

VIETNAM COMRADES

TRƯỜNG-CHINH

**FOR THE CENTENARY
OF LENIN'S BIRTH**



HANOI - 1971

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The Vietnamese people, together with the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind, solemnly celebrate the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin, at a time when the world revolution has won tremendous successes and is making steady headway. Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, our people, relying mainly on their own forces and enjoying the sympathy, support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and of people throughout the world, are defeating the US imperialist aggressors and building socialism in the northern half of their country.

1. Speech by Truong Chinh, member of the Political Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee at the ceremony marking the centenary of Lenin's birth. Original title: The Great Lenin Will Live for Ever in Our Cause.

I

Vladimir I. Lenin was born on April 22, 1870 into a family of progressive Russian intellectuals at Simbirsk, now Ulyanovsk. Even as a youth he assimilated the progressive literature of his country and abhorred the autocratic yoke of the tsars, and the regime of oppression and exploitation of the Russian people by the landlords and capitalists. When seventeen, he took the revolutionary path and began studying Marxism. He rapidly became an eminent Marxist who resolutely defended Marx's doctrine and creatively applied it to solve the revolutionary problems of his country and the world; he also developed it on the planes of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in the new historical conditions.

Lenin founded the *Russian Bolshevik Party*, a new-type proletarian party, to lead the Russian working class and people in the revolution.

He brought to victory the *Great October Socialist Revolution* and founded the *first socialist state in the world*, opening a new era in the history of mankind, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale.

He led the *heroic fight* of the Russian people to defend the young Soviet power, shattering the aggression of fourteen imperialist countries and crushing the reactionaries who had fomented a civil war in collusion with foreign imperialists.

He was the first to work out the orientation, tasks and plans for the *construction of socialism* in the Soviet Union, so that the loftiest ideal of mankind, the communist ideal, could materialize.

He founded the *Communist International*, giving it a sound strategy and tactics to lead the world communist and workers' movements, rallying all revolutionary forces on earth for the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism and its stooges.

Lenin led an ardent and heroic life. He tirelessly worked in a most efficacious way for the revolutionary cause of the working class, either when he was at home or in exile abroad, in liberty or in tsarist jails.

He was a shining example of staunch loyalty to Marxism, uncompromising struggle against the class enemy, affection for the people and confidence in the masses, revolutionary optimism, love for labour, modesty and simplicity. His greatness lies in the fact that he personified all the noblest qualities of a proletarian leader: deeply imbued with Marxism, he gathered and summed up the immensely rich experiences of revolutionary practice; he had a broad and keen mind, was quick to grasp every change in the situation, and always displayed lofty revolutionary virtues in daily life as well as in struggle.

He devoted his whole life to the liberation of the working class from the capitalist yoke, to the emancipation of the peoples from colonial domination, and to the freeing of mankind from all oppression and exploitation.

He was the greatest continuator of Marx's and Engels's revolutionary work, an eminent theorist of Marxism, a genial strategist of the revolution, a militant revolutionary firm in principles but flexible in tactics. He was the greatest leader and educator of the working class and oppressed peoples in the world in our time.

Lenin passed away 46 years ago but his memory is for ever engraved in the hearts and minds of the toilers and peoples of the world.

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President Ho Chi Minh said :

“For us, Vietnamese revolutionaries and people, Leninism is not only a “magic guide”, a compass, but also the radiant sun illuminating our path to final victory, to socialism and communism.” *

Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It has taken shape and developed in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples, in the uncompromising

* Ho Chi Minh : “The Path Which Led Me to Leninism.”

struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and other opportunisms of all hues, and in the tireless struggle against all attacks by bourgeois ideologists, for the defence of the purity and creativeness of Marxism; it has given the latter a new development and brought about Marxism-Leninism as we know it.

Marxism-Leninism is the acme of human thought in our time. It not only explains the world thoroughly, but transforms it radically. It is the beacon lighting the path of the international working class, the oppressed peoples and the whole of progressive mankind, who are struggling to rid themselves of all oppression and exploitation and to build a new world, a world of genuine peace, freedom and happiness.

After a thorough analysis of the characteristics and contradictions of capitalism in the era of imperialism, Lenin arrived at such extremely important conclusions as: "*imperialism* is the highest stage of capitalism", is "moribund" capitalism, "*imperialism* is the eve of socialist revolution"; at the same time, he worked out a comprehensive theory of *proletarian revolution* and pointed out the definite steps that must be taken by world revolution in order to triumph completely over capitalism.

Basing himself upon the law of unequal development of capitalism, Lenin concluded that in the epoch of imperialism, *revolution can succeed first in a country or in a number of countries*, but not in all countries at the same time. Therefore, socialist revolution can break out first in an economically little developed country (and not necessarily in that with the most advanced industry), if this country is the weakest

link of the imperialist system and if in this country the conjunction of national and international causes creates such a revolutionary situation as to make it possible for socialist revolution to break out and triumph. This genial theory of Lenin bears a theoretical and practical significance of the utmost importance for world revolution. It inspires the working class of each country with confidence and determination in its offensive to break each link of the capitalist system, to overthrow world imperialism part by part and eventually in its entirety.

The collapse of world imperialism is a long historical process comprising different types of revolutions in various countries, determined by their unequal level of economic, political and social development. Lenin said :

“The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.” *

All these revolutions are closely related and aimed at the same goal : to overthrow imperialism and colonialism and take human society to socialism and communism. Today, all nations advance toward socialism and communism but through different types of revolutions and different transitional stages.

* Lenin : “A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism”, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 35.

Lenin's theory on the *passage from bourgeois democratic revolution to proletarian revolution* had guided the communist and workers' parties in working out a correct revolutionary line which combines the task of struggling for democracy with that of struggling for socialism and which rallies all revolutionary forces in each country under the leadership of the working class. Starting from Marx's thesis of "uninterrupted revolution" and the situation of the revolution in various countries of the world in the epoch of imperialism, Lenin showed that there is no Great Wall separating bourgeois democratic revolution from proletarian revolution, nor any necessary period of bourgeois domination after the triumph of the bourgeois democratic revolution. He asserted that in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the proletariat must assume leadership of the bourgeois democratic revolution so as to carry it to completion and turn it into socialist revolution. The decisive condition for this eventual shift lies in the leadership of the working class based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The working class' invincible strength is due to its vanguard party which leads the revolution according to a judicious line, the Marxist line, and sets up a firm worker-peasant alliance to serve as the basis for uniting all popular forces with a view to isolating the enemy to the utmost and overthrowing him. Lenin has armed us with his theory on the building of a *new-type party of the working class* which takes Marxism (now Marxism-Leninism) as the compass guiding all its actions, is organized according to the

principle of democratic centralism, is governed by strict and just discipline which ensures unity of thought and action within the Party, uses criticism and self-criticism as the law of its development, and keeps close contact with the masses. Only such a party can take the revolution to victory and turn socialism and communism into realities.

Basing himself on the wretched situation and revolutionary fervour of the Russian peasantry and that of other countries, Lenin affirmed that the peasantry not only can and must go with the working class in the bourgeois democratic revolution, but also can and must join with it in waging proletarian revolution. To take the revolution to victory, the working class must win over the peasantry and turn this reserve force of the bourgeoisie into its own. To realize the *worker-peasant alliance* is a decisive problem for strengthening the revolutionary leadership of the working class, and the peasant problem is a part of the establishment and consolidation of proletarian dictatorship.

With a penetrating and all-encompassing view of proletarian revolution, Lenin developed the national question of Marxist doctrine into the *national and colonial questions* in the epoch of imperialism when the national-liberation movement has become an integral part of world proletarian revolution. Once having achieved political independence, the peoples of colonial and dependent countries *can advance to socialism through different transitional steps, bypassing the stage of capitalist development*. That is their road to genuine independence and freedom. This

transition can only be realized under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, relying on the worker-peasant alliance and with the help of the working class in the advanced countries, in the first place of the working class in power in the socialist countries. Lenin said :

"...With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." *

Lenin untiringly struggled to *unite the world communist and workers' movements on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to unite the world working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world*, without which one cannot defeat imperialism. He developed Marx's and Engels's motto "*Proletarians of all lands, unite !*" into: "*Proletarians of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite !*"

Under the direction of the Russian Bolshevik Party headed by the great Lenin, the working class, the peasantry and the nationalities oppressed by tsarism united into one bloc, rose up to struggle and brought the October Revolution to victory. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first state of proletarian dictatorship in the world and occupying one-sixth of its area, is also a state of many nationalities united on an equal footing and helping one another build a new life.

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, III, p. 459.

Drawing from the experience of three Russian revolutions, especially of the first years of Soviet power, and that of the world revolution, Lenin developed Marx's theory on *proletarian dictatorship*. According to Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat will last throughout the transitional period from capitalism to classless communism. It does not put an end to the class struggle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie overthrown but not yet crushed, but carries on that struggle under new conditions, in new forms, with new methods and for new concrete objectives. Therefore, once power is won, the working class must strive to keep it and strengthen it. Hence, it must ceaselessly reinforce and consolidate its revolutionary dictatorship in order on the one hand to repress all sabotage acts by the counter-revolutionaries and all attempts at restoration by the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand to establish socialist democracy (a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois democratic regime) with a view to uniting, organizing, educating and galvanizing the labouring masses so as to successfully build socialism and communism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class has not only to turn the exploiters into toilers, but also to remould the millions of small producers along the line of socialism, and to transform itself by getting rid of libertarian and anarchist habits as well as of other "petty-bourgeois influences". In the socialist conversion of the labouring masses, that of the peasants proves to be the most complicated and delicate one. The dictatorship of the proletariat must

bring a life of plenty and happiness to the working class and the toiling people. Only when the working class has built a socialist economy with an organization of social labour of higher productivity than under capitalism, can socialism win firm success. "In the last analysis," said Lenin, "productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system." *

To this end Lenin worked out a *program of socialist building in the USSR* comprising socialist industrialization, and aimed at implementing the motto: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country." The synthesis of those three movements constitutes the essential content of the transitional stage toward socialism which aims at definitively settling the problem: "Which will win, socialism or capitalism?" in the Soviet Union, and at "creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise." **

After Lenin's death, under the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party with Comrade Stalin at its head, the Soviet people holding aloft Lenin's invincible banner, engaged in selfless labour, successfully built socialism in a relatively short time, and turned the capitalist and underdeveloped Russia of yore into

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, III, p. 219.

** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, II, p. 652.