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LENINISM AND VIETNAM'S REVOLUTION

(Speech delivered at a meeting for the commemoration of Lenin's 90th birthday anniversary, April 20, 1960)

But in the period when Marx and Engels lived and worked, the objective conditions were not yet matured for the proletarian revolution to break out directly. p 11

Previously Marx and Engels said that to come out victorious, the proletarian revolution should break out simultaneously in all advanced capitalist countries or at least in most of those countries and that if it broke out in one country only, it would be doomed to failure. p 14

It has shown a completely new vista to the proletariat and people of each country in the world who instead of passively waiting for the breaking out of world revolution, actively develop their initiative and create conditions for a direct attack on imperialism in their own country. p 15

Today the world situation has undergone basic changes compared with the period when Lenin lived. Socialism has become a world system and has shown itself more powerful than capitalism. For the world's people, the supremacy of the socialist regime has been ever more clearly felt and has an ever-greater attraction. The great ideology of communism has taken deep roots into the hearts and brains of hundreds of millions of labourers over the world. Meanwhile imperialism has weakened with every passing day. The colonial system has disintegrated bloc after bloc, and the national-liberation movement has won continuous successes. The imperialistic general crisis has become more serious than ever. p 17

Lenin also pointed out that in the period of transition, there can be varied forms of State power but in essence they are all dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, besides the soviet form practised in the Soviet Union, the people's democratic power in the European and Asian socialist countries is successfully fulfilling the tasks and functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. pp 19-20

In commemorating Lenin's birthday, we must determinedly and unswervingly maintain his theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, do

our utmost to consolidate the State power during the period of transition, and resolutely oppose all revisionist arguments. p 20

To come out victorious in this struggle, in the political field, the leading role of the proletariat must be maintained through its party, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, the solidarity between nationalities, and international solidarity must be consolidated. On the other hand, a new economy, a socialist economy, must be built on the foundation of a modern technique to serve as a material basis of the new society. pp 20-21

....in a country whose industry is undeveloped, and agriculture predominantly individual and backward, there is no other way than to carry out *national industrialization whose key-work is priority development of heavy industry with engineering as a central task.* p 21

We must rely on the working class, bring into full play their revolutionary ardour, their spirit of being masters, raise their cultural, technical, and managerial levels, choose and promote from among the workers' rank the outstanding cadres to leading positions in State and economic organs. p 21

Lenin also pointed out that the taking of the peasants to co-operativization is but the first step in the socialist transformation of agriculture. Another step which must be taken is to change a backward agriculture into an agriculture of large-scale production on the basis of mechanization and electrification. p 22

Lenin also advocated cultural revolution. Socialist revolution being the work of the broad masses, we must unceasingly raise their consciousness, resolutely struggle against old ideas and habits if we want to bring into full play their revolutionary ardour and creativeness. p 23

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has resolutely followed the road traced by Lenin, rejected all opportunist theories and tendencies of the Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kameniev Piatakov, Bukharin cliques, etc. Consequently, within a short historical period, it has succeeded in completing socialist construction. p 23

At present in the world 85 communist parties and workers parties including 33 million members are leading the revolutionary struggle put up by the peoples of various countries. p 26

Our Party took the peasants as main forces and the countryside as the source of supply of wealth and manpower for the front; it relied on the topographical conditions of the countryside to carry out guerilla and mobile warfare and used the countryside to encircle the towns. p 37

.... our Party's policy is peacefully to transform capitalist trade and industry, gradually to transform capitalist ownership into socialist ownership, through State capitalism, and to transform the bourgeois from exploiters into genuine workers through ideological education and participation in productive labour, so that they may actively contribute to socialist construction. p 39

Lenin taught, "All nations must advance to socialism, this is an unavoidable process. but in doing so, they do not all apply exactly the same measures. Each nation will have its particular characteristics in one form of democracy or another, of one or another kind of dictatorship of the proletariat and at one speed or another in socialist transformation in various fields of social activities." pp 39-40

The socialist revolution in the north of our country is *a process of revolutionary transformation In all fields, aimed at directly taking the North from an economy mainly based on private ownership of means of production, to a socialist economy based on national ownership and collective ownership, from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, and from a backward economy to an economy whose structure is balanced and modern.* p 41

Socialist construction can be sped up only through an ideological revolution, the raising of the conscience of the people as masters, the mobilization of their heroic spirit of struggle and selfless labour, and the drawing of the masses of people into participating in socialist construction. p 44

Lenin taught us that in the development of things there are always contradictions. They are the cause of development: "The law of unity and struggle of opposites is the core of dialectical materialism". The task of a revolutionary party is not to conceal the contradictions but timely to discover the mature ones in society and to solve them. The art in revolutionary guidance lies precisely in the discovery and solution of contradictions. To this end we must know how to grasp the most essential contradiction and concentrate our forces on it. p 52

As Stalin rightly put it, Lenin was an eagle of the forest, he never feared struggle and boldly took the Party forward in virgin directions of the revolutionary movement. p 53

REASSESSMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VIETNAMESE PROLETARIAT

(Speech delivered on the day commemorating the 12th anniversary of the August Revolution 1957.)

..... the social regime must be either the capitalist system or the proletarian system and there cannot be a third system. In the period of transition, when we speak of mutual benefit of both labour and capitalism, in fact, we place the interests of capitalism under those of the proletariat and we do not stand for the interests of both parties; that is, in the conflict between capitalism and proletarianism at a certain time, in definite social conditions, for the sake of its interests and the interests of the nation, the proletariat can make concessions with capitalism in order to make it serve the common interests. p 75

.... the great historic victory of the proletarian revolution in China has created favourable conditions to bring the Vietnamese resistance war to victory. p 83

REVOLUTION IS THE WORK OF THE MASSES

(Article written on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1958.)

Since human society exists its history is made and constantly pushed forward by the masses. No great event nor revolutionary change in society is possible without the active participation and support of the masses. p 85

The Russian October Socialist Revolution first brought the masses to the position of masters of their own fate. And only forty years after this revolution, socialism has become a world system with over one third of the population and over one-fifth of the territory of the globe. This is an unimaginable rapid leap in history, compared with the 150 years or 200 years capitalism had to take before it has become a world system. And if we take into account that the appearance of capitalism only aims at replacing an exploiting class by another, while the regime of exploitation

of man by man itself relied upon private ownership of means of production remains unchanged, whereas socialism must wipe out the exploiting regime and that of private ownership of means of production established since thousands of years, and set up the regime of social ownership of means of production in so short a period, we see more clearly the strength and extraordinary creativeness of the masses once they realize that they must rise up to make their own history. Lenin said that revolution is a great festival of the oppressed and exploited people. Never are the people so active in creating the new social system as in the revolutionary period. In such a period, people can do wonders. pp 87-88

Facts have proved that though our economic development lagged behind imperialist France for hundreds of years, we succeeded in relying upon the immense and inexhaustible force of the masses, awaking their revolutionary positiveness, to speed up our advance by leaps and bounds. In a relatively short period, we overthrew imperialism and the feudal power, liberated half the country and are taking it gradually to socialism, a higher stage of development, much more equitable, rational and beautiful social system than capitalism. Had it not been for the correct mass viewpoint, and the leadership according to the Party's mass line we could not win such great and rapid a victory. p 89

The socialist revolution requires the development of the positiveness and the extraordinary creativeness of the toiling masses which are the most basic productive force of society. To this end, we must free the mind of millions of people formerly tied up within the narrow framework of small production and private economy and transform the individualist and selfish ideology of the strata of people who lived on exploitation. We must build a new ideology, the socialist ideology, making it gain supremacy in society and become a strong mover to impel the toiling people to transform society, nature and themselves. p 93

The socialist revolution in Vietnam as well as in all the countries throughout the world, must first and foremost rely upon the force of the working class, the most progressive and revolutionary class within the masses, the class the most representative of socialism, leading the socialist revolution and construction. Without the working-class standpoint and ideology, we cannot understand socialism. p 94

About the Chinese peasantry Mao Tse-tung has said. (Mao Tse-tung: On the correct solution of the inner contradictions of the people. Su That (Truth) Publishing House, Hanoi, 1957, page 24.) p 96

The extremely rich experience of China in socialist construction has given us a very new conception about the path to build socialism in the countryside. Without machines the Chinese peasants could proceed to socialism through co-operativization. Recently after a political remoulding drive, their mind being set free they have progressed by leaps and bounds. Land productivity has shown an increase unknown in the history of the country. The Chinese peasants have voluntarily pooled money, strength and raw materials for the construction of workshops, which have mushroomed in the countryside. In the leap-and-bound upsurge they have impelled culture rapidly to develop; they have not only wiped-out illiteracy, vulgarized elementary education, but they have also opened high education schools and vocational schools. In the Chinese countryside at present there is an intense movement to set up people's communes. p 96

As the peasant economy is a small-production economy still relied upon the private ownership-system, they still are inclined to have private property, a number of well-off peasants want to grow rich in the capitalist way, therefore we must pay attention to their education and prevent their spontaneous tendency to capitalism. p 97

But like any other revolution the cultural revolution must be made by the masses. p 101

In short, according to our mass viewpoint socialist revolution is also the work of the toiling masses. Workers, peasants, urban and rural toilers, and revolutionary intellectuals, all belong to the family of the toiling masses. Only by paying attention to their aspirations and interests, can we rouse their determination and enthusiasm, and develop their inexhaustible creativeness to overcome all difficulties and speed up the revolution. p 101