

LE DUAN

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS
ESSENTIAL TASKS



HANOI - 1970

LE DUAN

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS
ESSENTIAL TASKS



HANOI - 1970

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS
ESSENTIAL TASKS



LE DUAN

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS
ESSENTIAL TASKS

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

HANOI—1970

CONTENTS

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Problems of Revolutionary Strategy.	21
Principles and Methods for Revolutionary Action .	41
The Revolution in South Viet Nam and the People's War against U.S. Aggression, for Na- tional Salvation	62

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Triple Revolution to Accomplish.	86
The Line for Initial Economic Development. . .	102
— To give priority to the rational development of heavy industry.	105
— To give a strong impulse to light industry .	111
— To strive to develop agriculture	113
— Simultaneous building of the central and re- gional economies	119
— Improving economic management.	131

THE PARTY, THE ORGANIZER OF ALL VICTORIES

Victory of Marxism-Leninism Creatively Applied to the Concrete Conditions of Our Country . . .	149
— To strive to reinforce the leadership of the Party in the new stage	154
— To ceaselessly consolidate and build up the Party	169
To Strengthen International Unity and Intensify the Struggle for Peace, National Independence, Democracy and Socialism	187

ON the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party), First Secretary Lê Duân made an analysis of the great problems, essential tasks, principles and methods of the Vietnamese revolution.

This most important document is indispensable to all those who wish to make a thorough study of Vietnamese problems; in certain respects, it also sheds light on several aspects of the world revolution.

We present its translation in the pages that follow.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI

DURING the long process of struggle to build and defend their country, our people, a heroic people, became nationally conscious at an early date and evinced extremely ardent patriotism. Under French colonialist rule, which lasted nearly a century, they refused to resign themselves to servitude and repeatedly rose up in arms against the aggressors and the traitors. However, all previous movements to oppose French rule and save the nation eventually failed.

In the twenties of this century, after the Can Vuong insurrections¹ had been stamped out, the seething national liberation movement faced a serious crisis as to which line to follow. The French colonialists on the one hand severely repressed and terrorized the patriots, and on the other, strove to sow capitulationist ideas and left no stone unturned to encourage various reformist and collaborationist tendencies. Among the people, concerning the revolutionary line to follow in order to liberate the nation, an acute conflict developed among the patriotic forces, between two main tendencies: one, of the young proletariat, the other, of the

1. Monarchist patriotic movement, also called Scholars' Movement. (*Tr.*)

national bourgeoisie. Each put forward its own political programme to try to win over the masses.

It was at that moment that President Ho Chi Minh, with his genius and his revolutionary activity, supplied a timely answer to those pressing exigencies of history. Overcoming the limitations of the nationalism of the literati and the bourgeois-oriented revolutionaries of those times, he embraced Marxism-Leninism at an early date and took the road of the proletarian revolution. He said: "In order to save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other road but that of the proletarian revolution."¹

The first tremendous achievement of President Ho Chi Minh was to link the Vietnamese revolution with the international workers' movement and to guide the Vietnamese people over the road he himself had taken, which led from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. It was the only path to liberation, one that was opened by the Russian October Revolution to the toiling people and oppressed nations of the whole world.

To the Vietnamese people, Marxism-Leninism was like "food and drink for a hungry and thirsty traveller."² It powerfully drew the Vietnamese patriots to the road of the proletarian revolution and stirred up a vigorous national and democratic wave throughout the country, in which the working class became an independent political force. The combination of

1. Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works* (in Vietnamese), Su That Pub. House, Hanoi 1960, p.705.

2. Ibid. p.652.

Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary ideology of our times, with the fierce struggle put up by the working class, the most revolutionary class and the close ally of the peasantry, and with the patriotic movement of a nation in full revolutionary effervescence, led to the founding of our Party on February 3, 1930.

That extremely important event marked a fundamental turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. It meant the propagation of Marxism-Leninism to a colonial and semi-feudal country, the first necessary preparatory step leading to the most glorious insurrectionary period and the greatest leap forward in the evolution of the Vietnamese nation, beginning with the August 1945 Revolution and the setting up of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The history of the past forty years of our Party and our people is a splendid record of revolutionary struggle.

It is the history of repeated revolutionary upsurges and many valiant insurrections: the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide, that of 1936-1939, and the patriotic wave of 1940-1945, which led to the triumph of the August Revolution.

It is the history of two protracted wars of resistance waged by our heroic people against the French colonialists and the American imperialist aggressors in order to bring the struggle for national liberation to completion, defend the fatherland, and contribute to the great battle waged by the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

It is also the history of two great revolutions of our times: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Over the past ten years, under the leadership of our Party and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, these two revolutionary tasks have been closely co-ordinated and aimed at a common objective: to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country.

Under the leadership of our Party headed by our great President Ho Chi Minh, the people throughout our country have written the finest pages in the history of our nation and ushered in an era of independence and freedom, the era of socialism.

Our Party and President Ho Chi Minh, who have given guidance to the Vietnamese revolution all along these last forty years, have brought our people into the world arena as one of the first among the colonial and dependent nations to have successfully carried out a national liberation revolution and won power throughout the land; as one among the first to have defeated old colonialism, thus opening the process of piece-by-piece collapse of the colonial system of imperialism; as a vanguard fighter who is knocking down the neo-colonialism of American imperialism, the imperialist chieftain and the international gendarme.

By their magnificent victories over imperialism and feudalism and by the socialist revolution they are carrying out in the North, our working class and nation, led by our Party, are bringing the most active contribution, side by side with the peoples of the

brother socialist countries, to the process of historic change now taking place in the world.

The brilliant successes reaped by our people over the past forty years all originate from the clear-sighted leadership of our Party, a party absolutely loyal to the supreme interests of the working class and the nation.

Every step forward of our revolution and our people is a success won by Marxism-Leninism, the invincible revolutionary doctrine, the shining truth of the new era.

It is the immense triumph of the invincible militant unity of our toiling people and our entire nation in their struggle for independence and freedom, for socialism.

The achievements recorded by the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years are closely associated with the progress of the world revolution in the new era — the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale — which began with the great Russian October Revolution; with the magnificent victory of the Soviet Union over the German-Italian-Japanese fascist coalition; with the splendid success of the Chinese revolution; with the overwhelming superiority of the socialist camp, the decisive factor in the evolution of human society; with the powerful national liberation movement, the intense struggle of the working class and toiling people in the capitalist countries, and with the democratic and peace movement sweeping the world.

Before attaining those glorious achievements, our Party and people have had to face countless hardships

and trials. Under the Party's banner, how many cadres and Party members, civilians and fighters, have laid down their lives, displaying the heroic spirit of the vanguard class and the nation, and evincing boundless loyalty to the fatherland, to the cause of the people's liberation, and to ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism! Those examples of heroism will live for ever with our people, our Party, with the present generation and all generations to come.

On this anniversary day so full of meaning, our hearts are filled with infinite sorrow: our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh is no more.

Our entire Party and our entire people feel eternal gratitude to our great leader.

President Ho Chi Minh was the first man to sow the seeds of Marxism-Leninism on Vietnamese soil, causing the Vietnamese revolution to blossom and bear fruit. He spent much effort training a host of elite cadres for our Party and devoted his care and energy to building it into a united, unified and solid whole. Founded, led, and forged and tempered by President Ho Chi Minh, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, the great national hero, and the outstanding internationalist militant, our Party became at an early date a new-type party of the working class, a party with a great wealth of experience and a splendid record of struggle.

Every step forward of our people and our Party over the past forty years was bound up with the infinitely active and noble revolutionary life of President