

LE DUAN



ON THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

VOLUME I

**FOREIGN
LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1965**

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LENINISM AND VIETNAM'S REVOLUTION *

Dear Comrades,

With all our earnest respectfulness and profound gratitude, we are commemorating today great Lenin's 90th birthday anniversary.

Like Marx and Engels, Lenin is our respected and beloved leader and teacher, a star leading us to our great cause: the liberation of oppressed mankind.

Lenin is no more, but his name and work live for ever. His name has become a symbol of the Communist ideal, a symbol of the interests and aspirations of the working class, the toiling masses and the oppressed peoples all over the world. Hundreds of millions of oppressed labourers regardless of colour and nationality all over the five continents are marching with confidence under the glorious Marxist-Leninist banner resolute to wipe out the exploitation of man by man, the enslavement and oppression of nations, and to build an equitable, just and happy society.

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

Lenin's name has been very dear to our Vietnamese people since long. Leninism has blazed the road of our liberation, and helped our national revolution triumph gloriously and is helping us score greater successes in the future. For these past thirty years, it has been a great honour and pride for the communist fighters of our country to be named Marxist-Leninists combating under the banner of great Marxism-Leninism.

To commemorate Lenin's birthday anniversary efficiently, to remember and show our gratitude to Lenin, there is no better way than to endeavour to study and assimilate his great ideas for their correct and creative application to the realities of our national revolution, and strive hard to take our national revolution to the road he has outlined.

I

Dear Comrades,

The theoretical treasury contributed by Lenin to world revolution is immensely rich and comprehensive. In this commemoration, allow us to recall briefly some points of Lenin's great contribution to world revolution, especially to Vietnam's revolution.

Leninism is the continuance and development of Marxism, it is Marxism in the era of capitalism and proletarian revolution, an era of building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, an era of birth

of the socialist system and its development into a world system, an era of transition of human society from capitalism to communism.

Being the most loyal and brilliant disciple of Marx and Engels, Lenin not only defended the revolutionary spirit of Marxism against all opportunist distortions, but also knew how to base himself on new historical conditions for the further development of Marxism.

As is known, Marx and Engels lived in the era of capitalist development, in which the contradictions of the capitalist society arose and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie became the main struggle in society. Marx and Engels' great contribution is their profound and all-round study of the laws of capitalism, whereby clearly to show that capitalism is doomed and socialism will win final victory. Marx and Engels showed that the historical mission of the proletariat is that they are the grave-diggers of capitalism, and the builders of a new society, the communist society. To achieve this historical mission, the proletariat must have its own vanguard political party, go through a proletarian revolution and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat.

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. Therefore throughout their lifetime, they devoted all their efforts to make a propaganda among the working class and awaken their consciousness, expose and thwart all reactionary theories within the workers' movement, organize various Internationals of the

working class, and prepare for the revolution of the working class to overthrow capitalism. After Marx and Engels had died, the opportunist leaders who ruled the roost in the Second International distorted the militant and revolutionary essence of Marxism, propagated reformism and the theory of class conciliation, thus deflecting the workers' movement in the road of compromise with the bourgeoisie.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, capitalism developed into imperialism, and monopoly replaced free competition. To make maximum profits, the monopolists not only increased exploitation of the workers and toiling masses in their own countries, but also stepped up colonial conquests and exported capital, thus transforming the weak and backward countries into suppliers of cheap raw materials and outlets for their surplus goods. The monopolist companies of the imperialist countries completed the division of the world and did not cease to expand their sphere of influence at the expense of their likes, therefore periodical imperialistic wars broke out, driving mankind to abominable slaughters.

Imperialism has set the peoples of the world before two roads : either to endure the domination and exploitation by imperialism, and hence to be annihilated, or to rise up and overthrow imperialism, and take human society to socialism and communism.

History urgently needed that Marxism be developed further ably to lead the revolutionary struggle of the

working class, the toiling people and various oppressed nations over the world to free themselves from oppression and exploitation by capitalism and imperialism, and to take the road of socialism.

Lenin lived and worked in that period. His great contribution is that he could realize and satisfy the urgent need of history. On the basis of Marx's and Engels' genial theories, and the laws of development of capitalism in its latest stage, which Lenin put to the test of practice, he refuted all opportunist theories, protected the purity of Marxism, and enriched it with new theories.

1. Lenin's first important contribution is his theory on imperialism and proletarian revolution in the imperialistic era.

Lenin studied profoundly and all-sidedly the characteristics and laws of imperialism, asserting that imperialism is "the highest stage of development of capitalism and at the same time its latest stage". In this stage, the contradictions of the capitalist society were sharpened to the highest degree. The outcome of the development of these sharp contradictions is that the movement of struggle of the working class and the toiling people in various imperialist countries as well as the movement of liberation in various colonies and dependent countries rose buoyantly as never seen before and formed a powerful revolutionary wave which shook imperialism to the root. On the other hand, the contradictions between the imperialists themselves reached such a high degree that an imperialistic war broke out, sharpening further other

contradictions and driving imperialism into a serious general crisis. In these conditions Lenin asserted that "imperialism is moribund capitalism, the eve of proletarian revolution".

Proceeding from the study of the characteristics and nature of imperialism, Lenin set forth a *new theory on socialist revolution*. 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. Marx's and Engels' conclusion fitted in the situation in which capitalism has not yet become imperialism, but now that conclusion did not hold good. Lenin showed that imperialism has become a world system, a force to oppress colonies and financially to enslave the whole world, of a handful of advanced countries at the expense of the majority of people over the world. Today the contradictions and decline of imperialism are shown not only in an individual country but throughout the world, therefore according to Lenin, "socialist revolution will be not only and chiefly a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in each country, but it will be also a struggle waged by all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, and by all dependent countries against international imperialism". The conditions for the proletarian revolution to break out in the imperialistic era have matured throughout the world. Lenin discovered the law of uneven development in the economic and political fields of the imperialist countries. This is an

absolute law, therefore the contradictions between the imperialist countries never come to an end, and their struggle to seize one another's interests are becoming fiercer. The proletariat can take advantage of these contradictions to defeat imperialism at one place or another. It is also due to the uneven economic and political development of imperialism that the conditions for the revolution to win successes in various imperialist countries are not the same.

Therefore proletarian revolution will not necessarily break out simultaneously in all advanced capitalist countries and where the proletariat accounts for the majority of the population, but it will break out in a place where the contradictions of imperialism are concentrated, at the weakest link in the imperialistic chain, it can break out and win success first in a particular country.

Lenin's new revolutionary theory as mentioned above has an immensely great significance. 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.

At the same time Lenin also worked out *a policy to ensure victory for the proletarian revolution*. The gist of this policy is the guarantee of the *absolute and indivisible leadership of the proletariat in the revolution*. The key point to carry out the leadership of the proletariat is that this class must have a numerically great ally who accepts this leadership, this ally is the

peasantry. In contradiction to the opportunists who denied the great revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry, Lenin said that without a firm *worker-peasant alliance*, there would be no victory for the proletarian revolution. To win over the peasants and make them follow the proletarian revolution, the proletariat must support the movement of struggle of the peasants against feudalism and capitalist oppression and exploitation in the countryside.

Besides consolidating the alliance with the peasantry, the proletariat has to consolidate the *alliance between various nationalities*. The opportunists of the Second International restricted the national question only within the framework of the civilized European countries, whereas Lenin broadened the national question into a problem of national liberation from imperialist oppression in colonies and dependent countries. The national question has become part and parcel of world proletarian revolution. Lenin was the first to bring to the fore the right of nations to self-determination, advocating complete "equality of nations", full right of nations to self-determination, and right to union as well as to secession. The proletariat has the duty to support the anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation. Only by supporting and allying with the national-liberation movement can the proletarian revolution win successes, on the contrary, it will not come out successful if it is not supported by the world proletariat.

Lenin's new revolutionary theory and policy proved entirely correct by the victorious Russian October Revolution which opened up a new era for mankind :