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IMPLEMENTING THE LAND
REFORM

*Report delivered at the First National Conference
of the Viet Nam Workers' Party
(November 14-23, 1953)*

IV — Implementation of the Land Reform Requires Mobilization of the Broad Masses of the People	518
V — To Strengthen the Party and Enhance Its Leadership in the Land Reform	539
Conclusion	593

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Respected President Ho Chi Minh,

Dear comrades,

Our people are waging a war of resistance and are at the same time engaged in national construction. At this juncture, everything must be geared to the patriotic war and national construction in order to ensure their victory. The land reform we are undertaking is aimed at precisely this goal.

Our people, the overwhelming majority of whom are peasants, are making revolution, are fighting against the aggressors, and are building the country. To bring both our patriotic war and our national construction to victory, we must wipe out the imperialist aggressors and liberate our peasants from the feudalist yoke.

Land reform is the immediate and major method of accelerating the development of the national economy. Only if the national economy is developed can supplies to the front and the rear area be guaranteed, the people's strength be replenished, and only then will we have enough manpower and material resources to carry on a protracted war of resistance until final victory.

President Ho Chi Minh has laid down two central, immediate and closely-related tasks: to fight hard against the enemy and to implement the land reform. My report deals with the essence of the land reform policy and the method of carrying out land reform in our country in the present conditions of the war of resistance.

I

**WHY DO WE HAVE TO CARRY OUT LAND REFORM
DURING THE WAR OF RESISTANCE?**

President Ho Chi Minh's report has brought out the following important points :

— The line of the Vietnamese revolution points clearly to the necessity of carrying out land reform.

— Our people's war of resistance requires that we carry out land reform.

— The peasant masses and our people as a whole demand a land reform.

To carry out land reform at this moment is thus consistent with both the interests and the desire of our people.

Some people have raised queries :

1. In view of the necessity of uniting the entire people to overthrow the imperialists, does our present undertaking to carry out a land reform to overthrow the feudal landlord class, harm the policy of uniting the people to fight the aggressors ?

2. Why don't we concentrate all our forces on wiping out the imperialist aggressors, instead of scattering our forces, and *weakening our resistance by carrying out a land reform.*

To answer these questions, we must consider the problem from its origin.

I. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN VIET NAM

Feudal economy is still relatively well anchored in our country. Ours is a predominantly agricultural economy. Under the French colonialist rule, capitalism came into being in Viet Nam, and the former entirely feudal society has changed into a society with a colonial and semi-feudal character in which the forms of feudal exploitation are still very common. Land is concentrated mostly in the hands of a small number of Vietnamese, the feudal landlord class, and partly in the hands of the French colonialists. The peasants, who constitute the majority of the population, have used their labour to clear land and transform it into crop fields, and have always played the worthy role of carrying out production to feed the nation and safeguarding their homeland since the founding of our country. And yet, they have either no land or not enough, due to ruthless oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and the feudalists.

Our country has more than 5 million hectares of land under rice and subsidiary crops (not counting land owned by the colonialists planted with industrial crops such as tea, coffee and rubber... If we put at 5 million the total number of households in our country, then each of them could have almost three *mau* (1 *mau* = 3,600 square metres — *Ed*). But as things are, half the households in Viet Nam own no land at all.

Of these 5 million hectares and more, the French colonialists own 9%, communal and semi-communal land accounts for 10.2%, land owned by the Catholic Church makes up 1%, and Vietnamese landlords own almost 50%.

Thus, the French colonialists, the Vietnamese landlords and the Church own up to 60% of cultivated land in our country. This does not include the land producing other resources, such as coffee and rubber plantations and timber forests, owned by the big Vietnamese landlords and the colonialists.

Communal and semi-communal land in Viet Nam has been appropriated and exploited by the feudal landlords for generations, and can therefore be considered as feudal land. Roughly speaking the colonialists and the landlord class hold more than 70% of land in Viet Nam; whereas the peasants, who make up 90% of the population, own less than 30%.

2. TWO MAJOR OBSTACLES TO THE ADVANCE OF VIETNAMESE SOCIETY

The landlord class, which constitutes less than 5% of the population, is exploiting 90% of the population, the peasantry, by means of high land rents, usurious interest rates on loans, etc. This does not include the forms of exploitation of an entirely medieval character in areas inhabited by the ethnic minorities (with the regime of *tho ty*, *lang dao*, *phia tao*, *ca ra*¹...). The rural despots, landlords who hold power in the countryside, ruthlessly manhandle the peasants, rob them of their land and their homes and even of their wives. How inhuman the feudal regime of oppression and exploitation is!

Our peasants have vehemently condemned this regime and no longer want to live under it.

1. Local tyrants (*Translator*).

Since the beginning of French imperialist rule in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese landlord class has relied on the imperialist forces to oppress and exploit the Vietnamese peasants still more harshly. A considerable number of peasants toil all the year round and yet do not have enough to eat and to wear. Under the colonialist and semi-feudal regime, when any natural calamity occurred enormous numbers of labouring peasants would die of starvation. At the end of 1944 and early in 1945, two million of our peasants died of starvation not only due to savage exploitation by the feudal landlord class, but also because the Japanese fascists and the French imperialists brutally robbed them of their resources. This has aroused deep hatred in the hearts of every peasant in our country.

Feudal exploitation has also meant that the landlord class has so far "sat in the cool shade and eaten out of golden bowls", feeling no need to improve farming techniques. They have even objected to technical improvements, and arrested the development of productive forces. No wonder that our harshly exploited peasants neither show any enthusiasm for increasing production, nor manage to improve techniques.

The peasants are the largest body of consumers in our country, yet they are the poorest stratum. They lack everything, their purchasing power has decreased, home markets have shrunk, and consequently it is difficult for industry and trade in our country to develop. The under-development of industry and trade in their turn affect agriculture, providing it with insufficient conditions to develop rapidly.

The French imperialists, who hold the monopoly of heavy industry, are unwilling to develop heavy industry in our

country. They also have the monopoly of imports and exports and control our home market, and use their position to hinder development of Vietnamese industry and trade.

The French imperialists have followed a policy of pauperizing our peasants, and have joined the feudal landlords in robbing our peasants of their land. They protect the landlords in their harsh exploitation of the peasants, driving many peasants to destitution. As a result, the imperialists obtain more dirt-cheap manpower, exploit the working class more ruthlessly, and reap more profits.

In addition, the French imperialists have sought to maintain the regime of feudal exploitation to increase their exploitation of the labouring people of our country. Since the feudal forms of exploitation suit their purposes, they see no need to improve techniques in keeping with modern scientific developments. The imperialists and feudalists have hindered the development of our national economy, and hindered the growth of the productive forces of our society.

The imperialists and feudalists are the two major obstacles to the advance of Vietnamese society at present. The Vietnamese people must smash both these forces, and clear the way for the development of Vietnamese society. We must smash the colonial and feudal shackles, liberate our productive forces, liberate our people, liberate our nation.

3. ABOUT THE TASKS AND CHARACTER OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Imperialism and feudalism, the two most reactionary forces, have dominated Viet Nam in collusion for more than 80 years now. It was the feudalists of the Nguyen dynasty

who sold our country to the French imperialists, and who became the puppet administration, lackeys to the French imperialists who then occupied our country. The imperialists used the feudalists as a prop to invade Viet Nam: the Vietnamese feudalists licked their boots to maintain their selfish interests. The Bao Dai puppet administration and the clique of puppets now in power represent the feudal landlord class and the comprador bourgeois, who are actively opposing our patriotic war, betraying our country and doing harm to our people. The imperialists and feudalists are the two main targets of the Vietnamese revolution, the two main enemies of the Vietnamese people.

To defeat the imperialists we must at the same time overthrow the feudalists. Inversely, to overthrow the feudalists we must at the same time defeat the imperialists. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks are closely linked to each other, *and are inseparable.*

We must combat the idea that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks are separate and the idea that imperialism alone is the main enemy, while feudalism is the secondary enemy.

As a matter of fact, we must clearly see that imperialism is the foremost enemy of our people, because it is the more brutal. It brings troops to invade our country and massacre our fellow-countrymen. For this reason, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks are twin main tasks *but the anti-imperialist task is the foremost task.*

In short, the present form of our people's national democratic revolution is an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, a revolution of the broad masses of the people,

that is, of the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and democratic personalities, led by the working class, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. The aim of this revolution is to win national independence, build and develop people's democracy, and create conditions for a transition to socialism. This is the general line, the overall policy of our Party in this revolutionary stage.

The motive force of our revolution is the working class, the peasantry, and the petty-bourgeoisie. However, the peasantry, which is the largest stratum of our people, and constitutes the bulk of our nation, is the greatest motive force of our revolution. At present our people's patriotic war is in essence a revolutionary war of the peasants, led by the working class.

If we want our revolution to be successful and our patriotic war and national construction to be victorious, we must rely mainly on the workers and the peasants, of whom the peasants make up the overwhelming majority. The aspiration of tens of millions of peasants of our country at present is national independence and the distribution of land to the tillers. These two questions are inseparable. We must put the slogan "Land to the Tillers" into practice so as to win the war of resistance and achieve national liberation. To make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality we must undertake a land reform, an agrarian revolution.

Stalin said many years ago :

"The national question is in essence the peasant question".

The agrarian revolution is the keystone of the people's national democratic revolution in our country.

Our people are fighting against the French colonialist aggressors and the US interventionists. To win victory we must win democracy and well-being for the people.

Today we are undertaking land reform as a positive solution to the questions of democracy and people's well-being, and consequently to have more strength to drive the French imperialists and the US interventionists out of our country.

4. THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

Proceeding from this appraisal of the social conditions of Viet Nam and from the character and tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, what should our agrarian policy be?

The aim of the policy is :

— To abolish imperialist and feudal land-ownership in this country, make the peasants landowners and carry out the slogan "Land to the Tillers".

— To liberate the productive forces from feudal relations of production to create conditions for developing production, developing agriculture, industry and trade, so as to raise our country from its economic backwardness, and lay the foundations of the people's democratic economy.

— To improve the living conditions of the peasants, replenish the forces of the people and the resistance forces, maintain and give impetus to our protracted resistance so as to wipe out the French colonialists and the US interventionists, topple the puppet administration, achieve national liberation, develop people's democracy, and contribute to the defence of peace and democracy in the world.

— To smash the political power of the feudal landlords, bring the labouring peasants in the countryside to political power, liberate the peasants from the feudal yoke, from the rural despots; and to improve local organization of the military, people's, administrative and Party organizations at all levels.

To attain these goals, we must carry out a land reform. However, because the balance of forces between us and the imperialists is a decisive factor, because we must concentrate our forces on overthrowing our foremost enemy — imperialism — and cripple the resistance of the feudal landlord class for a definite time, our agrarian policy will be carried out in three steps :

1. Confiscation of the land belonging to the imperialists and the Vietnamse collaborators, redistribution of communal land and disposal of land belonging to absentee owners; spearheading our agrarian policy against the imperialists and the most reactionary feudalists.

2. Reduction of land rent and usurious interest rates, moratorium and abolition of debts; to weaken the economic forces and initially reduce the political power of the feudal landlord class in the countryside, and take the first steps towards fostering the forces of the labouring peasants.

3. Achievement of the land reform, abolition of feudalism ownership of land, an end to the political power of the feudalists, realization of the slogans "Land to the Tillers" and "The Labouring Peasants As Complete Masters of the Countryside".

The first step prepares the ground for the second, and the second step paves the way for the third.

We are now engaged on the second step; and it is time to move on to the third.

5. WHY MUST WE CARRY OUT THE LAND REFORM DURING THE WAR OF RESISTANCE?

The workers and peasants are making the greatest contributions to the patriotic war in terms of manpower and material resources; they are making enormous sacrifices for the revolution. The war of resistance must rely mainly on the worker and peasant masses, the peasants being by far the largest group, in order to win final victory.

Our patriotic fight must be long-drawn-out. Its requirements in terms of manpower and material resources is increasing daily. These are mainly contributed by the peasants; but the peasants, who have little or no land at all, are poverty-stricken.

Although the August Revolution of 1945 and the mass mobilization for reduction of land rent have brought some benefits to the peasants and some improvements to the life of the peasants, the basic demand of the peasants — land — has not yet been settled and satisfied.

It is now time to carry out a land reform, taking land from the feudal landlords and distributing it to the peasants and gaining political power in the countryside for the peasants. This is the basic method to be used in the immediate

future to replenish the forces of the peasants, supply the war of resistance, develop production and advance our patriotic struggle.

On the one hand, the war of resistance is becoming more and more difficult and demanding. The imperialists are relying increasingly on the feudalists and are building a puppet administration and puppet army to oppose the resistance and continue their war of aggression. Of late they made a great ballyhoo about giving "full independence" to Viet Nam, staged a deceitful farce of "democratic elections", and even made propaganda about a false "land reform", trying to trick the people, especially the peasants of our country, into accepting their measures.

The enemy's aim in carrying out a policy of deceit is to attract and entice the people in areas under their control to support them, in order to promote the policy of using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese, and using war to feed war.

On the other hand, the feudal landlord class is more and more actively opposed to our agrarian policy, agricultural tax and the movement to increase production. Feudal land-ownership continues to hinder development of the productive forces of the countryside, hinder the supply of food to our armed forces and to our people, and it also hinders our continuing war of resistance and our efforts to bring it to total victory.

Since the August Revolution of 1945, the landlords have seized the leadership in our rural organizations in many places. The political power of the landlords has not been weakened as much as is necessary; and the political power

of our peasants in the countryside has not yet been fully effective. That is why our backing in the countryside is not yet steady, our rear area is not yet consolidated.

While our patriotic war is becoming daily more ruthless, the feudal landlord class is becoming daily more reactionary, and its defeatist and capitulationist tendency increases day by day. The further we proceed with necessary democratic policies (agrarian policy, agricultural tax policy, etc.) the more strongly the feudal landlord class reacts and the more closely it colludes with the imperialists to oppose the resistance and oppose the people's administration.

A proof of this is that through the present mass mobilization for land rent reduction, through the denunciations by the masses, we have discovered many cases of landlords organizing spies, gathering intelligence for the enemy, serving as bases for enemy commandos, or setting up reactionary organizations, and sabotaging our Government's policies on taxes, agrarian reform, voluntary civilian labour, and production. In a number of places, they infiltrate the Party cells, the administration, the peasants' associations and the Lien Viet organizations to oppress and exploit the peasants, sabotage the resistance, and undermine the implementation of our policies.

In the second mass mobilization for land rent reduction recently, the reaction of the landlords was fairly strong. Some of them murdered cadres, burned peasants' homes, poisoned wells, called for help from the imperialists and the puppet administration, helped enemy planes locate and strafe the offices of peasants' associations, etc. For their part, the French colonialists made armed thrusts into the free

zones in an attempt to sabotage our mass mobilization in the 3rd and 4th Interzones (covering the Red River delta and four provinces north of the 17th parallel respectively — *Ed.*).

The reactionary feudal landlords are the servants of the imperialist aggressors ; and the imperialist aggressors are the masters of the reactionary feudal landlords.

Thus in order to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, to consolidate our rear area, to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, to develop production, and ensure supplies to enable us to persist in and step up our patriotic fight, it is necessary to carry out the land reform, overthrow the feudal landlord class, and smash the social basis of imperialism in our country.

The effect of the land reform bringing land to the peasant masses is to enhance their enthusiasm and their zeal in increasing production and taking part in the war of resistance, and consequently the resistance forces will grow in strength. As a result, the work of building up the army, mobilizing transport for war supplies, and ensuring supplies to the resistance, will be facilitated ; the worker-peasant alliance will be further strengthened ; and on that basis the administration and the National United Front will be consolidated, economy and culture will develop, and the Party's leadership will be further entrenched.

President Ho Chi Minh said : "The key to the victory of our resistance lies in strengthening and broadening the National United Front, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, strengthening the people's administration,

strengthening and developing the armed forces, consolidating the Party and enhancing the Party's leadership in all respects. Only by carrying out a land reform can we proceed favourably with these tasks".¹

6. REVIEWING OUR PARTY'S AGRARIAN POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

Since the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party (1930), our Party's agrarian policy has on the whole proved correct.

Our Party's programme for bourgeois democratic revolution in 1930 made it quite clear that to overthrow the imperialists, it is necessary to topple the feudalists at the same time. To oppose imperialism and feudalism are two major tasks of the Vietnamese revolution.

During the Second World War, when our people were living under the yoke of the Japanese fascists and French imperialists our Party campaigned for the establishment of the Viet Minh Front embracing all patriots and other Vietnamese who opposed the aggressive fascists and the Vietnamese collaborators and traitors. The Viet Minh's agrarian policy is : to confiscate land belonging to the imperialists and the Vietnamese collaborators and distribute them to the peasants, to carry out reduction of land rent and usurious interest rates, to proceed to put the slogan "Land to the Tillers" into practice with the aim of winning independence for the nation, democracy for the people, and improving the latter's living conditions.

1. Report to the First National Conference, November 14 - 23, 1953.

After the August Revolution (1945), the French imperialists started hostilities, and brought troops to invade our country once again. In the face of the tension between us and the imperialists, President Ho Chi Minh called on the entire people to unite and oppose the imperialists and the traitors. This policy of national union is very correct and necessary.

In the past few years, however, we have had a one-sided concept of the policy of broad national union to fight the aggressors. We also lacked experience, and failed to fully assess the demands and prospects of a protracted resistance. We somewhat under-estimated the role of the peasants in the resistance and in the people's national democratic revolution.

This is why we did not take steps to actively implement the agrarian policy; we did not clearly realize the necessity of carrying out land reform concurrently with the resistance, although we did recognize that possibility theoretically.

For that reason, we made light of the anti-feudalist task at times. We did not fully realize that to promote the anti-feudal task is in fact a basic method of contributing to the anti-imperialist task, and ensuring the early success of the latter.

Another thing is that we have applied experiences gained from the Chinese revolution in the anti-Japanese resistance mechanically. We did not see that during the eight-year anti-Japanese resistance, the Chinese revolution restricted itself to carrying out land rent reduction because at that time the Chinese people had a partner to cooperate with in resisting the Japanese; that is, the Chiang Kai-shek administration, representing the feudal landlord class and the bureaucratic

capitalist class of China. We for our part have no such partner to cooperate with in our present resistance, and therefore need not restrict ourselves to the stage of land rent reduction.

These mistakes and shortcomings have not only resulted in our failure to initiate a timely land reform and to make the requisite preparations for its implementation, but it has also affected the land rent reduction.

Our main mistake in implementing the agrarian policy lay in not clearly realizing that the implementation of the agrarian policy of the Party and the Government was bound to be a difficult and ruthless class struggle; we did not fully realize that in order to carry out the agrarian policy, we must achieve broad mobilization of the masses, and follow the mass line. This explains why the method we used to carry out the agrarian policy was bureaucratic and high-handed.

As a result, stubborn landlords refused to implement the policy of the Party and Government correctly, while the class consciousness of the peasants was not raised, nor were they strongly organized for struggle. In some places, the agrarian policy was simply not carried out; in others, it was only carried out half-heartedly. In some isolated cases, the campaign for implementing the agrarian policy has been turned into an extremist "leftist" political struggle, faulty both in strategy and tactics.

Land confiscated from the imperialists and the collaborators following the August Revolution has already been provisionally allotted to poor peasants. These peasants are receiving little help to develop production however. There are many places where land rent reduction has been effected since 1949, but where the peasants have not been mobilized to struggle,

and as a consequence almost all the landlords refused to reduce land rent according to requirements. They only paid lip service to the land rent reduction, or found ways of taking back with one hand the rent they had reduced with the other.

The failure to fully implement the agrarian policy has affected the whole of our work :

— There has been delay in broadening and consolidating the National United Front on the basis of a firm worker-peasant alliance, and in many places the Front has been misused by the landlords.

— Although our armed forces have made significant progress, they are still falling short of the requirements of the situation.

— In many places, the lower levels of the administration, especially at village level, have been misused by landlords and rural despots, and in these places the labouring peasants are not truly holding power in the countryside.

— There has been some delay in strengthening the Party ; in some places the Party's grassroots organizations in the countryside are heterogeneous, the relationship between the Party and the masses is not yet close.

From another angle, the failure to fully implement the land rent reduction policy and the delay in carrying out land reform have restricted the development of the economy and culture of our country.

In short, although we have brought a number of benefits to the peasants during the past few years, yet the shortcomings in the implementation of the agrarian policy and the

failure to implement it actively have had a bad influence on our resistance to foreign aggression and our national construction.

That is why the 4th Plenum of the Party's Central Committee held early this year reviewed the agrarian policy and the method of implementing the agrarian policy of our Party over the past few years. It adopted the Party's programme for land reform and the decision to mobilize the masses for land reform in the free zones.

The mobilization of the masses for land rent reduction this year has brought good results. In those places where the masses were mobilized, the peasants have regained part of their economic interests and seized considerable political power in the countryside. The reactionary landlords and the cruel rural despots have begun to be overthrown and the economic power of the landlords has been reduced. We have summed up a number of experiences gained in leading broad mass movements and have trained a number of cadres to continue extending land rent reduction and to prepare for the implementation of land reform in the years ahead.

The recent 5th Plenum of the Party's Central Committee discussed the implementation of land reform in order to make relevant proposals to the National Conference of the Party. The present National Conference will discuss and adopt land reform policy, and will decide on the implementation of land reform in the free zones, thereby developing the important resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Party's Central Committee.

In the present war of resistance, our Party has led the people to many big victories in all fields, a brilliant

achievement of our Party and our people. As far as agrarian policy is concerned, however, we have made a number of mistakes. Our Party, being a Marxist-Leninist Party, uses the methods of criticism and self-criticism to make progress. We frankly admit our mistakes and shortcomings, and are resolved to correct them. We will succeed in this too.

7. OUR PARTY'S GENERAL LINE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AT PRESENT

To carry out land reform, the most important thing is to clearly define the general line of the Party in the countryside at present. As President Ho Chi Minh has said, that line is to "rely fully on the poor and landless peasants, unite closely with the middle peasants, ally ourselves with the rich peasants, wipe out the regime of feudal exploitation gradually and judiciously, and develop production and the resistance".

The landless peasants are the proletarians and the poor peasants are the semi-proletarians in the countryside. The poor peasants make up about 5% per cent of the rural population. They contribute the most labour, but are the poorest stratum in the countryside, and they either have no land at all or own very little land. For centuries now they have been harshly oppressed and exploited by the feudal landlords (the kings, mandarins and rural despots) and the imperialists. The August Revolution of 1945 brought them very little land. The poor and landless peasants are the strata which work with the most ardour to make the slogan "Land to the Tillers" a reality. They take the lead in revolutionary enthusiasm both in fighting the aggressors and in resolutely opposing feudalism in the countryside.

For these reasons, in order to carry out a land reform we must rely on the poor and landless peasants, have confidence in their spirit of revolutionary struggle, develop their role as the core of the struggle, and satisfy their demands. At the same time, we must educate them, so that they will not simply chase after their immediate interests and forget the long-term interests of the revolution.

While relying on the poor and landless peasants, we must unite with the middle peasants. The middle peasants are also labouring peasants; they are also harshly oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and feudalists. The middle peasants make up around 40% of the rural population and have rich experience in production. They are a considerable revolutionary force. Only by uniting with the middle peasants can the poor and landless peasants avoid being isolated and increase their strength in opposition to the landlord class. In uniting with the middle peasants, we must take their interests into consideration, educate them in the content of class interests, and the slogan "Poor, Landless and Middle Peasants, Unite Like Members of the Same Family".

With regard to the rich peasants, our present policy is to rally them politically and maintain the rich peasant economy. The rich peasants still have the right to hire labour to increase production.

By rallying the rich peasants, we can isolate the landlord class so as to get rid of it, and bring the rich peasants into the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ranks, thereby reassuring the middle peasants.

The policy of relying on the poor and landless peasants, uniting closely with the middle peasants, and rallying the

rich peasants is essentially aimed at abolishing the feudal ownership of land gradually and judiciously, so as to develop production and the war of resistance.

How can we abolish feudal land ownership and wipe out the feudal regime of exploitation gradually and judiciously? In terms of overall policy, the first step is to confiscate the land belonging to the French imperialists and the Vietnamese collaborators; the second step is to reduce land rents and usurious interest rates; and the third step is to implement land reform. We reduce land rents first to prepare the ground for land reform. This is a sure way of proceeding step by step. With regard to implementation of the land reform on a nationwide scale, we are obliged to carry out the slogan "Land to the Tillers" step by step, both in view of the balance of forces between us and the enemy, and because of the war: that is to say, in the free zones first, then in other areas.

We will decide on our policy toward the feudal landlords on the basis of the political attitude of each category of them, and depending on the character of each kind of land, we will deal with them judiciously and appropriately.

This is the basic spirit and content of the general line of our Party in the countryside at present. We must fully grasp this line in order to carry out the land reform well.

II

HOW TO ABOLISH IMPERIALIST AND FEUDALIST LAND OWNERSHIP IN OUR COUNTRY

1. FEATURES OF THE PRESENT VIETNAMESE SITUATION TO BE GIVEN ATTENTION TO IN THE LAND REFORM

Attention should be given to the following points in the present situation in Viet Nam :

1. The Vietnamese people are waging a war of resistance to foreign aggression. To implement land reform during the resistance is to engage in difficult and crucial struggles on two fronts — the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal fronts.

2. The National United Front of Viet Nam includes the various classes of the people and even a number of democratic personalities and landlords who are members of the resistance.

3. Viet Nam was formerly a feudal country dominated by imperialism for more than 80 years ; the country has gone through the August Revolution of 1945 and is waging a patriotic war. Thus the problem of land in Viet Nam is very complicated. There are usually changes in land ownership each time there is a big change in the situation.

4. Following several years of collection of agricultural tax and the campaign for reduction of land rent and usurious

interest rates the situation now is as follows : a number of landlords (mostly small landlords) continue to hold their estates, but many other landlords have scattered their land in many different ways : selling, giving away, sharing it out (real or phony) among their children all in order to avoid and obstruct the implementation of the agrarian policy. In some cases, landlords who formerly owned hundreds of hectares of land, now own only half a dozen.

5. Our country is divided into many zones, where conditions are different and where the revolutionary movement develops at different rates : in the free zones, the guerrilla-base areas, the guerrilla areas, and the enemy-held areas. The free zones, in their turn, are divided into mountain and jungle areas mostly inhabited by the ethnic minorities, the midland regions and the plains. The land conditions as well as the political, military, economic and cultural situation vary from area to area.

6. Our cadres are still few in number and are inexperienced. Our organizations are not yet truly pure and steady, particularly our grass-roots organizations.

In this situation the guideline for the land reform policy and the plan for implementing that policy can include the following points :

a) On the basis of meeting the labouring peasants' demand for land, we must be judicious in dealing with the various kinds of landlords, differentiate them properly and give due consideration to the resistant landlords, so as to reduce the number of our enemies to a minimum.

b) It is necessary to be judicious in dealing with the different kinds of land, in such a way as to benefit the peasants, the resistance, and production.

c) We must deal appropriately with the landlords' scattering of their land; so as to have enough land to distribute to the peasants, and turn the slogan "Land to the Tillers" into reality.

d) We must implement the land reform step by step, and in accordance with local conditions. We should avoid carrying out the land reform as a massively concentrated campaign. In some special areas, special decisions must be taken.

e) While implementing the land reform, we should train and foster cadres. The leading organs themselves must also gain more experience, complement policies, and readjust and strengthen themselves through practical work.

2. MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TO ABOLISH IMPERIALIST AND FEUDALIST LAND OWNERSHIP IN OUR COUNTRY

The imperialists and colonialists have invaded our country. They have no right to own land in our country.

The feudal landlord class is reactionary and its ownership of land is illegal. However, the reality in our country is that there are three kinds of landlords: (a) collaborationists, reactionaries, and cruel rural despots, (b) ordinary landlords, and (c) landlords who are members of the resistance, among them a number of democratic personalities. There are also different kinds of land: land belonging to the imperialists, to the feudalists, and land owned by the peasants, by the

State, etc. The land belonging to the feudalists includes that owned by the landlords, communal land, semi-communal, semi-private land, and land owned by the religious communities.

For the purpose of dealing discriminately with the various categories of landlords and the various kinds of land, the following measures should be taken to abolish the ownership of land by the imperialists and feudalists in our country :

The land belonging to the imperialists and colonialists must all be confiscated (without compensation).

With regard to the land owned by the feudal landlords, one of the following three measures can be taken :

1. Confiscation (without compensation),
2. Requisitioning (without compensation),
3. Forcible purchase at prices set by the State.

Confiscation is a way of dealing with and a form of punishment meted out to the counter-revolutionaries — those who have committed crimes against the resistance and the people. It is necessary to confiscate the land and property of the collaborationist landlords, reactionaries, cruel rural despots, and of foreign residents who collaborate with the imperialists and the puppet administration.

Requisitioning is a method of taking what is necessary and using it in a rational way. We must requisition the communal, semi-communal and semi-private land, etc.

Forcible purchase is a method of showing some consideration to the resistant landlords or those landlords who have not committed crimes. We forcibly purchase land of landlords

who are not collaborators, reactionaries, or cruel rural despots ; that is, democratic personalities, resistant landlords and ordinary landlords.

Thus we use three measures — confiscation, requisition and forcible purchase to deal discriminatingly with the landlords on the basis of the political attitude of each category.

3. CONFISCATION, REQUISITION, AND FORCIBLE PURCHASE DEPEND ON CLASS STATUS, AND NOT ON THE AMOUNT OF LAND OWNED

Our agrarian policy in the present revolutionary stage is aimed at abolishing imperialist and feudalist land ownership, in order to wipe out the feudal regime of exploitation of the landlord class. For this reason, apart from the land and property of the imperialists which we must confiscate, our policy is to confiscate, requisition, and forcibly purchase the land of the landlord class, but not to confiscate, requisition or forcibly purchase land in general upward of a certain area.

If a person is a landlord, his land is either confiscated, requisitioned or forcibly purchased on the basis of his political attitude, not of whether he is a big, medium-sized or small landlord.

Our policy is to encourage the development of industry and trade. That is why our policy with regard to the industrialists and traders who are also landlords, or landlords who are also industrialists and traders, deals only with that part of their land which they lease to tenants for cultivation or hire labour to exploit. Our policy does not touch on their industrial or commercial property and land directly used for their industrial or commercial enterprises (capital, machinery,

raw materials, products, merchandise, and housing facilities used in industrial or commercial enterprises ; land on which these houses are built and land on which dwelling-houses are built ; shops and stores for raw materials, goods stores, drying-yards, etc.).

Landlords whose businesses are based on hiring labour to work with ordinary tools are treated like other landlords.

There are people who own a little land, but who lack the labour force necessary to cultivate them, because they are in the resistance, or because they are busy with other occupations, and consequently have to lease their land to tenants or cultivate them entirely with hired labour. These are not considered landlords, and their land is not requisitioned.

With regard to the rich peasants, since our policy is to protect their economy, we do not touch them. The land leased to tenants by a number of rich peasants is not touched either. Rich-peasant tenants who own no land will receive shares of land.

In special cases, rich peasants who are collaborators, reactionaries or cruel rural despots, have many blood debts toward the peasants, and are hated by the peasants, are considered members of the landlord class, and their land is either wholly or partially confiscated.

The land and property of the middle peasants is protected entirely. If middle peasants lease land to tenants, such land is not touched. Middle peasants who own little land will receive additional shares of land.

In short, our policy is to strike at the landlord class and abolish the feudal regime of land ownership, and the feudal forms of exploitation by the landlord class.

4. DEGREES OF CONFISCATION, REQUISITION AND FORCIBLE PURCHASE OF LAND BELONGING TO THE LANDLORDS

The policy of confiscating, requisitioning, and forcibly purchasing land must be implemented appropriately. First of all, we must clearly distinguish what can be confiscated, requisitioned, or forcibly purchased from the landlords and what cannot. These are, in order of importance :

- land,
- draught animals,
- farming implements,
- surplus food, and
- surplus housing facilities.

Land, draught animals and farming implements belong to the same category. Without draught animals and farming implements, it is difficult for the peasants to cultivate the land. Likewise, food and housing facilities are very necessary to the peasants' life. In the past, many peasants who had provisionally been allotted land but did not have enough to eat, had to spend much of their time trying to earn enough to eat and were unable to till these lands. With regard to housing, how many peasants are homeless and have to live with other people? We must confiscate or requisition the surplus food and surplus housing facilities of the collaborationist landlords, the reactionaries and cruel rural despots, and distribute them to the poorest peasants. We must, however, make clear what surplus food and surplus housing facilities are, so as to avoid excessive confiscating or requisitioning. We should only confiscate or requisition surplus housing facilities or food, because it is necessary to leave the landlords enough space to live in, and enough food to eat too.

With regard to the surplus land, draught animals, farming implements, food and housing facilities of the collaborators, reactionaries, and cruel rural despots, we confiscate all or part of them, depending on the gravity of the crimes they have committed. We requisition the rest.

With regard to the land, draught animals and farming implements of the landlords who support the resistance and ordinary landlords, they will be forcibly purchased. There is no question of forcibly purchasing the surplus housing facilities and surplus food of these landlords in general.

With regard to any kind of landlords, we should not investigate their movable property (gold, silver, precious stones...), because experience shows that if we do so, we create disorder and cause the landlords to destroy these things, thereby diminishing the overall wealth of society.

When confiscating, requisitioning, or forcibly purchasing, we must leave the landlords and their families part of their property so that they can labour and live on them, and avoid becoming hoodlums and tramps. At the same time, we must provide the landlords with conditions in which to remould themselves ideologically through labour.

5. POLICY TOWARD LANDLORDS WHO SCATTER THEIR LAND AND OPPOSE THE LAND REFORM POLICY

Since the August Revolution of 1945, and especially since 1949, many landlords have scattered their land estates in an effort to dodge our agrarian policy. According to surveys conducted recently in three villages of Phu Tho province,

since 1949, the landlords have scattered more than 31% of their land estates. The percentage of scattered crop fields alone exceeds 50%.

The motivation behind the landlords' scattering their land estates is to avoid the implementation of the agrarian policy and the policy on agricultural tax, and to buy off and divide the peasants.

For these reasons, concerning the period from July 14, 1949, when our State issued the first decree on land rent reduction, until April 12, 1953, when the State promulgated the decree on mobilizing the masses for thorough reduction of land rent, all selling, distribution and giving away of land by landlords during this period are considered illegal, except in these circumstances mentioned in the circular No 277-TTg of June 1, 1953, issued by the Premier's Office :

— actual legacy to the landlord's children or to his lawful successors ;

— when such lands and property have been sold because their owners have suffered from natural calamities or enemy destruction, and there is really no other way for them to meet their needs ;

— the landlords concerned have actually switched over to industrial or commercial enterprise.

Land previously mortgaged or sold by the peasants to the landlords, and now bought back by the peasants ; land previously seized by the landlords from the peasants but now returned to the peasants ; and land given by the landlords to the peasants as compensation for the latter's struggle are not considered land scattered by the landlords.

Who owns the land scattered by the landlords since 1949 ? Mostly middle peasants, poor peasants, and rich peasants, a number of former landless peasants and people of other strata ; most of the fertile land has been bought by or entrusted to middle and rich peasants ; most of the infertile land has been bought by or entrusted to poor and landless peasants ; most of the land given away is not fertile ; most of the recipients of fertile land are relatives or close friends of the landlords.

How should we now deal with the scattered lands of the landlords so as to benefit the peasants and the resistance ? The question of dealing with the scattered lands of the landlords is very complicated. If it is not solved, we will not have enough land to distribute to the peasants. But if this problem is not solved properly, it might do more harm than good. That is why it is necessary to make certain distinctions between the recipients of the lands scattered by the landlords :

a) With regard to land transferred from one landlord to another, we confiscate, requisition or forcibly purchase such land, depending on the political attitude of the recipient. If landlords who support the resistance and ordinary landlords have purchased such land, we repurchase them at the prices they paid.

b) Transfers of land to rich peasants shall be cancelled and the land redistributed to landless or land-poor peasants ; the purchasers will be repaid either in cash or in kind at the price paid.

c) If land is transferred to middle peasants, the distribution of this land must be considered as an internal affair of

the labouring peasants and will be solved in a more circumspect way. The best solution is to persuade and educate the middle peasants to take the initiative in ceding the land they have received in this way to landless or poor peasants. At the same time, the administration should compensate the middle peasants who cede this land for the price paid, either in cash or in kind. When the middle peasants cede this land, we must see to it that they continue to own an area not below the average owned by the middle peasants in the village.

d) If the recipients of the scattered land are poor or landless peasants or lower middle peasants, that is people who have no or little land, the land will not be touched.

e) Transfers of land to the national bourgeois shall also be cancelled and the land distributed to the peasants; compensations shall be made as in the case of rich peasants.

f) In the case of scattered land in the hands of petty bourgeois, persuasion should be used so that they will voluntarily cede this land to landless or poor peasants, and compensation shall be made to them as in the case of middle peasants. If the recipients really cannot earn a decent living without the land, then part of this scattered land shall be left to them.

Above is the policy concerning the land scattered by the landlords from July 1949 to April this year (1953 — *Ed*). Starting from the day the Government promulgated the decree mobilizing the masses for thorough reduction of land rent (April 12, 1953), except for cases stipulated in the circular No 277-TTg, all scattering of land by the landlords

is regarded as illegal and the scattered land must be confiscated for distribution to the peasants. The landlords who have illegally scattered their land must pay compensation to those who purchased these lands.

We must clearly explain these redistributions to the peasants so that they do not misunderstand the policy toward the landlords who have scattered land as above. Failing this, the landlords may make negative propaganda distorting the situation to win over recipients of the land they have scattered.

We should not only deal with the landlords' scattering of land and their opposition to the agrarian policy until now, but also deal with scattering of land and opposition to the agrarian policy from now on.

To prevent landlords from scattering land, destroying property and opposing our land reform policy, *from now on and until the land reform is completed, the transfer and scattering of land by landlords shall be considered illegal, except for special cases to be stipulated by the Government.* Destruction of crops, farming implements and water conservancy works, as well as slaughtering of buffaloes, oxen, horses and mules, shall be severely punished. Legitimate slaughtering or selling of draught animals shall be the subject of stipulations by the administration.

6. TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF PURCHASING LAND BELONGING TO THE LANDLORDS

All the land owned by the landlords are the fruits of the labour of peasants, and should therefore be taken back by the Government and the peasants, instead of being repurchased.

However, in keeping with the policy of treating the different kinds of landlords discriminatingly, the Government has defined different measures : confiscation, requisition and forcible purchase of these lands.

Confiscation and requisition are both carried out without compensation, the only difference between these two measures being their political significance. As for forcible purchase, it will be followed by compensation. The forcibly purchased land will be paid for with a special bond. Every year the Government will pay the equivalent of 1.5% of the capital in paddy, money or materials as interest. After a 10-year period, it will refund the capital.

Capital here means the price of the forcibly purchased land. This price should be fixed in terms of the average yearly output of the land forcibly purchased.

Forcible purchase of land is applied to landlords who are not collaborators, reactionaries, or cruel rural despots.

With regard to democratic personalities, cadres or families of cadres who volunteer to give their land away, if the peasants agree and if these are deserving cases, they are allowed to make such gifts. By so doing, we can somewhat reduce the number of forcible purchases, and thus further differentiate among the landlords. But we should not encourage widespread gifts of land.

7. SPECIFIC TREATMENT OF THE VARIOUS KINDS OF LAND

What is the correct way to deal with the various kinds of land, proceeding from the policy of confiscation, requisition and forcible purchase of land ?

a) *Land in the hands of the imperialists and feudalists :*

All the land, draught animals, farming implements, housing facilities, food, and property of the imperialists shall be confiscated and either distributed to the peasants or put under State management.

The plantations owned by the imperialists, whether they have been provisionally allotted to the peasants or not, shall be definitively distributed to them, except for those to be kept for the establishment of State farms. Draught animals, farming implements, and housing facilities already distributed to the peasants shall not be touched. Those remaining shall generally speaking be shared out to peasants.

All selling or giving away of plantations by the managers or families of plantation-owners after the August Revolution of 1945 shall be considered illegal, and therefore these lands should be taken back to be shared out to the peasants in principle. But in the case of land already scattered by the imperialists into the hands of labouring peasants and poor strata of the rural population, appropriate readjustments shall be made in distributing this land.

With regard to the land, draught animals, farming implements, surplus housing facilities and surplus food of the collaborators, reactionaries and cruel rural despots, they shall be confiscated or requisitioned, depending on the gravity of their crimes, but these things shall not be forcibly purchased.

With regard to the land, draught animals, and farming implements of democratic personalities, landlords supporting the resistance and ordinary landlords, they shall be forcibly purchased and distributed to the labouring peasants. The land usurped by these landlords shall be confiscated.

b) *Semi-communal semi-private land.*

Communal and semi-communal semi-private land is an aspect of the feudal economy in our country. So far, the landlords and rural despots have misused these kinds of land to their own benefit, by seizing the more fertile plots for instance and leaving the less fertile ones to the peasants, or using income from them to organize eating and drinking bouts, thus wasting communal wealth. Communal and semi-communal semi-private lands are usually allotted on an "egalitarian" basis or "auctioned"; they frequently change hands, which accounts for their very low output. For this reason it is necessary to use these lands in a way beneficial to the peasants, to production.

With regard to communal land, it shall be requisitioned and distributed to the peasants.

Alluvial soil along the sea-coasts or the river-banks or in the middle of rivers, are also considered communal land and shall be requisitioned and distributed to the peasants.

Communal and semi-communal semi-private land misappropriated by individuals shall be confiscated.

With regard to semi-communal semi-private land, such as *phe, giap, tu van, tu vo, loc dien, but dien, hoc dien, ruong hau, ruong ho* (lands owned by various associations under the old regime — *Translator*), and land owned by mass organizations etc. they shall be requisitioned like communal land and distributed to the peasants.

The land jointly owned by two or more households or belonging to production collectives shall not be requisitioned, for they are not considered semi-communal semi-private land or land owned by mass organizations.

c) *Special categories of land :*

Land owned by absentee landlords.

Land owned by landlords who have disappeared shall be confiscated. Land lying in the free zones owned by landlords living in enemy-held areas, shall be confiscated, requisitioned or forcibly purchased, depending on the political attitude of the landlord.

If landlords are absent because they are taking part in resistance activities or if they have evacuated to another free zone and are neither collaborators, reactionaries, nor cruel rural despots, their land shall be forcibly purchased.

If a landlord is a Vietnamese national who resides abroad and does not collaborate with the enemy, his land is subject to forcible purchase.

Waste and fallow land.

Land owned by landlords but left waste or fallow for whatever reason shall be requisitioned and distributed to the peasants, except for the plots of land already tilled by the peasants, which are considered as belonging to those who have the merit of exploiting them, and therefore are not requisitioned.

Land not belonging to landlords, but left waste or fallow for more than two years for no plausible reason, and whose owners continue to leave it waste or fallow, neither tilling nor leasing it to tenants even after explanations of Government policy, shall be requisitioned and distributed to the peasants.

Plausible reasons for leaving land waste include the following :

— Land lying near enemy military posts, and frequently raided by the enemy and therefore not available for cultivation ;

— Land which is particularly badly affected by floods or drought, and not easily recoverable ;

— Many members of the families of the owners of such land are sick or engaged in resistance activities, causing a shortage of labour in these families ;

— Because of the war, there are no outlets for some products, and the owners do not have enough capital to maintain production.

Land owned by religious communities.

Land owned by the church, pagodas, holy sees, etc., shall be distributed to the peasants according to circumstances, and according to the following methods :

a) Land owned by the church, pagodas, and holy sees, and which they have legitimately bought with their funds, shall be forcibly purchased by the State.

b) Other land of the church and pagodas shall be requisitioned and distributed to the peasants, but part of it shall be reserved for the church and pagodas, for worshipping purposes.

The farming implements and draught animals accompanying these lands shall be either *forcibly purchased* or *requisitioned*, depending on the circumstances.

Land owned by parish priests, clergymen, head priests of holy sees, chief monks, bonzes and nuns, is considered private land, and shall be disposed of depending on whether their owners are landlords or not, and are guilty of crimes or not.

Land owned by foreign residents.

Land owned by foreign landlords is treated like that owned by Vietnamese landlords, (whether the title-deeds contain the names of these landlords, their wives and children or other people, including Vietnamese names). Depending on the circumstances, this land shall be confiscated, requisitioned or forcibly purchased. The land owned by foreign residents who are not landlords is treated like land owned by Vietnamese, the only difference being that the *Vietnamese people have the right to own that land, whereas foreign residents have only the right to use it.* They may hand over the right to use that land to their wives and children, but they may not mortgage or sell it. When they and their families no longer want to make use of their land, they must return it to the Vietnamese Government.

Foreign residents taking part in the resistance are protected. Foreign residents who collaborate with the imperialists and oppose the resistance, oppose the Government and people of Viet Nam, are treated like collaborators and their land and property are confiscated like those of the collaborators.

Foreign peasants who have been living on farming in the Vietnamese countryside and who perform all their duties like the Vietnamese, have the right to own land like Vietnamese peasants.

d) *Some special stipulations.*

Cancelling debts to the landlords.

The landlords usually exploit the peasants by means of usurious interest rates. That is why in the land reform, debts contracted with the landlords by poor, landless and middle peasants and other poor people in the countryside shall be cancelled. Title-deeds and contracts concerning land owned by landlords become invalid. With regard to other debts, they continue to be dealt with according to previous government stipulations and are not cancelled during the land reform.

Fish, buffalo and salt rents.

Our rivers and seas belong to our State. The imperialists and the landlords and the rural despots have no right to seize them, nor levy taxes or collect fish rent. Therefore from now on, the monopoly of the imperialists, feudalists and other private individuals on our sea areas and rivers shall be abolished.

With regard to the buffalo and salt rents related to animal husbandry and salt-making, experience should be drawn from places where experiments are being conducted, and measures taken accordingly.

III

DISTRIBUTE LAND TO THE PEASANTS, PUT THE SLOGAN "LAND TO THE TILLERS" INTO PRACTICE

To solve this problem, it is necessary to specify the following points :

1. LAND TO BE DISTRIBUTED AND LAND NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED

All land, draught animals, farming implements, etc. confiscated, requisitioned or forcibly purchased from the imperialists and landlords should be pooled and distributed to the peasants, except for the following items :

— Experimental plantations, plantations of industrial crops such as coffee, rubber and pepper ; plantations of fruit-trees where new techniques are being applied ; forest and mountain areas where valuable products are being grown and which therefore have to be protected ; mines, dykes, bridges and culverts, roads, groves of pines along the coast, and water conservancy works which have to be taken care of and managed by the administration.

— Places of historical significance or scenic beauty, palaces, pagodas and temples, landscapes of historical renown or having a cultural value, cultural works, such as books.

political and cultural, literary and artistic materials, etc. Artistic works confiscated or requisitioned from the landlords must be carefully protected and handed over to the care of the administration, and should in no way be distributed or destroyed.

Neither should the cemeteries, tombs and trees planted around them be distributed or destroyed.

Villages with communal lands must reserve part of these lands to receive and accommodate disabled soldiers. Villages that do not have communal lands shall reserve part of the land belonging to the landlords for this purpose.

Besides, an amount of reserve land must be kept for eventual use in case of readjustment and additional distribution after review of the land reform, or for distribution to villagers who return from afar and who need land. (The amount of such reserve land should not exceed what is strictly necessary).

Land belonging to the towns and cities, provincial capitals and townships, and land bordering on important communication lines shall not be distributed; this is to provide for the eventual growth of urban centres, provincial capitals, townships and communication lines. Neither shall the land which constitute the grounds of public offices or schools and hospitals be distributed.

Any land confiscated, requisitioned and forcibly purchased, which does not fall into the categories to be managed by the administration, and is not reserved for disabled soldiers, for rebuilding urban centres, provincial capitals and townships, enlarging roads, or building public offices and schools, shall not be retained for whatever other purposes. If too much

of this land is retained, this would be detrimental to the poor and landless masses. The management of reserve land must be carefully stipulated so as to avoid misappropriation of public land, leaving land waste, lowering production, or irrational use.

Fish-breeding ponds and hills planted with fruit-trees or industrial crops according to ordinary methods, may be distributed wherever conditions permit.

In order to protect forest land, generally speaking forests shall not be distributed, except for very special cases, such as bushland, hills planted with palm-trees, some lacquer and resin trees etc., which may be distributed to the peasants or to the hamlets and villages for their use and collective management.

The Government will provide detailed rules with regard to the burning of forests for hillside fields.

2. PERSONS ENTITLED TO DISTRIBUTED LAND AND THEIR RIGHTS

The peasants who cultivate the land must be the main recipients of land in the land reform. Priority should next be given to those who have rendered services to the revolution, to those who take part in and serve the resistance. Due consideration must also be given to members of various religious communities.

Besides, we must win over the puppet troops and create conditions for the landlords and their families to earn their living on their own and to transform themselves through labour. But at the same time we must punish the