

[The People's Hammer](#)

Interview with Serve the people Vietnam (Vì dân phục vụ)

By

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The following is an interview with Serve the people Vietnam ([Vì dân phục vụ](#)). More of their writing can be found [here](#).

The positions put forward in the text do not reflect our line. We are publishing this document with the intention of both bettering the understanding of the international communist movement among workers in Canada and to promote two-line struggle internationally.

– Editorial Board of The People's Hammer

On Vietnamese Society

- 1. What is the mode of production in modern Vietnam? Was semi-feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism, and semi-colonialism abolished in both the north and the south of the country?**

The mode of production in modern Vietnam is bureaucratic capitalism – semi-colonial and semi-feudal characteristics.

On the abolition of semi-colonialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in Vietnam:

In the North: Semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism were abolished through the land reforms, nationalization and collectivization under the people's democratic dictatorship. However, some provincial leaders like Kim Ngoc had tried to restore capitalism with the "contract" policy, but it was never totally repudiated.

In the South: Semi-feudalism has never been completely abolished, while the land reforms had been carried out since the August Revolution and through the anti-U.S resistance war. But after the reunification and under the Le Duan revisionist clique (he represents the national bourgeoisie), the so-called "collectivization" during his years was influenced by mechanical methodology. In some areas, the cadres even took advantage of this policy to seize the land for themselves in the name of "nationalization".

Since the 1986 counter-revolution (Doi Moi), bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism were completely restored in Vietnam.

2. Vietnam is often portrayed as an anti-imperialist state and part of still-existent socialist bloc. Other times, it is portrayed as a “lesser imperialist” power. Do either of these positions accurately describe modern Vietnam? How would you describe Vietnam’s position internationally and regionally?

Vietnam is not an anti-imperialist state nor “actually existing socialist” country. First, the Vietnamese ruling clique has supported the counter-revolutionary attempts to suppress the revolutionary movement in Palestine, the Philippines, Sri Lanka,... They also denounce the ongoing people’s wars in Peru, India,... Its press in the past and nowadays spoke against people’s war in India and Peru, calling them “bloodthirsty terrorist”, “adventurist”,... Such rhetorics about “adventurism” and “people fooled into anti-governmentism” is also employed against the popular revolts in Bangladesh, Nepal, Indonesia,... few years back. Secondly, there is no socialist countries today, this is what we all understand and carefully study.

On the “less imperialist” power position, we must express our stance in some points:

The fundamental requirement of imperialism is the development of national bourgeoisie and the all-round growth of capitalism of their national economy. But our national economy is dominated by imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, so the national bourgeoisie can not develop and achieve their economic place, that they can not establish the base of imperialism.

On the international scale:

- Economically, Vietnam is a producing nation ⁽¹⁾ with a mid-level manufacturing economy ⁽²⁾ that mainly manufacture consumer goods, raw minerals and agricultural products. However it is economically nearer to the low-level nations, for agriculture, exploitation of raw minerals and agricultural products makes up the larger portion of it’s production. It is subservient and dependent on American imperialism, and dependent on Chinese imperialism partly.
- Politically, the Vietnamese Comprador Bourgeoisie is a loyal lackey of imperialism. It speaks empty words about peace, but it supplied guns to the Filipino fascists, cooperated with the Hindutva fascists, collaborate greatly with the Zionists, help Palantir “eradicate Communism” (as it’s founder stated Palantir’s mission to be), becoming it’s “exclusive partner” in South East Asia, bowing to Trump and Xi, although, mainly Trump.

On the regional scale:

- It’s economy is dependent and subservient to America, which makes the pro-American camp of the Vietnamese Comprador Bourgeoisie the dominant one. However, many industries is dependent on Chinese industry; many agricultural products is also grown for Chinese consumptions; Chinese capital have also flowed greatly into Vietnam. This creates a

pro-Chinese camp, although much weaker than the pro-Yankee.

- The aforementioned fact, the domination of American capital and interference of Chinese capital and Vietnam's geography combined makes it a special case. It lies on the south of China and have most of its coast siding the South China Sea, which makes its position very important for both USA and China. For the Yanks, controlling Vietnam means containing China. For China, it means securing its southern flank. This means the Vietnamese comprador bourgeoisie as a whole cannot swing fully into either camp, as it would result in a great hit into its profit. This would change when the world polarize more and more.
- The driving force of all capitalists' action is the seek of profit. This also applies to the Vietnamese Comprador Bourgeoisie's relationship with other regional Comprador Bourgeoisie. They are in constant competition with other nations' great bourgeoisie to get contracts and investments from the imperialists. It also collaborates greatly with those comprador bourgeoisie against the people — like how it manufacture guns for the Filipino police to use against the New People's Army, for any rebellion of the people in any nation will inspire others.

(¹) in contrast with the neoliberal imperialist nations, which have financialized fully, becoming mostly financial nations; China and Russia while imperialist, have not completely financialized, and remains a producing nation.

(²) This is used in the sense that Vietnam is not just a "low-level" economy of agriculture and mineral extraction, for it also have a robust manufacturing industry. It is not a "high-level" one such as China, South Korea,... for it is still more agrarian and in lacking heavy and core industries, preventing it from becoming an industrial nation and making it subservient to imperialism. In fact, more than 70% profit from Vietnam's export flow into the pocket of the imperialists under the label of "Foreign Direct Investment". South Korea, while being a "high-level", is also subservient to imperialism as a semi-colony; this will be explained in our document about neoliberalism that is a work in coordination with other Vietnamese Communist groups.

3. What is the modern political structure of Vietnam? What is the role of the "Communist Party of Vietnam" and the organisations it leads in contemporary politics?

Vietnam is a one-party Fascist state. Although formal institutions does exist, real power is in the hand of the General Secretary of the Revisionist Party. Cliques in the Party do exist, and the current dominating one is the Police Clique. Elections is held, but it is entirely formal and a total farce. We have an article on the elections which we have sent you.

While power could be said to be concentrated into the hand of the Revisionist Party, in actualities, the Party is not really an unified organization and is no more than a husk, used to gather whatever remaining support from the people by pretending to be "Communist". Actual power is instead controlled by cliques inside the Party, with the "Police Clique" holding the most power for now.

The socio-political organizations the Party controls mostly have limited roles. For instance, the Vietnam Farmers' Union — which should be the main socio-political organization of farmers, have not offered any assistance to farmers in their production and consumption of goods, leaving the people themselves to initiate “rescue campaigns” for harvests. Recently, durians in Vietnam was heavily contaminated with cadmium due to excessive uses of fertilizers. This so-called Union also didn't provided sufficient knowledge on that and similar problems. In its intended field, socio-political problems, it is much worse. Farmers (peasants, rural proletarians) in Vietnam face many problems such as having their lands seized with little compensations (in Hung Yen, where lands were and are being seized for Trump's golf course, farmers were offered as little as 12\$/m²). The Women's Union does little against Patriarchy, which is a big problem that still plague this nation. These are just a few examples.

Some other organizations holds a more important role. We will not go over the religious organizations like the Evangelical Church, the Buddhist Sangha or the Catholic Church, for their role have been entirely reduced to mere religious and symbolic ones. However, there is the General Confederation of Labour (GCLVN) — the “leader of the unions”. In the majority of places, the GCLVN union(s) act as idling organization(s) that does nothing—except many organizing some mutual aid between workers, and sometimes even led by someone appointed by employers. These unions do not protect workers interests. In labor disputes, they usually choose to either negotiate minor concessions by both side, or siding with the employers entirely. Ensuring “the enterprises' business goals”, “ensuring the appeal of the market economy ” and “ensuring public security ” is oftentimes more important to them. Their promises of education and affordable housings for labourers are empty promises. Everything they actually give are breadcrumbs, which in itself is already the fruit of great struggles. Most workers, which also includes many in our ranks, live in rooming houses, with terrible privacy and sometimes even terrible water quality. Even worse, the GCLVN and the unions under it is the only legal labour organization(s) in Vietnam. Efforts to create independent unions by workers have been met with great suppression from the government, despite the new labour law in 2021 that made them technically “legal”. This means there are no legal organization in Vietnam that serve workers, and there will not be. Just last year, the government online news site “People's Representatives” stated that “independent unions are the vanguard of anti-government forces”. Overall, the GCLVN and its yellow (“yellow” in Vietnam have the same political connotations as “white” in France or Russia) unions have one of the most important role — the Revisionist-Fascist Party's bulkward against the proletariat.

4. What does Serve the People – Vietnam view as the principal contradiction and stage of the revolution in Vietnam?

We believe the principle contradiction is the contradiction between the Vietnamese nation and imperialism, principally American Imperialism. This contradiction express itself

domestically as the contradiction between the masses (working classes, petite bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie) and the Bureaucratic Capitalist State — the coalition government of the semi-feudal landlords and the big capitalists subservient to foreign imperialism. The stage of revolution is therefore National-Democratic.

There is high revolutionary spirit in the masses. Just 8 years ago there was major revolts everywhere against (subservience to) imperialism, censorship and surveillance. It is called the “Protests against Internet Safety Laws and Special Zone Laws” in which people revolted against internet censorship, surveillance and a law that would rent out some zones to imperialist powers for 99 years — like how Qing gave out Hong Kong and Macau. There was big protests everywhere, many factories had political strikes, in Binh Thuan, the masses seized power and disarmed police. But, spontaneity will bring not much long term gains. It eventually failed, of course. But from that and many protests and strikes from that time to today, we can see there is high revolutionary zeal in the people. Situations right now are also causing great unrest although not to the point of great protests that occupy the streets (which is totally illegal). Here, there are great chaos under heaven and the situation is wonderful. Objective conditions are very favorable, revolutionary zeal is brimming, but subjective conditions isn't enough — organized struggle and conscious, truly revolutionary organizations, have not exist.

5. Are political organisations independent of the “Communist Party of Vietnam” permitted to operate in the country?

No.

6. Can you describe what mass movements and struggles are occurring in Vietnam and what role anti-revisionists are playing in them?

There are a lot of mass struggles here. Let us name a few most important one:

The workers' struggle for improved livelihood (better wages, more bonuses, better living conditions,...) and the rights to organize independent unions.

The peasants' struggle against land seizures by the State and land expropriation by semi-feudal forces through various methods, which can be legal or illegal.

Ethnic minorities' struggle for representation, autonomy and self-determination.

Women's struggle against patriarchy and sexual/gender minorities' struggle for recognition, respect and rights.

Overall, the whole society's struggle against heavy censorship and banning of political activities.

Such are the most notable mass movements and struggles in Vietnam. As of our knowledge, anti-revisionist groups have not yet expanded a lot, for Marxism have only really resurged in Vietnam after the Covid Pandemic. However, there have been works in the factory carried

out by our organization, rural investigations by other ones. The only notable things are in the anti-censorship front. Anti-revisionists have uncovered censored sections praising Stalin, Mao and Mao Zedong's Thoughts in Ho Chi Minh's political report at the 2nd Congress, along with digitalizing a great deal of Great Debate documents, theories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, translating foreign Maoist works from the Communist Party of Peru, CPI(Maoist),...

Although contributions have not been much, but there are definitely some, and on that, us students of Maoism in Vietnam can, will, and must definitely expand on.

On the Communist Party of Vietnam

1. When was the Communist Party of Vietnam liquidated?

The liquidation of the Party is a whole long process. But by 1968, national bourgeoisie ideas have begun to command the Party — evidenced by the Tet Offensive⁽¹⁾, despite the leaning into Mao Zedong thoughts in the early and mid 60s. By the early 70s, the Party is effectively a national bourgeoisie party.

(¹) Many comrades, in other organizations too, regard Tet Offensive as adventuristic, which weakened the people's forces of the South substantially, exposing many cells. After the Tet Offensive, the forces in the South had to be supplemented more and more with forces infiltrated from the North, fighting more conventionally, recruitment and internal political strength also dwindled. On 5th May 1968, Truong Chinh criticized Le Duan's bourgeoisie line of "main force war" and "quick victory" which sparked a four-month long debate over the line of people's war.

2. How did the right-opportunists seize control of the party and restore capitalism?

We really have to admit that this is a problem also in research. We are doing this work by studying old party documents from issues of Hoc Tap magazine and other magazines. This is a Herculean task, for the Vietnamese version of Hoc Tap magazine is censored in practice. Only a few is in circulation outside, although usually sold in crazy prices. Except that, the only publicly available copies are in the National Library, although we have found out that the State torned out pages of many important works.

The only thing we could say is that the two-line struggle was not as intense as it should be. There weren't many thorough Left leaders in the Party's leadership — as Mao said, the CPV's leadership is like 4 monks in a pagoda: they bless whoever give them offerings. There have been many symptoms of national bourgeois line affecting Party decisions such as the whole mess around the Geneva Agreement. Although the Party did leaned a bit towards Maoist China and Mao Zedong Thoughts in the early and mid 60s, they were still reluctant to thoroughly cut with Soviet Revisionism, and when Brezhnev's aid came, they quickly went back to being "the Centre" they claims to be in the initial stages of the Great Debate.

3. In Canada, many on the “left” have a very high view of Ho Chi Minh. Would you be able to explain to your readers what criticism you have of his role at the head of the party?

As Nationals of Vietnam, we have great respects for him as the Father of the Nation. As Communists, we have to criticize him for many of his opportunist errors.

Let's start with the constitution of the Communist Party in 1930. We do still have much to talk about the period before that, but we will ask to skip that period on the basis of having a lack of research.

In short, the Unification Congress— which was held by Ho Chi Minh as a Comintern agent, is an opportunistic one. While the unification of the Communists in Vietnam and Indochina as a whole is very much an important task in that time, the Unification Congress have many problems. Let's go over some of these:

The Comintern laid down these requirements for the unification of Communist organizations in Indochina:

- 1) The social composition of the Communist Party must be improved. This is because “the Indochinese Communist organizations in 1929 have very bad social composition” (as said by comrade Ha Huy Tap in 1932) — full of petite bourgeoisie and sectarians. The Comintern advised that they should only accept the truly Communist and revolutionary elements into the Party.
- 2) The Communist Party must be a Party of mass character. This means the Party must listen to the masses, be aware of their revolutionary potential, study their practical struggle and through that, they not only educate the masses, but themselves in the school of the masses.
- 3) The Communist Party must be the leader of mass struggle. The proletariat must hold the hegemony in leadership. At least half of the Central Committee must be active workers, first and foremost mass organizers.
- 4) The unification must be based on a political program in line with the general line of the Comintern.

But, the Unification Congress had these four opportunistic mistakes, which was criticized by the First and Second Central Committee Conference:

- 1) The unification was not prepared. The Communist organizations did not campaign inside their own organization to inform members of: the need for the unification of Communists; the requirements needed for such a unification; the need for a political program in line with Comintern's general line. To quote Ha Huy Tap: “The Unification Congress did not work to purge the opportunists and nationalists to ensure a truly proletarian ideology and discipline for the new Party. They did not chose the most advanced revolutionary elements of the old organizations into the unified Communist Party, but they merged the whole of the old organizations into the Communist Party of Vietnam... the opportunist and nationalist tendencies in the Party back then (late 1930), arise from that unprincipled unity, one not

based on strict Leninist principles”.

2) The political program of the Unification Congress is un-Leninist. This program was drafted by Ho Chi Minh himself. This was later rectified by Tran Phu’s Political Program (which the revisionists to this day slander as “dogmatic”!). Tran Phu himself wrote a letter reporting to the Comintern on this problem and the previous one mentioned too. We will translate that letter into Vietnamese (original is French, only available version is Russian) and English for others’ research purposes.

3) The Unification Congress’ Political Programs doesn’t specify that they need to ensure proletarian hegemony inside the Party, which led to the admission of peasants being way more than that of workers.

4) The Unification Congress did not stipulate organizational forms and methods, which led to regional Party cells operating in the same way as their old organization until the First Central Committee Conference.

5) The Unification Congress took on the name “Communist Party of Vietnam”, which left out Kampuchea and Laos. Quoting Ha Huy Tap again: “This alone shows that: the delegates still have nationalistic tendencies; the delegates still haven’t acknowledge the places of Laos, Kampuchea and other ethnic minorities in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle in Indochina; the unification haven’t eliminated sectarianism, evidenced by the later sectarian tendencies of the leadership in Tonkin (North Vietnam)”.

In short: Ho Chi Minh unified the Communist organizations in an opportunistic and un-Leninist way. The unification was unprincipled, un-Bolshevik, which led to the problems later in the Party.

Another notable expression of Ho Chi Minh’s opportunism is in his, and the Party’s decision to “disband” themselves (faked disband, in reality, moved into total secrecy) in November 1945. From that until 1951, they operated as the Vietminh — which is the United Front. Great Marx teaches us that “The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims”. They concealed their views and aims. They did not make a sharp distinction with the line of the National Bourgeoisie which they are correctly attempting to unite with. Great Lenin teaches us that “before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation”.

The whole peace deal of Geneva is also part of the opportunism of the Party and Ho Chi Minh. They liquidated the mass bases in South Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea because of it. Many comrades in the South died because they did not dare “act against the policy”. Ho’s opportunism in this also express itself in the Anti-Party Revisionist Affair, in which Ho Chi Minh was “the Centrist side”. According to BBC however, he initially sided with the Khrushchevite side that said that “we should not unite with the South by armed means, but rather by peaceful means following the Geneva Agreement”.

Then there's his position in the Great Debate. Once again, he chose "Centrism". In his testament, he stated "I am pained to see the division between the fraternal parties", while the question is "are you on the side of Revisionism or Leninism?".

That being said, we must still acknowledge his great contributions to our independence and also some of his contribution to Marxism in Vietnam. In some way we could compare him to Kautsky. We must also warn our Canadian friends that the so-called Ho Chi Minh Thoughts is a fabrication by the capitalists in 1989-1991. Back when he was alive there is no such things.

4. What effect has the liquidation of the party had on the lives of the Vietnamese people?

The lives of the people are very affected.

Under Le Duan's regime, his National Bourgeois policies led to economic stagnation, starvation and a time of hardship older generations still remember. He prioritized material rewards, collectivized mechanically in a commandist, top-down way, instead of doing it through education, persuasion and bottom-up mass campaigns. The bureaucrats, officials that are in charge of means of production usually eat so much better than other common people to the point poems about their luxury still are being sang to this day.

Such failures and bourgeois thinkings eventually brought large scale privatisation in Doi Moi, which affected the people's lives so much (widening rich-poor gaps, people losing land and means of production, rising prices,...), in 1997, former Communist Party members led the whole province of Thai Binh into revolt. The people of Thai Binh seized power in the whole province, paralyzing government forces and organized People's Courts. Hanoi had to send Vo Nguyen Giap himself to console the people, concede by replacing the whole provincial leadership. The effects of the liquidation are still happening today, as we see. We think our answers about modern Vietnam is more than sufficient for this question.

5. Do the people still support the party?

By rational and actual support? No. "Support" so their lives won't get in alot of trouble? Yes, that is the majority of people. Anti-Party sentiments are not small here, despite what it may seems. Some people still hold on to some glimpse of hope, for the Party still claims to represent them, and some are scared to say it outright, so if you ask an average Vietnamese, they would say they hate "the rotten, corrupt ones". The Party already equated themselves to the Government and the Nation, so saying you "hate the Party" could get alot of Loyalist to accuse you of being anti-Vietnam.

6. When did the organised effort to reconstitute the party begin?

If the "organized efforts to reconstitute the Party" means the Communists organizing themselves and stating that the Reconstitution is their goals, that would be around 2024, as far as we know.

About Serve the People – Vietnam

1. What is the ideological-political line of Serve the People – Vietnam?

We abide by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

2. Can you briefly describe your organisation's understanding of Maoism?

Maoism as we understand is “the almighty scientific ideology of the international proletariat, it is almighty because it is true”; “the third, new and higher stage of Marxism; the current Marxism that we uphold, defend and principally apply.” It is Marxism-Leninism in the time of global neo-liberalism, in which we view as the last stage of imperialism. In this period, many imperialist nations have “financialize” (as our comrades in another organization describe), de-industrialized into neo-liberal imperialist powers. These nations does not produce anymore. Neo-liberalism is the last stage of Imperialism for that the Imperialists cannot out-source their exploitation out anymore.

3. When was Serve the People – Vietnam launched?

VDPV is founded on 5th December, 2023. The founding of our organization is very much inspired by the Unified Maoist International Conference and the founding of the International Communist League on 26th December, 2022.

4. Serve the People – Vietnam is currently undergoing a rectification campaign, can you describe the errors that are being corrected?

The errors being rectified and had been rectified are:

- Our ways of organization was, and is artisanal.
- Petite-bourgeois idleness. Some comrades talk theories alot, study so much problems they can analyze the most niche topic ever, but doesn't go out to do mass work. Some refuse to work at all.
- Improving social composition. While we have workers in our rank, the majority are petite-bourgeoisie. We aim to proletarianize those elements.
- Overuse and incorrect use of social media.
- Petite-bourgeois selfishness and egoism that led to unnecessary quarrels and unprincipled arguments.

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5. How is Serve the People – Vietnam organising to reconstitute the party?

Let's start by stating our principle in our works for the reconstitution of the Communist Party. We abide by Leninist principles laid out in the section above about the Communist Party of Vietnam — although maybe except the part about the Comintern line, for Comintern doesn't exist anymore. Let's sum up these requirements again, adding one for the political line part:

-The Party must be a party of the most advanced sections of the working class. The Proletariat must have political hegemony inside the Party.

-The Party must be a party of the masses.

-The Party must be the leader of mass struggles.

-The Party must have a political program in line with revolutionary Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as defined by comrade Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru.

Therefore, what must be done is mass work, through that, we can find, identify and train advanced elements in the forge of mass struggle. Then, unite those elements into the Communist Party. From that, we identified what we must do, and are doing:

-On the organizational front, we are improving our own social composition; rectifying the errors inside our ranks; using the site to establish connections with other Communist groups and offer it as a platform for them, and us, to debate and publish our views.

-On the theoretical front, we are studying from movements around the world and our own history; translating, archiving and re-publish important old documents and works; opening discussions and debates with other organizations.

-On the practical front, we are doing works in the factories and workshops to learn from the lives and struggle of the proletariat. It is also to organize within them and join them in the struggle for food, shelter and clothes.

6. What tactics have you found to be effective in organising underground?

As a small and young organization, we don't really have any "tactics". Overall we think the most important principle is to be mindful of what you are doing.

Closing Questions

1. How can the workers of Canada support the effort to reconstitute the Communist Party of Vietnam?

We think the most important thing our friends in Canada can do is to strengthen your own organization by two-line struggle and mass work. Another thing is to defend global Maoism against its bitter enemies such as Prachanda, Bob Avakian, Devji and the likes. Doing works in immigrant communities is also very important for Communists in imperialist nations for those are usually marginalized and are usually of the poorest sections of the working classes, as far as we know.

2. Do you have anything else you would like to say?

We wish our comrades in your organization and friends in other such organizations in Canada great success in your works. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will win every battle it fights!

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