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TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 739

Hoc Tap, No. 4, 1970



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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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## PRESIDENT HO WRITES ABOUT VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1970, pp 1-8]

Editor's Note--During his life of revolutionary activities, President Ho wrote many newspaper articles about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leninism which were published in many newspapers and magazines in Vietnam and in foreign countries. We have extracted for publication a number of these newspaper articles.

### Lenin and Colonial Nations by Nguyen Ai Quoc, Indochina

"Lenin is dead!" This news was like thunder in the ears to everyone, and traveled over the fertile plains of Africa and the green fields of Asia. It is true that black and yellow people did not as yet know who Lenin was or where Russia was located. The imperialists and colonialists concealed this knowledge from them. Ignorance was one of the essential props of capitalism. But all of them, from Vietnamese farmers to hunters in the Dahomey forests, had heard that in some distant place a nation of people had overthrown their exploiters, and were administering their own country without the aid of bosses and governors. They also heard that this country was Russia, that there were brave people, and that the bravest person was Lenin. This was enough to provide them with deep admiration and great enthusiasm for this country and its leaders.

But this was not all. They also knew that this great leader wanted to liberate other nations after he had liberated the people of his country. He appealed to white people to help the yellow and black people to throw off the yoke of oppression of the rumi<sup>1</sup> gang. The rumi include

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<sup>1</sup>Rumi is an Arabic word which means foreign enslavers.

governors-general and ministers. And he set forth a specific principle in order to implement this objective.

At first, they thought that there could not be a person and a principle like this. However, later when they received news, although hazy, about the Communist Party and about an organization called the Communist International which was struggling for exploited people, for all exploited people including themselves, they believed that Lenin himself was the leader of this organization.

And this was sufficient to provide these people, who although were uneducated had goodwill and gratitude, with a great respect for Lenin. They considered Lenin to be their liberator. What were we to do when Lenin passed away? Were there brave and magnanimous people like Lenin who would spend their time and effort to liberate us? These were questions which the masses of oppressed people in colonies anxiously asked themselves.

As for us, we were endlessly grieved about this irreparable loss and shared a common sadness with the people in countries of our brothers and sisters. But we believed that the Communist International and its Party chapters, among which were Party chapters in colonial countries, would implement the books and teachings which the great leader bequeathed to us. Would not the best way to express our love for him be to carry out his teachings?

When he was still alive, he was our father, teacher, comrade, and adviser. Today, he is a shining star guiding our path toward social revolution.

The immortal Lenin will live forever in our work.

(Pravda, 27 January 1924)

### Lenin and the East by Nguyen Ai Quoc

The First International established a foundation for the international Communist movement; however, since it had only been in existence a short while, it only established basic policies for this movement. Therefore, the issue of colonial countries was not sufficiently studied by the First International.

The Second International paid serious attention to this issue. At every convenient opportunity, the leaders of the Second International stressed their unanimity concerning the policy of imperialism which capitalists implemented in colonial countries. They were not sympathetic with the struggle for self-liberation by people in colonial countries. Furthermore, after they reached positions of authority, they suppressed the people of India, Sudan, and other colonial nations which bravely opposed foreign oppressors.

In accordance with their orders, bombs were poured down on native villages and people of colonial countries were savagely and cruelly suppressed. Everyone knew that they agreed to implement a separatist policy for white workers and those of other colors, and that labor unions under the influence of these deceitful socialists did not want to accept colored workers into their ranks. The colonial policy of the Second International further exposed the true face of this petty bourgeois organization. Therefore, until the October Revolution, in colonial countries socialist theory was considered to be the theory reserved for white people, and a new tool for deceit and exploitation.

Lenin opened up a new and real era of revolution in colonial countries.

Lenin was the first person to denounce prejudice against people in colonial countries which ate deeply into the bone marrow of many European and American workers. Lenin principles concerning nations, which were approved by the Communist International, brought about a great revolution throughout all of the oppressed nations of the world.

Lenin was the first person to understand and stress the important scope of correctly resolving the colonial issue with regard to world revolution. During all of the congresses of the Communist International, World Labor Federation, and International Communist Youth, the colonial issue was always taken up first.

Lenin was the first person to understand and evaluate fully the important scope of attracting people in colonial countries to take part in the revolutionary movement. Lenin was the first person to understand that if people in colonial countries did not take part then there could not be a social revolution.

With inherent farsightedness, Lenin saw that in order for work in colonial countries to be highly successful, then extensive national liberation movements in those countries must be fully utilized. He also saw that if the proletariat of the world supported this movement, then there would be many strong new allies in the struggle for social revolution.

All of the representatives from colonial countries who participated in Communist International congresses will never forget the concern which Lenin the leader showed toward them, and they will always remember that he had a deep understanding of the most complex and simple local conditions. As a result of this, every one of us had a deeper appreciation for Lenin's most knowledgeable decisions and for the teachings of this most precious person.

Only as a result of Lenin's tactful attitude toward the colonial issue, could the most backward masses in colonial countries be moved. Lenin's strategy concerning this issue has been applied by Communist Parties throughout the world, and is attracting active and outstanding elements in colonial countries to take part in the Communist movement.

The fact that Lenin resolved the extremely complex nationalities issue in the Soviet Union, and that the Communist Party specifically implemented this issue, is one of the sharpest propaganda weapons for colonial nations.

As for all oppressed and enslaved people, Lenin represented a turning point in the bitter history of their life of enslavement, and is a symbol for a brilliant new future.

(Tieng Coi, 21 January 1926)

#### Leninism and the Liberation of Oppressed Peoples by Ho Chi Minh

On April 22, 1870, in old despotic Russia there was born the future leader and talented teacher of the toiling masses and oppressed peoples throughout the world--Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, capitalism reached its highest and ultimate development--imperialism--and ushered in the era of proletarian revolution. The man who skillfully

continued Marx and Engel's great work in the new historical conditions was V. I. Lenin.

Struggling uncompromisingly with the reformists and all kinds of distortionists of Marxism, Lenin brought scientific socialism to a new stage. He enriched Marxism, the great ideological weapon of the proletariat, greatly contributed to the formulation of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, developed the Marxist principle on the worker peasant alliance, the national and colonial question, proletarian internationalism, the building and strengthening of a new-type proletarian party which is the only organization capable of leading the multiform struggle of the working class and enslaved peoples. Lenin has established a new theory of the socialist revolution, and demonstrated the possibilities of the triumph of socialism in a single country.

Lenin helped the working people who were suffering from imperialist oppression to realize in a more comprehensive manner the law of social development, the requirements and objective conditions of the political struggle in every stage of the proletarian revolution, and the whole liberation movement. He acquainted the oppressed masses with the intricate and complex developments of our times. He gave them the miraculous weapon to fight for their emancipation--the theory and tactics of Bolshevism.

The Russian Communist Party founded by Lenin set a bright example to the world's people. Under the clear-sighted leadership of great Lenin, the talented strategist and tactician, the Communist Party led the Russian proletariat to seize power and establish the first State of the working masses; the founding of this State ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. In the eye of the peoples loving peace and democracy, the Soviet Union is an unshakable bulwark of independence and freedom. After World War II, the mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union took shape, in opposition to imperialism.

Lenin's popularity and doctrine are closely linked to all the successes of the camp of peace and democracy which stretches from the Elbe River to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic pole to the Tropics. This is why all the oppressed and unfortunate people regard Lenin's banner which is now being held aloft by the Communists of all countries, as a symbol of faith and a torchlight of hope.

The heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people to build communism is now encouraging all the peoples and showing them the way to attain a living worthy of man.

The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Government, clearly embodied in the decree signed by Lenin and promulgated immediately after the triumph of the socialist revolution, is now stimulating the broad masses of people to struggle for the defense and strengthening of peace and against the warmongers headed by U. S. imperialism.

The principles laid down by Lenin on the people's right to self-determination, peaceful coexistence, noninterference into the internal affairs of other countries--equality and relations beneficial to the parties concerned, principles which are the bases of the Soviet Union's foreign policy--are now showing the peoples of colonial and dependent countries the path of struggle for national reunification and independence.

For the Asian peoples as well as for the peoples throughout the world who are fighting for peace, independence, democracy and socialism, Leninism is like the sun which brings with it a cheerful life. Lenin always attached great importance to the movement for national liberation waged by the Asian peoples, and regarded it as part and parcel of the struggle put up by the toiling masses throughout the world against the imperialist oppressors. Lenin made it clear that the awakening of Asia and the first struggle waged by the advanced proletariat in Europe to seize power, marked a new era in world history, an era which began with the 20th century. In 1913, V. I. Lenin wrote: "The whole of Europe takes the leading place; the entire bourgeoisie in Europe is colluding with all the reactionary forces and medieval forces in China.

"But all young Asia, that is, hundreds of millions of toiling masses in Asia, has the proletariat of all civilized countries as a firm ally. No force in the world is able to check the victory of the proletariat in the liberation of the European and Asian peoples."

Today, in the midst of the 20th century only, the "Young Asia" referred to by Lenin, is precisely the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In other regions of Asia, similar young forces are rising to struggle for national

liberation. These scientific previsions of the great revolutionary strategist have been substantiated so swiftly that the imperialist camp becomes anxious and fearful!

If, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the enslaved peoples of Asia have recorded practical successes, it is because they have followed Vladimir Ilyich's great teachings.

In his appeal to the revolutionaries in the East, Lenin wrote: "You have before you a task which was unknown to the communists in the world: relying on the theory and common practice of communism, and applying them to specific conditions which do not exist in Europe, you must know how to use them in the conditions in which the peasants are the basic masses and the task is not to struggle against capitalism, but against medieval vestiges."

This is an instruction most valuable for a country like ours in which 90 percent of the population live on agriculture, and a great deal of the vestiges of rotten feudalism and mandarinism still exist. . . .

Lenin bequeathed to us, as to all the Communist and workers' parties, an invaluable treasure which was his ideology: organizational principles, theory and tactics of a revolutionary party. Leninism is a powerful ideological force which guides our Party and makes it possible to become the highest organization of the toiling masses, and the embodiment of the intelligence, dignity and conscience of our people.

Under the banner of Leninism, the Vietnam Workers' Party has won the confidence of our people and is considered as their vanguard party. Our Party has known how to make use of the potentialities and creative initiative of our people who never resigned themselves to the yoke of slavery and colonialism.

Lenin embodied the unity of mind within the Party, the solidarity of its ranks, the respect of revolutionary discipline, the unshakable faith in the great cause of communism and firm confidence in the final victory. All this is now an encouragement for the Vietnam Workers' Party which has daily and hourly applied the principle of criticism and self-criticism, and regarded it as the miraculous method to correct mistakes and shortcomings and to struggle against the manifestations of subjectivism and complacency. Our Party has no other interests than those of our people and our fatherland; therefore, it attaches great

importance to raising the level of its work. While doing its utmost to fulfill its tasks, our Party has constantly studied Leninism in order to raise its combativeness, political dynamism, the unity in organization and the ideological level of the Party members.

Our people and Party members were steeled in the flame of the long and hard struggle for national salvation and suffered untold hardship and suffering. Over eight years, our people and Party waged an heroic struggle which ended victoriously in favor of the Vietnamese people and in the reestablishment of peace in Indochina. The Geneva Agreements demonstrated that the struggle for national liberation waged by the Vietnamese people and the brother peoples of Laos and Cambodia and their lofty sacrifice and heroism have been internationally recognized. Our Party can be proud that during these years it was resolute and persevering and led the people to struggle with a great sacrificing spirit.

(Excerpts from an article appearing in Pravda, April 18, 1955)

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THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION WILL WIN MORE BRILLIANT VICTORIES UNDER THE  
GLORIOUS BANNER OF THE IMMORTAL LENIN

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1970, pp 9-18]

Communists, the working class, and the working people throughout the world are joyously celebrating the 100th birthday of V. I. Lenin, the brilliant leader and great teacher of the working class and people of the world and of all progressive mankind.

Gazing upon the picture of the immortal Lenin, millions of soldiers struggling for lofty socialist and communist ideals, national independence, democracy, and peace clearly demonstrate their profound gratitude.

They are grateful that Lenin developed Marxism into Marxism-Leninism, the brilliant beacon which has illuminated the road of victory for the working class and working peoples of all countries in these times.

They are grateful that Lenin founded the Russian Bolshevik Party at the beginning of this century and provided a model for all communist and workers parties in the world.

They are grateful that Lenin led the working class and the Russian working people in the great and brilliantly successful October revolution, which began a new era, an era in which man consciously overcame and mastered his life and the elements and made history.

They are grateful that Lenin founded the Communist International fifty one years ago and transmitted to the five continents the eloquent call of the times: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!"

Lenin's good deeds and cause will live forever!

Lenin understood the truth of Marxism early and was an active revolutionary and intimately related with the struggles of the working class

could and must be combined into one anti-imperialist revolutionary front. Facing the problem of national liberation in a very important position within the political platform of the Communist International, Lenin devoted special attention to the revolutions in the Oriental nations and called upon all Oriental communist parties to develop a sense of independence and freedom in the application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to resolve the specific problems of the revolution in their countries. By clearly pointing out the relationship between the proletarian campaign in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in colonized countries, Lenin illuminated the profound significance of the sacred appeal which reverberated through the times: "Proletariats and all oppressed nations and peoples, unite!" The isolation of the central force of the times, the working class, meant that national liberation movements could not succeed. Without a close alliance with the national liberation movement, the international working class could not fulfill its historic mission.

Maintaining that the fundamental problem of the revolution was that of political power, Lenin defended and brilliantly expanded Marx's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat was not the end of the class struggle, but rather a continuation of that struggle under new conditions and with new forms and methods. Dictatorship and democracy are two integral parts of the proletarian state, a state which is a million times more democratic than the most "democratic" of the capitalist states. Criticizing the shallow and erratic concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin clarified the general concept of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and established a universal pattern: "the proletarian revolution cannot succeed if it does not destroy the capitalist state machinery in its place." (1) However, he also emphasized: "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only violence against exploiters nor is it essentially violent," but rather "the economic basis of violence in that revolution and a guarantee of its vitality and success. Primarily, it allows the proletarian class to create and establish a better socialist labor organization than that of capitalism. This is the nature of the problem. It is the power which guarantees the total and ultimate success of communism." (2) In accordance with that meaning together with the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin properly resolved many problems relative to the building of Socialism. He accumulated a great deal of valuable experience, in spite of the fact that he had led the Soviet Union for only a little more than six years. During that period, the new regime did not completely heal the wounds suffered by Russia during the First World War, and the country had to fight 30 continuous years against internal strife created by Russian reactionaries and 14 imperialist countries which were carrying out a war of intervention. At that point, while on the road to communism, the Soviet Union followed a course outlined in Lenin's initial plan: "communism is the Soviet government coupled with the electrification of the entire country."

before he left school. Lenin developed Marxism totally by a deep involvement in all three aspects of Marxism, that is, Marxist philosophy, economic politics, and scientific socialism, as well as by an analysis of the new conditions of the proletariat revolution and the new accomplishments of science. Because of Lenin's contribution, which added abundantly to Marxist theory, communists could more clearly understand that the truth was specific and that the revolution was creative. On one hand, by crushing revisionism which had abandoned the fundamental principles of Marxism and crushing the dogmatism which had transformed those principles into "abstract formulae," Lenin faithfully and actively applied those principles to the resolution of specific problems under new historical conditions. It is primarily due to dialectical materialism that historical materialism, economic politics, and scientific socialism have expanded and grown.

Lenin clearly saw the victorious direction for the revolution in the face of a situation in which capitalism was shifting from free competition to monopoly and the democratic socialists were abandoning reform and surrendering. Fully and creatively applying Marxist theory, he pointed out that monopolistic capitalism would not only fail to eliminate the fundamental dissidence of capitalism, but would in fact make it worse and gradually lead to imperialist warfare and the proletariat revolution. The monopolists severally exploited the proletariat class and the working people applied pressure to the weaker capitalists in every country, and generated intense arguments among the big cartels in the world market. Scientifically analyzing the fundamental nature of imperialism, Lenin concluded that imperialism was the "last phase of capitalism", the "death rattle" of capitalism, and the "eve of the proletarian revolution." This discovery by Lenin of the irregular pattern of development of capitalism had a vitally important theoretical and practical meaning. That fact not only illustrated the creative nature of the revolution, but illustrated an aggressive revolutionary spirit as well. When thinking of Marx and Engels relative to the proletarian revolution, communists often think of circumstances in which the working class was rising up to throw off the yoke of the capitalists and win political power in made developed capitalist countries. Based on the irregular pattern of expansion of capitalism during the imperialist, Lenin asserted that the socialist revolution could be successful primarily in a few countries or in one particular capitalist country, the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism.

Lenin added to the Marxist theory on the proletarian revolution by the above-mentioned argument. Based upon specific conditions and the level of development of the revolution in each country, the proletariat class directly generates the socialist revolution or initiates a democratic revolution which evolves into a socialist revolution. The immediate problem in colonized and subjugated countries, where the people are oppressed and enslaved by the colonialists, is national liberation. For that reason the missions of national liberation and democracy cannot be separated. Lenin pointed out that the national liberation revolutions in colonized and subjugated countries and the socialist revolutions in capitalist countries

Lenin constantly raised the problem of establishing, strengthening, and expanding a vanguard political party of the working class. From the end of the last century until he died, Lenin crushed the opportunistic and "leftist" positions of the democratic socialists, Mensheviks, the "revisionists," and so forth. The principles which Lenin upheld in the process of building the Russian Bolshevik party are primarily the fundamental principles for building a new model political party of the working class in all countries. The application of those principles is dependent upon a specific environment when building a political party but in any environment, a divergence from those principles has harmful effects and can even cause the proletarian political party and revolution to lose its vanguard nature. The actual experience of international communist and workers campaigns more and more confirms that Lenin's principles concerning the establishment of a political party are proper. The party is the vanguard unit, the staff, and the highest organization of the proletariat class. It includes the most outstanding, aware, and revolutionary soldiers of the class and is the closest organization to the broad masses. The party must fully control this theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism and properly and creatively apply it to each specific situation. The revolutionary party of the proletariat employs democratic centralism as an organizational principle and has a strict and conscious discipline as opposed to capitalist and petty bourgeoisie parties.

It regularly promotes criticism and self-criticism, fights with determination against opportunism or "leftism" under any form, and opposes divisive activities and factionalism. The party strives to maintain unity in thought, action, and organization on the basis of its political lines and proper principles of activity.

Based upon a proper recognition of the status of the development of the proletarian revolution under new conditions, Lenin singled out the close-knit relationship between a revolution in a given country and the world revolution. He stated clearly that if there was not a great voluntary effort on the part of the proletariat class and the working masses of all nations and all peoples to ally and unite with each other, capitalism could not be totally defeated.

In addition, Lenin clarified the problems of war and peace, clearly differentiating between revolutionary war and anti-revolutionary war and between righteous war and unrighteous war.

In the field of philosophy, Lenin enjoyed a great success in the long time struggle to defend and develop Marx's theory. Dissipating the arguments of the idealist philosophers of the capitalist class who distorted the new accomplishments to oppose Marxist philosophy, Lenin clearly proved that it was primarily those accomplishments which confirmed the theory of Marxist philosophy.

As we more clearly recognize the totality of Marxism-Leninism, the essence of mankind, we more freely see that Lenin's creativeness in the expansion of Marxism was extremely great. While upholding the principle that "Marx's theory is universal," Lenin also reminded communists of the words of Marx and Engels who often said that "our theory is not dogma, but rather a compass for action."

Lenin fought persistently to maintain the clarity and develop the universality of Marxism. His heroic revolutionary spirit was not only illustrated in his struggles against the Russian Czarists, the reactionary capitalists, and the imperialists, but also throughout his ideological, political, and organizational struggles against those who distorted Marxism and against dogmatism which would transform Marxism into inflexible formulae. How could the loyal soldiers of the world's communist and workers movement ever forget the simple but meaningful words said by Lenin about his lifetime of struggle:

"This is my destiny. I go from one campaign to another fighting against political ignorance, opportunism, and so forth."

"It has been so since 1893. And the hatred of the ignorant also began at that time. Nevertheless, I will not exchange that destiny for "peace" with the ignorant." (3)

Lenin always won.

The proletariat class and the working people of Russia made constant progress under the ever-victorious banner of Lenin. The brilliantly victorious October socialist revolution passed the dye for the lines and strategy of the proletarian revolution. The blast of revolutionary gunfire from the battleship Rang Dong signaled the dawn of a new day in a spring that would last forever, become more and more beautiful, and light the skies, not only in Russia but throughout the world. Man enthusiastically recorded the birth of the Soviet state in his history, the first state to manifest the collective ownership right of the working people. The imperialists joined forces with anti-revolutionaries in Russia and did everything possible to crush that state from the moment it was born. But the workers, the peasants, and the Soviet army closed ranks tightly under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and responded to Lenin's appeal by heroically charging ahead, overcoming countless difficulties, and destroying both internal enemies and foreign aggressors. Halfway through this century, while the Soviet Union was building socialism, it defeated fascist Germany in the west and Japan in the east. It directly liberated many countries in eastern Europe and created very advantageous world conditions for the victory of the national liberation movement in many colonized and subjugated countries. Later, it made great efforts to quickly heal the wounds of war, complete the building of socialism, and advance toward the building of communism. Russia and the other countries which were previously enslaved in "the

prison of the nations" by the Czar are now closely tied to each other in a powerful socialist union which has a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and the most progressive science and technology in the world.

The October revolution, led by Lenin, opened a new era. The joint communique issued by the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers parties, which met in Moscow in November 1960 asserted: "the period which we consider vital is the transition from capitalism to socialism, as marked by the great October socialist revolution. It was a period of struggle between two opposing social systems; a period of socialist and national liberation; a period in which imperialism was overthrown and the colonialist system destroyed; a period which saw more and more nations move ahead on the road to socialism; and a period of victory for socialism and communism throughout the world."

After the Second World War, socialism spread from one country to another and became a world system which included one-fourth of the world's area and one-third of its population. The victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism spread from southeast Asia to eastern Europe and right next door to the United States, the most powerful and aggressive imperialist country of the world. Based upon an economic system which did not include the exploitation of man by man, socialism developed at a far greater rate of speed than capitalism and became a decisive factor in the development of mankind. With the support of the international working class, the national liberation movement erupted in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It toppled nearly all of the old colonial powers and decisively hastened old and new colonialism to its grave. The current of the times will employ a strategic attack to override the corrupt influence of oppression and exploitation of the people and the oppression and exploitation of the nations.

In daily life everywhere, it was constantly demonstrated that Marxism-Leninism was the highpoint of man's intelligence. Absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism was a guarantee everywhere of certain victory in the revolution and straying from the road of Marxism-Leninism was the great danger which led to failure.

Having passed through countless ages, man is now enormously happy that Marxism-Leninism lights the road of progress.

It was also in the brilliance of Lenin's time that our beloved President Ho found the road of national salvation. He moved to communism from patriotism. After nearly 15 years away from the fatherland, in which President Ho visited France, England, Africa, and the Americas, he read the book, "Lenin's Outline of the Problems of Nationalism and Colonialism." He "wept with joy" and said to himself in his room as though he were talking to the entire nation thousands of miles away, "Compatriots in misery! This is the necessary thing for us. This is our road of liberation!" Looking toward Lenin's homeland, President Ho knew clearly that mankind had begun "the beautiful spring," even though the struggle would be long and difficult. (4)

President Ho was the first Vietnamese to accept Marxism-Leninism and spread it to Vietnam. Creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, he founded the party, the state, the United Nationalist Front, and the People's Armed Forces of Vietnam; and he led the Vietnamese from one victory to another.

Under the leadership of the party, headed by President Ho, our people fought heroically and won glorious victories. The August revolution was successful and it allowed for the destruction of the colonialist and the feudal state and the founding of the democratic Republic of Vietnam. The resistance against colonialist France was victorious and ended the phase of the peoples democratic and nationalist revolution in North Vietnam. It also opened the road for half of our country to move ahead toward socialism. The current anti-United States undertaking for national salvation is winning greater and greater victories.

The Ho Chi Minh era was primarily an era of brilliant victories for Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam. In looking over the fruits of the revolution, we are extremely grateful to Marx and Lenin and deeply aware of the words of President Ho who emphasized that the proper revolutionary line of communist and workers parties, "could only be the line of Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the specific conditions in various countries." Absolute to the working class, the people, and the fatherland, the party has constantly made great efforts to properly resolve the specific problems of the Vietnamese revolution in accordance with the creative spirit which Lenin gave to the communists of the Orient.

Lenin regularly called upon communists and revolutionary soldiers to "study, study again, and study continuously!" The more we study Marxism-Leninism the more we understand that the theoretical stores of Marxism-Leninism are unlimited. The more we apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam, the more we recognize that the vitality and creativeness of Marxism-Leninism is unlimited. Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam is clearly illustrated in the lines and policy of the party, and in our actual struggle and buildup in accordance with those lines and policies. We are extremely proud of our beloved party, its high ideals, and its great leadership and we commemorate the 100th birthday of Lenin in an atmosphere of joy following the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party, prior to the 80th birthday of President Ho, the most outstanding Leninist scholar in Vietnam. With our hearts full of enthusiasm each of us swears to strive to study Lenin and to regularly combine revolutionary order with creative revolutionary intelligence to resolve all problems. With our hearts full of enthusiasm, each of us swears to make great efforts to assimilate the ethics, honesty, and impartiality of President Ho in order that we can keep pace with the requirements of the fatherland and the revolution. The anti-United States for national salvation of our people is piling up victories.

Socialist construction in North Vietnam is moving ahead with forceful and stable momentum.

The aggressive atmosphere of the Vietnamese revolution throughout the country is manifested by Vietnamese revolutionary heroism; "any mission will be completed, any difficulty will be overcome, and any enemy will be defeated."

While on the road to victory, we must still dare many difficulties, resolve many complex problems, and suffer a great deal of adversity and sacrifice. But we have enough of the elements of victory to constantly develop a forceful effectiveness. President Ho's will gives us new strength every hour of every day. In fulfilling the oaths made before his appointment, the entire party, all of the people, and the whole army will uphold the will to fight and "fight until the United States withdraws, and the puppets are overthrown." We will successfully accomplish 1970 state goals and we swear to comply with President Ho's words.

Regardless of the sacrifice or adversity, we are determined to bring all of our strength to bear to attain President Ho's "ultimate desire"; "the entire party and all of the people are united in the struggle to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam and to make a significant contribution to the world revolution." (5)

Moving ahead bravely, the entire party, all of the people, and the whole army is determined to carry the ever-victorious banner of President Ho Chi Minh and the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism to their final destination in our beloved Vietnam.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: "The Proletarian Revolution and the traitor Kautsky," Collected Works, published in Vietnamese, Su That publishers, Hanoi, 1969, Vol. 2 Part 2 pp. 33.
2. Lenin: Complete Works, published in Vietnamese, Su That publishers, Hanoi, 1969, Vol. 29, pp. 469.
3. Lenin: Complete Works, published in Russian, State Political Publishers, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 35, pp. 205.
4. "Joyously Commemorating the Great October Revolution," Appeal of President Ho, Su That publishers, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. 5, pp. 294.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "The Will," Hoc Tap, Special Issue, September 1969.

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## THE GREAT LENIN WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR CAUSE

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Respected and beloved President Ton Duc Thang dear comrades and friends, this year, along with the Soviet people, the people of other socialist countries, and all the progressives worldwide, our people solemnly celebrate great Lenin's 100th anniversary at a moment when world revolution has won extremely great victories and is developing strongly. Under the glorious Marxist-Leninist banner, with the spirit of relying mainly on our own power, and with the sympathy, support, and great assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and all the world people, our Vietnamese people are defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors and building socialism in half of our country.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was born on 22 April 1870 to a Russian progressive intellectual family in the city of Simnirsk, now called Ylyanovsk. When still very young, he had assimilated the Russian progressive literature. He deeply hated the dictatorial regime of the Czars and the oppressive exploitation of the Russian people by landlords and the bourgeoisie. At 17, he began engaging in revolutionary activities and studying Marxism. He soon became an outstanding Marxist, struggling resolutely to defend Marxism, using it in a creative way to solve the revolutionary problems of his country and the world, and simultaneously developing Marxism in the fields of philosophy, economic politics, and scientific socialism under new historical conditions.

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

He led the Great October Socialist Revolution to success and founded the first socialist state in the world, thus inaugurating a new era in the history of mankind, an era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale.

Lenin led the Russian people's heroic struggle to protect the nascent Soviet administration, defeating the attacks by 14 imperialist countries and crushing the counterrevolutionaries who launched internecine war in collusion with the foreign imperialists.

For the first time, Lenin outlined the direction, mission, and plan for the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and initially materialized mankind's noblest ideal, the communist ideal.

Lenin founded the Communist Internationale and equipped it with correct strategies and tactics so that it would lead the international communist and workers' movement and muster all the international revolutionary forces for the struggle against the common enemies, the imperialists and their henchmen.

Lenin led a very active and heroic life. Whether in Russia or in exile in foreign countries, whether free or detained in czarist prisons, he continually worked with great efficiency for the revolutionary undertaking of the working class.

Lenin was a brilliant example of boundless loyalty to Marxism, of the spirit of uncompromising struggle against the class enemies, of love for the people and confidence in the masses, of revolutionary enthusiasm, of love for labor, and of modesty and simplicity.

Lenin's greatness lies in the fact that he fully crystallized the most noble virtues of a proletarian leader, deeply penetrated Marxist theories, accumulated and summarized the abundant and practical experiences of the revolutionary struggle, was farsighted, was sensitive to changes in the situation, and constantly upheld his revolutionary ethics in his life and struggle.

Lenin dedicated his lifetime to the undertaking of liberating the working class from the capitalist yoke, the oppressed peoples from the colonialist yoke, and mankind from every oppression and exploitation. Lenin was the greatest proponent of the revolutionary undertaking of Marx and Engels, an outstanding Marxist theoretician, a genius in revolutionary strategy, and a revolutionary activist who firmly stuck to the principles, but was flexible where strategy was concerned. Lenin was the greatest leader and teacher of the working class, the laborers, and the oppressed peoples throughout the world in our era.

Lenin passed away 46 years ago, but his fame remains engraved forever in the hearts and minds of the workers and people throughout the world.

President Ho Chi Minh said,

"Leninism is not only a marvelous brochure or a compass, but also the sun that illuminates the path leading us toward final victory and

toward socialism and communism." Leninism was Marxism during the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. Leninism was shaped and developed in the furnace of revolutionary struggle of the working class, in the struggles of the oppressed peoples, in the uncompromising struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, and other opportunistic doctrines in different forms, and in the untiring struggle against every capitalist scholar's attack, thereby defending the clearness and creativeness of Marxism, developing it further, and making it into today's Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the climax of the development of human ideologies in our era. Marxism-Leninism has not only taught the world profound lessons, but significantly improved the world as well. It is a searchlight that is illuminating the path for the international working class, the oppressed peoples, and progressive mankind which is advancing on the path of struggle to liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation and to build a new, peaceful and happy world.

When deeply analyzing the characteristics and contradictions of capitalism in the imperialist period, Lenin reached extremely important conclusions, such as: "Imperialism is the final stage of capitalism"; it is the "death rattle" of capitalism; and "it is the eve of the socialist revolution." At the same time, Lenin set forth a perfect theory about the proletarian revolution and pointed out the steady steps of the world revolution in completely defeating capitalism.

Based on the unceasing development of capitalism, Lenin concluded that in the phase of capitalist development, revolution can be successful in one country or some countries but not in all countries. Therefore, a socialist revolution can erupt first in an economically underdeveloped country (it is not necessary that a highly developed industry be present) if this country is the most essential link of the capitalist camp and has national and international conditions favorable for such a revolution. Lenin's argument has a very important pragmatic and dialectical meaning for world revolution. It has equipped the working class in every country with confidence in final success and with the determination to attack to defeat the capitalist system gradually while advancing toward defeating world imperialism completely. The struggle to overthrow world imperialism is a long historical process encompassing revolutions of various types in countries of various types, depending upon differences in the economic, political, and social developments of various countries. Lenin said:

"Socialist revolution can be carried on only in this era, coordinating civil wars between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in advanced countries and a series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movements, in underdeveloped, backward, and oppressed countries." (2)

All these revolutions are closely linked together and aim at a common target: to overthrow imperialism and colonialism and to advance human society toward socialism and communism. Today, all nations are advancing toward socialism and communism, but through different types of revolutions and processes.

Lenin's theory on the transition from bourgeois, democratic revolution to proletarian revolution is the guideline for communist parties and workers in setting forth correct revolutionary lines, coordinating the struggle for democracy and that for socialism and uniting all national revolutionary forces under the leadership of the working class. Based on Marx's conception of "unceasing revolution" and on the situation of the revolutions in various countries in the era of imperialism, Lenin pointed out that there is no barrier between bourgeois, national revolutions and proletarian revolutions and that it is not strictly necessary that the phase of bourgeois rule must follow a successful bourgeois, democratic revolution. He asserted that in the phase of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the proletariat must lead the bourgeois, democratic revolution if the revolution is to be thoroughly successful and to be turned into a socialist one. The essential, decisive condition of this success is the leadership of the working class over the bourgeois, democratic revolution on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

The working class has invincible strength because the vanguard party leading the revolution has adopted a correct line, the Marxist line, and has achieved a sound worker-peasant alliance that serves as a basis for the unity of all people's forces and aims at isolating the enemy to the utmost in order to fight and expel him, Lenin has armed us with a doctrine on the building of a vanguard party of the working class, which takes Marxism-Leninism as a guideline for all its activities, which is organized in accordance with the principle of democratic centralization, which has a strict discipline thus insuring the unity of views and actions in the party, which takes criticism and self-criticism as a law of development of the party, and which has close relations with the proletarian masses. Only such a party can lead the revolution to success and achieve socialism and communism.

Based on the poverty and revolutionary fighting spirit of the Russian people and the people of many other countries, Lenin asserted that the peasantry not only can and must unite with the working class in the bourgeois democratic revolution, but also can and must unite with the working class in the proletarian revolution. To lead the revolution to success, the working class must attract the peasantry to its side and transform it from a reserve force of the bourgeoisie into its own reserve force. The achievement of the workers-peasants alliance is a matter of decisive character for the strengthening of the leadership of the revolution of the working class. The peasantry problem is one facet of the building and strengthening of a proletarian dictatorship.

With a thorough and comprehensive viewpoint on the proletarian revolution, Lenin developed the issue of nationalism in Marxism into the issue of nationalism and colonialism during an imperialism era. Thanks to this, the national liberation movements became part of the world proletarian revolution. The peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, once they regain their political independence, can advance toward socialism through different transitional phases bypassing the phase of development of capitalism. This is the path leading them to true independence and freedom, and these transitions can only be achieved under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, based on the workers-peasants alliance, and with the support of the working class of the advanced countries, especially the working class which has assumed the power in the socialist countries. Lenin stated, "With the assistance of the working class of the advanced countries, the backward countries can achieve a Soviet regime and, through determined phases of development, advance toward communism, bypassing the capitalist phase of development."(3)

Lenin untiringly struggled to unite the international communist and workers' movements on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to unite the international working class with the oppressed people worldwide because without this unity imperialism could not be defeated. Lenin developed the Marx-Engels slogan: "Proletarians of the world, unite" into the slogan: "Proletarians and all oppressed nations of the world, unite."

Under the leadership of the Russian Bolshevik Party, headed by the great Lenin, the working class, peasantry, and the people living under the oppression of the Czar united into a bloc, arose in struggle, and brought the October Revolution to success. The USSR was the first state of the proletarian dictatorship. It occupied one-sixth of the area of the world and was a state of many equal nationalities who were united and helped one another to build a new life.

Lenin developed Marxist theory through the recapitulative experiences of the three Russian revolutions and especially the experiences of the first years of the Soviet administration and the experiences of the world revolution. According to Leninism, proletarian dictatorship lasts through the period of transition from capitalism to the classless communist society. Proletarian dictatorship does not mean the end of the class struggle of the working class, when the bourgeoisie has been overthrown but has not yet been exterminated. Proletarian dictatorship means the continuance of that class struggle under new conditions, in new forms, and with new measures and new, concrete objectives. Therefore, the working class, after winning power, must strive to firmly maintain and consolidate it. The working class must continually strengthen and consolidate its revolutionary dictatorship in order, on the one hand, to suppress all acts of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries and frustrate the bourgeoisie's plot to restore itself and, on the other hand, to achieve a democratic socialist regime that is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois

regime. This will enable the working class to achieve solidarity, to organize, educate, and mobilize the laboring masses, and to successfully build socialism and communism. Under proletarian dictatorship, the working class must reform not only the exploiting elements into becoming laborers, but also millions of small producers according to the socialist line. The working class also must reform itself. It must rid itself of excessive liberalism and other petty bourgeois influences. In educating the laboring masses to join in building socialism, the problem of reforming the people is the most complex and delicate. Proletarian dictatorship must bring the working class and laboring people a happy and plentiful life. Socialism will achieve certain success only when the working class succeeds in building a socialist economy with a social labor organization yielding a higher output than that of capitalism. Lenin said: "In the last analysis, labor output is the most basic and important thing for the success of the new social order."(4)

To achieve this objective, Lenin devised a platform for building socialism in the Soviet Union. This platform dealt with socialist industrialization, agricultural cooperativization, and the cultural revolution, aiming at achieving the following communist formula: "Soviet administration plus nationwide electrification." Combining the above three campaigns was a basic content of the period of transition to socialism. It was designed to settle definitely the problem of "who triumphs over whom" between socialism and capitalism in the Soviet Union, thereby "creating conditions that made it impossible for the bourgeoisie to survive or recuperate."(5)

After Lenin passed away, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party led by Comrade Stalin held high the ever-victorious banner of Lenin and worked selflessly. They successfully built socialism in a relatively short period of time and transformed capitalist and underdeveloped Russia into a great socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, a steady and strong national defense, and an advanced science and technology. It has opened the way for other peoples to advance toward socialism and is now opening the way for men to conquer space. This great change has contributed decisively to the Soviet Union's achievements in defeating fascism, liberating mankind from the savage fascist disaster, and creating very favorable conditions for the peoples of many countries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to arise and destroy the weak links of the imperialist network, to set up people's democratic states, and to walk the path of socialist construction.

The victory of socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries proves that socialism can be fully realized in a particular country or in a number of states encircled by world capitalism.

Looking backward, we are very happy to realize that Lenin's great name has been connected with every revolutionary change in mankind's society since the beginning of the 20th century.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, the October Socialist Revolution triumphed and the USSR, the first socialist state, was born. There, the Soviets successfully built socialism and are building the material and technical bases of communism.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, fascism was defeated and the world socialist network came into being. With one third of the world's population and one-fourth of the world's territory, this network has become a "decisive factor in the development of mankind's society."

Under Lenin's glorious banner, the oppressed peoples have arisen and struggled with a determination to smash all shackles of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, to regain independence and freedom, and to disintegrate the colonial network of imperialism.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, the socialist revolution is winning in China, a vast country with a population of 700 million people, thus tipping the balance of forces in the world in favor of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, the socialist revolution is winning in Cuba, a small country adjacent to the United States, the most powerful, the wealthiest, and most wicked imperialist country.

Under Lenin's glorious banner, our Vietnamese people made the August revolution successful, defeated aggressive French colonialism, are vanquishing U.S. imperialism, building socialism steadfastly in an underdeveloped agricultural and war-devastated country, and breaking the weakest link of the colonialist network.

We are extremely grateful to Lenin for opening to us an era "whose substance is the transition from capitalism to socialism and which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is an era of struggle between two opposing ideologies, an era of the socialist revolution and national liberation revolution, an era of imperialist collapse and liquidation of the colonial systems, an era in which many more nations have moved toward socialism, an era of success of socialism and communism in the entire world."(6)

We are extremely happy and proud to fight in this era -- the era of the triumph of Leninism.

Dear comrades and friends,

On the occasion of the 100th birthday of the great Lenin, let us review how President Ho Chi Minh and our party applied Leninism in general, and Lenin's doctrine on the problems of nation and colony in particular, to leading the Vietnamese revolution.

Drinking water, we must remember its source. We recall the initial stage when "our people were the people of an enslaved nation and our fatherland was trampled under the iron heels of the tyrannical enemy. By that time, President Ho Chi Minh had absorbed Leninism. As a result of President Ho's meritorious service, Leninism was introduced to the Vietnamese people and illuminated the path of the Vietnamese revolution.

President Ho's emotion aroused by his initial reading of Lenin's treatise on "The Problems of Nationalism and Colonialism" demonstrated the persuasive and attractive power of Leninism vis-a-vis those who had lost their country and who were eager for independence and freedom.

Ho said: "Lenin's treatise profoundly moved me and made me boundlessly enthusiastic, enlightened, and confident. I wept with joy. Sitting alone in my room, I raised my voice as if I were speaking before broad masses: 'Mistreated and suffering compatriots, this is a necessity for us. This is the path of our liberation.'"(8)

Leninism opened new horizons for the revolution in colonial countries. Even before World War I, Lenin paid special attention to eastern countries.

He said: "Everywhere in Asia there is a vigorous democratic movement, which is mounting, spreading, and being strengthened. Hundreds of millions of people are surging forward in life, in light, and in freedom."(9)

Lenin regarded the national liberation movement as part of the world proletarian revolution. The national liberation movement must receive the wholehearted assistance of the proletariat in advanced countries, primarily the proletariat in countries where the revolution has triumphed. On the tribune of the Communist International, Lenin urged the Western communist parties to support to the best of their ability the revolution movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. He "resolutely condemned every prejudice toward the peoples of colonial countries, which was deep-rooted among many workers in Europe and in America."(10) Lenin was the first to realize that without the participation of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries the world proletarian revolution could not triumph.

On the other hand, Lenin urged the communist parties of the eastern countries to apply communist theories to their practical conditions. In these countries, peasants represent the fundamental masses and the revolution's primary task is to regain national independence and to topple the yoke of foreign domination. Internally, the main task is not to oppose domestic capitalism, but to combat the vestiges of feudalism. Lenin clearly indicated that in the colonial and dependent countries, after successfully driving out the imperialists, it is necessary to go even further, that is, to struggle to free laboring people from social oppression. Lenin also clearly realized that with the assistance of the proletariat class in progressive countries the backward countries could advance toward socialism and communism through definite stages of development, but without going through the phase of capitalist development.

Lenin's doctrine on the development of the democratic, bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution and his theories about the possibility of achieving victory in the socialist revolution in one country or in a number of countries which are not necessarily developed countries has illuminated extensively the revolution in colonial territories.

Lenin's doctrine on the revolution in colonial and dependent countries during the imperialist period represents extremely valuable instructions for the revolutionaries in oriental countries.

Early in this century, when the Vietnamese revolution was undergoing a crisis in its line, President Ho Chi Minh had absorbed Marxism-Leninism -- primarily the Leninist doctrine on the revolution in colonial countries -- and introduced Marxism-Leninism into Vietnam, thus ideologically shifting many Vietnamese revolutionaries from the patriotic stand based on petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie viewpoints to the patriotic stand based on the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. The combination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker-motivating drive and the patriotic movement in Vietnam gave birth to the Indochinese Communist Party, which is now the Vietnamese Lao Dong Party. No sooner had it been founded than our party, under President Ho's leadership, creatively applied Leninism to the practical conditions of Vietnam and asserted that the Vietnamese revolution -- which is part of the world revolution -- must go through two phases: The phase of democratic, bourgeois revolution, and that of socialist revolution. These two revolutionary phases were closely correlated and inseparable. Meanwhile, the revolution in Vietnam was closely correlated with that in the "Mother Country" (at that time, France). President Ho gave this example to illustrate this relationship: "Capitalism is like a leech with one sucker sticking to the proletariat in the mother country and with the other sticking to the proletariat in the colony. To kill this leech, one must cut off both suckers at the same time. If only one sucker is cut, the other will continue to live and the sucker already cut will grow again."(11)

President Ho regularly fought against viewpoints that disregarded the nationalist and colonialist problems in the communist parties in Western countries. He equated the national liberation revolution in the colonies with the proletarian revolution in the mother country. He viewed the world revolution as a bird with two wings: On one side was the anti-imperialist unity bloc of the working class and on the other side was the anti-imperialist unity bloc of the working class and on the other side was the alliance of colonial peoples. He said: "The alliance of colonial peoples is one of the two wings of the proletarian revolution."(12)

With the modesty of a communist, he wrote, "Step by step in the struggle, by studying Marxist-Leninist theories along with carrying out practical tasks, I have gradually come to realize that only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and laborers in the world from slavery."(13) President Ho went from patriotism to communism and freedom, the coordination between patriotism and international proletarianism

was thoroughly manifested in all his activities and in our party's line and policy.

President Ho and our party creatively applied Lenin's doctrine to the correct settlement of problems such as building a new-style proletarian party in an underdeveloped agricultural country, consolidating the Vietnamese working class' leadership over the revolution, achieving the worker-peasant alliance, and building the United National Front, the people's armed forces, and the people's democratic administration. They succeeded in settling a series of new peculiar problems relating to the revolutionary strategy and tactics in the concrete situation in the country and in advancing the Vietnamese revolution toward even more brilliant successes.

Based on the Leninist theory that, in colonies and dependent countries, the problem of nationality is essentially that of the peasantry and the problem of democracy is actually that of land, President Ho and our party have clearly seen the close relationship between the problems of national independence, people's democracy, and land to the tiller in our country.

At its second national congress, our party decided to apply the Leninist theory on national liberation revolution and on bourgeois, democratic revolution to the concrete conditions of Vietnam in order to improve our party's revolutionary lines. In specifying the contents of the party's first set of Political Principles (an abbreviated political platform and a political program), the party recognized that the revolution in our country was a national liberation movement and a bourgeois-democratic revolution, but a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type under the leadership of the working class rather than the bourgeoisie class. The duty of this revolution was to chase out imperialism, gain national independence, overthrow feudalism, implement the motto: "land to the tiller", and materialize the people's freedom and democratic rights. The forces of this revolution are the people, especially the working people, who are essentially workers and peasants. We call such a revolution a people's democratic, national one. Led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, this revolution must and is able to advance directly to socialist revolution, bringing socialism to our country while bypassing the phase of capitalist development. Our party has very correctly held that the people's democratic, national revolution is the best one for social revolution and that socialist revolution is the necessary outcome of the people's democratic, national revolution.

Our people's democratic, national revolution is typical of revolution carried in a colony having agriculture that is backward and where the people are exploited in innumerable feudalistic forms. It is different from the October Revolution in Russia, a lightly developed capitalist country, as well as from the revolution in China, a semicolonial agricultural country.

In accordance with the Leninist theory on the great capability of each revolution, even in an economically underdeveloped country that is the weakest link of the imperialist chain, the party asserted that the revolution in Vietnam was intimately related with that of the Mother Country, but not subordinate to it. Moreover, due to favorable conditions in Vietnam and the world, the socialist revolution in Vietnam can, in the imperialist era, achieve victory before the socialist revolutions in many developed capitalist countries.

Relying on its correct revolutionary lines, our party had, being surrounded by imperialism, independently led the August revolution to success; and when the French colonialists again invaded our country our party led the all-people, comprehensive, and protracted resistance and, relying mainly on its own strength, defeated the French aggressors.

In a manner different the petty and national bourgeoisie parties, our party taught the masses in the country to differentiate between the French colonialists -- the imperialist and aggressive enemy -- and the French working class and people, who were the allied forces in support of the Vietnamese people's just struggle. Next, together with the French Communist Party, our party achieved unity in action between the Vietnamese and French peoples in opposing their common enemy -- the French imperialists.

After defeating the aggressive French colonialists and completely liberating the North, our party and the North had to directly advance toward socialism by bypassing the phase of capitalist development and without waiting for the liberation of the South and the fulfillment of the people's revolutionary, national, and democratic task in the South. Our party advocated simultaneous fulfillment of two strategic tasks country-wide -- to conduct the socialist revolution in the North, to comprehensively strengthen and develop the North, and to make it a steady prop for the Southern revolution, while stepping up the liberation of the South in order to fulfill the people's revolutionary, national, and democratic task country-wide and to protect the socialist North.

Concerning the socialist revolution in the north, creatively adopting Lenin's theory on proletarian dictatorship and program for socialist construction, President Ho and our party advocated fulfillment of the historic task of proletarian dictatorship by the people's dictatorial, democratic administration. This means that on the one hand we must exercise dictatorship over the counterrevolutionary clique and those opposing our socialist revolution, struggle, and undertaking of peaceful national reunification; strengthen our national defense; and smash every provocation, sabotage, and aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. On the other hand, we must exercise democracy vis-a-vis the people, develop the masses' role of collective mastership, strengthen the all-people unity on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, strengthen our unity with the peoples of various countries, mobilize the people to engage in socialist revolution and socialist construction; and, as a concrete objective, mobilize, educate,

and organize the entire people in conducting the three revolutionary movements -- the production relations revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution.

Because the U.S. imperialists replaced the French colonialists in the South, turned the Saigon puppet administration into U.S. lackeys, and then directly invaded the southern part of our country, our entire people have prosecuted a sacred anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to liberate the South, to protect the North, and to advance toward peaceful national reunification. In the North, our people have engaged in production, while fighting, building socialism, continuing the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, and wholeheartedly supporting the southern revolution.

In the North, we have scored great achievements in reforming our society, building socialism, and defeating the U.S. imperialists' destructive war. In the South, our people have defeated the special war and are defeating the limited war of the U.S. imperialists and advancing toward complete victory. Under the NFLSV banner, the southern compatriots have led the people's war to a peak and won unprecedentedly great victories in our national history of opposing foreign aggression.

Based on Lenin's theory on the nature of the era and the characteristics of the world situation after World War II, our party has correctly assessed the offensive impetus of the world revolution and the three present world revolutionary trends: the socialist revolutionary and socialist and communist construction movements in countries in the socialist camp; the national liberation movement against imperialism and old and neo-colonialism in colonies, subordinate countries, and nationalist countries; and the working class' and people's movement of struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism in imperialist and capitalist countries.

Combining patriotism and proletarian internationalism, our party possesses correct international unity lines and firmly protects the purity of Marxism-Leninism, while obtaining precious aid from brotherly countries in the socialist camp and the sympathy and support from the world peoples, including American progressives, for our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. Vis-a-vis the socialist countries and the international communist and workers movement, our party advocates the necessity to restore and strengthen solidarity "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which are logical and righteous."(14)

Lenin will live forever in our cause. While leading the Vietnamese revolution for 40 years, our party -- headed by great President Ho Chi Minh -- has continually manifested in its lines and policies a thoroughly revolutionary spirit and a spirit of independence and creativeness. It has continually been loyal to Marxism-Leninism and resolutely struggled against all opportunist tendencies, leftist or rightist. It has continually held high the national, democratic, and socialist banner in a colonial and semi-feudal country. Thanks to its correct lines, our party has turned our country from a backward agricultural country into an independent and people's

democratic country which is constructing socialism in its northern part. Under the clear-sighted leadership of our party and President Ho and with international sympathy, support, and assistance, our people have become an assault force of the world revolution, heroically fighting on the forefront of the world people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, resolutely defending the advanced post of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia, and contributing to protecting peace in Asia and the world.

While feeling gratitude for great Lenin, we also feel gratitude for President Ho Chi Minh, the genial leader of our working class and people, the founder and trainer of our party. He taught our party how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in order to lead the Vietnamese revolution from victory to victory.

Dear comrades and friends,

To most worthily commemorate Lenin's 100th anniversary, the Vietnamese must completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Simultaneously, they must continue to build socialism in North Vietnam and build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam.

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance has achieved great and comprehensive victories, forcing the U.S. imperialists to end unconditionally their war of destruction against North Vietnam, withdraw part of their troops from South Vietnam, and attend the Paris four-sided conference. The Americans are obviously defeated. But they are still very stubborn. The Nixon administration speaks of peace, but in fact, it is trying to prolong the war of aggression against our country through "Vietnamizing" it.

According to President Nixon's words and deeds, this "Vietnamization" plan is composed of three parts: 1 - withdrawing part of U.S. troops; 2 - reinforcing the puppet army; 3 - stepping up pacification.

What is the true nature of this plan?

Having sustained bitter and heavy defeats in Vietnam and being strongly criticized by public opinion in the United States and the world, the U.S. imperialists have had to withdraw part of their expeditionary troops in order to reduce U.S. casualties, reduce part of U.S. military expenditures, and deceive public opinion with the so-called U.S. "good will for peace." But they have withdrawn a part of U.S. troops in order to win time to reinforce the puppet army and puppet administration, prolong the war with the "use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" policy, and even expand the war to all three Indochinese countries on the Indochinese peninsula in application of the "use Indochinese to fight Indochinese" policy.

According to U.S. planning, although a segment of U.S. troops has been withdrawn from Vietnamese battlefields, hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops will continue to occupy strategic areas in South Vietnam for a protracted period in order to "support" the puppet government and troops in killing our compatriots. Therefore Nixon's "Vietnamization" is but a plan to prolong this war and the U.S. occupation of South Vietnam.

Thus, the Americans have stepped up pacification, using puppet troops to launch continuous sweep operations, kill our people ruthlessly, and harrass our bases in order to annihilate guerrilla and other resistance forces, screen the masses, disturb many areas, reestablish their bondage machinery in rural areas, encroach upon liberated areas, enlarge the areas under U.S.-puppet control, create a strong position for the puppet government, and control rich and populous areas so as to meet the requirements of the war.

So "Vietnamization" does not mean ending the war in Vietnam, as repeatedly clamored by the Nixon administration, but is the continuation of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. By using puppet and an important segment of U.S. troops, it aims at turning the southern part of our country into a U.S. military base and neocolony and prolonging the division of Vietnam.

Obviously, Vietnamization is a part of Nixon's "new doctrine" on Asia, which aims at using "Asians to fight Asians" so as to serve the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism and world strategy.

Applying this doctrine to our neighboring countries in Indochina, the Nixon administration is stepping up the "special war" in Laos, sending B-52 aircraft to bomb the areas controlled by the Pathet Lao, using Meo and rightist Lao troops to invade liberated areas in Laos, and turning Laos into a U.S. neocolony and military base.

In Cambodia, it has used the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to overthrow Samdech Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk, destroy the independence, peace, and turn Cambodia into a U.S. neocolony and military base. It has also criminally coordinated the activities of the U.S. people's national salvation resistance.

The Cambodian coup-makers began their country-selling drama by sacking the DRV Embassy. They are very savagely terrorizing and massacring honest Vietnamese residents in Cambodia. This is a fascist maneuver of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to create hatred between nations so as to implement the U.S. policy to use Indochinese to fight Indochinese, to reorient the struggle of the Khmers (who rose up against the coup) against the Vietnamese people, and to herd overseas Vietnamese into South Vietnam, where they will be used as cannon fodder for the United States.

The entire Vietnamese people fiercely condemn the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique's savage policy of terror against Vietnamese residents, and

earnestly appeal to the government and people of fraternal socialist countries, of nationalist countries, and the peace and justice loving people worldwide to use every form of struggle and every necessary measure to stay its bloody hands in time and to force it to correctly comply with international law vis-a-vis foreigners.

No barbarous, cruel trick has been able to save from death those who oppress the people and who have been condemned by history. By committing monumental crimes, these people have dug deeper and further enlarged their own graves. The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique will have to bear the consequences of its own creation.

The U.S. imperialists' brazen acts in Laos and Cambodia are aimed at turning these two countries into links in the chain of U.S. strategic defense lines in Southeast Asia, while surrounding and isolating the Vietnamese people's resistance and creating conditions for the United States to carry out the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" plan.

With "Vietnamization" and their foolish acts in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists hope to create a "strong position" to force the Vietnamese people to accept their conditions at the Paris conference. However, their efforts will be in vain. Obviously, the Nixon administration is using the Paris conference as merely a screen to cover up "Vietnamization;" this is why this conference has been stalemated.

The U.S. scheme against Vietnam and Indochina is very crafty, but, strategically, it is totally passive. An outcome of the weak, defeated U.S. position and fraught with insoluble contradictions, it is increasingly opposed by the Vietnamese people, the Indochinese peoples, the Americans, and world's peoples. Therefore, it has initially failed and will certainly meet with complete failure.

A solution to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam has been clearly outlined in the DRV Government's four-point program and in the 10-point solution of the NFLSV and the RSVN's PRG. Its key point is that the United States must unconditionally, quickly, and completely withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, leaving the Vietnamese people to decide their own affairs without foreign interference.

Stubbornly pursuing the Vietnamization plan, the U.S. imperialists have rejected every reasonable and logical proposal of the DRV Government and the RSVN's PRG. The duty of the Vietnamese people as a whole is to constantly heighten vigilance, strengthen solidarity, persevere in and accelerate the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, and completely defeat the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" plan and any other schemes of the U.S. imperialists against Vietnam.

The strong attacks now occurring on the South Vietnam battlefield prove that our people are fully equipped with the determination and strength

to vanquish the U.S. aggressors, liberate the South, protect the North, and advance toward peacefully reunifying the fatherland.

The present resolute struggle of the southern workers and students is sound proof that the people in temporarily controlled areas hate very much the country-selling Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique.

The U.S. imperialists' frenzied acts in accelerating the "Vietnamization" of the war in Vietnam, escalating the war in Laos, and intervening in the subversive activities in Cambodia show the three Indochinese peoples more clearly that their cruellest and most dangerous enemy is the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The three Indochinese peoples, who are already united, will further strengthen their solidarity and get up a united Indochinese peoples' front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to win back and firmly maintain independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and insure that each of these countries develops according to the path of its own choice. The U.S. imperialists want to sow dissension among the Indochinese peoples and use Indochinese to fight Indochinese. In view of this, the Indochinese peoples will tighten their ranks more closely in order to annihilate their common enemy -- the U.S. imperialists. He who sows the wind will reap the storm.

The Vietnamese people heartily applaud the recent resounding victories of the Laotian people in the Plaine des Jarres and resolutely support their resistance struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen to safeguard their basic national rights. The Vietnamese people totally support the Patriotic Lao Front's five-point political solution aimed at settling the Laotian problem peacefully on the basis of the 1962 Geneva agreement on Laos and of the present actual situation in Laos.

The Vietnamese people totally support Chief of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's 23 March 1970, five-point statement and heartily applaud and wholeheartedly support the Khmer people's just struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the lackey Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to build an independent, free, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous Cambodia. The Vietnamese people, now as always, pledge to respect Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity within its present borders.

The Vietnamese people heartily applaud U.S. progressives who again in recent days took to the streets to demand that the bellicose Nixon group end the war of aggression in Vietnam, immediately and completely withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam, Laos, and the Indochinese Peninsula, reduce war expenditures, and use the money saved to solve social problems for the benefit of Americans.

Facts have proven that the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and the three Indochinese peoples against the U.S. imperialist aggressors is an important part of the struggle of the world's peoples for peace,

national independence, democracy, and social progress. This is why the world's peoples heartily sympathize with and support the struggle of the Vietnamese people in particular, and the Indochinese peoples, in general. On this occasion, On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the DRV Government, I sincerely thank the governments and peoples of fraternal socialist countries and nationalist countries, and the peace- and justice-loving people worldwide, including U.S. progressives, for their sympathy, support, and assistance to the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle.

President Ho advised us: "The anti-U.S. resistance struggle may drag out. Our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the U.S. aggressors until final victory." With the "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" viewpoint and with the spirit of "sacrificing everything to defeat the U.S. aggressors," all our people, millions as one, are determined to act upon President Ho's testament by persevering in and accelerating the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle until complete victory.

Dear comrades and friends,

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle has won, and is winning, great, resounding victories. The North has scored important achievements in all respects, showing the superiority of socialism. At the same time, it has continually developed its effect as the great rear toward the great frontlines.

The duty of our people in the north at present is, while, together with the compatriots nationwide, accelerating the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle until complete victory, to endeavor to overcome the consequences of the war of destruction; to gradually shift economic activities to suit the new situation; to accelerate the revolution of production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution; to strengthen our country's economic and military potential; to consolidate the rear; to heighten revolutionary vigilance; to be ready to smash any new scheme and act of the U.S. imperialists against the North; and to continue fulfilling the obligation toward the heroic, great frontlines.

As our immediate goal, our people must strive to satisfactorily carry out the 1970 state plan. The main trend of this plan is to accelerate agricultural production and the production of consumer goods. In agriculture, we will concentrate our efforts on producing grain and food supplies and a number of necessary industrial crops for the processing industry and for exports, accelerate animal husbandry, and develop fishing and forest exploitation. In light industry, food-processing industry, small industry, and handicraft sectors, we must primarily step up the production of the

consumer goods necessary for the people's life and, at the same time, attach special importance to stepping up production in the main links of the heavy industry branch -- namely, production of coal, electric power, machines, fertilizers, and cement, exploitation of timber, and so forth -- to developing communications and transportation, and to accelerating capital construction with a view toward effectively serving the implementation of the state plan and further strengthening the material and technical bases of socialism in the North.

To be successful in the state plan, we must strenuously mobilize the productive labor forces of our society and conduct "a two-pronged, American-defeating offensive" emulation in order to attain the three highpoints in industry, to achieve the three objectives in agriculture, and so forth. This represents the most significant and most decisive measure for developing production, increasing accumulation, healing the wounds caused by the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction, and preparing for the further development of the north's socialist economy.

In industry, construction, and various administrative sectors, all of us must undertake labor "in a revolutionary fashion,"<sup>(15)</sup> uphold a conscious and voluntary discipline, insure the established number of workdays and workhours, satisfactorily use existing material and technical facilities, strenuously carry out technical improvement, rationalize production, improve work performance, and increase labor output.

In the rural areas, along with studying and implementing the agricultural production cooperative regulations and continuing to correct errors in "the three contacts for families" and in the management of collectivized land, we must develop democracy and strengthen the collective mastership system of the masses revolutionary enthusiasm and labor output, to extend the acreage of rice paddies where the three objectives in agriculture have been achieved, to improve the people's living conditions, and to meet the great requirements of the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking and of socialist construction.

Along with mobilizing the productive labor forces, we must improve the party and state organizations in order to streamline and firmly strengthen them. We must also strengthen and improve economic management and build a firm managerial system in order to mobilize and use all available capabilities, equipment, and material forces in accordance with established standards and with a realistic economic effectiveness, to thriftily build socialism, and to combat corruption, waste, and bureaucracy.

To improve the labor force and constantly insure high labor output and work efficiency, we must concern ourselves with organizing the people's life more satisfactorily.

To mobilize the productive forces and satisfactorily implement the state plan, it is necessary to study and gradually perfect various policies and systems, with a view to stimulating production, increasing

output, improving the quality of goods, and reducing the cost of products. That is an economic support of some significance. It is also necessary to carry out ideological tasks well in order to enable everyone to realize clearly the situation and tasks, to see our favorable conditions fully and clearly realize that they are basic ones, to realize our difficulties in order to overcome them, to heighten revolutionary enthusiasm, and to enthusiastically carry out other tasks with high output and work efficiency.

We must constantly strengthen and consolidate national defense, strive to maintain firmly social order and security, and combine resolute punishment with persistent education and rehabilitation of violators of the law, the wrongdoers, and so forth.

Our party and its correct leadership represent the key factors determining every success of the revolution in our country. The present situation and tasks require that our entire party and all our people redouble their efforts. Therefore, we must constantly consolidate the party. Our party as a whole must constantly strengthen its militant strength, consolidate its internal unity and unanimity, strengthen its relations with the masses, and insure that it is pure, firm, and strong in order to lead the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to total victory and to build socialism successfully.

To achieve these objectives, we must strenuously improve party members qualitatively in order to insure that every cadre and every party member is deeply imbued with revolutionary ethics, is really diligent, thrifty, honest, upright, absolutely selfless, and impartial, and is "worthy of being a leader and a very loyal servant of the people." (16)

The political education of cadres and party members must be further improved in conformity with the "combination of theories with practice" guideline. The content of political education must encompass three aspects: education in Marxist-Leninist theories, education in party lines and policies, and cultivation of revolutionary ethics.

To show our remembrance of and our gratitude to President Ho and to increase our party's fighting forces, we must satisfactorily carry out the task of admitting the Ho Chi Minh class of party members into the party.

Specifically, this drive to admit new members into the party must meet qualitative requirements, contribute toward qualitatively improving party members, and provide models for developing the party from now on.

By satisfactorily conducting the movement for improving party members qualitatively and by satisfactorily admitting the Ho Chi Minh class of members into the party, we will enhance our party's class and vanguard nature and make our party even more worthy of our heroic people's confidence and of being a Leninist party, and a party of President Ho.

Dear comrades and friends, being eternally grateful to the great Lenin, let our entire party and all our people and armed forces strengthen their solidarity, strive to outstandingly fulfill the foregoing tasks, heighten their revolutionary determination, enthusiastically strive to carry on President Ho's undertaking, correctly and fully implement his sacred testament, and comply with his final wish -- that of "building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam and making a worthy contribution to the world revolution."

Long live Lenin, the brilliant leader of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world and the great teacher of the proletarian revolution.

Long live President Ho Chi Minh, Lenin's most outstanding Vietnamese disciple.

Long live the Vietnamese Lao Dong Party, the organizer of every victory of the Vietnamese people!

Let all our people and armed forces take advantage of their victories to surge forward and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

Strenuously engage in patriotic emulation, and successfully build socialism in the North. Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam!

#### FOOTNOTES

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3. Lenin: "Second Comintern Conference," Complete Works, published in Vietnamese, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 295.
4. Lenin: "Great Innovations," Collected Works, published in Vietnamese, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1959, Volume 2, Part 2, p 213.
5. Lenin: "The Immediate Responsibilities of the Soviet Government," Collected Works, published in French, Foreign Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1954, Volume 2, Part 1, p 440.
6. Statement of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties Representatives in Moscow, November 1960.

7. Ho Chi Minh: "Opening Address Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party," Collected Works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 764.
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9. Lenin: "Underdeveloped Europe and Progressive Asia," Collected Works, published in French, Foreign Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1954, Volume 1, Part 2, p 312.
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11. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Condemning the French Colonial System," Collected Works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 179.
12. Nguyen Ai Quoc: Op. Cit.
13. Same as footnotes 1. and 8.
14. President Ho's Will.
15. Same as Footnote 4 -- p 196.
16. President Ho's Will

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V. I. LENIN

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, no. 4, April 70, pp 39-53]

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), the Marxist theoretical genius and great leader of the world's proletariat and working people, was born a hundred years ago.

Lenin was born on 22 April 1870 at Simbirsk (now called Ulyanovsk) on the Volga in Russia. His father was a progressive school teacher. His mother was a gentle, intelligent and energetic woman totally devoted to her children's education. Lenin's eldest brother, Alexander, was executed in 1887 for taking part in an assassination attempt against Czar Alexander III.

In his secondary school years, Lenin was a hard working and outstanding student. In 1887, following his graduation from secondary school, Lenin went to the University of Kazan to study law. Shortly after, he was exiled by the authorities to Kukushkino for taking part in the revolutionary movement. The following year, permitted to return to Kazan, Lenin began to read Marx and Engels and joined the Marxist circle there. In the autumn of 1889, Lenin went to Samara where he organized a Marxist group. In 1891, Lenin passed the law examinations, ranking first among those who took them, although he had covered the four years' course in only 18 months.

In August 1893, Lenin went to St. Petersburg, capital of Czarist Russia and a workers' city, for full-time revolutionary activity. With a profound knowledge of Marxism, a great talent to apply Marxism to Russia's conditions and an unshakable faith in the victory of the working class, Lenin became a leader of increasing prestige among the Marxists in St. Petersburg.

Lenin was particularly interested in founding a Marxist revolutionary party for the Russian proletariat. To attain this goal, he carried out over many years a persistent struggle against every form of opportunism.

In 1894, Lenin wrote his work, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats," which was directed against the

"narodniks" or populists. According to this group, which included the intelligentsia, capitalism could not develop in Russia and thus the working class could not grow strong. The populists did not regard the working class as the vanguard class of the revolution, and they contended that the main force of the revolution was the intelligentsia-led peasantry. Lenin exposed the reformist and anti-people nature of the populists, criticizing their political and economic viewpoints as well as their idealism. For the first time, Lenin emphasized the leadership and vanguard role of the working class, pointing out that the worker-peasant alliance was the principal tool for overthrowing Russian czarism, landlordism and bourgeoisie and for building the communist society.

In a period of several years, when he was making preparations to organize the proletarian party, Lenin had to fight not only against the populists but also against the so-called "legal Marxists." Discussing Marxism on various publications, the latter group constantly distorted Marxism in the hope of subjecting the worker's movement to the ideology and interests of the bourgeoisie. Lenin rejected all counterrevolutionary arguments put forth by these intellectuals who worked under the cover of Marxism.

To unify all Marxist factions in St. Petersburg, in 1895 Lenin founded the "League of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class." It was the first Marxist organization in Russia, which combined economic struggle with political struggle and brought the Marxist doctrine into union with the Russian worker's movement. It was also the root of the Russian revolutionary proletarian party.

In December 1895, Lenin and some of his comrades were arrested. In prison, he continued his revolutionary activities, writing and sending out pamphlets and tracts for publication. In his work, "Draft and Interpretation of the Principles of the Social Democratic Party," he defined that the main tasks of the Russian proletariat were to overthrow czarism and win political freedom, then overthrow the bourgeois government and establish proletarian dictatorship, and build socialism.

Early in 1897, Lenin was exiled to Eastern Siberia, at the village of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk District, Yenisey province. The following year, K.C. Krupskaya joined him there in exile. They had known each other since their revolutionary days in St. Petersburg. In 1894, K.C. Krupskaya was also arrested for joining the "League of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class." At Shushenskoye, Krupskaya became Lenin's beloved and loyal wife, comrade and assistant. During his stay at Shushenskoye, Lenin continued to study Marxism and tried to get in touch with the Social Democrats in St. Petersburg, Moscow and abroad. He wrote more than 30 theoretical works which were to have a great impact on the Russian revolutionary movement. He completed, in particular, one of his important studies, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," which completely shattered the populists' arguments and demonstrated most clearly and profoundly his arguments concerning the worker-peasant alliance and the leadership of the working class in the forthcoming revolution. His work, "The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats," written in the same period, outlined the

principles and tactics of the Russian social democratic revolutionary movement and pointed out the decisive significance of the Marxist doctrine to the activities of the worker's party. In it Lenin brought out for the first time a fundamental principle to all Marxists to see: "Without revolutionary theories, there can be no revolutionary movement."

In 1899, the "economists" issued their opportunistic platform. They held that the working class should only engage in economic struggle, and not in political struggle. Upon receiving this platform, Lenin and some of his comrades immediately issued the "Protest of the Russian Social Democrats," pointing out the erroneous views of economism and outlining the basic tasks of the Russian Social Democrats.

Early in 1900, Lenin's exile came to an end. Lenin immediately returned to action, continuing his effort to organize a party. In the summer of that year, he went abroad and organized a newspaper called The Spark. Lenin was the soul, the leader and the most active worker of the newspaper. The Spark held an important role in the defeat of the "economists," who were the main enemies of the effort to organize a political party of the proletariat.

In March 1902, Lenin's "What is to be Done?" was published, putting a shattering end to "economism" and setting up the foundation for many ideological and organizational principles of a Marxist party.

Lenin's struggle against the "economists" in Russia was also a decisive struggle against international opportunism. "Economism" was but a repetition of Bernstein's "revisionism" in Western Europe. Therefore, the defeat of "economism" in Russia was also a deadly blow to "revisionism" in general in the same period.

The Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party, which met in July 1903, marked the brilliant victory of Lenin's ideas. At the Congress, Trotsky and Martov refused to endorse Lenin's plan to organize a party, and they attacked the basic principles of the revolutionary platform presented by the Spark group. Lenin resolutely defended the platform and his arguments concerning proletarian dictatorship, the worker-peasant alliance, the right to self-determination of all nations and international communism. His fight ended in victory. The platform was adopted by the Congress, and so was the party's Constitution drafted by Lenin. The great historical significance of the Congress was the founding of a new-type proletarian party, a militant Marxist party organized in accordance with Lenin's design and totally different from all reformist parties of the Second International.

But at the Party Congress, the Russian Social Democrats divided themselves into two factions: the opportunist "Mensheviks" (men of the minority), and the "Bolsheviks" (men of the majority) who were the genuine representatives of Marxism.

Following the Congress, the fight became increasingly bitter. The

Mensheviks intensified their divisive activities and tried every means to undermine the Congress resolutions. Lenin's work, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," written in 1904, criticized the Mensheviks' opportunist viewpoints on the problem of organization, exposed their undermining activities, presented and elaborated the organizational principles of a new-type Marxist party. For the first time in the history of Marxism, Lenin brought out the party doctrine, pointing out that the party was the leadership organization of the proletariat, the basic weapon in the hands of the proletariat. Without a party it would be impossible to win the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

The Russian revolutionary movement continued to rise since 1900, and by 1905 Russia was directly faced with a democratic revolution. Lenin actively prepared for the party to take over the leadership of the imminent revolution. Thanks to the efforts of Lenin and other Bolsheviks the Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was held in April 1905. Revolutionary resolutions were passed by the Congress at Lenin's recommendation.

In July 1905, Lenin wrote his "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," criticizing the tactics of the Mensheviks and of international opportunism, presenting and elaborating the tactical principles of a revolutionary Marxist party: principle concerning the leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution, the worker-peasant alliance, the armed uprising, the transition from bourgeois democratic revolution to socialist revolution.

In November 1905, Lenin returned home to directly participate in the preparation of an armed uprising. The uprising, breaking out at Moscow and other cities, was cruelly suppressed by the Russian czarist government. The uprising was unsuccessful, but it had a great significance. As Lenin later pointed out, the Russian people, forged and tempered in the 1905 uprising, had prepared their forces to win complete victory in the October Revolution of 1917.

In this period the Bolsheviks led by Lenin constantly fought against the Constitutional Democrats who had collaborated with the Czar in carrying out small reforms to appease the people. Lenin exposed the counterrevolutionary nature of these false democrats.

In August 1907, Lenin attended the Congress of the Second International in Stuttgart (Germany). At the Congress he shattered the reactionary arguments presented by the opportunist members of the social democratic movement, who defended the enslavement of nations by imperialist countries and praised the "civilization" of colonies by capitalist countries. In the winter of 1907, Lenin returned home. The authorities ordered the arrest of Lenin. At the end of that year, following a decision of the Party Central Committee, Lenin left Russia for Switzerland; the following year he moved on to Paris.

The 1907-1910 period was a dark period for the Russian people. The reactionary authorities waged a mad terrorist campaign. Worker organizations were broken one by one. Many of their leaders were arrested. Tens of thousands

of revolutionaries were sentenced to hard labor. Thousands of people were executed. Shaken and confused by that situation the Mensheviks called on the workers to collaborate with the bourgeoisie, and demanded that all illegal organizations of the party be dissolved and that underground revolutionary activities be put to an end. A number of Bolsheviks formed themselves into a "recalling" group, advocating the recall of all Social Democrat deputies in the parliament, attacking Marxism and demanding a revision of the fundamentals of the Marxist philosophy. The Trotsky group adopted a "centrist" attitude in the hope of making the genuine revolutionaries collaborate with the opportunists in the party. Lenin resolutely opposed these groups to defend the party and the Marxist philosophy.

Lenin's book, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," published in 1909, elaborated dialectical materialism and historical materialism with a touch of genius and attacked every metamorphosis of opportunism and every distortion of Marxism. This book summarized all important achievements that had been made by natural sciences since the death of Engels.

In 1910, because of the new developments of the revolution there was an urgent need for the consolidation of the illegal Marxist party. Lenin strove to convene the Sixth Congress of the party. The Congress, meeting early in 1912 in Prague, expelled all the Mensheviks. From then until 1918, the party was called the Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik). After cleaning out all opportunists, the Bolshevik party gathered more strength to lead the new movement of revolutionary struggle in Russia.

In the spring of 1912, Pravda, the legal daily newspaper of the Bolsheviks, was established. Lenin warmly supported the newspaper. Late in June that year Lenin left Paris for Krakow, Poland, where he could better direct the party organizations in Russia. At Krakow, he wrote articles for Pravda, directed its staff and guided it ideologically. Lenin and his comrades used the newspaper to implement the party revolutionary line, to educate the masses in political matters and to carry out a great organizational work. The newspaper united all workers' legal organizations around the secret organizations of the party, persistently fought for the unity of the working class and guided the Russian worker's movement toward a new revolution. Lenin wrote many articles giving warm support to the national liberation movement in Asia where "hundreds of millions of awakened people are looking for life, light and freedom."

In addition to writing for Pravda, Lenin also helped several legal magazines of the party: Education, Woman Worker, The Insurance. Education held an outstanding role in educating workers on the spirit of international Marxism. In this magazine Lenin published many valuable articles such as "Three Origins and Three Elements of Marxism," "The Maneuvers of the Bourgeois Intelligentsia Against the Workers," "On the Sabotage of Unity Covered by Unity Appeals," etc.

Lenin closely watched the activities of the Bolshevik deputies in the parliament, and pointed out to them that their task was to talk and act on

behalf of millions of people, to propagate revolutionary ideas and to raise the great banner of the Bolshevik party. The most important speeches delivered by these deputies in the parliament were either written by Lenin or based on his ideas.

In August 1914, World War I broke out. During the first days of the war, Lenin was arrested by the Austrian police. But due to the pressure of progressive public opinion and the intervention of Polish and Austrian socialists Lenin was soon released. Shortly after he went to Switzerland.

Lenin had long foreseen the possibility of a war among imperialist nations. At the Stuttgart conference of the Second International in 1907, as well as in his subsequent works, Lenin pointed out that with the imperialist nations making war preparations the Social Democratic parties had the duty to prevent war, and that if war broke out they should take advantage of the economic and political crisis caused by the war to transform the war into a revolutionary civil war to overthrow the capitalist rule.

But when the war broke out, the Socialist parties of the Second International and most of their leaders publicly turned against the interests of the working class, against proletarian internationalism and against Marxism. They endorsed the imperialist war, letting workers from one country kill workers from another country to "protect" their bourgeois "fatherlands." These shameful actions exposed their true nature and caused the disintegration of the Second International.

In this bitter period Lenin and his Bolshevik party, with their proletarian internationalist stand, strongly protested the plundering war of the imperialists and exposed the true nature of the opportunist leaders in the Second International, the socialist chauvinists, the Kautsky and Trotsky "centrists," i.e., all those who had betrayed the working class and served the selfish interests of the imperialists.

In this period the question of nationalism had a great significance as the reactionary forces intensified their efforts to suppress the national liberation movement, propagate bourgeois nationalism and use every maneuver to sow hatred among nations and to divide the working class. In his works, "Observation and Judgment on the Question of Nationalism" and "On the Self-Determination Right of Nations," written in 1913 and 1914, Lenin elaborated the Marxist theory of nationalism, set forth the concept of recognizing the self-determination right of nations and pointed to the need for a united recognition of all nations to achieve unity of action in the class struggle under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Despite many difficulties caused by the war, Lenin continued to study and develop Marxism in every aspect. In his notes, observations and editorials written in the 1914-1915 period, which were to be collected and published later under the title "Philosophic Notebooks," Lenin studied these philosophic problems on a very large scope, and he paid special attention to the problems of dialectical materialism. This work was a new step in his creative development

of the Marxist philosophy.

From 1915 to 1916 Lenin wrote a series of important works: "The Bankruptcy of the Second International," "Socialism and the War," "The United States of Europe Slogan," "Imperialism, the highest Stage of Capitalism," "The Military Concept of Socialist Revolution," "The Social Revolution and the Self-Determination Right of Nations," etc.

In these works Lenin studied many questions, pointing out the causes of the shameful actions of most of the leaders of the European social democratic movement and expressing the Marxist viewpoints on war and peace, the tactical principles of the proletarian revolution, the relationship between the struggle of the proletariat of imperialist countries and the struggle of the people of colonies and territories. Lenin presented his well-known argument on the uneven development of capitalism, and he came to the conclusion that the victory of the socialist revolution is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. Such was the development of the Marxist theory on socialist revolution, which had a great significance to the international worker movement.

His work, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," was a great contribution to creative Marxism. In it Lenin exposed the rotten nature and contradictions of imperialism, and asserted that the destruction of imperialism was inevitable. Lenin concluded that imperialism was the eve of the socialist revolution.

Since the first days of war Lenin had made active preparations for the establishment of a new International for the world proletariat. Through the meetings of the internationalists in Zimmerwald (Switzerland) in 1915 and in Kienthal in 1916, Lenin successfully rallied the genuine internationalists to set up the foundation for the Third International.

The Russian working class, led and educated by Lenin and the Bolshevik party, continued to implement Lenin's slogan, "transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war." In February 1917, the working class, together with the Russian peasantry, rose up to overthrow the czarist government. Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies -- or the revolutionary dictatorship organs of the proletariat -- was established. But the Mensheviks and the revolutionary socialists, who represented the majority in most of the soviets and betrayed the workers' and peasants' interests, turned the power over to the provisional government, which was actually the dictatorship organ of the Russian bourgeoisie. Learning of the success of the revolution Lenin immediately sent a message to the Bolsheviks in Russia and wrote his series of "Letter from Abroad," outlining the task of the party in the new situation. In March 1917 Lenin left Switzerland for home, and on 3 April he arrived in Petrograd. The following day he issued his famous "April Theses," outlining the plan of struggle to transform the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution under the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets."

Following the suppression of the peaceful demonstration in July 1917, the

provisional government ordered Lenin's arrest. Following a decision by the Party Central Committee, Lenin temporarily went to Finland where he continued to direct every activity of the party and prepared for an armed uprising. It was at that time that he wrote his work, "The State and Revolution," in which he elaborated the Marx-Engels doctrine of dictatorship of the proletariat and pointed out the need to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus and replace it with the Soviet Republic.

On 7 October 1917, Lenin secretly returned to Petrograd. At his suggestion the Party Central Committee, met on 10 October, adopted the resolution on armed uprising. On the night of 14 October 1917 Lenin went to Smolny Palace to direct the uprising in person. On 25 October 1917 (or 7 November) the workers' and soldiers' struggle ended in glorious victory. The provisional government was overthrown, and the power of the state was in the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee. The Socialist October Revolution succeeded, opening up a new period of the history of mankind, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale. On 26 October, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets met and adopted the decrees on peace and land proposed by Lenin. Lenin was elected Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, i.e., the first worker-peasant government of the world.

The revolution had succeeded, but there remained many difficulties. The war was still on, destroying the country and exhausting the national economy. To create favorable conditions for consolidating the Soviet government and for building socialism, Lenin proposed to hold peace negotiations with Germany as opposed to the Trotskyist adventurous policy of continuing the war. Following many bitter debates, Lenin's proposal was approved by the Seventh Party Congress held in March 1918, and the Brest-Litovsk armistice was signed. It was at the same Congress that the party's name was changed to Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik party) at Lenin's recommendation. The party and government, headed by Lenin, immediately took advantage of this peaceful period to consolidate the Soviet state apparatus, expand the socialist revolution and mobilize the working class and people to enthusiastically build the new life. In his well-known work, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," written in April 1918, Lenin pointed out that "the problem now is the administration of Russia." He emphasized that "to have a good administration, persuasion and winning the civil war alone are not enough. Practical organization is also needed. This is the hardest task, for the problem is to organize in the most modern manner the deepest foundations, the economic foundations for the life of tens and hundreds of millions of people. This is also the noblest task, for only when that task had been fulfilled that it can be said that Russia has become a Republic, not only soviet but also socialist."

In the face of the victory of the socialist revolution, foreign imperialist countries and reactionary forces in the country tried every way to oppose it. In the spring of 1918, the imperialist countries, including the U.S., Britain, France and Japan, began to attack Soviet Russia, hoping to use their armed forces to smother the young socialist state. The "white guards" and other reactionaries started a bitter civil war with the help of foreign interventionists.

During these years of foreign intervention and civil war, Lenin was pre-occupied with many problems. Under his leadership, the party strove to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, rally the Russian working people and mobilize them to stand up together with the entire party and defend their socialist fatherland. Lenin's appeal for "everything to smash the enemy," became the fighting slogan of the Soviet people. In his capacity of Chairman of the National Defense Council, Lenin made great contributions to building up the Red Army, to military planning and to organizing national defense.

Lenin paid special attention to consolidating the rear which supplied men and materials to the front. Responding to the leader's appeal, in May 1919 workers in Moscow and in other cities in the country organized the so-called "communist Saturdays," working extra hours without pay and increasing labor productivity despite difficult living conditions. In his article, "The Great Initiative," Lenin considered the "communist Saturday" a fact of great significance and the first root of communism. He wrote that "communism means that labor productivity is higher than capital productivity; it means productivity of workers who voluntarily cooperate with one another in using modern technology." "Communist Saturdays" are very valuable, for they constitute the real beginning of communism. "

Reactionaries in the country had on many occasions attempted to assassinate Lenin and his comrades. In an assassination attempt made by the socialist revolutionaries on 30 August 1918 Lenin was seriously wounded. But as soon as he became better Lenin continued to lead the party and the country.

Lenin was a fervent patriot and a great international proletarian. After many years of efforts Lenin succeeded in rallying the forces of the world proletariat. At his and the Soviet Communist Party's initiative, the First Congress of Communist Parties was held in March 1919 to form the Third International: Communist International. In 1920 Lenin wrote his "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder," which introduced the Russian communist experiences to other communist parties, pointed out the "leftist" errors of the communist movement and formulated the strategy and struggle tactics of the international proletariat.

Early in 1920 the Red Army defeated the interventionists and counter-revolutionaries on all fronts. Peace was restored. Economic restoration and electrification planning were then started under Lenin's leadership. He outlined his famous economic plan for the period of proletarian dictatorship, and led the transition from wartime communist policy to a new economic policy. Lenin fought resolutely against Trotsky, Bukharin and other enemies who were undermining the party unity. On 20 November 1922, Lenin addressed the Congress of Soviets of Moscow on domestic and foreign policies, and concluded with the following historic words: "...from the Russia of this 'New Economic Policy' will emerge Socialist Russia." This was to be his last speech. In December 1922, at his recommendation the First Federal Congress of Soviets proclaimed the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Late in that year Lenin became seriously ill. Lying on his sick bed he dictated to his comrades a series of articles which were to have a great impact: "Diary Pages," "On

Cooperation," "On Our Revolution," How to Reform the Worker-Peasant Inspectorato," "Rather Little but Good than..." etc. Together with other works he had written since the October Revolution, these articles by Lenin outlined a scientific concept of socialist construction, covering every field, from economy, politics, culture, to foreign affairs.

Lenin's hard life under the czarist regime, the tense moments caused him by his theoretical and practical works and the result of his wound had deteriorated the great leader's health. On 21 January 1921 Lenin died at Gorki, near Moscow.

Lenin was dead but his undertakings will live forever among the working class and working people all over the world.

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As successor of Marx and Engels, Lenin developed the universal Marxist doctrine with the touch of a genius. He persistently fought against reformism and revisionism, and at the same time fought against dogmatism and other opportunist tendencies in an effort to protect the purity of Marxism. Basing on new historical conditions he creatively applied and enriched Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, moving Marxism to a new development stage, the Leninist stage.

Studying comprehensively all characteristics of imperialism, Lenin pointed out that imperialism was the last stage of capitalism, the decaying and dying stage of capitalism. Because of its deep contradictions, imperialism moved straight toward socialist revolution, and this revolution destroyed the capitalist system and created the necessary conditions for the building of a new society -- the socialist society.

Lenin had a new idea about the possibility of a victory of the proletarian revolution. Under the historical conditions of the past, the Marxists had thought that the proletarian revolution could succeed in all or in a number of the most developed capitalist countries. In analyzing new historical conditions, Lenin found a new important law -- the law of uneven development of capitalism -- and he came to a greatly significant conclusion that the proletarian revolution had the possibility of winning victory first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly.

Lenin said that, to win victory for the proletarian revolution, the working class must form a close alliance with the peasantry. To win the peasantry over to its side, the working class must unite closely with the peasantry, support it and guide it in the struggle against feudalism and against capitalist oppression and exploitation in rural areas.

Lenin formulated the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution, defining its purpose and its direction of attack in each period, and emphasizing the alliance policy of the proletariat and the need to take advantage of

the enemy contradictions. Lenin also clarified the famous Marx-Engels principle of armed uprising.

Lenin had greatly enriched the Marxist theory on proletarian dictatorship. He further clarified Marx's point of view, stressing that proletarian dictatorship was essential during the transition from capitalism to communism and that it was necessary to the victory of socialism in the struggle over the question of "who defeats whom" between socialism and capitalism. To make it clearer, proletarian dictatorship means proletarian leadership through the state revolutionary apparatus. As Lenin explained, "there is only one class -- the city working class or factory workers and industrial workers in general -- which has the capability of leading the whole working masses in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist rule, in the struggle to maintain, consolidate and develop victory after the revolutionary administration has been set up, and in the struggle to establish a new social order consistent with the socialist line; in short, in the whole struggle to completely abolish all classes and build a civilized society in which man no longer oppresses or exploits man. Proletarian dictatorship is not only absolutely necessary to smash the protest by the overthrown exploiting classes and the attack by the enemy outside, but it is much more important for mobilizing and organizing the working masses to take part in economic and cultural development. Therefore, proletarian dictatorship does not abolish the class struggle. It means to continue the class struggle in various forms under a government led by the proletariat, in 'bloody and bloodless forms,' by 'violent and peaceful means,' by 'military and economic means,' and by 'education and administration.'" After pointing out that proletarian dictatorship not only means violence against the exploiters, and that it "does not essentially mean violence, Lenin emphasized that "the economic base of that revolutionary violence, which guarantees its vitality and victory, is the introduction by the proletariat of a higher form of labor organization as compared with capitalism. This is the main point of the problem. It provides force, and ensures the total and inevitable victory of communism."

While bringing up the problem of practicing proletarian dictatorship, Lenin emphasized at the same time the question of socialist democracy. Proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy are two closely related aspects. In elaborating the Marxist theory on the state, Lenin stressed the historical significance of the Soviet state, the first socialist state in the world, a new form of state that is higher and more democratic than any bourgeois regime. He wrote, "Proletarian dictatorship is one million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; the Soviet government is one million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."

To socialist economic development Lenin made many valuable and creative contributions by providing both theoretical and practical solutions to the problems of socialist industrialization and socialist reformation vis-a-vis agriculture. For more than half a century now, we have seen clearly that the brilliant accomplishments made by the Soviet Union in completing socialist construction and on the way to communism have been closely associated with the well-known formula conceived by Lenin: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country."

One of the greatest contributions made by Lenin was his perfected theory concerning the organization of a new-type revolutionary party of the proletariat. Lenin heightened the role of the party as the combat vanguard force, the highest form of organization of the proletariat; without the party victory is impossible for the proletarian revolution. Party membership must include the most advanced and conscious elements of the working class and working people. The party must be one bloc united in thought as well as in action and using Marxist-Leninist theories as the bases for its actions. The ultimate goal of the party is to achieve socialism and communism. The party must be tightly organized, adhere to the principles of democratic centralization and collective leadership, and have strict discipline. The party must associate itself closely with the masses and rally all working people around the proletariat to strive for the common goal.

Lenin had founded the Russian Bolshevik Party, a new-type party of the proletariat, and led the Russian proletariat and working people in making the Socialist October Revolution, establishing the first socialist state in the world. About the historic meaning of the October Revolution, Lenin had the following remarks of a genius: "We have the right to be proud and, indeed, we are proud that we have the privilege of beginning the building of the Soviet state and thus opening up a new era in the history of mankind, the ruling era of a new class. The oppressed class in all capitalist countries and everywhere is moving toward a new life, toward defeating the bourgeoisie, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat and toward liberating mankind from the capitalist yoke and from imperialist wars."

Lenin had recapitulated the experiences of the three Russian revolutions and of the struggle of the international proletariat, and formulated the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. He constantly strove to consolidate the unity of the international proletariat and the anti-imperialist front. "Capitalism is an international force. To defeat it there must be an international alliance of workers and their international brotherhood," he wrote. Lenin founded the Communist International or Third International to replace the Second International which had fell into the hands of the opportunists following Engels' death. The Third International held an important role in protecting the Marxist revolutionary spirit and in developing the international communist and worker movements.

Lenin heightened the importance of the solidarity between the proletariat in imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples all over the world. He put great emphasis on the close relations among revolutionary forces everywhere. While he was concerned with the struggle movement of the working class and working people in Western capitalist countries, Lenin also watched with great enthusiasm and actively encouraged the fight for independence and freedom of the oppressed and agressed peoples in the East. He called on the communists in these countries to try to apply the fundamental principles of proletarian revolution to the situation of their respective countries in order to correctly solve the problems that had never arisen in the West. He constantly stressed the great meaning of a close solidarity between the working class and people of

the Soviet Union, the working class and people in capitalist countries, and the working class and people of various colonies and territories, who were rising to fight for self-liberation. His fighting slogan, "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite together!" has become the rallying call of all revolutionary forces in the world fighting against the common enemy, namely, imperialism, to achieve the goal of the times: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Lenin was a brilliant example of revolutionary virtues and of an absolute loyalty to the communist ideology and to the revolutionary interests of the working class, working people and fatherland. His fighting and winning will in the struggle against the exploiting classes to win freedom and happiness for the working masses as well as in the struggle against rightist and "leftist" opportunism to protect the purity of Marxism was always as intense as fire. On the other hand, Lenin was the great teacher of all communists in the world, always going deep into the characteristics of the actual situation to have a firm grasp of the concrete truth and to solve the problems of the revolution in a creative manner. Using Marxism as the guiding principle of action and using reality as the criterion of the truth, Lenin always applied man's experiences and accomplishments in a critical manner. As a result, he was able to raise and correctly solve many basic problems of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism, to transform Marxism into Marxism-Leninism and to move revolutionary realities ahead at an unprecedented pace.

The contributions made by Lenin, the best student of Karl Marx and F. Engels, to the world revolution were extremely great and important.

Our respected President Ho Chi Minh was the first man who had contributed the most to the introduction of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, and also the man who founded a Marxist-Leninist party in Vietnam. President Ho and our party, by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the present conditions of our country, have opened up the path to liberation for the Vietnamese working class and people, and led us to the glorious victories which have given us a great encouragement and pride.

In an interview by a foreign correspondent, President Ho said, "It is thanks to our effort to apply Lenin's teachings, creatively and in a manner consistent with the present reality in Vietnam, that we have fought and have won great victories as you have known. We have won these victories because of many factors, but it must be stressed -- not only on the occasion of Lenin's 100th birthday -- that we have won these victories, first because of that irreplaceable weapon, namely, Marxism-Leninism."

With a heightened spirit of independence and self-determination and guided by the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party is trying to solve the problems of the Vietnamese revolution, correctly and in a manner consistent with the concrete situation of Vietnam, and the relation between the situations in Vietnam and in the world and between the interests of the Vietnamese people and the interests of all progressive mankind. The victory of the Vietnamese

revolution is the victory of Marxism-Leninism. This victory has contributed worthily to the victory of Marxism-Leninism all over the world. On the occasion of Lenin's 100th birthday, let us pledge to constantly improve our knowledge about Marxism-Leninism and about party policies, to constantly try to implement President Ho's will, and to resolutely fulfill the task of building and protecting the socialist North, liberating the South and moving toward peaceful national reunification.

CAPTIONS:

1. Lenin Addressing the Army at Red Square, Moscow (25 May 1919)
2. Lenin Taking Part in the All-Russia Communist Saturday in Kremlin Court, Moscow (1 May 1920)
3. Lenin Addressing Soldiers Leaving for the Front to Fight Polish Whites, at Theatre Square (Sverlov Square), Moscow (5 May 1920)
4. Lenin and the Delegates of Eastern countries Attending the Second Congress of Communist International in Kremlin Palace, Moscow (July-August 1920)
5. Lenin Speaking at a Session of the Third Congress of Communist International in the Andrev Room in Kremlin Palace, Moscow (June-July 1921)
6. V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin at Gorki (August 1922)
7. Lenin and Krupskaya at Gorki, at Telescope Side (August-September 1922)

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## SOME TEACHINGS OF LENIN

[Excerpts; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1970, pp 54-62]

### I. Concerning Proletarian Dictatorship

Only people who expand their acceptance of class struggle to the degree of accepting proletarian dictatorship are Marxists. This is the basic difference between Marxists and ordinary petit bourgeoisie (and large bourgeoisie). It is necessary to use pebbles to test for gold and to test the real understanding and real acceptance of Marxism.(1)

Only those persons who understand that the dictatorship of one class is inevitable not only for a society with classes in general and not only for the proletarian class after it has overthrown the bourgeois class but also for the entire period of history from the capitalist system to the "classless society" and to communism really understand the nature of Marxist theory on the state.(2)

The only way the proletarian class can attract to its side the farming class and, generally speaking, all petit bourgeois strata is by having a proletarian dictatorship, the political power of a single class, the organizational power and discipline of that class, the centralized power of that class based on all the cultural, scientific and technical accomplishments of capitalism, the proletarian feelings of that class in regard to the psychology of every worker, and the prestige of that class with regard to the people who work in the countryside or in small-scale production, who live in a dispersed way, who lack development, and who lack political resolve.(3)

One of the essential conditions for the success of socialist revolution is for the working class to be aware of its ruling right and to use that right during the period of transition from capitalism

to socialism. The ruling right of the vanguard unit of all workers and of all exploited people, i.e., the proletarian class, is essential during the period of transition in order to completely eliminate classes, smash the resistance of the exploiters, and unite all of the working and exploited masses, who have been oppressed, trampled upon, and dispersed by capitalism, around the urban workers and to achieve a close alliance with them.(4)

If we use the Latin term for proletarian dictatorship with its scientific, historical, and philosophical character in order to speak more simply, it means:

Only a certain class -- i.e., the urban workers and, generally speaking, factory workers and industrial workers -- have the ability to lead all the working and exploited masses in a struggle to overthrow the capitalist yoke, in the very process of overthrowing that yoke, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the creation of a new social order, socialist order, and in the entire struggle to completely eliminate classes. (5)

Proletarian dictatorship is a special form of the class alliance between the proletarian class, which is the vanguard unit of the workers, and the non-proletarian strata of workers (the petit bourgeoisie, small landlords, farmers, intellectuals and so forth) or with most of those strata, an alliance designed to combat capitalism, and an alliance designed to completely overthrow capitalism, to totally destroy the resistance of the bourgeois class, and the schemes of that class to restore its power, and to establish and consolidate socialism forever.(6)

That dictatorship requires the dispassionate, swift, and decisive use of violence in order to smash the resistance of the exploiters, capitalists, landlords, and their henchmen. Anyone who does not understand this is not a revolutionary, and must be driven from leadership or advisory positions in the proletarian class.(7)

Proletarian dictatorship...is not just violence against the exploiters and it is not even mainly violence. The economic base of that revolutionary violence and the guarantee of its vitality and success is that the proletarian class brings forth and materializes a higher form of social labor organization than that of capitalism. This is the main point in the issue. Therefore, with the forces, it is possible to guarantee the complete and inevitable victory of communism.(8)

The proletarian democratic system is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democratic system. The soviet democratic government is a million times more democratic than the most democratic country among the bourgeois republics. (9)

The dictatorship of the proletarian class does not mean the end of class struggle. Rather, it means a continuation of class struggle under a new form and using new methods. (10)

Proletarian dictatorship is a steadfast struggle, both bloody and bloodless, both violent and peaceful, both military and economic, and both educational and administrative against the powers and customs of the old society. (11)

In the transition from capitalism to communism, naturally there are bound to be a very large number of different political forms but, in essence, those forms must be one: proletarian dictatorship. (12)

## II. Concerning the Party

Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will overthrow all of Russia! (13)

The only party which can lead the proletarian class in the most resolute and direct struggle against all of the forces of capitalism is the communist party, if that party really is the vanguard unit of the revolutionary class, if it encompasses the most outstanding representatives of that class, if it includes communist fighters who are completely aware and loyal and who have learned from and been trained in revolutionary struggle, and if it knows how to ally itself to the entire life of its class and, through that class, to ally itself with all of the oppressed masses and to give that class and those masses complete confidence in it. (14)

...The only party which can play the role of vanguard fighter is a party which is led by a vanguard theory. (15)

Eliminating classes does not just mean throwing out the landlords and capitalists. That is relatively easy for us. It is also necessary to get rid of the small producers. However, we cannot kick these people out and we cannot suppress them. Rather, we must live in harmony with them. We can (and must) reform them and re-educate them but only through a very long-term, very persistent, and very careful organizational program. They surround the proletarian class from every direction with a petit bourgeois atmosphere, infecting and corrupting the proletarian class and constantly causing the proletarian class to adopt the

bad and opportunistic qualities of the petit bourgeois class such as cowardice, fragmentation, and individualism and causing the proletarian class to change from optimism to pessimism. In order to combat those evils and in order to enable the proletarian class to correctly carry out its organizational role (i.e., its primary role) in a successful and effective manner, the political party of the proletarian class must set up within itself a centralized system and a strict discipline.(16)

The power of the habits of millions and tens of millions of people is a very terrifying power. It is impossible to successfully carry out that struggle without an iron-like party trained in struggle, without a party which enjoys the trust of all loyal elements in the aforementioned class, and without a party which knows how to evaluate the thinking of the masses and to influence that thinking.(17)

Any person who weakens -- even a little -- the iron-like discipline in the party of the proletarian class (particularly during the period of its dictatorship) in essence has helped the bourgeois class against the proletarian class.(18)

In the actual struggle against factional tendencies, each organization of the party must take extreme precautions so that no factional activities ever develop within its organization. Criticisms, which are absolutely essential in regard to the shortcomings of the party, must be organized in such a fashion that all practical recommendations, presented in the clearest way, are evaluated and immediately resolved by the local and national leadership organs of the party without having to go through any series of procedures.(19)

The attitude of a political party confronted by its errors is one of the most important and most definite standards for evaluating whether that party is solemnly and genuinely fulfilling its duty to its class and to the working masses. Publicly admitting its mistakes, seeking the causes of the mistakes, analyzing the environment which gave birth to the mistakes, and studying carefully ways to correct those mistakes -- these are the marks of a serious party. It can be said that such a party is fulfilling its duty to educate and train the class and later the masses.(20)

The only party in power in the world which is concerned about improving the quality of its members and purging from its ranks those who "sneaked into the party" and which is not concerned about increasing its numbers is our party, the party of the revolutionary working class.(21)

The working masses support us. Our strength lies in that. That is also the reason that world communism is becoming invincible. Our struggle method for overcoming all difficulties and our path to victory is to cause new workers from among the masses to join the party in increasingly larger numbers so that they will participate in the development of the new life. (22)

### III. Concerning the Worker-Peasant Alliance

The most fundamental and vital issue is the attitude of the working class towards the farmers, the alliance of the working class with the farmers, and the advanced workers, who have been in long-term arduous but useful schools in the large factories, learning how to present issues in order to attract to their side the farming masses who have been trampled upon by capitalism and the landlords and who have been restrained by extreme poverty in order to prove to them that the only way they can escape from the century-old yoke of rule of the landlords and capitalists is through an alliance with the workers -- even though there will be difficulties, very many difficulties, which we cannot foresee. (23)

One can understand the alliance between the working class and the farmers in many ways. In the view of the working class, it is only possible to view that alliance as correct and to accept it in principle if that alliance is a means for supporting the dictatorship of the working class and one of the ways for eliminating classes. Otherwise, the alliance between the working class and the farmers will become a formula for every enemy of the Soviet Government and every enemy of dictatorship. (24)

The highest principle of dictatorship is to maintain the alliance between the proletariat and the farmers so that the proletariat can maintain its leadership role and state power. (25)

...If the military alliance between the proletarian class and the farming class is -- and inevitably is -- the first form of the long alliance between those two classes, that alliance naturally cannot survive even for a few weeks without an economic alliance between those two classes. (26)

For a proletarian class which is realizing its dictatorial power in a small-farmer country, a correct policy is to arrange to exchange industrial products essential to the farmer for wheat. Only with such a grain policy is it possible to keep in step with the duty of the proletarian class and to strengthen the base of socialism and bring it to complete victory. (27)

The fact that the state dictatorship controls all essential production materials, the fact that the proletarian class has the political power, the fact that the proletarian class is allied with millions of small farmers, and the fact that the proletarian class firmly exercises the right to lead the farmers and so forth -- are not these things all that is necessary in order to be able to develop with cooperativization and only with cooperativization which we used to regard as mercantile and which we now, under the new economic policy, still have the right to show regard in some ways -- are not those things all that are necessary in order to build a complete socialist society? This does not of itself build a socialist society but it is all that is necessary for such construction.(28)

Every social system is dependent upon financial assistance from a certain class. For example, it must be said that hundreds and hundreds of millions of rubles were spent in the development of "free" capitalism. At present, we must fully understand and concretely implement the truth that now the social system which we must help more than ever before is the system of cooperativization. However, it is necessary to correctly understand our assistance to that system. That is to say, we must realize that we are not helping just any cooperative system. We must help the cooperative system in which the masses genuinely and really participate.(29)

#### IV. Concerning Socialist Construction

Only socialism makes it possible to broadly develop social production and the distribution of products and to make that production and distribution really dependent upon scientific interpretations designed to guarantee for all workers the easiest life and to give them all the conditions necessary for happiness. This can only be achieved through socialism. And we know that socialism must achieve this and all of the difficulties of Marxism and all of the power of Marxism are found in the understanding of that truth.(30)

Socialism is the elimination of classes.

In order to eliminate classes, it is first necessary to overthrow the landlords and capitalists. We have already completed part of that task but only a part and not the most difficult part. In order to eliminate classes, the second thing we must do is eliminate differences between workers and farmers and to make all people become workers. This cannot be accomplished in one action. It is an extremely difficult task and, inevitably, a long-term task. We cannot resolve that task by overthrowing a class. We can only take care of that task by reforming the entire social economy and by moving from a small-scale, individual,

and isolated goods economy to a large-scale, collective economy. This period of transition naturally is a very long one. If we use legislative or administrative measures hastily and carelessly, we will only prolong that period and make it more difficult. The only way we can accelerate this transition period is by helping the farmers be able to improve all of their cultivation techniques and to improve those techniques radically.(31)

In a small-farmer country, you must first erect small and stable bridges in order to cross over to state capitalism and to socialism not by directly relying on enthusiasm but with the enthusiasm created by the great revolution and by instilling individual interests and demonstrating individual advantages and by instituting the principle of cost accounting.(32)

We must consolidate what we have won, what we have promulgated in decrees, legalized, specified, and programmed. We must consolidate all of these things under the steady framework of daily labor discipline. This is the most severe task but it produces the greatest result because the only way we can establish the socialist system is by completing that task.(33)

Communism begins at the point when ordinary workers show their concern through a selfless spirit, by completing a heavy task, by increasing labor productivity, and by taking care of each piece of coal, wheat, steel, and other products which do not belong to them, which do not belong to their relatives, but which belong to their "distant relative", i.e., to all of society...(34)

Statistics and controls -- these are the essential points in "organizing" and in all of the activities of Communist society during the initial stage.(35)

All of the "communes" -- factories, villages, consumer cooperatives, and supply departments -- must pledge to emulate with one another in organizing to inventory and monitor labor and the distribution of products. That inventory and monitoring program is very simple, clear, and intelligible for everyone: it is necessary to see to it that everyone has bread to eat, good shoes, warm clothes, and warm housing. Everyone must work consciously. It is necessary to see to it that no thief (and no labor fugitive) can go on a lark without being thrown in jail or very severely punished. It is necessary to see to it that no wealthy family which violates the principles and laws of socialism can avoid the fate of the thief. That fate must be the fate of the wealthy family. "He who does not work does not eat" -- that is the very real order to socialism.(36)

It is impossible to speak of socialism without the techniques of large-scale capitalism built on the newest achievements of modern science and without a planned state organization which makes millions of people strictly obey a single standard in production and distribution of products.(37)

The material base of socialism can only be large-scale, mechanized industry which is able to reform even agriculture. However, we cannot just know about that general principle. We must concretize that principle. A large-scale industry suited to the present technical level and capable of reforming agriculture -- that is the electrification of all Russia .(38)

Communism is soviet political power plus national electrification.(39)

If we achieve total cooperativization, we will have firmly positioned ourselves in socialism. However, in order to cooperativize everything, it is necessary to have a certain cultural level in the farmers (I say farmers because the farmers are the large masses). This means that we cannot cooperativize everything unless we have a cultural revolution.(40)

...The reform of the small farmer and the reform of all his attitudes and habits is something that will take generations. The only way to resolve that problem for the small farmer and to be able to say that all of his thinking has become wholesome is by acquiring the material and technical base, by bringing tractors and machinery into use on a large-scale in agriculture and by achieving electrification on a large scale.(41)

In the final analysis, labor productivity is the most important and fundamental thing affecting the success of the new social order. Capitalism created an unprecedented labor productivity under a system of slavery. Capitalism can be completely defeated and will be completely defeated because socialism is creating a new and higher labor productivity.(42)

#### V. Concerning the War to Preserve the Country

At present, we are fighting the colossal enemy of world imperialism which has culture, the best technical equipment, and well-established organizational rules. It is necessary to fight it. It is necessary to know how to fight it.(43)

In order to really carry out war, it is necessary to have a strongly organized rear area. Even if we have the most skilled army and even if the people are extremely loyal to the revolutionary cause, they will be immediately destroyed by the enemy unless they are equipped with weapons, supplied with food, and appropriately trained. This is quite clear and does not require amplification.(44)

It is impossible to talk about any degree of military preparations without overcoming the difficulties with regard to food, without assuring that the masses will be supplied with wheat, without establishing a rigid order within the railroad transportation industry, and without building a really iron-like discipline among the working masses (but not just within their upper strata). (45)

Urgent military preparations for a war require not inspiration, appeals, or combat slogans but long-term, urgent, patient, and disciplined work on a large scale.(46)

...This war is a revolutionary war. In order to carry out this war, it is necessary to attract all of the forces of the people. The whole country must become a revolutionary fortress. Let us all reinforce the war! This reinforcement is not limited to having everyone go to the front line but is also found in the class which is in power, the class which leads everyone forward on the path of liberation, the class which maintains soviet political power. That class must manage the state because only that class has that right.(47)

The primary source of our forces is in the self-awareness and heroism of the workers, the people whom the working farmers cannot fail to have sympathy with and support. The causes of our victories are to be found in the fact that our party and the Soviet Government directly identified for the working masses all of the immediate difficulties and immediate tasks, knew how to explain to the masses why it is necessary at one point to devote the utmost efforts to this matter and, at another point, to devote the utmost efforts to another matter in the soviet program, and knew how to develop the untiring efforts, heroism, and enthusiasm of the masses and to concentrate revolutionary efforts on the immediate and most important tasks.(48)

In every war, victory ultimately depends upon the mood of the masses who are shedding their blood on the battlefields. Confidence in a just war and awareness that it is necessary to sacrifice their own lives for the happiness of their brothers elevate the morale of the soldiers and make them able to endure unprecedented difficulties. The Russian generals boast that the soldiers in our Red Army are able to endure challenges which the army under the Czarist regime were never able to endure. This is because each worker and each farmer has been motivated to understand why he is fighting and voluntarily sheds his blood for the victory of a just cause and for socialism.

The fact that the masses understand the goals and causes of the war is of great importance: it is the guarantee of victory.(49)

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## THE PARTY THEORY OF LENIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PARTY

[Article by Le Duc Binh; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1970, pp 63-75, 81]

Lenin inherited, preserved, and developed in an all-encompassing way Marxism. As in many other sectors, Lenin made extremely great contributions in the area of party development, both in the theoretical and in the practical realm. He founded and developed the Russian Bolshevik Party into a stable and powerful proletarian party, a party which successfully led the great October Revolution, which founded the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, and which inaugurated the period of transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. Communist parties and workers' parties in scores of countries throughout the world were born and rapidly matured under the light of Lenin's party theory.

The process of development and growth of our party proved profoundly the correctness of the principles of Lenin relating to party development. By firmly understanding and creatively adapting those principles to the concrete conditions of Vietnam, our party became a proletarian party abounding with combat power and leadership capability and led our country's revolution from one victory to the next. One of the major requirements for further elevating the quality of our party development program is to study and thoroughly penetrate Lenin's principles of party development and our party's adaptation of those principles to the Vietnamese reality.

I  
During the final years of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, capitalism entered the imperialist stage. The period of peaceful development for capitalism had passed and the period of war and revolution began. The task of preparing for and carrying out proletarian revolution became the foremost task of the proletarian class. While various parties of the Second International were sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of opportunism and were becoming pitifully bankrupted, Lenin struggled to build the new style party of the Russian proletarian class to meet the needs of the new stage of the revolution.

Lenin criticized and defeated populism, charted the development and historic role of the proletarian class, and set forth the idea of the right of the Russian proletarian class to lead the revolution. He emphasized the need to build an independent party of the proletarian class firmly structured on Marxism and not confused with the democratic movement in general. Lenin affirmed that the proletarian class character of the party is definitely not intended to separate the party and the proletarian class from the masses nor to pit the interests of the proletarian class against those of the working people. It is intended to allow the party, while firmly structured on the proletarian class position, to struggle thoroughly for the common revolutionary cause of the people.

The party must closely ally itself with the proletarian class of which it is a part but it should not be confused with the class. Lenin emphasized that the party is the vanguard unit, the staff element, and the political leader of the proletarian class.

Lenin profoundly criticized the "economist" faction, the individuals who conspired to narrow the role of the party to one of passively monitoring the spontaneous movements of the masses. He also struggled against the Menshevik faction which advocated blurring the distinctions between the party and the masses and lowering the standards of party members to the level of the ordinary masses.

Lenin demanded that the party play the role of the vanguard unit in the workers' movement and that the entire operations of the party be reorganized in the spirit of teaching and training the masses to carry out the revolution and that the party not be lowered to the level of the ordinary masses. Lenin wrote: "One does not have the right to confuse the party, that is to say the vanguard unit of the working class, with the entire class...We will deceive ourselves and blind ourselves to our broad tasks and narrow those tasks if we forget about the differences between the vanguard unit and all of the masses around that vanguard unit and if we forget that the vanguard unit has the regular duty to raise all strata increasingly to that advanced level."(1)

In order for the party to live up to its role as the vanguard unit of the class, Lenin emphasized the primary need to develop the theoretical and ideological base of the party and to build the program and strategy of the party.

In many theses and particularly in his work "What Is to Be Done," Lenin proved that the party is the union between the workers' movement and scientific socialism, pointed out the great significance of scientific socialist theory to the workers' movement and to the activities of the party, profoundly criticized opportunism, and made it clear that the ideological roots of opportunism are primarily in worship of the spontaneity of the mass movement and in a lowering of the role of theory and self-consciousness with regard to the workers' movement. Lenin emphasized:

"Without revolutionary theory, it is impossible to have a revolutionary movement...Only a party which has a vanguard theory can fulfil the role of a vanguard fighter."(2)

The party must be armed with Marxist theory and must continue to develop that theory in every respect, knowing how to adapt general principles to the concrete conditions of its country and to set forth its own revolutionary program and strategy. The survival and stability of the party lies primarily in its correct political line.

Where do we begin in order to develop a unified party and avoid having scattered and unorganized cells? Some people maintain that it is necessary to begin by calling a party congress in order to organizationally unify the cells and Marxist groups in the local areas. Lenin did not agree with that point of view. He advocated the need to clarify the goals and duties of the party, to discuss and clearly determine the political program of the party, and to clearly demarcate the theoretical and ideological boundary between the party and opportunism before convening a congress and before uniting the organization.

While emphasizing the matter of developing the theoretical foundation and the political line of the party, Lenin also devoted very much attention to the organizational development of the party.

Lenin not only struggled resolutely against opportunism in program and strategy issues but also struggled unremittingly against opportunism in the organizational sector. He made it clear that the fundamental error of the Menshevik faction was that it was guilty of opportunism on organizational matters and of undervaluing the importance of organization in the struggle for the liberation of the proletarian class.

The survival of the party is not only dependent upon unity in its program and strategy but is also dependent upon organizational unity. "Unity in program and strategy issues is essential but is not sufficient to assure the unity of the party...In order to achieve the aforementioned result, it is also necessary to have organizational unity..."(3) Lenin insisted that the party be a tightly organized element of the class, that party members participate in activities within an organization of the party and be under the leadership and control of the organization, and that the party have centralized discipline and unity of will and action and so forth.

Lenin saw in organization a source of great power for the proletarian class. He stated: "In the struggle for political power, the proletarian class has no other weapon except organization."(4) Lenin's struggle against Menshevism was also a struggle against the opportunism of the Second International on organization questions, and he established a sound theoretical foundation for the organizational development of the proletarian party.

The power of the party lies in its solidarity and unity. The internal solidarity of the party is the foundation for the unity of the proletarian class and is the essential precondition to victory for the proletarian class in its extremely fierce revolutionary struggle to win political power and to maintain a proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin resolutely struggled against all factional tendencies. He advised Communists to preserve the unity of the party as though they were protecting the pupils of their eyes. Trotsky and many other opportunists demanded to be free to establish factions within the party and, indeed, they created anti-party factions. Following a recommendation from Lenin, the Tenth Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party issued a very important resolution about unity within the party, and severely condemned and set forth many strong measures for eliminating all factional activities.

In order to consolidate the unity of the party in the organizational area and in internal activities, it is necessary to strictly observe the principle of democratic centralism. On the one hand, Lenin insisted that there be a close centralized system and unified discipline within the party and that the party would lose its fighting power and be unable to win or maintain political power without it. On the other hand, Lenin also insisted that all matters within the party be resolved by all party members, equally and without exception, either directly or through representatives, that all leadership organs be established by election and be responsible for reporting to the party members and be impeachable by the party members, and that party organizations institute a system of collective leadership and develop the creative initiative of the local areas in finding ways and means suited to the local conditions in achieving the overall goals.

The constant growth and progress of the Marxist-Leninist party lies within its internal activities and in the fact that the party has always applied the principle of criticism and self-criticism. As a result, the party and each party member is able to develop his strong points, to detect and correct his shortcomings and mistakes, to reflect objective things with increasing accuracy, and to constantly improve his work and elevate his level in every respect in keeping with the development of the revolutionary task.

According to Lenin, in building and consolidating the proletarian party, it is necessary to correctly build the relationship between the leading party and the masses. The party must maintain close contact with the working class and the working masses, it must encompass the most outstanding representatives of the class, it must be closely in touch with the life of the masses, and it must have the ability to correctly reflect and articulate the aspirations of the people and to steadfastly pursue its work among the masses, even among the backward masses, seeking their support for the line of the party.

Lenin emphasized that the main source of strength for the party is the intimate relationship between the party and the masses and the support of the working class and the masses for the political line of the party.

He said: "We must have parties that are in real contact with the masses and which have the ability to lead those masses."(5)

Following the victory of the Russian October Revolution, the proletarian dictatorship was established and the Russian Bolshevik Party became the party in power.

Under the new conditions, it was necessary to continue to consolidate the party and to strengthen the leadership role of the party. Proletarian dictatorship constitutes a steadfast and severe struggle not only against domestic and foreign enemies but also to reform the old society, to combat the frightful strength of the old powers and habits deeply imbedded in tens of millions of people, and to build a completely new society, a socialist and Communist society. In order to achieve victory in that struggle, it is absolutely necessary to have a strong and stable party which has been trained in a long struggle. In Lenin's view, it is impossible to have proletarian dictatorship without party leadership.

After the October Revolution, there were groups within the party such as the "Opposition Workers," and "Democratic Centralists" and so forth who denied the necessity of materializing the leadership role of the party in the soviets and in the various labor unions and who insisted on giving leadership and economic management rights to the "Congress of Production People" and so forth.

Following Lenin's recommendation, the Tenth Congress of the Party issued a resolution condemning trade unionism deviation and anarchism and reaffirming the leadership role of the party in the proletarian dictatorship and in socialist construction: "Only the party of the working class, i.e., the Communist party, can assemble, educate, and organize the vanguard unit of the proletarian class and of all toiling masses...and lead all the activities of the entire proletarian class, i.e., lead that class politically and through that class lead all the toiling masses. Otherwise, it is impossible to have a dictatorship of the proletarian class."(6)

Reaffirming the leadership role of the party definitely does not mean a devaluation of the role and impact of other organizations in the proletarian dictatorial system. The party must worry about building and consolidating the state, trade unions, and mass organizations because they are the threads which link the party to the masses and they are important levers for carrying out the line of the party. In order to materialize proletarian dictatorship, it is necessary, under the party leadership, to build "a proletarian apparatus which is not communist in

form, a flexible and relatively broad and very powerful apparatus, an apparatus through which the party can maintain close contact with the class and with the masses and through which the dictatorship of the class can be realized under the leadership of the party."(7)

After winning political power, the party faces the new task of managing the country and building a socialist economy and culture. This is a very difficult and complex task and requires the reorganization of economic bases affecting millions of people and the reform of the entire society on a new base. However, it is also the most noble task because it determines the victory of socialism. Lenin reiterated that the proletarian party must struggle to overcome the habits of the old period of operation, most of which were within the propaganda sector, in order to rapidly become accustomed to the new operational sector -- the organizational and management sector.

This new and difficult task requires that the party endeavor to study and elevate its cultural, scientific and technical level. At the Eleventh Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party in 1922, Lenin profoundly analyzed that in order to build socialism we must firmly control the government and virtually have the economic forces in hand but that "clearly the thing which is still deficient is the cultural level of the leading Communists" and that those Communists, once they lack the requisite cultural level, will not be able to exercise leadership even though they have the leading positions in the public offices and agencies. Lenin said the following about Communists who had fought very courageously and carried out one of the greatest revolutions in history, winning the respect of all the world: Now "these Communists and these revolutionaries must study ordinary salespeople" and "start their studies from the beginning."(8) Lenin taught that in order to build socialism and in order to consolidate the soviet state apparatus, it would be necessary to have great revolutionary enthusiasm and also to have knowledge and that it definitely would not be possible to substitute bravery or enthusiasm or any other beautiful quality for knowledge. After that, Lenin gave to the entire party the following tasks: "First, we must study, secondly, we must study again, and thirdly, we must keep studying."(9)

Lenin was very concerned about developing the new corps of intellectuals from the worker and peasant class. He had profound confidence in the revolutionary ability of the masses and he reminded the entire party of the need to detect men of talent from among the masses and to enthusiastically develop them. At the same time, Lenin also made it clear that the party must learn how to utilize and reform the specialists and intellectuals trained by the old regime.

With the party in power, the problem of maintaining the revolutionary quality and purity of the party received the utmost attention from Lenin.

Lenin reiterated that a party in power must prevent bad and opportunistic elements from slipping into the party. Through measures to mobilize people to go out onto the combat front and to participate in Communist labor Saturdays and by depending upon the ideas of the masses, the party discovers and purges bad and opportunistic elements who slip into the party seeking personal profit and individual position.

In developing the party, Lenin advised emphasizing quality and not pursuing quantity. "The only party in power in the world which is concerned about raising the quality of its members and about purging from its ranks elements which 'bought their way into the party' and the only party which is not concerned about increasingly its numbers is our party, the party of the revolutionary working class."(10) In order to guarantee the quality of party members, Lenin advocated that, during the years of civil war and of combatting the armed intervention of imperialist countries, the party only recruit people who volunteer to fight on the front line or, if they are rear area workers, who actively participate in Communist labor Saturdays. At a time when the counterrevolutionary elements had virtually prevailed and were moving close to Petrograd and the young Soviet government was seriously threatened, Lenin advocated carrying out Party Week in order to select and attract people to the party. However, later, when the counter-revolutionary offensive had been driven back and the party had won a decisive victory, Lenin suggested closing the doors of the party and being particularly cautious about developing the party. Lenin also suggested extending the provisional period for party members, instituting tight procedures for recruitment, and specifically regulating the education and control of party members during the provisional period and so forth. All of these programs and measures were very necessary for maintaining the purity of the party after it gained power.

In the internal affairs of the party, Lenin continued to emphasize the need to maintain the unity of the party and to consolidate party discipline because these are sources of great strength for the party during the period of maintaining and consolidating political power and carrying out socialist construction.

After the party gained power and began to build socialism, the task of strengthening the relationship with the masses and developing the democratic rights of the masses became extremely important. Lenin often emphasized that socialism cannot be built on directives from above nor through the efforts of the Communists alone but must attract the vast working masses into the management of the country. Lenin also pointed out that the vibrant creativity of the working masses is the fundamental element in the new society and that authoritarianism and bureaucracy are alien to the spirit of socialism. Only when the party correctly reflects the feelings and aspirations of the masses will it be able to lead them and to manage the country. Lenin reiterated that during the period of transition to socialism "one of the greatest and most fearful dangers" for the party "is cutting off contact with the masses, the danger of seeing the vanguard unit move too quickly without

'reforming the front line' and without maintaining close contact with all working forces, i.e., with the vast majority of the working and peasant masses."(11)

Lenin's ideas on party development still maintain their great power. These ideas are still illuminating the path of development and consolidation of each Communist and workers' party in the world today.

## II

Our party, in countless fierce challenges since its birth, has constantly grown. This is because our party was built in accordance with the party development principles of Lenin and learned how to adapt those general principles creatively to the concrete conditions of the Vietnamese revolution and of the realities of our party's development.

Right after it was established, our party clearly defined the working class character of the party and, since then, has constantly struggled to maintain and strengthen that character.

Our party developed in a colonial and semi-feudal country, a backward agricultural country with a small working class, a country where most of the party members and cadres come from the peasant class and petit bourgeois class. They come to the party usually because of patriotism. They have a high revolutionary spirit and an ardent patriotism but, initially, many still have little understanding of the working class, do not clearly understand the role and historic world duty of the working class, and do not have a self-awareness based on the working class position and viewpoint. Under those conditions, it is not a simple and easy matter to define and maintain the working class character of the party.

First of all, our party affirmed the leadership role of the Vietnamese working class in the revolutionary task of our people and overcame all deviant tendencies such as undervaluing the role and revolutionary leadership capability of our country's working class or splitting the working class into "blue shirt proletarian" opposed to "brown shirt proletarian" and so forth. On the basis of that, our party clearly stated that the party must be and can only be the party of the working class, the most revolutionary and advanced class in today's society. The party criticized mistaken notions such as those which held that our party is "the party of the hard working masses," and the "party of the workers and farmers" or which held that it is narrow-minded and factionalist to emphasize the working class character of the party and so forth.

To clearly define the working class character of the party is to affirm that our party is structured on the working class position and outlook and is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Firmly maintaining the working class character of the party means firmly maintaining

basic guidelines and basic goals in all facets of party development, politically, ideologically, and organizationally. This has been a great strong point and a basic success in our party's development.

While thoroughly understanding the working class character of the party, our party also correctly resolved the relationship between the class question and the national question, both developing in itself a profound working class character and constantly maintaining close contact with the masses and with the people.

Our party has firmly maintained and flown high the banner of nationalism since its birth. Our party has closely associated the interests of the working class with national interests and intimately joined the cause of working class liberation to the cause of national liberation. All of the lines and policies of the party emanate from the working class position and viewpoint but also emanate from the genuine interests of the nation and of the masses. Our party and President Ho always taught cadres and party members to "be loyal to the country and faithful to the people," to resolutely sacrifice and struggle for national liberation, and to wholeheartedly serve the people. In addition to mobilizing the workers, our party has always devoted serious attention to the mobilization of other strata of the working people, particularly the farmers, in order to build a sound foundation for the party among the masses.

President Ho affirmed: "The party is a vanguard unit of the working class and it is also the vanguard unit of the people." (12) Our party, the party of the working class, is able to unite broad strata of people under its leadership banner. It has the confidence of all the people and all the people voluntarily accept it as their leader. This is a great honor and pride and it is also a source of great strength for our party.

If we fail to make it clear that the party must be the party of the working class, the party will not be able to have the correct line and will not have sufficient ability to successfully lead the revolution. However, if we fail to clearly recognize the union between the class interests and the national interests and if we fail to achieve close unity with the people, the party will become isolated and factionalist and will not be able to have correct leadership nor to have strong forces.

In the course of its development, our party has always devoted its concern to developing and maintaining the correct political line. Our party has constantly grown primarily because throughout many circuitous and complex paths of revolutionary struggle it has always

had the correct political line and spelled out accurate action guidelines for the entire party and all our people. As a result, the party has been able to develop solidarity and unity within the party and to have the proper direction in the ideological and organizational development of the party, in the development of the revolutionary forces, and in the consolidation of the party's leadership role.

Our party has the correct political line because it has closely combined Marxist-Leninist theory with the revolutionary realities in Vietnam, closely combined a highly scientific character with a thorough revolutionary spirit, and closely combined a spirit of independence and autonomy and of genuine patriotism with a noble proletarian internationalism.

The combination of theory and reality and the development of the correct political line is the result of a creative process of action and of independent thought within our party. While devoting very serious attention to the study of the revolutionary experiences of fraternal countries and parties, our party struggled against, criticized, and overcame dogmatic, inferior, and blindly imitating attitudes, and in so doing, vigorously developed the positivism, creativity, and initiative of the entire party.

Our party not only charted the correct political line but also, possessing a high combative power and abundant leadership capability, arranged to successfully carry out all of the lines and policies it set forth. This is because in the course of the development of the party and on the basis of the correct political line our party both emphasized ideological activities and emphasized organizational activities, closely associating the ideological program with the organizational program.

Our party clearly understood the great power of the ideas, the will, and the self-awareness of the people in the revolutionary struggle. Our party always devoted serious attention to the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the teaching of the lines and policies of the party to the cadres and party members. It devoted serious attention to raising the self-awareness of the cadres and party members while executing the lines and policies and to overcoming all deviate rightist or "leftist" viewpoints. Our party worried about developing the revolutionary ethics and qualities of the proletarian class in its cadres and party members, about elevating their loyalty to the party and to the revolution, about stimulating their combat will and revolutionary attack spirit and about developing an industrious, simple, pure, and wholesome way of life. The ideological program of the party is of increasing importance in the present fight against the United States for

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1 national salvation and in the work of socialist construction which require the development of a high degree of self-consciousness and subjective activism.

At the same time, our party has devoted very serious attention to its organizational development, paying serious attention to developing the power and role of organization. Our party both criticizes tendencies to undervalue ideology, bureaucratic, authoritarian, and administrativist leadership, and exclusive use of organizational measures and also resists generalized and superficial methods of political and ideological leadership, tendencies to neglect or to refuse to delve deeply into concrete organizational activities, and tendencies to separate the ideological program from the organizational program.

In developing its organization, our party correctly resolved the relationship between number and quality by following the precept of honoring quality over number and has constantly struggled to maintain and improve the standards of party members. As a result, our party selected and trained a corps of party members and cadres who possess beautiful revolutionary qualities, boundless loyalty to the cause of class liberation and national liberation, and abundant combat will, and who play an exemplary vanguard role in the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Our party has correctly understood and properly applied the principle of democratic centralism in order to resolve organizational relationships within the party in a manner consistent with the situation and task during each period of the revolution. Our party successfully built its solidarity and unity on the correct political line and, based on the strict implementation of principles of organization and internal activities, sought to strengthen discipline, to enlarge democracy, to develop self-criticism and criticism, and to increase comradely love and overcome all manifestations of individualism.

Along with the achievements in the political and ideological development of the party, the achievements in the organizational development of the party have been very large and have made an important contribution to raising the combat power of the party.

With the party in power and building socialism, the scope and content of the organizational program become increasingly large and diverse. State management and economic and life management constitute a vast organizational activity which embraces both the social apparatus and the economic apparatus and affected millions of people through extremely complex interrelationships. We built socialism in a country with small-scale production which had not gone through the period of

capitalist development, a country with little in terms of organizational level and capability and with very powerful handicraft traditions. For this reason, as Comrade Le Duan said, "Raising the real organizational capability of the party and of the state apparatus is the urgent and crucial issue at the present time in increasing the fighting power of the party and in strengthening the leadership of the party in society."(13)

The reason the ideological and organizational development of our party have achieved high results and quality is because that development has always been carried out in close association with the political task and has sought to serve the requirements of the political task. This is a very important precept synthesized from the diverse realities of our party's development.

Party development work has no other goal except that of assuring that the party will be able to correctly set forth and successfully carry out its political task. Therefore, the content and direction of the political development work is determined by the political task and is orientated toward serving the requirements of the political task. Each new development in the political situation and task requires a corresponding improvement in the allocation of the forces of party members and cadres, in the shape and structure of the organizational apparatus, in the training of cadres, and in the guidelines for ideological education and for increasing knowledge and so forth. The control and appraisal of the quality of party development must be based on its role in completing the political task of the party.

On the one hand, the political task of the party can only be successfully achieved by strengthening the work of party development and increasing the fighting power and leadership capability of party organizations. On the other hand, the work of party development must be carried out within the struggle to carry out the political task of the party if it is to achieve high quality and produce good results.

Our party has criticized the mistaken tendency in leading the achievement of the political task to neglect the work of party development. Essentially, this means bureaucratic and administrative type of leadership, underplaying the role of ideology and of the program to develop the organization and develop the person. At the same time, our party has also severely criticized the tendency to carry out party organization in an isolated and formalistic manner without regard to the requirements of the political task and to carry out party development work in a slow and conservative fashion, impeding the completion of the political task.

Earlier, during the stage of the national democratic revolution, our party developed in the art of organizing and mobilizing the masses

to engage in political struggle and military struggle and in the art of leading uprisings for political power. The work of party development closely followed and effectively served those tasks.

Today, the duty of our party in North Vietnam is, on the one hand, to lead the fight against the United States and for national salvation and, on the other hand, to intensify the socialist revolution and the work of socialist construction. The development of our party at this time cannot be separated from the struggle to guarantee the successful achievement of these new and heavy revolutionary tasks.

Today, our party is struggling to raise its level of knowledge and its leadership capability to meet the requirements of the new revolutionary stage. The party must master social science and master the laws of socialist revolution and creatively apply them to the concrete conditions of Vietnam. The party must master natural science and science and technology and must be expert in its knowledge of economic, cultural, and state management and in organizing the life of the people.

Our party motivates the party organizations and the cadres and party members to clearly understand the new situation and task, to overcome generalized methods of political leadership, to delve deeply into economic and life management, to boldly march into science and technology, and to seek to raise their level of knowledge in every way. Our party is trying to develop knowledge of economic, cultural, scientific, and technical management in cadres and party members who spent a long period of training in the national democratic revolutionary struggle and to help them develop their impact during the new revolutionary stage. At the same time, it is seeking to develop an increasingly larger and higher quality class of intellectuals from among the working people. Clearly, the development of our party during this present phase is closely linked to the process of our party in delving deeply into the leadership of economic development and of life, and in successfully resolving the problem of raising the level of knowledge, the organizational capability, and the management capability of the cadres and party members.

In addition to struggling to raise their level of knowledge in all fields, our party is very much concerned about maintaining and elevating the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members. As the party in power, the party has great advantages for advancing the revolutionary cause in order to serve the people and serve the fatherland more effectively. However, in this new environment, some party members and cadres can abuse their powers, become bureaucratic and authoritarian, become estranged from the masses, and only worry about developing individual positions and advantages.

After winning political power, our party acquired additional advantages for propagandizing and educating the masses and for developing the influence of the party among the masses. Many outstanding elements from among the working people joined the party with proper motive, hoping to fight for and serve better the cause of national liberation and the ideals of communism. However, there are also some who tried to sneak into the party because of individual and opportunistic motive in the hope of gaining profits and position.

Communists work and fight for noble ideals and not for material compensation. However, from a social standpoint, the implementation of the principle of distributing according to work is very essential during the period of socialist construction. Cadres and party members who have greater capabilities and who shoulder heavier burdens must be appropriately recompensed in order to compensate them for their efforts and enable them to serve the revolution more effectively. However, a small number of cadres and party members have given themselves special rights and privileges, excessively setting themselves apart from subordinates and the masses. This is something which must be severely criticized against which appropriate measures must be taken.

The cause of socialist construction, the struggle against poverty and backwardness, and the march into science and technology -- all are very difficult and complex revolutionary undertakings which require that cadres and party members have abundant revolutionary sentiments, a profound sense of serving the people, a high spirit of revolutionary attack, and a fearlessness about difficulties and hardships. Therefore, high revolutionary qualities are important not only in the struggle against imperialism but also in the work of socialist construction.

In his will, President Ho advised us: "Our party is a party in power. Each party member and cadre must really inculcate revolutionary ethics and really be thrifty, just, diligent, and impartial. It is necessary to keep our party really pure and deserving of being the leader and loyal servant of the people."

Obedient to President Ho's teachings, our party has always been concerned about maintaining and developing the beautiful revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members. In its recent resolution entitled "Concerning the Campaign to Raise the Quality of Party Members and to Recruit the Ho Chi Minh Class of Party Members," the Political Bureau emphasize: "In order to be a Communist it is first necessary to have Communist ethics. Each Communist must daily attempt to cultivate revolutionary qualities and ethics and to elevate his political level and operational abilities in order to provide increasingly better service to the revolution and to really deserve being one who continues to proud career of President Ho."

With the party in power and carrying out socialist construction, the survival and development of the party is intimately linked to the survival and stability of the proletarian dictatorial system. A new problem which has arisen and which must be properly resolved is that of the relationship between the party and the state. The relationship between the party and the masses also has new dimensions.

The party is the leader in the proletarian dictatorial system. The leadership role of the party assures that the revolutionary line is always correct and that it accurately reflects the position and viewpoint of the working class. That leadership role is also essential in controlling the activities of organizations in the proletarian dictatorial system and in smoothly coordinating the activities of those organizations in order to guide and mobilize the mass movement through political and ideological activities and through the exemplary activities of cadres and party members. Therefore, party leadership does not create obstacles but guarantees the proper line and direction of action for the state and also increases the effectiveness of its organization and implementation work.

Moreover, the party cannot strengthen itself in an isolated fashion, separate from the strengthening of the state and the overall proletarian dictatorial system. As Comrade Le Duan said: "The strengthening of party leadership cannot be divorced from the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the administration in economic management, state management, and the management of all aspects of social life."(14)

The achievement of political power and the development of the state apparatus and mass organizations signify the maturity of the party and of the revolution. They are important tools in helping the party to achieve its line and policy. When those organizations are strengthened, the party becomes stronger and is thus able to realize its ideals and line.

Organizationally, the party seeks to streamline state agencies and mass organizations, assigns an important percentage of its cadres and members to operate within them, and draws outstanding elements from among the masses. The development of these organizations means that cadres and party members develop, and it also creates an abundant source for the recruitment and development of cadres and party members.

Government agencies and mass organizations are also linked between the party and the masses. When these organizations are strong and stable, relations between the party and the masses become stronger and stronger. The respect shown by the party for the role and function of these organizations is respect for the ownership right of the masses. It also prevents the party organization from becoming bureaucratic, arbitrary, and abusive.

Therefore, our party believes that there is complete unity of purpose in strengthening party leadership and developing the role of government agencies and mass organizations. Our party combats every tendency to lower or limit the leadership role of the party within the proletarian dictatorial system and it also combats every manifestation of usurpation or transgression of authority by party organizations.

The strength of the party and of the state also lies in the close relationship with the masses and in the confidence and wide support of the masses. As the collective ownership right of the masses is developed and as the revolutionary movement of the masses becomes more intense, the party and the state grow stronger and the socialist system becomes stronger. The only way to successfully carry out the line of the party and the policy of the state is for the masses to be the owners and to express their revolutionary activism and their creativity.

The only way to successfully recruit cadres and party members and to raise the quality of party development is to elevate the seething revolutionary movement of the masses and their level of consciousness in every field. The growth of the party cannot be separated from the growth of the mass movement. Moreover, the masses' awareness and ownership right and active participation in the political life of the country is an important guarantee of the purity of party and state agencies and an impediment to the development of bureaucracy and authoritarianism.

For these reasons, our party has always closely associated party development with the development of the collective ownership right of the masses, the organization and mobilization of the revolutionary movement of the masses, and the elevation of the consciousness and revolutionary activism of the masses.

The party in power is both the leader of the masses and the loyal servant of the masses. The masses voluntarily accept the leadership role of the party and, at the same time, have the duty and responsibility to accept party control and monitoring and to help build up and strengthen their party. A major concept developed from the realities of our party's development, particularly during the past several years, is that of relying on the masses and mobilizing the masses to participate in party development.

The fact that the party is boldly mobilizing the masses to participate in its development proves that our party has complete confidence in the masses and depends upon them in all of its activities. We have many favorable conditions for properly carrying

out this concept: our people have a high degree of political consciousness, they have been following the party with complete solidarity for many years, the political and spiritual unanimity of North Vietnamese society is becoming increasingly stronger, our party is very strong and enjoys great prestige among the people, and our cadres and party members are basically good.

Moreover, with the party leading the government, mobilizing the masses to participate in party development is also a vital requirement for consolidating the party, for maintaining its revolutionary quality, for preventing the degeneration of some cadres and party members, and for strengthening the relationship between the party and the masses. The mobilization of mass participation in party development has been and is now developing under many diverse forms involving many aspects of party development: the masses not only give their ideas to the party about directions, programs, and policies, but also participate in the evaluation and criticism of party chapters and party members, in the recommendation of persons for consideration by party chapters and recruitment into the party, and in recommending party members whom they feel are worthy of being elected to party chapter committees and party committees and so forth. The realities of many localities has proved the great significance of these forms and measures in party development work.

The fight against the United States for national salvation and the cause of socialist construction are very great and heavy tasks requiring the further strengthening of party leadership. To do this, it is necessary to strengthen the party development program and to increase the fighting power and revolutionary abilities of party organizations, cadres, and party members. Our party development work has scored extremely great achievements although there are still weaknesses and deficiencies in view of the requirements of the present revolutionary task. Therefore, one essential requirement for further elevating the quality of party development is to continue to penetrate and properly adapt Lenin's principles of party development to the concrete conditions of Vietnam and to achieve a better understanding of our party's line and rules on party development.

- (1) Lenin: Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Volume I, Part I, pages 439-440.
- (2) *ibid*, pages 204-205.
- (3) Lenin: Toan Tap (Complete Works), Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume VII, page 448.
- (4) *ibid*, page 481.
- (5) *ibid*, Volume XXXI, page 211.

- (6) Lenin: Tuyen Tap (Selected Works) , Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Volume II, Part II, page 464.
- (7) *ibid*, page 343.
- (8) *ibid*, page 594-595.
- (9) *ibid*, page 685.
- (10) Lenin: "Concerning Party Development," Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, page 124.
- (11) Lenin: Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Volume II, Part II, page 576.
- (12) Ho Chi Minh: Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 661.
- (13) Le Duan: "Under the Proud Banner of the Party and on Behalf of Independence, Freedom, and Socialism, Move Forward to Achieve New Victories," Hoc Tap ("Studies"), No. 2, February 1970.
- (14) *ibid*.

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LEARN FROM PRESIDENT HO'S BOOK, 'FOREVER FOLLOW THE GREAT LENIN'S ROAD'

[Article by Phan Tien Tich; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1970, pp 76-81]

Throughout his busy life of revolutionary activities, whether he was abroad or at home, whether it was the time for preparations for the creation of the party or the time when the party already existed or after it had seized power, President Ho wrote many articles about Lenin and Leninism. On the occasion of Lenin's 100th birthday, the major articles on Lenin, taken from President Ho's works, have been put together and published in a book entitled, "Forever Follow the Great Lenin's Road." This book helps us to seriously study the articles on Lenin written by President Ho, Lenin's most loyal and most brilliant disciple in Vietnam and the beloved leader and teacher of Vietnam's revolution. It helps us to further understand the greatness of Lenin, the absolute revolutionary nature of Leninism, and particularly the fact that our party has been creatively applying the latter to the reality of the Vietnamese revolution and has thus brought this revolution from one victory to another.

Between the time of the French colonial invasion of our country and the birth of our party, headed by President Ho, our people had been staging continual uprisings to fight the French. But those uprisings, one by one, had failed. In the face of that unsuccessful course of action in our people's national liberation movement and with an ardent patriotic spirit, President Ho had decided to go abroad to seek a correct road leading to the liberation of his fatherland and compatriots.

As he later indicated in the article, "The Road that Led Me to Leninism," right in his early revolutionary activities in France, after knowing Lenin only through "Draft Outline of National and Colonial Matters," he had "totally trusted Lenin and the Third International." For, first of all, only Lenin and the Third International truly defended the people of the colonial countries, and only Lenin really opened the road to liberation for the colo-

nial countries. Then as he further studied the theories of Leninism and did practical work, he became more imbued with Leninism.

Evaluating Lenin's great work, President Ho wrote: "Unrelentingly struggling against the reformists and the people who have in many ways distorted Marxism, Lenin brought the scientific socialism to a new phase. He enriched Marxism, the great ideological weapon of the proletariat; made a big contribution to developing the theory about proletarian dictatorship; and developed the Marxist principles about the worker-farmer alliance, the national and colonial matters, proletarian internationalism, and the construction and consolidation of the new proletarian party -- the only organization capable of leading the greatly-diversified struggle of the worker class and enslaved nations. He developed a new, perfected theory about socialist revolution and proved the possibility of socialism winning in an individual country." ("Leninism and the Liberation of the Oppressed Nations")

President Ho considered Lenin not only as "the man who carried out and developed the ideology of Marx and Engels," but also as "the father of the proletarian revolution and the revolution for liberation of nations" and "the teacher who produced revolutionary fighters throughout the world." ("The Great Work of Lenin")

However, what he was most concerned with, in all the articles he wrote about Lenin, was Lenin's great contribution to the national liberation movement and the settling of national affairs. According to him, under the clever leadership of Lenin, the Russian October Socialist Revolution not only tied together the struggle of the worker class and that of the oppressed nationalities in Russia and liberated one-sixth of the globe, but also opened the road to liberation for all nations and mankind as a whole and a new era in the history of the world, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world.

From Lenin's teachings and the reality of the October Revolution, he learned a serious lesson about "the possibility and the necessity to have a solid alliance in combat between the colonial nations and the proletariat in the imperialist countries, for the purpose of defeating the common enemy." To achieve this relationship based on mutual support, "in the oppressing countries, the central need for teaching internationalist spirit is to make the working people fully understand the right of the oppressed nations to sever themselves from the ruling powers and to become independent countries; and in the oppressed countries, it is to promote voluntary alliance among all nations." ("The October Revolution and the Eastern Nations")

Lenin firmly struggled to denounce the betrayal of the opportunist leaders of the Second International who colluded with the imperialists in the plot to enslave the colonial nations. He "opened a new era, a truly revolutionary era, in the colonial countries." While many people, including workers, in European and American countries remained under the influence of the opportunist leaders in the Second International, who had prejudices against the people of colonial countries and underestimated the revolutionary movement there, "Lenin was the first man to understand and to fully appreciate the importance of the effort to draw the people of the colonial countries into the

revolutionary movement" and "the first man to understand that there could be no social revolution without the participation of the people of the colonial countries." He not only "realized that in order to make the colonial countries succeed in their work, the spreading national liberation movement in such countries must be fully used to their advantage, and that the proletariat in the world, while supporting this movement, would get new and strong allies in the struggle for social revolution," but also sought to understand "the most complicated and purely local working conditions" under which the revolutionary fighters in the colonial countries had to operate.

President Ho clearly pointed out that "only Lenin's clever attitude toward the colonial matters was able to persuade the most backward masses in the colonial countries. His strategy in these matters was adopted by the communist parties throughout the world and attracted more and more outstanding and active elements in the colonial countries into the communist movement." And President Ho concluded: "For all the oppressed and enslaved nations, Lenin represented a turning point in the painful history of their life of slavery and symbolized a new bright future." ("Lenin and the East")

As he tried to fully understand the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, President Ho always remembered Lenin's advice to the Oriental communists that they must know how to apply communism, both in theory and in practice, to "actual conditions, when the farmers are the basic mass, when it is necessary to solve the task of struggling, not against capitalism but against the remnants of the Middle Ages." ("Leninism and the Liberation of the Oppressed Nations")

He also highly evaluated the influence of Lenin's revolutionary morality: "Not only his genius, but his disinterest in luxuries, his love for the working man, his pure private life and simple living habit, in short, the great and noble morality of the teacher greatly influenced the Asiatic nations and made them turn to him, and nothing could stop this trend."

He found in Lenin an immense love for the working people, for all the oppressed. He quoted the impressions of a Chinese woman toward Lenin: "Lenin not only liberated men and women in his land, but he also showed the way to all the poor people in the world." ("Lenin and the Eastern Nations")

President Ho's articles on Lenin reflected a creative application of Leninism to Vietnam's revolutionary reality. Particularly in the article, "Lenin, the Great Teacher of Vietnam's Revolution," he wrote: "We have tried to do in exactly the same way taught by Lenin... For all revolutionary work, in the establishment of the party and the state, as well as in economic and cultural construction, we have always tried to follow the road suggested by Lenin." But to take the road suggested by Lenin meant to know how to creatively apply the scientific socialism. Following the extremely precious advices that Lenin had offered, President Ho fully realized the first basic need of a truly revolutionary party of the worker class: "Only the leadership of a party knowing how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions

of its country can drive the national liberation revolution to victory and the socialist revolution to success." ("The Great October Revolution Opens up the Road to Liberation for All Nations")

President Ho's articles on Lenin, particularly the articles he wrote after 1952, very clearly proved that because our party correctly and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, it has brought our country's revolution to one victory after another. From this standpoint, his concise and rich writings had very great reviewing values. Every sentence, every paragraph in his articles contained vast meaning. Here are some general points that we have learned from a preliminary study of the newly-published book.

First about the revolutionary line. On the basis of Vietnam's revolutionary reality in the past decades, President Ho was able to confirm what he took from Lenin's "Draft Outline of National and Colonial Matters" and applied to Vietnam, which was perfectly correct: "To save the country and to liberate the nation, there is no other road than that of proletarian revolution." (Foreword written for the Russian version of "Ho Chi Minh, Selected Writings and Speeches") This short sentence contains many ideas: 1) The national liberation revolution of today also belongs to the category of world proletarian revolution. 2) To score absolute victory, the national liberation revolution in particular, or the national democratic revolution in general must be led by the proletariat and its party, which must uphold the banner of national democracy. 3) This revolution cannot stop in the national democratic phase, but must continue to move toward socialism, without passing through the phase of capitalist development.

From Lenin's slogan, "Proletariat of all oppressed countries and nations, unite!," and from Lenin's evaluation of the position and possibility of revolutionary movement in the colonial countries, our party and President Ho were able to determine the correct relationship between the revolution in the colonies and that in the suzerainty states. This relationship was very close because it was built on mutual support in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution and because of the Soviet Union, with more favorable conditions in the world, revolution in a colonial country had much more chance of success and did not have to depend on the victory of the revolution in the suzerainty state.

In his article, "The Great October Revolution Opens up the Road to Liberation for All Nations," from the reality of the victorious Vietnamese revolution, President Ho drew this conclusion: "Under the conditions that are favorable for the revolutionary movement of today, any nation, however small, can surely defeat any imperialist aggressors, including the gang leader that is the American imperialists, if it is closely united and resolutely fight along correct political and military lines, and at the same time gets the support and active assistance from the socialist bloc and the revolutionary people in the world."

In the same article, he summarized the basic lessons of experience that the Vietnamese revolution learned while taking the Leninist road to de-

velopment:

- "It is necessary to have the leadership of a truly revolutionary party of the worker class, a party that wholeheartedly serves the people."

- "Set up at any cost the worker-farmer alliance because it is the most solid guarantee for victory of the revolution."

- In each revolutionary phase, "it is necessary to gather all revolutionary and progressive forces in a large front and to achieve unified action in many forms among such forces for the common fight against the enemy."

- "In the hard struggle against the enemy of the class and nation, it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to oppose counterrevolutionary violence, to seize power and to defend the new rule."

- "Continuously strengthen and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship" in order to reform the old society and to build the new one.

- Maintain "absolute revolutionary spirit, always raise high the banner of revolutionary heroism, do not fear hardship and sacrifices, and resolutely fight till the end for independence and socialism."

- "Closely link patriotism with proletarian internationalist spirit in both the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution."

In regard to the party, President Ho wrote: "Lenin left us, as he did all the communist and workers' parties, an extremely precious treasure: his theories about the ideological basis, organizational principles, arguments, and strategy of a revolutionary party. Leninism is the powerful ideological force that guides our party and allows our party to become the highest form of organization of the working masses and the symbol of the intelligence, honor and conscience of our nation." And he affirmed: "Under the banner of Leninism, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party has enjoyed the confidence of the people, who consider it as their understanding pioneering group. Our party has known how to tap the force and creativity of the people, who never want to live under slavery and a colonial rule... The Vietnam Lao Dong Party is a party that applies, everyday and every hour, the principle of criticism and self-criticism, which it considers as the wonderful method to correct and to wipe out any shortcomings or mistakes, for the purpose of struggling against any manifestation of subjective complacency. Our party serves no interests other than those of the people and the fatherland; therefore, it is very much concerned with raising the quality of its work." ("Leninism and the Liberation of the Oppressed Nations")

President Ho clearly pointed out: "The victory of Vietnam's revolution is that of Marxism-Leninism in a former colony," and "The successful experiences of Vietnam's revolution do contribute to some extent to the theoretical treasure of Marxism-Leninism." ("Lenin, the Great Teacher of Vietnam's Revolution")

The reality of the Vietnamese revolution in the last 40 years under the leadership of our party, with the many rich lessons it created, has proven the above general ideas of President Ho.

He always reminded us that as we "drink water," we must "remember its source." He wrote: "Taking the road laid by the great Lenin, the road of the October Revolution, the Vietnamese people have scored very great victories. This is the reason why their affection for and gratitude to the proud October Revolution, the great Lenin and the people of the Soviet Union are very deep.

"The Vietnamese people always remember that their victories are not separate from the big help of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal socialist countries, nor are they separate from the active support of the progressive people throughout the world." ("The Great October Revolution Opens up the Road to Liberation for All Nations")

As we read President Ho's articles on Lenin, we remember and are grateful to Lenin and President Ho, the first Vietnamese having absorbed and introduced Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam. He combined the popular truth of Marxism-Leninism with the reality of Vietnam's revolution, and founded and built the Vietnamese worker class's proud Marxist-Leninist party. For the last 40 years, our party, headed by him, adopted the correct revolutionary line for each revolutionary period, assured continuous progress for our revolution, has brought the nation to a position of equality with the advanced nations, and has made a contribution to speeding up the revolutionary movement of the worker class and oppressed nations in the world.

President Ho was the symbol of our nation's finest assets, heroic struggling traditions and fine morality that have crystallized in the many millennia of our history. He was also the symbol of the brilliant truths of Marxism-Leninism, which was so cleverly and creatively applied to the actual conditions of Vietnam. He was the symbol of the combination of the fine traditions of the Vietnamese nation and the communist ideal, the combination of Vietnam's true patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Remembering and being grateful to the great Lenin and our beloved President Ho, we pledge to follow their teachings, to do our best to study and to learn Marxism-Leninism and our party's line and policies, and at the same time to continue improving our morality and building our revolutionary behavior so as to drive the resistance against America and the socialist construction in our country toward total victory, and to make a deserving contribution to the revolution of the people of the world.

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## THE VIETNAMESE PRESS AND LENIN

[Article by Hong Chuong; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1970, pp. 82-89]

The name of Lenin, as well as his thinking, came to the attention of the Vietnamese people in many ways. One of these ways was the press.

In the old days when our country was a colony of imperialism, the press in our country was mainly controlled by the colonialists and feudalists. Unable to conceal the great influence of the Russian Revolution and of Lenin upon our people, the colonialists and feudalists used their newspapers to distort the facts and to make slanderous statements about Lenin and the Russian Revolution so as to cheat our people. One of the first Vietnamese-language newspapers that wrote about Lenin and the Russian Revolution was "Nam Phong" ("The Southerly Wind"), which was first published in July 1917 after the February Revolution and before the successful Russian October Revolution. In its issues Nos 1, 2 and 3 published in July, August and September 1917, its "news comments" often referred to the situation in Russia and Lenin. On the one hand it praised Kerensky as "a great hero" and "a savior of the new Russia," and on the other it criticized Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks.

A few months after the Russian October Revolution had been successful, "Nam Phong" again slandered the Russian Revolution and Lenin. In its issue No 7, published in January 1918, it wrote in the "news comment" column: "The present Russian government is temporarily in the hand of an extremist party. This party, though on the rise, is but a small group of the people. Its aim is to demand that the bourgeois people -- the people who have influence and money -- give the common people a lot of interests. But knowing that its demands will very likely be rejected by them, the party wants to use violence as a necessity..."

In its issue No 9 in March 1918, the newspaper again wrote: "Russia is a living example of a country being unable to destroy its own internal discipline. To reform the political matters in a country, the use of violence cannot be successful. The Russian revolutionaries thought that after destroy-

ing the Czarist empire, the people would automatically enjoy happiness, peace and freedom. It is easy to destroy but hard to build."

After knowing that Lenin was sick, the imperialists and their lackeys were very joyful. "Nam Phong," in its No 58 issue of April 1922, brought the news of Lenin being sick and included some slanderous statement against him. It brazenly compared him with Vuong Mang and Vuong An Thach, and wrote: "Now Lenin believed that communism would turn things upside down as he dreamed it would, and no wonder he failed."

Seeing that their brazen and rude slanders could not cheat the people, whose understanding was heightened everyday, the servants of the colonialists and feudalists switched to more shrewd maneuvers by both praising and criticizing while distorting and slandering.

On the occasion of Lenin's death, "Nam Phong," in its No 79 issue of January 1924, had an article under the title, "Russian Chief of State Lenin Dies," accompanied by an article dealing with the death of U.S. President Wilson. The article wrote:

"Chief of State Lenin also died late in January. He was quite different from Mr. Wilson. He also cherished justice and righteousness, but wanted to use violent means to carry out his ideology. He believed that all the evil of men came from the capitalist system, which is the foundation of society today, and that to make mankind happy would require the destruction of the present society and the building of a new society in which there would be no rich or poor people and only people of equal standing and the power would belong to the masses. Taking advantage of the recent world war, he decided to carry out his ideology in Russia, where a few years of utmost destruction led to indescribable miseries. He created a political line called 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' which means that the power in the country no longer belongs to the rich and influential people, but to the working people, the lower class and the low families.

"Lenin's career was also something unusual, considering his background; he climbed to the chief of state's position not by a hunger for power, but because of a mad dream of reforming society. It was said that as chief of state he lived in the old Czarist palace, but occupied only a few rooms and remained as simply-dressed as before and austere until his death. The fact that he was as poor as before when he died proved that he was not pursuing self-interests. Whether his career was successful or not does not deny the fact that he was an unusual man of our time."

In June 1924, the issue No 84 of "Nam Phong" offered the translation of an article from "World Review" comparing Lenin with Wilson, which contained this paragraph: "As to Lenin, although he died on a cold winter day, his death was so brilliant. Although he died, he was forever deified." Next to that paragraph there was a slander against Lenin, who was called "a man who did not appreciate human dignity..." and "who used men as a tool..." The article wrote: "Between the two world movements today, the movement of federation ad-

vocated by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lenin's communist movement, there must be a winner and a loser. If the former wins, there is a chance that Western civilization will be maintained, but if the communist movement wins, nobody can predict how much change the world will have to undergo." And "If Europe did not follow Mr. Wilson, the dreadful ideology of Mr. Lenin would be spread all over the world."

Lenin's life and career were extremely great. The writer-servants of the imperialists were unable to deny that fact. However, they did everything to distort the truth and to slander Lenin.

Why did the imperialists and their lackeys distort the facts and slander Lenin and the Russian revolution? Because they were afraid that the effects of Lenin and the Russian revolution would wake our people up and would threaten their rule in our country.

As early as in January 1917, "Indochinese Review," the French colonialists' publication in our country, in an article entitled, "The Russian Revolution, the American Intervention and Events in Asia," stressed the fear of the colonialists in the face of the Russian revolution: "The Russian revolution is presently very complicated; therefore, nobody dares to offer any accurate judgment of its events. But we find it is not absolutely irrational to predict that, in addition to its effects on the war in Europe, its events will possibly bring about very wide results affecting everything that will take place in Asia."

After the Russian Revolution had succeeded, particularly after Lenin had founded the Communist International, the French colonialists in our country were even more scared. The secret circular No 143-Sg of 25 January 1921 sent by the Indochinese Secret Police Service in Hanoi to the heads of police in the three regions (of Vietnam) was an evidence of that fear: "The Ministry of Colonies has sent to the Governor General's Office, according to a secret wire on 1 December 1920, a circular containing the following sections, which by suggestion of the Ministry of War dealt with bolshevik propaganda in some French colonies, mostly in Indochina:

"At the meeting of the Supreme Soviet on 10 September, Lenin declared that it was necessary to strike at the weakest spot of the allies, their colonies.

"Exploit the nationalist sentiments of the people of Oriental countries," he said.

"Study more carefully the problems of Indochina and Algeria, but this is a task that the Bolsheviks should not entrust to anybody but themselves."

"Lenin also added: 'I talked to Litvinov about the matter and at the Baku conference gave him complete freedom to handle it.'

"This news, with its general informative value, is hereby communicated

as a special document to the heads of police of the (three) regions..."

The fear of the imperialists and their lackeys had its own reason. On 5 June 1920, Lenin wrote "Draft Outline of National and Colonial Matters" to present to the Second Congress of the Communist International. It was a heavy blow that struck the colonial system of the imperialists. Recounting how he felt as he was reading Lenin's "Outline," in the second half of 1920, President Ho wrote in a small room he rented at No 9, Impasse Conpoint, Paris 17: "Lenin's essay made me feel very impressed, encouraged, enlightened, and very confident! I was so happy I could cry. Although I was all alone in the room, I shouted as I was addressing a big mass of people: 'My miserable compatriots! This is what we need, this is our road of liberation!' From then on, I have total confidence in Lenin, in the Third International."

President Ho was the first Vietnamese journalist having ever written seriously about Lenin. Thanks to him, the Vietnamese people knew the truth about Lenin.

Only a few days after Lenin had died, President Ho wrote an article about him entitled, "Lenin and the Colonial Nations," and published in the "Pravda." In that article, he wrote:

"... The blacks and yellows have not known Lenin, nor where Russia is. The imperialists and colonialists try to hide the news from them. Ignorance is one of the major supports for the capitalist system. But all of them, from the Vietnamese peasants to the hunters in a Dahomey forest, have heard that in a faraway place a nation has chased its masters and exploiters and is now ruling its own land without the need for the masters and governors. They have also heard that that country is Russia and that there are brave men there and the bravest man is Lenin. Only that simple knowledge has made them admire and have a deep affection for that country and its leader..."

"Although they have poor cultural background, they have goodwill and gratitude, and deeply respect Lenin. They consider Lenin as their liberator.

"When he was alive, Lenin was our father, teacher, comrade, and advisor. Today, he is the bright star guiding us toward social revolution.

"Lenin the eternal will forever live in our work."

In an article entitled, "Lenin and the East," and published in the Soviet publication, "The Siren," on 21 January 1926, President Ho wrote:

"Lenin opened up a new era, a truly revolutionary era for the colonies.

"He was the first man to understand and to fully appreciate the importance of the effort to draw the people of the colonies into the revolutionary movement. He was the first man to understand that there could be no social revolution without the participation of the people of the colonies.

"For all the oppressed and enslaved nations, Lenin represented a turn-

ing point in the painful history of their life of slavery and symbolized a new bright future."

In his book, "The Revolutionary Road," written in 1926, President Ho affirmed: "There are now many doctrines and ideologies, but the most real, the soundest and the most revolutionary ideology is Leninism."

In 1930, our party was born. Its "Political Platform" clearly indicated: "The pioneering group of the worker class takes the ideology of Karl Marx and Lenin as its basis."

Since the birth of our party, to celebrate Lenin's death anniversary each year became a widespread drive in the masses to speed up our country's revolutionary movement.

In January 1931, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Lenin's death, our party distributed everywhere this leaflet:

"Dear compatriots,

"Today is the death anniversary of Lenin, who passed away on 21 January 1924. All workers in the world celebrate this seventh anniversary because Lenin headed the drive for the proletariat in the world to carry out their revolution to set up a society of equality, humanity and freedom. That is, to destroy capitalism and imperialism, and to liberate all the proletariat and the small nations.

"Therefore you should hold demonstrations and strikes in schools and factories to struggle for our interests."

Every year our party organized a so-called "week of commemoration of the three L.'s" (to commemorate Lenin, Leibnitz and Rosa Luxemburg). It organized in that week commemorative rallies and demonstrations. The annual week-long commemoration of Lenin was an occasion for it to stress propaganda for Leninism in our country.

Ever since the party was born, the revolutionary publications put out by the party and distributed widely in the country contained many articles about Lenin. Under the conditions of underground operation, in spite of many difficulties, the party newspapers tried to introduce to our people the life and work of Lenin and Leninism.

In January 1931, the central organ of the Indochinese Communist Party, "Proletarian Banner," put out a "special issue commemorating the three L.'s." On the first page, "An Appeal from the Indochinese Communist Party" marked Lenin's death anniversary: "The day of 21 January is the death anniversary of Lenin, who was the leader of the proletariat and oppressed nations throughout the world. As we celebrate his anniversary, we must make Leninism quickly arrive at victory." In addition to the party's appeal, the special issue of "Proletarian Banner" also had the following articles:

"Remembering Lenin, Leibnitz and Luxemburg"  
"Lenin, Leibnitz and Luxemburg against Imperialist War"  
"A Great Work of Lenin -- the Soviet Union"  
"Lenin and the Oppressed Nations."

The "Proletarian Banner" wrote: "Lenin headed the Bolshevik Party, led the Russian proletariat to overthrow the Czar and the Russian capitalists and landlords, and liberated all the working people and nationalities under Tzarist oppression. Lenin, the successor of Karl Marx and Engels, devoted all his life to fighting the crafty elements and reformists and helping the proletariat to firmly choose the revolutionary road.

"Not only was Lenin the man who directed the Russian proletariat's seizure of power and provided the Russian peasants with land, but he also founded the Communist International and led the proletarian revolution and liberation revolution for all the oppressed nations in the world."

In the article, "Lenin and the Oppressed Nations," the newspaper wrote: "Lenin was a former member of the Socialist Party and, because of the betrayal of the latter, founded the Communist International; he was the first who ever strongly criticized the Socialist Party and helped the proletariat to totally solve the national problem. He and the Communist International agreed that any real socialist party member (or communist) should advocate national harmony and union and world harmony, but that it should not be done by violent means as the imperialists would do. Harmony among nations should be based only through common interests, equal treatment and agreement. Therefore, the proletariat in imperialist countries must first of all sincerely recognize the right of the colonial nations to use force to sever their ties with the "mother country" and to regain their independence, and must sincerely support and aid the liberation revolution in the colonies. Only then can the proletariat show internationalist spirit and make the colonial people trust and rely on it. Only then can the oppressed nations recognize the need, for their own interests, to ally with the proletariat in the capitalist countries to fight the common enemy -- imperialism. Only then can the interests of proletarian revolution and national liberation be completely combined and there can be hope that the harmony and cooperation among the people of the world will one day be achieved. Because of Lenin's approach to the national matter, the proletariat throughout the world has found a very correct policy toward the colonial nations."

After recalling the success of Lenin's national policy in the Soviet Union and its effect upon the world, the article concluded: "As a result, not only the proletariat but all the oppressed people in the world have forever remembered the name of Lenin and allied with one another more and more closely."

On 10 January 1933, the Party Central Committee organ, "Proletarian Banner," again put out a special issue containing these articles:

"The Indochinese People and Three Comrades L.'s"  
"Lenin and the Bolshevik Party"  
"Lenin and the Communist International."

The Vietnamese communists, captured and jailed by the enemy, also celebrated Lenin's anniversary. The organ of the political convicts in Hoa Lo prison in Hanoi, "Prison Magazine," in its issue No 2 on 11 January 1932, had an article entitled, "What Do We Political Convicts Do on the Anniversary of Lenin, Leibnitz and Luxemburg?" In its issue No 3 on 18 January 1932, it had this article: "A Week to Commemorate Three Comrades L.'s."

In the years of lessened activities, the party's underground publications also had articles dealing with Lenin's anniversary.

In January 1934, the party's theoretical organ, "Communist Review," had a special issue to celebrate Lenin's anniversary. In an article entitled, "A Week to Commemorate Three L.'s," the review wrote:

"To commemorate the three men is to recall their stand 'against imperialist war' and to appeal to the workers and farmers to follow their example by protesting the imperialists' war.

"To commemorate the three men is to continue and to maintain their work and to appeal to the proletariat and oppressed nations throughout the world to support the Soviet Union, the fortress of world revolution.

"To commemorate the three is to make Marxism-Leninism be instilled more deeply in our party and group, to violently fight the crafty, leftist and rightist elements in the party, and to pull the masses into following the influence of the communist party.

"Fight the imperialist war and turn it into revolutionary civil war.

"Support the Soviet Union, the fortress of world revolution!"

"Down with the effects of Trotsky!"

"Unmask the clique of nationalists and reformists."

In January 1935, to commemorate Lenin, the "Proletarian Banner" published an article entitled, "Lenin and the Communist International." The article wrote:

"The Third International Congress held its first meeting at a time when the victory of the Russian proletariat was still warm and the defeat of the Spartacist Party in Germany was not clear yet. Up to the Fourth Congress, the opening speeches were all made by Lenin. He was the founder of the Third International!

"His work was not only engraved in the hearts of the Russian workers and farmers! Lenin was also the symbol of world revolution; his theories were also inscribed in the mind of the West European proletariats and the oppressed nations in Asia!

"... Leninism helped not only the Russian Bolshevik Party but also other communist parties to solve many difficulties and provided them with very correct experiences. Therefore, the study of Leninism in all periods is very necessary for the proletariat and oppressed nations in the world. Lenin's three major theories deal with:

- the alliance between workers and farmers,
- a solution for the national matter, and
- proletarian dictatorship.

"The capitalists also know that none of their adversaries except the communist parties will absorb so seriously the effects of Leninism. Therefore, Leninism is the effective weapon that the proletariat uses to destroy capitalism."

In spite of being violently terrorized, the local party organizations also celebrated Lenin's anniversary.

The propaganda organ of the Dong Nam Ky (eastern Cochin China) local party committee, "Liberation," in its issue No 6 on 8 February 1934, had an article entitled, "Commemorating Three Comrades -- Lenin, Leibnitz and Luxemburg."

The propaganda organ of Tay Nam Ky (western Cochin China) local party committee, "Labor and Farmer," in its issue No 29 on 30 December 1934, had an article entitled, "History and Commemoration of Three L.'s."

The propaganda organ of Vom Co Dong special party committee, "Poor Friends," in its issue No 4 on 20 February 1935, had an article entitled, "Anniversary of Three L.'s."

In the period of the Democratic Front, taking advantage of their legitimate capabilities, the party's open press wrote many articles about Lenin.

The official organ of the party Central Committee, "Dan Chung" ("The People"), in its issue No 45 on 17 January 1939, had an article entitled, "Commemorating Lenin, Leibnitz and Luxemburg."

Another legitimate party newspaper, "Doi Nay" ("Present Time"), in its issue No 8 on 19 January 1939, had an article entitled, "Commemorating Three Proletarian Fighters -- Lenin, Leibnitz and Luxemburg."

After the success of the August Revolution, the Vietnamese press, under the leadership of the party, has widely introduced Lenin and Leninism to our readers.

During the war of resistance against the French, the party's newspapers overcame tremendous difficulties to introduce to their readers the background, career and theories of Lenin.

"Nhan Dan" ("The People"), the central organ of our party, in its is-

sue No 42 on 24 January 1952, had an article by C.B., "Lenin's Great Career." In its issue No 91 on 21 January 1953, C.B. wrote an article entitled, "Commemorating Lenin." In its issue No 101 on 25 January 1954, the opinion of the newspaper was expressed in its editorial entitled, "Commemorating Lenin."

The periodical, "Internal Activity," in its issue No 13 in January 1949 had an article entitled, "Lenin and the Mobilization of the Masses."

The newspaper, "Su That" ("The Truth"), in its 106-107 issue in January 1949, had an article under the title, "Commemoration of Lenin -- Marxism-Leninism Is the Torch Guiding the Oppressed Nations." In its issue No 127 on 15 January 1950, an article was entitled, "21-1-1924--21-1-1950 -- 26th Anniversary of Lenin's Death: Let Us Follow Lenin."

The organ of the party's Central Bureau in the South, "Popular Review," in its issue No 33 on 15 January 1953, had an editorial entitled, "Anniversary of Lenin's Death." The same review, in its issue No 54 on 25 January 1954, expressed its opinion in an editorial: "We Are Grateful to Lenin."

After the North was completely liberated and moved to socialism, the socialist press in the North, under the party's leadership, has been making systematic and intensive propaganda for Lenin and Leninism.

In April 1956, on the occasion of the 86th birthday anniversary of Lenin, "Hoc Tap," the theoretical and political organ of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, in its issue No 5, introduced to our readers the background and career of Lenin and Leninism in an article entitled, "The Great Power of Leninism." The article wrote:

"Lenin was a great leader of the progressive mankind. Leninism has become the invincible combat banner of the communist and workers' parties in the world and a large force consisting of hundreds of millions of people. For the people of the Oriental countries, it is an endless source of vitality."

In April 1960, on the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, "Hoc Tap" had an editorial: "V. Lenin, the Great Teacher of World Revolution." It stressed the revolutionary and combat nature of Leninism and reviewed the process of our party creatively applying Leninism to Vietnam's actual conditions. The article wrote:

"The revolution in our country has been scoring successive victories not only because we have loyally taken the road that V. Lenin suggested for all the communists and nations in the world, but also because we have built in our country a new-styled party, the party of Leninism."

The article concluded:

"On the 90th anniversary of V. Lenin's birth, we must continue to learn and to creatively apply Leninism, to raise the theoretical capacity of all party members. Loyal to Marxism-Leninism, our party, headed by Ho Chi Minh,

V. Lenin's most brilliant student in Vietnam, will forever be taking the road of the great V. Lenin."

In April 1963, on the 93rd anniversary of Lenin's birth, "Hoc Tap" had many articles entitled, "Develop the Revolutionary Spirit of Leninism," "Lenin's Road in the Struggle for Power," etc.

In April 1965, "Hoc Tap" had an article entitled, "The Great Vitality of Leninism."

In the last 15 years, "Hoc Tap" published many articles introducing the works of Lenin that were available in our country to guide and to assist its readers in learning from such works. It also printed many articles dealing with the problems of Leninism related to Vietnam's reality.

In the past years the press in the North has published many articles written by many leaders of our party and state, first of all by President Ho, Le Duan, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong, and dealing with Lenin and our party creatively applying Leninism to our country. Their articles have made a final review of the experiences of Vietnam's revolution in the light of Leninism, and have made a contribution to further developing Leninism.

In the past 50 years, the Vietnamese press has not ceased writing about Lenin. In the early years, the reactionary press controlled by the imperialists and feudalists distorted the facts about and slandered Lenin. Through such distortions and slanders, for which the writers-servants of the imperialists were responsible, the common Vietnamese got to know Lenin. Through the colonialists' and feudalists' hatred for Lenin, the common Vietnamese found in Lenin a friend and someone who defended them. Their experiences taught them that the people who were praised by the imperialists and feudalists were certainly dangerous for the working people, and that the people who were subjected to the imperialists' and feudalists' slanderous attacks were doing good things for the working people. And then they felt they liked Lenin.

Thanks to President Ho, thanks to the party, the Vietnamese people have understood Lenin better; they trusted Lenin and have resolutely taken the road suggested by Lenin.

Lenin occupied an important position in the Vietnamese press in the last over 50 years. Under the leadership of the party, the Vietnamese press has made an important contribution to making Lenin enter the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese. The party's newspapers have had their share in the creative application of Lenin's theories to Vietnam's actual conditions.

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