, dedicated to researching and helping the revolution in Asia - Far East.

See the slogan of the Third International, not only that “workers” but also included the sentence “... and the oppressed people of all countries, unite!”.

See the rule of the Third International in 21 articles, the 8th says: “Communist parties, especially the French Communist Party... must do their best to help the colonial people to stage revolutions”.

While France was fighting Morocco and Syria, the French Communist Party sacrificed dozens of Party members who were arrested, imprisoned, and fined more than 1 million silver francs for helping those two countries.

See the Russian revolution helping the parties of China, Turkey, Persia, Mongolia.

Again, the plan on the colonial question was made by Lenin himself.

Seeing these things is enough to know that if Annam wants to succeed in its own revolution, it must follow the Third International.

## Communist Women’s International

### 1. Why was the Communist Women’s International founded?

Mr. Marx said: “Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the ‘fair sex’.”

Mr. Lenin said: “If we do not draw women into public activity, into the militia, into political life; if we do not tear women away from the deadening atmosphere of household and kitchen; then it is impossible to secure real freedom, it is impossible even to build democracy, let alone socialism.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>I can’t find any quote that follow the strict meaning so this is the closest, the original full sentence in Vietnamese is: “A true revolutionary vanguard party must draw household women into political activities, only in that way will the revolution succeed.”

Those words are not just fluffy puffed up words. There has never been a time in the history of revolutions where women and girls did not participate. The French Revolutionary Army had people like the student Charlotte Corday pulling out a knife and killing the Jacobin that abused his power, like Louise Michel, who came out to help organize the Paris Commune. During the Russian Revolution, women volunteered to join the army; statistically, the women's revolutionary guard divisions had 1,854 casualties. Now, one of the reasons why the Russian revolution was so successful in such a rapid pace, standing so tall, was because the women giving their all in that effort. Therefore, in order for the world revolution to succeed, it is necessary to mobilize the working women from all over the world.

Therefore the Communist Women's International was born.

## **2. What is the history behind the Communist Women's International?**

In 1910, Mrs. Clara Zetkin (German communist) proposed in the Second International Congress that: every year on March 8, we should make a commemorative day called "International Women's Day". After that one date was changed to a week. The slogan for that week was: "demanding women's suffrage".

In 1917, on February 23, women in the Russian capital shouted "Bring us bread for our children!" and demanding "Bring back our husbands!" (because the husband had to go to war). This violence was the spark that fueled the Russian revolution.

On March 8, 1920, the Third International sent Madame Zetkin to organize the Communist Women's International. The slogan is: "Working women must unite with the Third International for the world revolution".

In 1923, Russian women celebrated "March 8" and opened 66 childcare homes, 36 childcare centers, 18 foster homes, 22 hospitals and nursing homes, 15 maternity wards, and 15 communal kitchens for 10,000 people; 27 cooperatives employing 1,300 working women, 11 parks and homes for the sick.

### **3. How is Communist Women's International organized?**

The rules and program are roughly the same as the Third International. But this section only specializes in education, organization and training of women and girls, and helps in educating children of workers and peasants.

Each communist party must have a section representing of women, directly under the command of the Communist Women's International. All women party members must follow the international' directives, no matter how hard or dangerous the mission, they must do it. For example: party member A is not a worker, but when the International told her to apply for a job in a factory in order to mobilize women there, she would have to quit her old job and go to work in that factory.

In short, the rules are very strict, the actions are united, and the work is also very difficult. Most women in our country still have conservative ideas. However, because everyone is wholehearted in the mission, the work progresses quickly. Thanks to the Communist Women's International, newly formed communist parties like the one in Java had the number of women party members increasing day by day.

The An Nam revolution must also have the participation of women to succeed, and any Annam woman who wants revolution must follow the guidance of the Communist Women's International.

## **Red International of Labor Unions**

### **1. What is the history of the International Worker Labor Unions?**

First, we must know through the history of workers' movement, then we will talk about the history of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The history of worker movement is divided into 3 periods: a) Before the European war, b) During the European war, c) After



the European war.

a) Before the European War: there were about 16 million organized workers in Europe and the United States and an association called the “International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres”. But those 16 million people did not join the “International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres”. because the organized workers were divided into many factions:

1. British and American trade unions only care about improving workers’ lives, but no mentioning of overthrowing capital.

2. Anarchist unions of Latin countries, did not want to form political parties.

3. The reformist factions only advocated for trade unions to support political parties, rather than working in tandem or merging with the political party.

4. Neutralism holds that workers are not the basis of revolutions.

5. The Communists, with the political line of overthrowing capital and using workers as the revolutionary foundation, proposed that a political party to lead the trade unions in a revolution was a must.

Because of their muddled purpose and inconsistent directions, the Secretariat had no force.

b) When Europe was at war: this association followed the Second International, mean all countries’ unions supporting the capitalist of their country.

Not to mention, even with “international” in their name, the association only represented European and American workers, while Asian, African and Australian workers weren’t members.

c) After the European war: partly, because of the workers suffering, and the success of the Russian revolution, labor unions grew bigger and bigger. For example:

From 1913 In 1919

England grew from only 4,000,000 people to 8,000,000

France grew from only 1,000,000 people to 2,500,000

All countries: from 15,000,000 people to 50,000,000 people

Associations in Asia - East also established trade unions at a

rapid pace (in China, Japan, India, Java, Philippines, etc.).

## **2. What was the result of that movement?**

Capitalists of all countries saw that the workers were prosperous, this struck fear into them, and they sought to calm them down. In 1919, there was a congress in the US capital, to solve the problems of workers in the world. In that association there are representatives of Governments, capitalists, and national labor unions. But it only had the Second International to represent the workers. The countries where prosperous workers had won the 8 hours workday (such as Britain and France), the Government delegate of those countries asked the other countries to also use 8 hours as a common practice (for fear that the capital of the other country would outcompete their capital) as well.

After capitalists had formed the League of Nations, they also established their own international labor union, called the International Labour Organization, with 12 representatives for governments, 6 representatives for capitalists, and 6 representatives for workers. They even boldly accept strikebreakers and scabs to be the workers' representatives!

## **3. When the capitalists did this, how did workers in other countries act in response?**

Workers had 31 international unions.

29 of them were trade international unions, that is, any profession having its own international; one of the internationals is called the Amsterdam International or "yellow" International and the other opposing it is the Red International.

The international trade unions has a long history, with about 20,000,000 members. Among those 29 internationals, the iron industry is the biggest (3,000,000 people); the second is the coal industry (2,500,000 people); third are factory workers (2,300,000 people), etc.

During the European war, those internationals were also dissolved, after the war they were reformed, but because of the opportunists in power, their work was ineffectual. Like in 1921,

1,000,000 British coal miners went on strike, because the US, German and other coal miners did not help they were defeated. In 1922, 500,000 American coal miners went on strike, but also because no one was willing to help they also failed. In short, these “internationals” were in name only.

#### **4. Why is the Amsterdam International called “yellow”?**

Because that International was established in Amsterdam (capital of Holland). In the new language, yellow is the color of counter-revolution; red is the color of revolution.

In 1919, the Union representatives of the Secretariat convened in Amsterdam to form this international. At the beginning, the membership was widespead, but after many unions joined the “Red” International, now there are only 23 associations left, with 14,400,000 members.

This international followed the reformists of the Second International to make peace with capital, and did many counter-revolutionary acts such as:

1. Approving the Treaty of Versailles of the imperialists, forcing Germany to pay 400,000,000 dong in reparations.

2. When Germany could not bear it, the US set up a plan (called the Dawes plan) to make Germany pay 132,000,000,000 dong. The plan made German workers and peasants into essentially slaves. Yet the Amsterdam International also agreed.

3. Barring the Russian labor unions from joining.

4. They vehemently oppose communists, yet they treat the fascists with peace.

#### **5. Why is it called the Red International of Labor Unions?**

The yellow International made peace with capital, so the revolutionary workers sought to establish another international.

In July of 1920, a few British, Italian, French, Spanish and Russian workers set up a propaganda agency. In 1921, there were many unions leaving the other side to their side. On July 3rd of

that year, the Red International of Labor Unions was established.

The Red International followed the Third International, determined to continue class struggle.

Now there 47 countries' unions have joined, with 11,750,000 members.

In May 1925, the Asia-East side had these labor unions:

China: 450,000 members;  
Java: 35,000 members;  
Japan: 32,000 members;  
Goryeo: 5,000 members;  
Mongolia: 5,000 members;  
Turkey: 20,000 members;  
Annam: 000.

## **6. How does this red international relate to the revolution of Annam?**

In the yellow International, there are no Asian - Eastern associations, while in the Red International, there are 8 colonial associations.

When the Javanese and Indian workers went on strike, the Red International did their best to help, while the Yellow International did not even pay attention.

In China, Shanghai workers went on strike for more than three months, Hong Kong went on strike for more than a year and a half, the Red International helped with their fundings, sent delegates to encourage, and called for the unions of other countries to help. On the other hand, the yellow International only printed a few leaflets and then kept silent.

If the Annamese workers knew how to organize, the Red International would wholeheartedly help in staging the revolution. But if you want people to help you, you have to help yourself first.

# Young Communist International

## 1. What is the Young Communist International?

Formerly all socialist parties had a youth wing. When these parties combined to form the Second International, they also organize an international youth society. During the European war, most of the Second International made peace with capital, and many young people also imitated this agreement.

The young revolutionaries who left those associations were like Lenin and the real revolutionaries that left the Second International.

In November of 1919, the young revolutionaries of 14 European countries gathered in the German capital (Berlin) to establish the Young Communist International.

In 1921, there were young people from 43 countries following in.

In 1922 there were 60 countries, with 760,000 members.

In 1924 there were more than 1,000,000 (not counting the Russian youths).

## 2. How is it organized?

Roughly the same way as the Third International. Youths from different countries open congresses and appoint representatives; the representatives of the international have the right to command, and the youth of all countries must necessarily follow the plans and orders of that representative.

Anyone approximately 16 to 20 years old can join the Association. Before the Association let them in, they have to prove themselves, workers and soldiers will take 6 months, students will take a year to work before they can join.

The purpose of Young Communist International is:

1. World revolution;
2. Fostering talents to contribute to the Communist Party;
3. Exercising in economics and politics, communicating with

the youths;

4. Propaganda, organize and train young workers, farmers, students and soldiers;

5. Opposing superstition and advocating for education.

### **3. How do they work?**

Some are public, as in Russia, in other countries some are operating semi-secretly, as in European countries and America. In other places it is secret like in Goryeo, Java, etc.

Propaganda and organization are according to different circumstances. Sending people to infiltrate the army, or work as workers, or do farmwork, or go to school to propagate and recruit comrades. When few comrades are found, a new branch needed to be set up. Other than that, it is possible to set up a study groups, a football associations, or hobby association to select comrades and propagandize.

In short, they did everything they could to get close to the people.

### **4. How does the Young Communist International work with the Communist Party?**

Those two organizations treat each other in a democratic way, meaning, whenever the party has something to discuss, there is a youth delegate to attend the meeting. When youth international have something discuss, the party has delegates to attend the meeting. In political directions, young people follow the party's leadership, but young people are independent for working praxis. If the party and the youth have disagreements, it is arbitrated by the two internationals.

Communist youth worked very hard and sacrificed everything for the revolution.

In 1921, the German Youth had only 27,000 people and the US had only 4 branches. But by 1922, Germany had 70,000 people and the US had 150 branches.

When French soldiers were stationed in Germany, for propagandizing against imperialism in the army, 120 young French

men were imprisoned. When the French attacked Morocco, because of the same actins, more than 3,000 French youths were arrested.

The student strikes in China, the campaigns in Goryeo, the strike in the UK, etc., Communist Youth all led the charge.

Today, every country has communist youth organs.

But not Annam!

## **Workers' International Relief**

### **1. What is the Workers' International Relief?**

In 1921, Russia suffered a great drought, and many people starved to death. The imperialists took advantage of that opportunity. One side wanted to incite the Russian people to rebel, while the other side wanted to send in troops to crush Russia's revolution. To do so, they brought warships to blockade the Russian sea, preventing ships from carrying food to sell to the Russian people.

Kind-hearted people like Mr. Nansen (a very famous scientist in Norway, who flew across the North Pole), and labor unions organized relief societies to collect money, food, and clothes to send to the Russian people. But because the organization was scattered, so the strength was lacking.

The Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions (newly organized) initiated an International Help Association, to gather all relief relief efforts. The Second International and the yellow International Workers vehemently refused to enter, and set up a separate relief association.

Against this obstacle, the Workers International Relief was established. From the end of 1921 to 1922, this International raised more than 5,000,000 silver coins and 40,000,000 kilos of food for the Russian people.

## **2. When Russia was not hungry any more, what did this International do?**

When Russia was no longer hungry, this International continued to work forever more. Wherever there is a disaster in any country, this International would try its best to help. Like in 1923, Ireland lost its harvest, tens of thousands of people had no food, no clothes to wear. Thanks to the International's help, they did not starve to death. In 1924, German workers went on strike with more than 60,000 people. This International set up a communal kitchens for free, every day more than 25,000 workers came to eat. As well as establishing a hospital to help sick strikers; building foster homes for children of workers, set up caravans to bring German children to the labor unions of neighbor countries for education only returned them when the strike was near.

The year Japan had an earthquake, China got flooded, this International also brought food, clothing and building materials to help.

In short, anywhere that is disaster stricken, this International will help.

## **3. Where does the International Relief get money?**

This International is not like an association that distributes and gives charities from capitalists. The purpose of this International is for "the workers and peasants in the world are brothers, when the brothers of one country are in trouble, the brothers of the other country must help", so where they are needed, the members do their best to gather contributions, where there are peace, members must contribute the fees. The membership fee depends on the class of people such as workers who make more money would give more, farmers with less money would give less. But everyone has to contribute.

Because the International has branches across all 5 continents, and the membership are very large, especially in Russia, so just the membership fees alone is quite a lot.



The international community brings that money to produce profits, such as opening a agricultural business, working film theaters, opening a trading house, fishing guilds, etc. Most of these activities are in Russia. Only one fishing guild in Astrakhan harvested 4-5 million kilos of fish a year.

All the money sold is used to help the world.

#### **4. What is the use of this International for our revolution?**

Like Annam encountered disasters with the dyke system collapse recently, or during the great droughts and floods. If the International knew, it would help. However:

1. It is because our people have not yet known of them to cry out for help;

2. The French fear of the International making our people know how to be in solidarity among the proletariat of the world;

3. The French is afraid of revolutionary propaganda, so it tries with all their might to hide from our people that there is such an association in the world and prevents the International from reaching Annam.

Whatever the French hates, it is all beneficial to Annam.

As for the revolution, this International also helped a lot. It seems that when the Russian people were starving, thanks to this International, there was no resentment against the Revolutionary Government. Thanks to this International, Japanese workers can quickly restore their labor unions. German workers, thanks to this International, can continue to struggle, and so on. Because of this, the International will be of great benefit to Annam's revolution.

## **International Red Aid**

### **1. What is the International Red Aid?**

While the International Relief helps people in accidents, and also helps political exiles. International Red Aid specializes in helping political exiles only.

Now it's the time to fight; the proletariat struggles with capital, the oppressed people struggles with imperialism. Capitalism and imperialism are on one side, the proletariat and the oppressed people on the other. Those two factions are like two armies fighting each other. The revolutionary army followed the flag of the Third International. The counter-revolutionary army followed the flag of the rich. In a fight, people being arrested, being injured, being killed is unavoidable. The International Red Aid is like a hospital to care for the wounded, to help those who were arrested, to take care of their elderly and weak parents, their wives and children of those who died in the battle for the revolution.

## **2. When was the International Red Aid established?**

In 1923, the Third International opened a congress, the association "exiled for life" and the association of "old communists" proposed, and the Third International approved the establishment of the International Red Aid. First set up the Headquarters in Russia. Now every country has a branch. (But not yet in Annam).

Russia now has 50,000 branches and 9 million members. All the workers and many peasants had joined that association, either individually, or as a whole. All communists and young communists must join that association.

When it was established, the first three months they had raised 300,000 dong. Four months later, they raised 4,000,000 dong. In Guangdong province, China has only established a cell for 6 months and already has 250,000 members.

Seeing that, we can understand that this International is developing very quickly.

## **3. How does this international aid in the struggle?**

When revolutionaries are either exiled out, or arrested, or imprisoned, or killed, the International helps in:

1. Politics;
2. Economy;
3. Material;
4. Morale.

a) Political help: if someone is arrested or imprisoned, the International will direct for the local party cells to start marches and protests in solidarity. Just like recently, two Italian revolutionaries were arrested in the US, about to be sentenced to death, not only did the American workers protest, but in any country that has US embassies, the workers opened the weekly congresses and declared: "If the Government kills those two, the American workers will go on strike, and the world's workers will boycott America." When the US saw that, they did not dare to touch them.

b) Economical help: whenever revolutionaries are imprisoned, they often eat and drink under terrible conditions, while their wives and children are at home, with no one to take care of. The International sends money to buy food in prison and help family members more or less to avoid poverty. In this way, the captives are relieved from suffering. Or the International can pay to hire a lawyer to appeal against the sentence. Or send clothes and books.

c) Help morale wise: either send people or send letters to visit.

1. Prisoners now know that although they sacrificed for the masses but the people did not forget them, then while in prison, they did not feel depressed and can recover further.

2. People know that although they have to be imprisoned in one place, the revolutionary work is still developing, and there are still people who do it for them.

#### **4. Should the Annam revolution follow this International?**

Undoubtedly. The Annam revolution was also a part of the world revolution. Whoever does revolution in the world is a comrade of the people of Annam. As comrades, we must go through thick

and thin together. What's more, when the people of Annam are struggling with French imperialism, there will surely be many revolutionaries in the future who will have to sacrifice, suffer, and need help from our brothers in the world.

## How to organize labor unions

### 1. What does a labor union do?

Organizing the union is first to let the workers go together to have solidarity; second is to study together; third is to improve workers livelihoods; fourth is to protect the rights of workers; fifth is to help the people of the nation, and further help the world.

Solidarity among workers doesn't mean when A has a wake, then person B comes to eat; or when person B has religious ceremonies and invite person C to drink wine. But a back and forth to teach each other the right thing, to exchange knowledge and experience. Studying is not only exchanging books and newspapers to read; but also have to discuss how to struggle against capitalism and imperialism<sup>14</sup>.

Modifying the way of life such as establishing a cooperative, opening a study association, a game association for workers, and so on.

Preserving rights is when the association is already powerful, and demands more wages, less working hours, and so on.

Helping the people of nations and the world is to bring together workers for a revolution to make everyone equal and free like Russian workers have been doing since 1917.

### 2. How to organize a labor union?

There are two ways of organizing, the organizing by trade and organizing by production.

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<sup>14</sup>This sentence is understood as follows: research is not only reading from books and newspapers, but also discussing how to fight capitalists and imperialists.

Trade organizing whoever does the same trade, then join that certain trade union. Like a tailor joins a tailor's guild, a blacksmith joins a blacksmithing guild.

Organizing by production is no matter your profession. As long as you work at the same place, you will join the union of that production. Such as in railways, the coal burners, the car painters, the ticket dispensers, the roadkeepers, the train conductors; all enter a railway union.

The organization by production is stronger, because it is more unified. For example, when the railways wants to strike, if the union is production organized, then all members have to strike, further threatening capitalists. If the association is through trades, then sometimes the coal burners go on strike but not but the train conductors, or the the ticket dispensers go on strike but the station workers do not, then the effectiveness of a strike is weakened.

### **3. Can a worker join two labor unions?**

No. If the association is a trade union then only those of the same profession can enter; those who have already joined the production union are not allowed to join the trade association. For example: the railway have been organized according to production, with all railway workers<sup>15</sup> having already joined that union. In the same land there was another union of carpenters, then carpenters in the railway union<sup>16</sup> are not allowed to join.

In the same profession or production, it is not allowed to establish two different associations.

However, one union is allowed to enter two federated general unions. For example, the Hanoi Railway Association has joined the Annam Railway Association and can join the general union.

In short, a union is allowed to enter many general guilds, but each person can only join one. If this limit in joining unions isn't strictly followed, it can cause a lot of confusion in organizing.

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<sup>15</sup>Workers in the railway industry

<sup>16</sup>The sentence is also understood as: the Hanoi Railway Association has entered the General Railway Union can also enter another General Union.

#### **4. What is the difference between a trade union and a political party?**

The union focuses more on the economic side. The party focuses more on the political side. Anyone who is a worker can join the union, even if they believe in Buddhism, Christianity, communism, anarchism, whatever they believe, as long as they follow the rules of the unions.

In the Party, any person who does any job, a worker or a peasant, a student or a merchant, as long as he believes in the party's guiding ideology and obeys the party charter, can enter.

Those who join both the party and the association, in politics, are led by the party, and in the economy, by the union. All Party members must join the union to propagate the party's ideology. But not all union members can join the party.

#### **5. What is the structure of a union?**

The system follows horizontal or vertical organization.

Horizontal is for instance each province where there are blacksmiths union, tailors union, carpenters union, masonry union, and so on, all of which are organized into the general union; with every trade union treated as equals.

Vertical is for instance in each district, there is a tailor's association, then the unions of 4, 5 district organize together into a provincial tailor's union, and all tailor unions in several provinces organize into a nationwide tailor's association. It is vertical, that is, from bottom to top.

With both horizontal and vertical organizing, then according to which line of orders should a member operate under? If the relationship is about production, then follow the vertical order. If the relationship is regional, then follow the horizontal order.

#### **6. What should be avoided in order for the unions to endure?**

Once you're in the union:

1. The regionalism should be removed, that is, do not distin-

guish between this person being Midlands, the other being Southern, the other being Northern. And it should not be divided into the Annamites, the Chinese or the people of any country. Having the same profession, under a trade union all members are brothers, therefore all must see each other as one family.

2. Men and women must be equal.

3. Don't be a narcissist because of your abilities (1) you are smarter, your salary is higher, but that doesn't mean you can despise people for being clumsy or earn less money than you.

4. Don't rely on your seniority to rule over others.

5. Don't let capitalists join the unions.

## **7. How to organize for further consolidation?**

The union is the workers' organization to fight capitalism and imperialism, so the organization must be strict, the command must be swift, and the work must be discreet. To do that, it must be organized like an army.

Soldiers have teams.

Workers must have sub-groups<sup>II</sup> and branches.

Example: there are 5 textile factories in the province, each factory must have a branch. Each branch is divided into several sub-groups; each branch must elect 3 or 5 people as committee members (most should elect people who have worked in the factories for a long time, who are more experienced) and each sub-group must elect a leader. Each sub-group cannot exceed 10 people.

The sub-group follows the orders of the branch, the branch follow the directions of the provincial union, the provincial unions act according to the National Congress of Unions (1). With such an order, it would be easy for the general union to have several hundred thousand following commands, and to act in unison.

## **8. What does the sub-group do?**

The tree needs strong roots, likewise the union needs to have many new solid sub-groups. Each sub-group must:

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<sup>II</sup>Sub-groups can be also understood as cells

1. Train and critique members;
2. To carry out the assigned tasks of from the union;
3. Discussing the union business;
4. Investigate the situation down on the factory floors;
5. Recommend what the union should do;
6. Collect membership fees;
7. Report their deeds to the branch, then let the branch report to the province, and so on.

It is difficult for the branch to start operations and consider all options. Small sub-groups, working close together, knowing each other well, so it is easier to review, train, work and operate easier and faster. This is why sub-groups are so useful. Besides, if the government bans the trade union, but the sub-group is well organized, the union can keep making progress and keep working underground. That's why people call the sub-group the root of all unions.

## **9. What's the order in the union?**

Sub-groups report to their branch.

If there are many factories in the province, 4 or 5 cell branches organize a set of representative committees (4, 5 factories each elect 1 or 2 people).

The branches report to the province.

Provincial unions report to the National union.

That is the order of organization. As for the authority, for all members to attend the congress, meaning, all members openly discuss the meeting. If there are too many members and it's not convenient to all attend a congress, a few people will be elected as representatives to attend the congress, they are the congress delegations. Whatever the congress decides on, the members of the association must execute. When the congress is over, the executive authority goes to the elected central committee.

Delegates to the provincial congress open once a month. Delegates to the national congress, once a year.

Delegating roles should be given to the average workers, not



those who are already in office<sup>17</sup> in the union. At the opening of the meeting, the delegates must report the status and opinions of the workers (that is not their own), propose and discuss union actions. After the union congress, they have to go back and report the congress results to the workers.

## **10. If issues arise, how to solve them?**

From the sub-group to the congress, all follow democratic centralism. That is, if there is any issues that arise, everyone can and must discuss it. When the discussion is over, a vote is held, whichever opinion has more followers is chosen. That is democracy. After casting lots for their candidate, the candidates are assigned to the members of a committee, then all members must follow the orders of committee. That is centralism. For those who do not obey, the members of the committee have the right to punish their insubordination.

If there is an abrupt situation that cannot be voted in time, the committee shall have the right to handle it and then report it back to the rest of the organization.

When encountering very urgent matters, the members of the association are allowed to delegate authority to one person, this person has arbitrary authority, who then<sup>18</sup> report to the association.

## **11. Why do members have to pay membership fees?**

There are costs associated with operating unions, such as rent, pen and ink, etc., which is the regular fee, which all members have to bear. There are also the irregular fees, such as savings during a strike or helping other associations strike, or helping members of the association who have lost their jobs, or doing public works, and so on. If the association doesn't have the

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<sup>17</sup>In office: person with important position in the union. It should be understood here that it is not possible to elect people with positions in the feudal colonial government apparatus.

<sup>18</sup>When the work is done

money, it can't do it. Therefore, members must "contribute winds to the storm".

When the guild has excess money, it is advisable to do these things:

1. Setting up schools for workers;
2. Setting up schools for workers' children and grandchildren;
3. Setting up public libraries;
4. Establishing a hospital for workers;
5. Setting up communal sleeping houses, bathrooms, theaters;
6. Open cooperatives;
7. Organization of arms groups<sup>19</sup>, youth wings<sup>20</sup>, and so on.

Act according to the situation, do not let capitalism and imperialism pay attention. The union funds must be very transparent, for all members to know. Membership fees should not be too heavy; must follow the workers' wage.

## 12. How to organize in secret?

When the general union is made public, the sub-groups must still stay in secret. When it impossible to go public, we have to act under the names of cooperative, school, or club, etc., to hide in plain sight. In China, in Japan, there are many places where workers set up teahouses as cover, outside they sell confections and water, while inside they work in secret. The workers came in to drink and eat, as well as discuss work; so the spies and infiltrators can't do anything. There are places that uses religious gatherings or festivals, etc. to act as a façade for the unions.

When it's newly built or where there are few workers, strategies must be quickly improvised, not necessarily in the usual way.

In general, the organization of the organizations must be unified, secretive, and strict, in order for the union to be stable.

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<sup>19</sup>Here it can be understood as a worker's self-defense team.

<sup>20</sup>An organization of teenagers and children

# Organization of peasants

## 1. Why organize peasants?

Our country's economy is not yet developed, out of 100 people, 90 are farmers. But our peasants are very miserable, there is no craft work, the land is not enough to plow, so much so that there is not enough food to eat, no clothes to wear.

Consider the central region, all 5,730,000 people but only about 148,015 samples<sup>III</sup> of fields.

Before 1926, Western plantations occupied 62,000 samples. From 1926 onwards, 175 plantation owning Westerners occupied it all:

1,982 samples in Thanh Hoa,  
35,426 samples in Nghe An,  
17,076 samples in Nha Trang,  
13,474 samples in Phan Thiet,  
92,000 samples in Kon Tum,  
67,000 samples in Dong Nai.

With this arrangement our people will have no more fields to plow!

## 2. How do Western plantations occupy the fields?

They use many methods of acquisitions. As in June 1922<sup>21</sup>, 20 Westerners joined together to ask the French Government for 3,000(2) samples each in the six provinces. All of them combined have 60,000 samples. In it, 19 western land owners will sell them all to the most wealthy of them all.

In August 1926, the Eastern - French bank asked for 30,000 samples, on which there were 6 Annam villagers. When the bankers owned, he evict our villagers from their land.

Cochinchina was completely occupied by Western plantations with 150,000 acres of good fields in their hands.

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<sup>III</sup>A traditional Vietnamese measurement of area, 1 sample = 5000 m<sup>2</sup> =  $\frac{1}{2}$  hectares =  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acres.

<sup>21</sup>This number in the original is blurred out.

Part of the plantation is exploited by the French, the other occupied by the church. The priests waited for the year when the crop failed, loaning money to the peasants. They forced the people to bring the land deeds to them as collateral and collect interests. Because the interests were too high, the peasants could not pay with the next harvest, so the priests could then confiscate the fields<sup>22</sup> and took them as church fields.

### **3. How does the French government treat<sup>23</sup> the farmers of An Nam?**

Western capitalists and religious churches have occupied most of the land, and if peasants can keep any piece of land, they will be taxed heavily by the French Government, increasing by the year. From every good sample of field every yearly harvest yields 25 dong, the French take away 2.5 dong of tax, that is, of 10 parts they took 1.

If you calculate all the money to rent for cattle, buy manure, hire farmhands, and pay for food and drink, each acre per year costs about 30 dong. All in all, the peasants lost 5 dong, but the colonial government still squeezed out<sup>24</sup> 2 and a half dong.

Not only that, our people planted the rice but could not eat it. In the tax season, it is sold to pay taxes. Knowing this, the colonials will buy it cheaply so that it can be transported to other countries and sold every year. The more they carry away, the worse the rice stock, the more people starved.

### **4. What should be done now?**

The hardships of An Nam peasants are:

1. The field is occupied by the French, not enough to plow.
2. The rice is taken by them as well, not enough to eat.
3. Do more, get less, heavy taxes.
4. More floods, more droughts, more broken dykes, and more crop failures.

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<sup>22</sup>A form of expropriation of the field to deduct from the loan amount.

<sup>23</sup>In policies.

<sup>24</sup>Forcing mandatory pay

5. Destitutions to the point of famines, the point of selling his wife and children, or enslaving themselves like the African people they transported to the New World.

6. Oppressive politics (What political rights do we have?), oppressive culture (How many literate peasants do we have? How many schools in the village?).

If the farmers of Annam want to escape that bitter cycle, they must organize themselves and find a way to liberate themselves.

## **5. How to organize farmers?**

The organization is roughly as follows:

1. Any man or woman, from smallholder farmers to hired ploughmen, 18 years of age or older, may enter. (Those who are great landowners, secret agents, religious leaders, drunkards, gamblers, and drug addicts<sup>25</sup> are not allowed to join the association.)

2. Those who enter must volunteer to keep the rules of the association, and must be introduced by existing members.

3. A village that has 3 volunteers joining the association can organize a village branch. If 3 villages have an association, they will organize a general branch, 3 general meetings will organize a district association, 3 districts with an association will organize a provincial association, If 3 provinces have an association, they will organize a national association.

4. The way to open the association, organize the working ministries, elect, propose, settle and report is the same as the union.

## **6. Should peasants' associations form sub-groups as well?**

The peasantry in the village are not as crowded as the workers in the factories, so the village level associations replaces the sub-groups; the trustee in the committee can substitute for the leader.

The member on one side directs the members to work, the

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<sup>25</sup>Addiction to opium

other side executes orders from the superior. One party reports the congress to the members, the other party reports the member's work to the congress.

Members must:

1. Find new members;
2. Investigate the way of doing business and affairs in the village;
3. Initiating cooperatives;
4. Do your best to expand education, such as setting up schools, organizing libraries, etc.;
5. Advise farmers to ban alcohol, drugs and gambling;
6. Set up the relief guilds, and so on.

In short, learn to do things that are useful to the farmers, beneficial to the community (closest meaning is "the race").

## **7. If there is no sub-group, how can one work in secret?**

This is discussing the day to day activities which perhaps can be in public. If it's time to keep a secret, then:

1. One must return to the sub-group method;
2. One must use other aliases, for instance call it the thatcher's guild, the fishing guild, the communal rice guild, and so on as covers. In An Nam village, there are already many guilds like that. If you want to organize farmers, you should take advantage of those existing guilds according to the circumstances. It's good to make it so that outsiders don't notice your true activities.

When the association is stable and the membership is large, it is advisable to form specialized departments<sup>26</sup> such as:

Sports department;

Plowing reforms department<sup>27</sup>;

Hired ploughmen department (to plow for hire, with no farms or cattle of their own);

Small owning peasants department;

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<sup>26</sup>Made of experienced people.

<sup>27</sup>Farming Improvement department.

Artisans department (villagers who do not plow the fields, or plow on a semi regular basis, they must also join the peasant association);

Youth department, women's department, education department, and so on.

## **8. Even with the peasant associations, have the peasants recovered from the above mentioned hardships?**

Freedom and equality can only be gained through revolutions, the peasant association is a revolutionary foundation of our people. If the workers and the peasants can build solid organizations, then join forces for the revolution, they will be free from these hardships. Although not revolutionary right away, being organized is still beneficial. Like every year the French forces our people to smoke 150 thousand kilos of opium, taking 15 million dong in profit. And they made us buy 173,000,000 liters of liquor, taking 1 billion francs in profit. Not only that they made huge profits, they also poison our people. If the peasants organized and advised each other not to drink alcohol and not to smoke opium, they would have saved our people from destitutions, while preventing those billion francs and 15 millions of dong to the French. The French are able to oppress us because we do not love each other, because we are ignorant. When these associations are set up, first there is solidarity, then we can have opportunities to study. If we can begin the cultural "revolution" and the economic "revolution", the political "revolution" is not far away.

## **Cooperative**

### **1. History**

The cooperatives for the most part<sup>28</sup> were born in England. In 1761, the weavers joined together to form a cooperative for "fos-

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<sup>28</sup>In fact the first cooperative is an English one

tering high standards in the weaving craft and collective purchase at a fair price for the community”. In 1777, another cooperative was established. After that, many more cooperatives were established, none lasted.

In 1864, a new cooperative was established with only 999 dong of capital. By 1923, this association had 5,673,245 dong in capital and 47,777,000 dong from trade and travel profits, 14 ships, 5,000 samples of tea gardens, 6 deputies serving in the House of Representatives, and 4,580,623 member.

The cooperatives are now largest in Russia, the second to the UK (consumer cooperatives<sup>29</sup>), the third to France (producer cooperatives<sup>30</sup>), the fourth to Denmark (farmer cooperative), the fifth to Germany (cooperative banks<sup>31</sup>).

In Japan, there was a cooperative that had only 1,840 dong when it was first established, after 8 years it had 370,000 dong.

## 2. Purpose

Although the way to do it is slightly different, the purpose is the same in every country. For that purpose, in the manifesto of the British cooperative had said: “The aim is to make the class proletariat brothers. Brothers work for each other, depend on each other. Stop competition. Let those who plant trees eat the fruits they made; whoever wants to eat the fruit, let them go in and plant the trees.”

In the world of robber barons and imperialist<sup>32</sup>, they spared no methods of exploitations, they took the people’s money as tools to oppress the people, they fattened themselves with the people’s labor, likened to “giving us a taste of our own medicine”. Because of this Cooperatives are first beneficial to the people, then reduce the exploitation power of capitalists and imperialists.

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<sup>29</sup>Enterprise owned by consumers

<sup>30</sup>Enterprise owned by producers

<sup>31</sup>Otherwise known as credit cooperatives

<sup>32</sup>Age of exploitations



### 3. Reasoning

An Nam proverb has the following sentences: “united we stand, divided we fall” and “one tree doesn’t amount to much, many trees group together to form a high mountain”. The philosophy of all cooperatives lies in these idioms.

If we stand alone, our strength is small, and no work can be done. For example, if each person builds a pillar and a wall on their own, even a tent would not get built, let alone a house. Grouping those pillars, those walls, and that combined strength, they can together build a mansion for all to live. That is cooperation.

For example 10 people want to eat rice, each person has a separate pot, cooks in a separate kitchen, then eats separately; after eating, everyone cleans up their own, then it is a waste of firewood, water, effort and time. Cooperative is “putting all rice in the same pot” to save effort and resource, while being a community.

### 4. How many kinds of cooperatives are there?

Cooperatives have 4 main forms:

1. Monetary cooperative<sup>33</sup>;
2. Consumer cooperative;
3. Retailer cooperatives;
4. Producer cooperatives.

Before specifying what such cooperation is, we must know that:

a) The cooperative is different from the trader’s guild, the profits gained from the guild is for individual members, while the cooperative profits is for the common benefit.

b) Cooperatives are meant to help each other, but they are not like charities. Because those associations spend but don’t earn, and help anyone but have the intention of philanthropy, the cooperative spends and makes benefiting only its members equally. A true “revolutionary” way motive is where you can help

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<sup>33</sup>Credit cooperative as above

while ready to receive help yourself<sup>34</sup>.

## 5. Monetary Cooperative

Or better known as the people's bank; from the peasants and the workers combined investment:

1. Any member who lacks capital for business (loaning for living costs is prohibited) can come and loan at a light interest rate;

2. If a member has a surplus, they can deposit at this cooperative to gain a profit. People are poor, so those who have enough to contribute is sparse, while loaners are numerous, so how can a cooperative bank be established? To do this, three things must be done:

a) Capital - If each person put in a dong, with 1,000 people gain 1,000 dong. That 1,000 capital, if efficiently used might as well equal to 10,000 dong.

b) Circulation - If each person holds their share, that 1,000 will also be wittle away. If you give it out as loans, first month you give A a loan of 100 dong for 6 months; second month you loan to B 100 and so on, the more you move and circulate it, the more interests gained, the more people you help.

c) Credit - Making a name for the cooperative generate trusts<sup>35</sup>, making transactions easier in the long run. So, even with the limited capital, it can be efficient.

## 6. Consumer cooperative

Not every households can have enough tools for production, necessitating purchasing. Buying a lot<sup>36</sup> is cheaper with better quality. While on the other hand retail is expensive with only modest quality. But where do workers and peasants get the money to make wholesale purchase? Even if you can afford it, but a household can't possibly consume it all. Continuing the suffering losses.

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<sup>34</sup>Mutual help

<sup>35</sup>The more credit you create

<sup>36</sup>Bulk purchases

If many households pool their money together, buy wholesale and share, it will be cheap, the product will be in a superior quality without wasting time.

Example: each barrel of kerosene (cost 3 dong, get 50 liters). Traders would dilute<sup>IV</sup> it into 53 liters. Each household buys a liter and pays a dime<sup>V</sup>, the oil is spoiled, so it burn out fast. All in all traders can profit by:

1 steel barrel 0đ20

23 liters of diluted oil 2đ30

Summing up in 2đ50

53 houses at a loss: 2đ50 and 53 hours.

If those 53 houses pooled together to send one person to buy a barrel, it would have saved 2đ50, and the time that goes with it. Use those 53 hours to do something more productive work.

## 7. Cooperative retailing

Buy in bulk is cheaper, while wholesale is expensive. Likewise the more expensive the less you buy, the cheaper it is selling. That is common knowledge. But poor people don't have much to sell. Besides, when they sell their produce on the market no matter the price they have to be sold, else you need storage. Part is the risk of wasting valuable efforts, part is the risk of taxations, part is the risk of spoilage. The merchants can take advantage of this to buy at lower prices.

For example: 53 houses with 53 baskets of rice, hiring 53 people to sell, must pay 53 times the tax; merchants know this so they can bargain for lower prices by 53 cents (one cent per basket). In hot weather, 53 people have to drink 53 cents of water on delivery, and so on. Losing so much more money.

Imagine those 53 households sell using cooperatives, how much profit can be made!

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<sup>IV</sup>Using water

<sup>V</sup>There are ten dimes to a dong

## 8. Production Cooperative

This cooperation is to help each other in manufacturing. For example: each peasant owns one cow for their household, each must employ a cowherd, must build a corral<sup>37</sup>, how messy is that? Not to mention the households without cattle for field work, they have to rent it from others. Each household has to buy their own plows, harrows, hoes, sickles, etc., so when they inevitably breaks while you can't afford replacement you would have to make do. Rather than this, we can just buy these together and pay according to personal usage, wouldn't that be better?

The same for cotton farming; with no whipping board, no spinning equipment, the cotton must be sold cheap and raw. If you contribute to a cooperative and buy enough things to process it, the work can be reduced while gaining much more.

In short, cooperatives are very beneficial, so people frequently set them up in different countries. The merchants are rich, from their exploitations of workers. Cooperative is protection against the excess of capitalist merchants.

## 9. How merchants make their profits?

The trader makes a profit because the producers and consumers, the buyers and the sellers are separated by distance, so they had to use the merchants as middlemen, giving them profits on both ends. For example: in the North is a country that grows tea, in the South is a tea drinker. But the North people do not bring tea to the South to sell, nor the people of the South go to the North to buy.

Some tea planets has to sell to A, the village tea supplier; who sell it back to B, the region tea supplier, taking a cut of profits. B sell it to city C in the province, taking another cut. C sell to D a Hanoi company, profiting three times. Company D sell to Company E in Saigon, profiting four times. Company E sold again to wholesalers F in the provinces, making a profit five

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<sup>37</sup>Cattle pen

times. Trader F sells wholesale to the G city in another province, making a profit six times. G retails to H, makes a profit seven times. H retail for drinkers, profiting eight times.

So the tea maker loses, the tea drinker also loses. If there is a cooperative, we can avoid those things.

## **10. How to organize cooperatives?**

Not every village has to set up a cooperative. Nor does every village have to set up multiple cooperatives. Nor can there be one cooperative, preventing the establishment of another. It just depends on the circumstances where any cooperative can be established, and sometimes two cooperatives - buying and selling - can also be established together.

If many places have established the same form of cooperative, then those cooperatives should contact each other, multiplying purchasing power. Or when two cooperatives are of different forms, then they should also be linked into chains, like a consumer cooperative and a retailer cooperative.

Cooperatives only benefit members, only members have the right to operate, but in technical aspects such as calculating, quality inspections, machinery operations, etc., are allowed to hire outsiders.

Having joined the association, anyone who contributes more or less, before and after, everyone is equal.