

a socialist power with modern industry and agriculture, strong national defence, advanced science and technology, a country which has opened the road for the peoples to advance to socialism and is now blazing the trail for mankind to conquer the cosmos. This tremendous change brought a decisive contribution to the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, rid mankind of the fascist peril and created most favourable conditions for a series of peoples in Europe, Asia and Latin America to rise up one after another, break the imperialist system at its weakest links, set up people's democratic states and take the socialist path.

The triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries proves that it is entirely possible to realize it in one country or in a number of countries even in conditions of encirclement by world capitalism.

With great enthusiasm we note that the name of the great Lenin is closely linked to all revolutionary changes in human society since the turn of this century.

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Under Lenin's glorious banner, the October Socialist Revolution triumphed and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the first socialist state on earth, came into being; the Soviet people have successfully built socialism and are establishing the material and technical basis of communism.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, fascism was defeated and the world socialist system took shape, which comprises one-third of the population and one-fourth of the area of the world, and is becoming "the decisive factor in the development of human society."

Under Lenin's glorious banner, the oppressed peoples are rising up, determined to break all shackles of imperialism, of colonialism old and new, to wrest back independence and freedom, and disintegrate the imperialist colonial system.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, socialist revolution is winning success after success in China, an immense country with 700 million people, tilting the world balance of forces in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, socialist revolution is scoring success upon success in Cuba, a small country next door to the USA, the most powerful and aggressive imperialist country.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, our people successfully carried out the August Revolution, defeated the French colonialist aggressors, and are defeating US imperialism and steadily building socialism in a war-torn agricultural and backward country, thus disrupting the colonial system at one of its weakest links.

We are boundlessly grateful to Lenin for having opened up for us an era whose "main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, a time of

struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolution and national-liberation revolution, a time when imperialism breaks down and the colonial system is abolished, a time when more and more peoples take the socialist path, and socialism and communism triumph on a world-wide scale.”*

We are immensely happy and proud to struggle in this era — the era of the triumph of Leninism.

* Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960.

II

On the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin, let us recall how President Ho Chi Minh and our Party have applied Leninism in general and Lenin's theory on the national and colonial questions in particular, to lead the Vietnamese revolution.

"When drinking water from a stream one must think of the source." Let us look back to the days when "our people were reduced to slavery and our Fatherland was trampled under the iron heel of a cruel enemy. For several decades before the birth of our Party, the situation was gloomy and seemed hopeless." * It was then that President Ho Chi Minh assimilated Leninism, which thanks to his efforts reached the Vietnamese people and lighted their revolutionary path. Uncle Ho's feeling when he first read Lenin's "Theses on the national and colonial questions" showed the persuasive strength and the power of attraction of Leninism upon the enslaved peoples thirsting for independence and freedom :

* Ho Chi Minh : "Opening speech at the ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Viet Nam Workers' Party", *Selected Works*, IV, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p. 425.

"What emotion, enthusiasm, enlightenment and confidence they (Lenin's theses — *Ed.*) instilled into me! I cried for joy. Though I was alone in my room, I shouted as if addressing a large crowd: O martyr compatriots! This is what we need, this is the path to our liberation!" *

Leninism has opened up new prospects for revolution in the colonies. Even before the First World War, Lenin paid particular attention to the countries of the East. He said:

"Everywhere in Asia a mighty democratic movement is growing, spreading and gaining in strength... Hundreds of millions of people are awakening to life, light and liberty." **

For Lenin, the national liberation movement is a component of the world proletarian revolution. It should enjoy the devoted help of the proletariat in the advanced countries, in the first place in those countries where the revolution has triumphed. From the rostrum of the Communist International, he reminded the Communist parties of the West to do their best to support the revolutionary movement of the colonial and dependent peoples. "Lenin was the first man to resolutely denounce all prejudices against colonial peoples, which were deeply implanted in the minds of many European and American workers." ***

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

** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952. Vol. I, Part 2, p. 315.

*** Nguyen Ai Quoc, *Lenin and the East*, in Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p. 140.

He was also the first to realize that without the participation of the colonial and dependent countries world proletarian revolution could not triumph.

On the other hand, Lenin advised the communist parties in the Eastern countries to apply communist theory to the concrete conditions of their countries, where the peasants constituted the fundamental masses and the primary task of the revolution was to conquer national independence and overthrow foreign domination, while internally its essential struggle was to be waged against feudal vestiges, not yet against national capitalism. He pointed out that in the colonial and dependent countries, after driving out imperialism one should proceed further: to struggle to liberate the toiling people from social oppression. He anticipated that with the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries the backward peoples could advance to socialism and communism through various stages of development, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

Lenin's theory on the evolvement of the bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution and his thesis on the possibility for socialist revolution to triumph in one country or in a number of countries, not necessarily developed ones, have lighted the way for revolutionary action in the colonies.

His theory on revolution in the colonial and dependent countries in the era of imperialism constitutes extremely valuable directives for the revolutionaries in the countries of the East.

At the beginning of this century, at a time when the Vietnamese revolution was at a loss which way

to go, President Ho Chi Minh, having assimilated Marxism-Leninism, especially Lenin's theory on revolution in the colonies, introduced it into Viet Nam, converting many Vietnamese revolutionaries from petty-bourgeois and bourgeois to Marxist-Leninist patriotism. The penetration of Marxism-Leninism into the workers' and patriotic movement in Viet Nam led to the birth of the *Indochinese Communist Party, now the Viet Nam Workers' Party*.

Ever since its founding, under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, our Party has creatively applied Leninism to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam and asserted that the Vietnamese revolution, a part of the world revolution, should go through two stages: the bourgeois democratic and the socialist, the two being closely linked to each other. At the same time, the Vietnamese revolution was intimately connected with the revolution in the "metropolitan country" (then France). Thus President Ho Chi Minh said: "Capitalism is a leech with one sucker on the proletariat in the metropolitan country and another on the proletariat in the colonies. If the animal is to be killed, both suckers must be cut off at once. If only one is cut off the other will continue to suck the blood of the proletariat: the animal will live on and the cut-off sucker will grow again." *

President Ho Chi Minh constantly struggled against the tendency among the Western communist parties to underestimate the national and colonial questions.

* Nguyen Ai Quoc, *French Colonization on Trial*, Ho Chi Minh Selected Works, Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961. p. 130.

He put on the same footing the national-liberation revolution in the colonies and the proletarian revolution in the "metropolitan countries." He likened world revolution to a bird with two wings: one is the unity of the working class in the imperialist countries, the other the alliance of the colonial peoples. He said: the alliance of the peoples in the East is "one of the pinions of the proletarian revolution." *

With the modesty of a communist President Ho Chi Minh wrote: "Step by step, during the course of the struggle, by studying Marxism-Leninism while carrying out practical activities, I gradually realized that only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people throughout the world from slavery" **. Starting from patriotism, he had reached communism, and ever since then the harmonious conjunction of patriotism and proletarian internationalism pervaded all his activities as it did all our Party's lines and policies.

President Ho Chi Minh and our Party have creatively applied Leninism to adequately solve such problems as the building of a new-type proletarian party in a backward agricultural country, the strengthening of the leadership of the Vietnamese working class over the revolution, the materialization of the worker-peasant alliance, the establishment of the National United Front, the setting up of the people's armed forces, and the building of the people's democratic power. President Ho Chi Minh and our Party

* Nguyen Ai Quoc, *op. cit.*

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

have solved a series of new and original problems regarding revolutionary strategy and tactics in the specific conditions of our country and taken the Vietnamese revolution to ever glorious victories.

Starting from the Leninist thesis that in the colonial and dependent countries the national question is mainly the peasant question and the problem of democracy is essentially that of land, President Ho Chi Minh and our Party clearly realized the close connection between the questions of national independence, people's democracy and "land to the tillers" in our country.

At its Second National Congress* our Party applied Lenin's theory on national-liberation revolution and bourgeois democratic revolution to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam to perfect its revolutionary line. Translating into concrete terms the contents of its first Political Programme (*Outline Programme and Political Thesis***), our Party clearly conceived that the Vietnamese revolution was both a national-liberation revolution and a bourgeois democratic revolution, but the latter was one of a new type, led by the working class and not by the national bourgeoisie. Its task was to drive out imperialism and win national independence, and overthrow feudalism and realize the motto "Land to the tillers" and the people's democratic freedoms. Its forces were the people, and its motive power the toiling masses, mainly the workers and the peasants. We call it a

* Held in February 1951.

** Drafted by Tran Phu and approved by the First Plenum of the Party Central Committee held in Canton (China) in October 1930.

people's democratic national revolution. Led by the working class and relying on the worker-peasant alliance, *this revolution should and could become a socialist one, and take our country to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development.* Our Party rightly understood that the people's democratic national revolution was the premise of the socialist revolution and that the latter was a necessary development of the former.

The Vietnamese people's democratic national revolution was a typical revolution in an agricultural and backward colonized country where feudal exploitation prevailed, unlike the October Revolution in Russia, a little developed capitalist country, and also unlike the revolution in China which was an agricultural country and a semi-colony.

Starting from the Leninist thesis on the possible success of the revolution in a single country, even one that was economically underdeveloped but constituted the weakest link of the imperialist system, our Party asserted that the Vietnamese revolution was closely related to the revolution in the metropolitan country but was not subordinate to it. Moreover, owing to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam and the world in the era of imperialism, it was possible for socialist revolution to triumph in Viet Nam before it would in many a developed capitalist country.

Basing itself on a sound revolutionary line, our Party, despite imperialist encirclement, independently led the August Revolution to victory. When the French colonialists staged a comeback, it led

a nation-wide, all-out and protracted War of Resistance, relying essentially on our own strength to defeat the French aggressors.

Unlike the petty-bourgeois and national bourgeois parties, our Party had educated the masses in our country to discriminate the French colonialists — our oppressors and exploiters — from the French working class and people — our allies who supported our just struggle. Hence, together with the French Communist Party, our Party was able to realize the unity of action between the peoples of Viet Nam and France against the common enemy — French imperialism.

After defeating the French colonialist aggressors and completely liberating the North of our country, our Party pointed out that *the North could and should go direct to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, without waiting for the liberation of the South and the completion of the people's democratic national revolution there*. Our Party advocated the simultaneous fulfilment of two strategic tasks in the country: to wage socialist revolution in the North, consolidate and develop the North in all fields, for it to be able to give firm support to the revolution in the South; at the same time, to intensify the struggle for the liberation of the South so as to complete the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country and defend the socialist North.

With regard to the *socialist revolution in the North*, creatively applying Lenin's theory on the dictatorship

of the proletariat and his programme of socialist construction, President Ho Chi Minh and our Party advocated the *strengthening of people's democratic dictatorship which assumes the historic task of proletarian dictatorship*. This means on the one hand, to enforce *dictatorship* against the counter-revolutionaries, those who oppose socialist revolution and the struggle to peacefully reunify the country ; to consolidate national defence, smash all acts of provocation, sabotage and aggression by the US imperialists and their stooges ; on the other, to apply democracy for the benefit of the people, to promote the role of the popular masses as collective master ; to enhance the unity of the entire people on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and the unity of all nationalities in the country ; to mobilize the people for socialist revolution and socialist construction, in concrete terms to mobilize, educate and organize the entire people for a triple revolution : *revolution in production relations, technical revolution, ideological and cultural revolution*.

Ever since the US imperialists ousted the French colonialists from South Viet Nam and rigged up a puppet Saigon administration to their devotion, then sent troops for direct aggression against the South of our country, our entire people have been waging a sacred war of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, in order to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country. In the North, our people have carried out abreast production and fighting, building

socialism while continuing our patriotic war of resistance against US aggression and supporting with might and main the revolution in the South.

Up to now, in the North we have recorded great achievements in socialist transformation and construction as well as in the victorious struggle against the war of destruction by the American imperialists*. In the South, our people have bested the "special war"**, and are besting the "limited war"**, and advancing towards complete victory. Under the banner of the National Front for Liberation***, our compatriots in the South have brought people's war to a climax and gained great victories without precedent in our history against foreign aggression.

Basing itself on Lenin's thesis on the character of this era and on the characteristics of the world situation after the Second World War, our Party has judiciously assessed the *offensive posture of the world revolution and the three revolutionary trends in the world at present*: socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism in the countries of the socialist camp; the national-liberation movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the colonial and dependent countries; the struggle of the working class and people

* On October 31, 1968, US President Johnson declared an unconditional cessation of all bombardments over the whole territory of the DRVN. (Ed.)

** The "special war" can be said to have lasted from June 1961 to May 1965. May 1965 saw the start of the "limited war". (Ed.)

*** The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was founded on December 20, 1960. (Ed.)

in the imperialist and capitalist countries for peace, democracy and socialism.

Linking patriotism to proletarian internationalism, our Party follows a *judicious line of international unity*, resolutely defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism while winning the precious help of the fraternal countries in the socialist camp, the sympathy and support of the world's people, including progressive American people, with regard to our people's patriotic war of resistance against U.S. aggression. Concerning the countries in the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, our Party advocates the restoration and strengthening of unity "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment. *

The great Lenin will live for ever in our cause. Leading the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years, our Party headed by our great President Ho Chi Minh has constantly displayed in its line, policy and directives a thorough revolutionary spirit, independence, sovereignty and creativeness, steadfast loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, determination to struggle against all right or "left" opportunism, holding high the banner of national independence, democracy and socialism in a former colonial and semi-feudal country. Thanks to its judicious line, our Party has turned Viet Nam, a colonial, agricultural and backward country, into an independent country of people's democracy, which is building socialism in

* President Ho Chi Minh's Testament.