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LÊ DUẨN – TRƯỜNG-CHINH

**THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
AND
THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE – HANOI

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PROGRESSIVE BOOKS
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HANOI - 1978

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We publish here an article written by Le Duan, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, and the speech of Truong-Chinh, member of the Political Bureau, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, at the official celebration meeting held in Hanoi on November 5, 1977 to mark the anniversary.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI

LE DUAN

**THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
AND THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S
STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM**

No other event in history has had so considerable, deep and far-reaching an influence on the process of social development, on the destiny of all nations, as the triumph of the Russian October Socialist Revolution. This great event ushered in a new era, an era in which mankind is passing from the regime of capitalist slavery, the last slave regime in human history, to the regime of socialist and communist collective mastery, from an era of necessity to one of liberty. Assessing the historic role of the October Revolution, Lenin said, "The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in."¹

The revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the October Revolution, has been progressing for sixty years now, drawing into its orbit more and more countries and peoples. Socialism has

(1) *Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p. 483.*

spread beyond the boundaries of one country to become a constantly expanding world system. The tidal wave of national liberation has led to the complete collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the birth of a series of independent national states. The workers' movement for democracy and socialism is developing vigorously in the capitalist countries in diversified forms. Imperialism is constantly growing weaker and is bogged down in an irreparable general crisis. And there has been a fundamental change in the world balance of forces which constantly consolidates and reinforces the strategic offensive position and strength of the three revolutionary currents in the world. Such is the general view of the main results of world development since the October Revolution.

A fundamental turning point for the whole of mankind, the October Revolution placed the working class in the central position it holds in our times, awakened the broad masses of toiling people and oppressed and exploited nations, who rose up to struggle for class liberation, national independence, freedom, human dignity and the right to be masters of their own destinies.

Among these nations was Viet Nam, then under imperialist and feudal domination.

The movement for national salvation in Viet Nam faced a deep crisis of political direction and the situation was so gloomy that there seemed to be no way out, when the echo of the October Revolution came like a thunder. Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary ideology of our times, was carried by the October wind to this burning land where it blended with the workers' movement and the traditional patriotic movement. It led to the founding of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and fanned up the great revolutionary flame of workers and peasants in 1930-1931, thereby creating a crucial turning point in the history of the Vietnamese nation's liberation struggle.

"To save one's country and liberate one's nation, there is no other way than that of proletarian revolution"¹ and "only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations, and working people throughout the world from slavery"². So said Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese to come to this truth. He told us later that he was so moved by Lenin's *Theses on the National and*

1. Ho Chi Minh, *Let us Follow Lenin's Path Forever*; Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p. 51.

2. Ho Chi Minh, *For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism*; Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp. 228, 229.

Colonial Question, as he sat alone in his room, that he cried aloud as if he were addressing a mass rally, "Dear martyr compatriots! This is what we need, this is our path to liberation!"¹ The road from patriotism to communism charted by Comrade Ho Chi Minh for a whole generation of Vietnamese revolutionary fighters was a natural and inevitable turning point in the process of revolution in Viet Nam.

To steer the national liberation struggle onto the road of proletarian revolution, the road to socialism, was a strategic orientation. The basis for defining this strategic orientation has been the correct appraisal and settlement of the relationship between the working class and the nation, between national liberation and emancipation of the working people, by the Communist Party of Viet Nam in the light of Marxism-Leninism and of the October Revolution. The Party has correctly evaluated and solved the question of the unity between the international historic mission of the working class and its national obligations.

Karl Marx's great contribution was that, proceeding from his economic analysis and

1. Ho Chi Minh, *For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism*; Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp. 228, 229.

his analysis of the capitalist mode of production in particular, he pointed to the laws governing the development of human society and thus revealed the international historic role of the working class. Closely linked to modern industry and representing the new mode of production, the working class is the most advanced social stratum of our times — the only class capable of leading all other classes, all strata of working people and all oppressed and exploited nations in the struggle for liberation and for the right to mastery of society.

It can be said that history has now entrusted the working class with the crucial problems concerning the destiny of the people, of nations and of humanity: national liberation and independence, progress, and prosperity of the nation; emancipation of the toiling masses and happiness of the people; struggle for democracy and for the defence of freedom and human dignity, and so on. This is because the working class, owing to its objective position and its having a political party armed with Marxism-Leninism — the only revolutionary and scientific doctrine — is capable of providing correct solutions to all problems in accordance with the laws of social evolution.

Whatever class aspires to power must by itself be representative of its nation. In our times, the representative of the nation is no other than the working class. As for the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and imperialist countries this class lost its national roots long ago and is actually opposed to its nation. In former colonies or dependencies such as Viet Nam, at most only a section preaches reformist nationalism, which in the end would inevitably lead the country into the trap of neo-colonialism.

The working class is internationalist by nature but exists in each separate country. Therefore, "its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle."¹ and "The fatherland, i.e., the given political cultural and social environment, is a most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat."²

The working class of one country shares common objectives with the working class of all other countries. At the same time it is born of the working people in its own country and is bound up with the destiny of its nation

1. *Karl Marx-Frederick Engels, Selected Work, Vol. II, Critique of the Gotha Programme, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1958, p. 27.*

2. *Lenin, Collected Work, Vol. 15, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p. 271.*

as a whole. The working class must first of all overthrow capitalism — which is dominating its nation, including the working class, right in its own country. Only then can it overthrow international capitalism, and march forward to fulfil its historic mission on a world scale.

That is why Karl Marx and Frederick Engels pointed out in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: “Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the world.”⁷ The dialectic of the class struggle at present is that the bourgeoisie, under the pretext of defending the national interests, imposes on the people bourgeois solutions characterized by class narrow-mindedness, which run counter to the national interests. On the other hand, the working class openly propagates its class programme to the country — a programme which fully reflects the genuine interests of the nation, and at the same time the internationalist interests of the working class.

(1) *Karl Marx-Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Vol. I, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p. 75.*

Thanks to its political line which correctly combines class interests with national interests, the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the party of the Vietnamese working class, has been absolutely recognized as the militant vanguard and the leader of the entire Vietnamese nation. Since it was founded, the Party has rallied the great majority of the people, first of all the peasants, under its banner — the banner of national independence for the advance to socialism.

The Party has always upheld this banner through half a century of struggle. At all times, when the whole country was witnessing the people's national-democratic revolution, when the twin strategic tasks — the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution — were being pursued at the same time, or at present when the homeland is completely liberated, the Communist Party of Viet Nam has firmly held to and carried aloft the banner of national independence and socialism.

The combination of national independence and socialism is the most essential feature of the strategic line of the Communist Party of Viet Nam. This is the strength and the source of victory of the Vietnamese revolution. With this line, our Party has mobilized and combined the forces of socialism and those of

patriotism — the latter being a long national tradition. It has mobilized and rallied in the firmest and broadest manner all revolutionary forces and all social strata, all patriotic Vietnamese, in short, all the forces of the entire nation, for the struggle. With this line, our Party has succeeded in combining the fundamental interests of the nation. i.e., national independence and socialism, with the burning objectives of our times, and as a result, the Vietnamese revolution has enjoyed the wholehearted sympathy, support and assistance of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace throughout the world.

The line of combining and upholding the banner of national independence and socialism has, for the above-mentioned reason, given the Vietnamese revolution a powerful striking force. This is the basis for devising energetic, thorough-going but supple and flexible revolutionary methods, as well as diversified forms of combining political and armed struggles, revolutionary war and mass uprisings, struggle in the three strategic zones — the urban areas, the rural plains and the mountain regions — underground and open struggle, illegal struggle and legal and semi-legal struggle, mass struggle and par-

liamentary activities, military struggle and diplomatic struggle.

Thanks to the great aggregate strength at home and abroad created by the correct revolutionary line and methods, Viet Nam — though big neither in territory nor in population — has defeated two imperialist powers — France and the United States — starting the process of collapse of the colonial system and inevitable process of bankruptcy for neo-colonialism.

Following the complete and thorough victory of the war of resistance against US aggression, the Vietnamese revolution continues to advance on the road of socialism, but on a national scale now. Now that their beloved homeland has been reunified and cleared of all aggressors, the Vietnamese people are more than ever aware that national independence and socialism are inseparable. Now, love of country means love of socialism, and means devoting all of one's ardour, strength, intelligence and talent, to the construction of one socialist Vietnamese homeland.

Independence and unity are prerequisites for us to take the whole country to socialism. Conversely, socialism is a firm guarantee of independence and unity. In our times, inde-

pendence and unity cannot be thought of separately from socialism, nor can we speak of independence and unity unless they are based on socialism. Only by advancing to socialism, and only with socialism, can we thoroughly and definitively solve the question of national independence and unity — a life and death question for the Vietnamese nation for thousands of years.

There can be true national independence only when the people have the right to mastery of society. Socialism is sure to completely solve the question of national independence because it is the most fully and highly democratic system of the people. In the present era, there is, and there can be, no true and universal democracy for all the working people other than socialist democracy. This is because only socialism can provide the most practical basis and the most adequate, all-round and thorough-going democracy. It can do this by ending exploitation of man by man, and by establishing and constantly improving the working people's collective mastery in all aspects of social life.

In this context, democracy does not simply mean the rights of every individual citizen, or rights promulgated from above. Rather that the people themselves, under the

leadership of the Party, exercise their mastery through a social structure, a system of organizational relationships in all fields — political, economic and cultural. Proletarian dictatorship is essentially the right to collective mastery of the working people with the worker-peasant alliance as its core, under the leadership of the working class Party and through the State, a State set up and controlled by the people themselves. That is the regime of socialist collective mastery, a democracy “a million times more democratic than any other democratic system whatever”, a higher stage of development of democracy in line with Lenin's prophecy that “the fullest democracy is *qualitatively different* from any deficient democracy”, it is “the ‘primitive’ democracy based on a different and much higher-level foundation”² compared with the spontaneous and naive democracy of primitive communism. This regime is also a “genuine community” guaranteeing each individual's liberty and real right to mastery. As Karl Marx and Frederick Engels pointed out, “Only in a community can an individual have the means to develop his or her gifts

(1) and (2) *Lenin, Collected Works, Vol, 33, Vietnamese edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 323.*

allsidedly ; only in a community can there be individual liberty.”¹

The foundation of the system of socialist collective mastery is a rational economic structure which meets the material and cultural requirements of the people more adequately day by day on the basis of constantly developing production with higher and higher technical standards. Without this economic structure, there can be no substantial democracy, nor can there be any substantial collective mastery.

In Viet Nam, this economic structure is the industrial-agricultural structure for large-scale socialist production advocated by the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and now in the making with the combined efforts of the entire people. Socialist collective mastery is the system of mastery by the working people, whose representative and leader is the working class. Socialist collective mastery can only be exercised from the standpoint of the working class. In the past, the Vietnamese working class's standpoint was to struggle for national liberation. Today it is to achieve the working

(1) *Karl Marx-Frederick Engels, Feuerbach, Opposition Between Dialectical Materialism and Idealism, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p. 134.*

people's collective mastery, successfully build socialism and bring prosperity to the homeland and happiness to the entire people. Under the leadership of the working class, the system of collective mastery takes the worker-peasant alliance and the alliance between the workers and peasants and the socialist intelligentsia as its core. The Vietnamese peasantry, ardently patriotic by nature, has faithfully followed the working class for several decades into being. By following the working class the peasantry has obtained national independence and land. Today, under the leadership of, and together with the working class, the peasants have become the collective masters of the whole country and of all aspects of social life.

Only by establishing the system of collective mastery by the workers and the peasants (and of an intelligentsia with close ties to the workers and peasants) can we develop our economy from small production to large-scale socialist production with a modern industrial-agricultural structure. Conversely, only with a modern industrial-agricultural structure geared to large-scale production can we create the material basis for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and the system of socialist collective mastery.

The modern industrial-agricultural structure is an unified nation-wide framework which embraces the central economy and the local economies. The guideline of building the central economy while developing the local economies proceeds from objective, necessary demands of the process of advancing directly from small production to large-scale socialist production. It ensures the centralised and unified character of the socialist economy while bringing into full play the spirit of initiative and creativeness of all localities and grassroots establishments. This is the best way to tap all our natural resources and our sources of social labour, and redistribute the social labour forces in a most judicious and rational manner on a nation-wide scale and in each locality.

This is the best way to combine labour with objects of labour, to develop more trades and crafts, to quickly increase social labour productivity and meet the people's ever increasing material and cultural needs, from the general demand for consumer goods in the whole country to the diversified demands of the local populations, in accordance with the potential of our natural resources and the characteristics and practices of each region. To build the central economy while develop-

ing the local economies is an essential measure in implementing and promoting the working people's right to socialist collective mastery on a nation-wide scale, in each locality and each grassroots establishment.

Proceeding from the fact that this is a former colonial and semi-feudal country now advancing directly to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development, Viet Nam must create a socialist society from top to bottom. We must create both new productive forces and new relations of production. We must create new economic bases and a new superstructure, while building a new material, intellectual and cultural life. For these reasons, the process of socialist revolution in Viet Nam is a process of continuous, all-embracing, deep and thorough-going revolutionary change. It is a process of closely combining transformation with construction, and construction with transformation, with construction as the main aspect. It is a process of firmly grasping proletarian dictatorship, bringing into full play the working people's right to collective mastery, and carrying out the triple revolution: revolution in the relations of production, scientific and technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution as the

kingpin. With these three revolutions we will step by step establish the system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, a new culture and new, socialist people. The three revolutions can neither be dissociated from one another nor be carried out separately. They must be waged simultaneously and in close association with each other. Likewise, the system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the new socialist people, are closely linked and influence each other. In this relationship, each aspect is both a condition and a result of all other aspects.

A judicious, dialectic use of all these relationships and mutual effects among the three revolutions, the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new people, will enable us to create great aggregate strength to hasten the birth of the new society as a whole and of each of its component parts. It will allow us to accelerate the direct advance from small production to socialism without going through the whole tortuous historic stage of capitalism. It can be said that advancing with aggregate strength is an original feature of the Vietnamese revolution in the long struggle for national independence as well as in the socialist revolution

and construction. Only socialism can realize the working people's age-old desire for final release from oppression and exploitation, cold, hunger and other miseries; for a civilized and happy life in abundance and free from fears for the future. Only socialism can give our country a modern economy, advanced culture and science, and strong national defence to safeguard our independence and freedom and constantly advance to prosperity. Only socialism and communism can bring the people genuine freedom, enable them to exercise to the highest and fullest degree their right to mastery, mastery of society, mastery of nature, and mastery of themselves.

Thus, national independence is closely associated with the people's happiness and their right to mastery of society. National independence as well as the people's happiness and mastery of society can only be achieved on the basis of socialism. Socialism is the sole solution to all problems arising in the development of society and of the country. Only socialism can help Viet Nam to advance and join the ranks of the vanguard nations of our times. The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam has worked out the political line and concrete objectives aimed at fulfilling these

very tasks. This line and these objectives correctly express the people's aspirations, interests and will. The entire Vietnamese people are striving to implement this line and realise these objectives. They are sure to succeed. In the immediate future, we will strive to fulfil the second five-year State plan and, within a few decades, to basically complete the building of the material and technical basis of socialism in our country.

*
* *

Sixty years are but a moment in the history of a social system. However, even the most optimistic predictions and the boldest dreams of 60 years ago have been proven modest when compared with what socialism has since wrought in the Soviet Union and around the world. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, the Soviet people have recorded marvellous achievements in the land of the October Revolution and the great Lenin. Once a backward land, the Soviet Union has become a powerful socialist country. Its economy, culture, science and technology are among the most advanced in the world. The life of its people is truly happy, and its social relations and its people are of the finest.

The new Constitution of the USSR formally acknowledges all the great achievements of the Soviet Union upon the completion of the construction of developed socialism, and marks a new period of Soviet society—that in which the Soviet Union advances toward communism. With the October Revolution, with the resounding exploits recorded in the Second World War in the victorious fight against fascism, and with their wonderful deeds in creative labour, the Soviet people have been effectively aiding revolution elsewhere, thus making a very important contribution to the peoples' struggle for peace. They have been rendering enormous services to the progress of all mankind.

Over the past 30 years, like the Soviet Union, all other socialist countries have made rapid progress in the building of a new society. Many countries have already built the basis of socialism and are now entering the period of building a developed socialist society. The socialist relations of production, which are predominant in the national economy, have constantly been improved and their superiority established even further. Production maintains a fast, steady rate of growth. The material and technical basis of

the new system has been constantly strengthened. Culture and science are scaling new heights. The national defence forces have become powerful and the people's material and cultural life has been improved with every passing day.

Communist civilization is taking shape ever more clearly in one-third of the world and constantly illuminates all corners of our planet. In this part of the world, the regime of exploitation of man by man, and racial discrimination and oppression have become things of the past. So have economic crises, unemployment, suffering caused by famine and cold, and obscurantism. An entirely new type of relationship among human beings has been established in social life — a relationship characterised by democracy, equality, co-operation, mutual assistance on the basis of comradeship, friendship and fraternity. As it progresses, society has created increasingly favourable and suitable conditions for free and comprehensive development of personality, and for constantly increasing the people's happiness, dignity and right to mastery of society.

World history has brought into increasingly bolder relief the contrast between the system of socialist countries which have constantly developed and grown in strength,

and the system of imperialism which is fraught with antagonistic contradictions, oppression, exploitation and iniquities, and which is an old world doomed to total collapse.

Together with all revolutionary forces now struggling for socialism, the socialist system is bringing into full play its effect as the decisive factor in the development of human society. The historic events of our times have continuously shed light on a great truth: national independence, democracy and socialism are closely connected with each other. This truth, emerging from the October Revolution, has been firmly substantiated in the great period of transition from capitalism to socialism on the world scale.

Socialist and communist construction in the system of socialist countries, the struggle for national independence, and the struggle of the working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries — all these three big currents are merging into a vigorous revolutionary high tide of our times. Merging these three currents into aggregate strength to attack imperialism from all sides and by all ways and means, drive it back step by step, overthrow it bit by bit, and even-

tually inflict total defeat on it so as to achieve the lofty objectives of our times, namely peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, is the basis of the strategy which has been applied with momentous successes since the end of the Second World War. This is a vivid expression of Marxism-Leninism in our times, a revolutionary theory with a highly combative, scientific and creative character, which is creating great material forces that are transforming the whole world.

Being an integral part of the world revolution, the Vietnamese revolution has always enjoyed the great and valuable support and assistance of the world revolution. It has constantly advanced, winning victory after victory in the struggle for national independence and socialism. Right from its birth, and throughout half a century of struggle ending in complete victory, and with its rich experiences, the Communist Party of Viet Nam can be proud that it has been a party of proletarian internationalism. Loyal to this tradition, the Communist Party of Viet Nam will always, as in the past, act upon Lenin's brilliant thoughts on internationalism: we will do all we can for the revolution in our

own country while supporting the revolutionary struggle in all other countries in every way possible.

Combining and holding aloft the banner of national independence and socialism, the Communist Party of Viet Nam pledges to fulfil both its national duties and international obligations to stand side by side with all fraternal parties, and with all revolutionary and progressive forces to successfully carry out the great, world-wide cause which began with the Great October Revolution.

TRUONG - CHINH
SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
GREAT OCTOBER
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Venerated President Ton Duc Thang,
Esteemed guests,
Dear comrades and friends,

Today, together with the fraternal Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind, we solemnly celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, the greatest revolution, which has blazed the trail for the working class, labouring people and the oppressed nations the world over to follow to liberate themselves and build a free and happy life.

On these great festive days, the Vietnamese people join the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the labouring people of the whole world, in turning their thoughts with deep confidence and profound gratitude toward the Soviet Union, the land of Great Lenin and the October Revolution.

The solemn occasion comes at a time when our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, have achieved national independence and reunification, and are actively implementing the Resolution of

the Fourth Congress of our Party to build a peaceful, independent, reunified and socialist Viet Nam.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the National Assembly and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people, we convey to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet, the Government and the entire people of the Soviet Union, our warmest greetings, and sincerely wish the Soviet people still greater victories in building the material and technical basis of communism.

Our warm greetings to comrade B.N. Shaplin, alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Viet Nam.

Our warm greetings to the Delegation of the Soviet Government led by S.D. Kichnatze, First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia, and our warm greetings to the Delegation of the Association of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with foreign countries and the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society led by Lieutenant

General G.S. Titov, President of the Central Committee of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society, cosmonaut, Soviet Hero and Vietnamese Labour Hero,

Our warm greetings to the Soviet comrades, and experts working in Viet Nam.

Who have come to take part in this solemn celebration meeting with us.

I

Dear comrades and friends,

Russia was a vast country with a large population and abundant natural wealth. However, under an autocratic monarchy it was among the least developed countries in Europe, and the labouring people and oppressed nations in Russia led a dismal, miserable life. By the end of the nineteenth century, capitalism had begun to develop in Russia, the Russian working class grew rapidly, and was exploited ruthlessly.

Russia was torn by the following fundamental contradictions: between the proletariat and the capitalist class, between peasants and landlords, between the nations in the country and the Czarist State, between the imperialists themselves...

Marxism was propagated in Russia and the first Marxist groups came into being. V.I. Lenin was active in the League for the liberation of the working class, one of these groups and became a Marxist genius, the most experienced leader of the Russian revolutionary movement and later on of the international communist movement.

The development of the Russian revolutionary movement and the struggle of the revolutionary Marxists in the League led to the establishment of the Party of the Russian proletariat, the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. In the process of struggle against all petty bourgeois, opportunist and reformist ideas widespread among the Russian proletariat, V.I. Lenin actively worked out the Marxist revolutionary line of an independent proletarian party.

In 1903, at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, the struggle between the majority, led by Lenin, and the minority led by Martov, led to a split. The Russian Bolshevik Party (now the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) came into being on the basis of Lenin's correct political and organizational line adopted by the majority at the Congress.

In December 1905, the first armed insurrection broke out in Moscow and spread

throughout the country. Despite its failure it was very highly appreciated by Lenin: "Were it not for the 1905 'general rehearsal', the 1917 Revolution might not have been."

In 1914, an imperialist war broke out. Russia fought on the Allied side against German imperialism. The Russian Bolshevik Party led by Lenin made a difference between just and unjust wars, and exposed the opportunists and the chauvinist socialists who supported the unjust war of the imperialists in their countries. Contrary to the chauvinist socialists who defended their capitalist fatherland, V.I. Lenin's motto was: "Turn the imperialist war into "revolutionary civil war".

In February 1917, many political strikes of the proletariat broke out in Petrograd under such slogans as "Bread!", "Down with war!", "Down with autocracy!" These led to a victorious insurrection which put an end to the Czarist regime, and set up the soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. However, the capitalists and the reactionaries, who held the majority in the parliament, rigged up a provisional government against the revolution. There were consequently two parallel administrations in Russia: capitalist and Soviet.

In April 1917, V.I. Lenin set out the famous April Theses, blazing the way to follow from capitalist bourgeois revolution to socialist revolution in Russia. In July 1917, the Sixth Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party decided to use armed struggle to conquer power, implementing the motto: "All power to the Soviets!"

The Russian Bolshevik Party's rallying the broad masses of the people to materialize this motto bore the work of genius of V.I. Lenin and the Russian communists managed to combine from great revolutionary movements in Russia at that time into an overall force leading the Russian socialist revolution to glorious victory: the socialist movement of the proletariat against capitalism; the democratic movement of the peasantry against landlordism, for land to the tillers; the liberation movement of the nations oppressed by Russian imperialism; and the movement against the imperialist war for peace.

On the night of November 6, 1917 (the night of October 24, 1917 according to the old Russian calendar) the cruiser "Dawn" opened fire on the Winter Palace in Petrograd. Then Revolutionary Workers' and soldiers overran it and arrested the ministers of the provisional Kerensky government.

On November 7, 1917 (October 25, 1917 in the old Russian calendar), the Second Congress of Soviets vested the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers with State power, elected the Soviet Government of all Russia, and threw themselves into building Soviet power throughout the country.

The Russian October Socialist Revolution triumphed.

The Soviet State was established.

Like a flash of lightning rending the storm cloud darkening the lives of nations, the October Revolution cleared a new and most splendid horizon to the working class, labouring people and oppressed nations, not only in Russia but in all countries.

Dear comrades and friends,

Over the past 60 years since the October Revolution the world has undergone deep changes. World capitalism had entered an irretrievable and grave crisis, and socialism was developing unceasingly. The Soviet Union developed by leaps and bounds, acquired great economic and military potential, saved mankind from fascism in the Second World War, scored wonderful achievements in productive labour, science, technology, culture and in the social field...

Today, the Soviet Union turns out in less than one month a social product equivalent

to that of the whole of its 1936 production. Soviet industrial output has increased 225 times as compared with 1917, and now accounts for one fifth of the world industrial output. The Soviet Union has outstripped the United States and leads the world in many production processes, in such main fields as steel, petroleum, coal and cement.

Over the past 60 years, Soviet agricultural output has increased 4.4-fold. The material and technical basis of agriculture has developed unceasingly.

In the last decade, the rate of development of Soviet economic might has been double the rate during the whole of the preceding fifty years.

With its growing contingent of scientific and technical cadres (now totalling 1.3 million, or one fourth of all such cadres in the world), the Soviet Union has scaled many peaks in science and technology. It was the first country to launch an artificial satellite to orbit the earth and the first to blaze the way to space for mankind.

The Soviet people's living standards have been constantly improved. In comparison with 1913, the per capita real income of workers has gone up 10 times and that of peasants 14 times, and 14.9 million square

metres of housing were built in 1936 as against over 110 million in 1977.

The Soviet Union has 862,000 doctors, one-third of all doctors in the world, and has long provided free medical treatment. This material and moral progress has narrowed the gap between moral life in town and in the countryside, between manual and brain workers.

The Soviet Union has taken big steps in a relatively short period, exactly as comrade L.I. Breznev said at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Six decades is less than man's average lifespan. But in that period our country has travelled a distance that it would otherwise have taken centuries to cover".

On last October 7, the Supreme Soviet adopted a new Constitution, assessed the achievements made in building a developed socialist society; and worked out the orientation toward a classless communist society. In the new Constitution, the Soviet State ensures its citizens the broadest democratic rights. The highest freedom of the Soviet people is to master society, to master their country; the many political, economic, social and individual rights, include the right to work, to select one's trade, to housing, to rest, to health, and to education.

Elation at the new Constitution, has brought with it active emulation among the Soviet people in accomplishing new achievements and greeting the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, firmly advancing towards communism, the noble dream of progressive mankind.

After the great victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, a series of people's democracies came into being, including the people's democracies in Eastern Europe, China, Korea and Viet Nam.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the establishment of the Chinese people's Republic with nearly 800 million people, tipped the balance of forces in the world in favour of revolution.

The victory of the Cuban revolution planted the banner of socialism in the western hemisphere.

Socialism has gone beyond the boundaries of one country and become a world system in over one fourth of the earth, where one-third of mankind lives. The superiority of the socialist regime has been brought into play in the socialist countries, which have rapidly increased their political, economic, military, scientific and technical strength... In 1975, the

industrial output of the socialist countries accounted for 41.8 per cent of the world output. The military strength of the socialist countries is stronger than ever, and their people's living standards are being constantly raised.

The national liberation movement has developed both in scope and intensity, vigorously attacking imperialism in the rear. About one hundred former colonies have conquered independence in various degrees and are struggling to consolidate their political independence, build democracy and achieve economic independence. The logical development from national independence and people's democracy to socialism has become the inevitable trend of the national liberation movement in present world conditions.

The struggle of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries is becoming increasingly unified and highly organized, rich in content and flexible in form. Many successive strikes involving millions of people and lasting days on end are combined with street demonstrations against unemployment, for jobs, against inflation and the economic policies of the State monopoly capitalists.

In face of the repeated attacks from many sides of world revolution, and the growing

interval contradictions within the capitalist system, imperialism is deep in its general crisis. The US defeat in its war of aggression against Viet Nam marks a turning point and an irreversible downward trend for the imperialist ringleader, highlighting the weakness of the whole imperialist system.

The panorama of the world today shows that the three above-mentioned revolutionary currents make up a combined offensive force, which is gradually repelling imperialism and overthrowing it and colonialism, old and new, part by part, despite the reactionary forces' and many frantic and perfidious schemes to end attempts at repressing the revolutionary movement and deceiving the people.

Dear comrades and friends,

The Russian October Revolution is the greatest and most thorough revolution in the history of mankind. It abolished the capitalist and feudal exploiting classes, the exploitation of man by man, turned the proletariat — the most heavily oppressed and exploited class in society — into its leading class, and the master of society, emancipated the labouring people, turning them from slaves into masters of their destinies, smashed the yoke of national oppression, liberated the colonies from the Czarist regime, proclaimed

equality and the right to self-determination for all nations great and small; emancipated women and established their equality with men in all fields; freed man's thinking from all reactionary and retrograde prejudices inherited from thousands of years of private ownership and exploitation of man by man.

The victory of the October Revolution ushered in the Socialist State the first proletarian dictatorship State in the history of mankind, and turned socialism from a beautiful dream into a social reality. It marked the beginning of the process of socialist and communist transformation of the world.

The victory of the October Revolution vindicated the predictions of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the collapse of capitalism. It shattered the views of the think-tanks of the bourgeoisie on the permanence of capitalism, and at the same time gave the lie to the opportunists' and reformists' fable of capitalism evolving into socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution confirmed Lenin's assertion that imperialism is the "highest stage of capitalism", the "eve of the socialist revolution of the proletariat", and that imperialism is "moribund capitalism". The victory of the October Revolution

shattered the allegation of Kautsky and his ilk in the Second International that imperialism developed into "super imperialism"...

The October Revolution broke a link of the imperialist chain. Analysing the law of unequal development of imperialism, Lenin pointed out that in the era of imperialism revolution can succeed in a country where capitalism is not well developed. Through events in Russia the October Revolution has provided a refutation of the view that proletarian revolution can only begin in the industrially developed countries.

The October Revolution confirmed beyond doubt Lenin's theory on the final victory of proletarian revolution in some countries, even in a capitalist country in the net of world capitalism, and this replaced the former argument of Marxists that socialism can only succeed in capitalist countries.

The October Revolution created an important turning-point in the history of mankind in the march from the old world to the new, from the capitalist world to socialism. Like a spring swallow the October Revolution heralded the victory of socialism and the passing away of capitalism. The October Revolution ushered in a new era, one of transition from capitalism to socialism on the

world scale. Since the October Revolution, more and more countries have embarked on the road of socialism, and eventually all the countries in the world will become socialist and communist. This is an objective necessity of the history of mankind in our era.

The October Revolution overthrew imperialism's very "metropolis", and at the same time attacked it in the rear — the colonies of the Czar — ushering in a period of seething uprising by oppressed nations aiming at conquering independence and freedom, and shaking the vast rear of world imperialism.

The victory of the October Revolution in a big country stretching from Europe to Asia provided a vigorous stimulus to the revolutionary movement both in the West and in the East.

The October Revolution has extremely great historic and international significance. All the revolutions in this era have been deeply influenced by the October Revolution.

II

Since the triumph of the October Revolution, what has proved important for human

society is that "the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown"¹.

The peoples of Viet Nam and the fraternal socialist countries have been following the path of the October Revolution and have thus won victory after victory, conquering power, maintaining revolutionary power and building a new life.

What is the *content and substance of the path of the October Revolution*? In short, it is the path of thorough-going revolution followed by the working class and the working people leading to the abolition of the regime of exploitation of man by man, of oppression of one nation by another, poverty and backwardness, to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a communist society in two stages: socialism and classless communism.

In the October Revolution are to be found the basic features of the Socialist Revolution of the proletariat:

First of all, the October Revolution is a *revolution achieved through violence*. In the October Revolution, the workers and working people rose up, used violence to overthrow the exploiting classes, *smashed the capitalist*

(1) Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 53, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966; p. 57.

State machinery, and won power for the workers and peasants; they set up the Soviet State, carried out socialist transformation and socialist construction.

The working class and the bourgeoisie have been locked in struggle right from their birth. To achieve its goal of liberation, the working class has gone through many stages of revolutionary struggle, used many different forms and methods, secret and public, now smouldering now bursting out, political and military; and finally carried out socialist revolution, overthrowing capitalist society and building socialism.

"The basic question of every revolution is that of power"¹. After the February 1917 Revolution, this problem was set as an immediate goal of decisive significance for the Russian working class. But how was the working class to conquer power?

After the February 1917 Revolution (bourgeois democratic revolution), when two powers co-existed in Russia, V.I. Lenin contemplated conquering power in the whole country for the workers and peasants by peaceful means and strove to materialise this

(1) Lenin: Op. cit. Vol 24, *Progress Publishers*, Moscow, 1964; p. 445.

"extremely rare and extremely valuable" possibility¹. However, the counter-revolutionaries raised frantic opposition; and the Provisional Government ruthlessly repressed the struggle of the masses. In the end, the working class had to use revolutionary violence to crush counter-revolutionary violence and conquer all power for the Soviets.

The practical experience of the October Revolution shows that when class antagonism has developed to its furthest extent, when the enemy of the working class does not willingly withdraw from the political arena but "puts his bayonet on the agenda"², then the working class, in alliance with the oppressed and exploited strata of the people, must use revolutionary violence to conquer power, set up its State, maintain power, repress the counter-revolutionaries and advance revolution. That is a necessity of the highest order.

The use of revolutionary violence to conquer power and defend revolutionary power is due not to a desire for violence on the part of the communists and the working class, but

(1) Lenin: Op. cit. Vol. 25, *Progress Publishers*, Moscow, 1964; p. 307.

(2) Lenin: Op. cit. Vol. 9, *Truth Publishing House*, Hanoi, 1963; p. 156.

to the reactionary and stubborn nature of the exploiting classes.

We resolutely oppose counter-revolutionary violence, but favour revolutionary violence being used to defend the people's vital interests. When a new society comes into being, revolutionary violence usually plays the important role of midwife. Although Lenin and the *Russian Bolshevik Party* had to use revolutionary violence, they led the Russian working class and working people in waging the greatest but the least bloody revolution in history.

There are two possible ways to conquer power for the people: a non-peaceful possibility and a peaceful one. Using the peaceful way when the opportunity arises involves the fundamental problem of having *to have substantial strength*; meanwhile full preparations to cope with the non-peaceful way must be made, and the "good will" and "common sense" of the exploiting classes must not be trusted.

After conquering power in the October Revolution, V.I. Lenin and the *Russian Bolshevik Party* set up *proletarian dictatorship* in Russia in the form of the Soviet State. In Russia, the main tasks of *proletarian dictatorship* after the victory of the socialist revolution were:

— To repress the resistance of the capitalists and landlords overthrown by the revolution, and smash their schemes and activity against the Socialist State aimed at restoring the power of the capitalists.

— To build socialism with the forces of the entire working people under the leadership of the working class, and to prepare all conditions for the abolition of classes.

— To arm the revolution, and to organize the revolutionary army to shatter the bellicose and aggressive acts of the imperialists.

— To give support and assistance in all fields to the revolutionary struggle of the working class, working people and oppressed peoples the world over against imperialism and its stooges.

Proletarian dictatorship provides the most resolute leadership of the working class for the entire cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction; the worker-peasant alliance is the firm basis and at the same time the "highest principle" of proletarian dictatorship.

In *the political field*, what does the proletarian dictatorship State do? It uses revolutionary violence to repress counter-revolutionaries, and at the same time ensures the working people's right to collective mastery

under the leadership of the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance; it ensures the working people's broad democratic freedoms; and it unceasingly strengthens and consolidates national defence, maintains political security and social order, safeguards all the people's labour achievements, and defends the socialist Homeland.

In *the economic field*, what does the proletarian dictatorship State do? It nationalizes the main means of production grabbed by the exploiting classes, "expropriates the expropriators", transforms the exploiters in conformity with socialism, establishes socialist relations of production, and builds socialism in order to meet the working people's material and cultural needs to the utmost, making use of advanced science and technology.

In *the cultural field*, what does the proletarian dictatorship State do? It abolishes the exploiting classes' reactionary and backward culture, and eradicates the ignorance and lack of culture left by the old regime; it fosters socialist culture, makes Marxism-Leninism the ideology of the entire people, and makes the working people the real masters of new culture, so that they may enjoy the achievements of new culture and are the source of all cultural and moral values.

In all the above-mentioned spheres, there is both an element of *struggle* and an element of *creation*: there is a *struggle* to create, and the struggle is combined with the *creation*; there is a *struggle* against a few people — exploiting classes and the vestiges of the old society condemned by history; the *creation* is for the majority of the people — the labouring people and the active elements in full growth. The element of *creation* is the fundamental and protracted one.

After the triumph of the revolution, the newly overthrown exploiting classes and the exploiting elements have yet to be remoulded into labouring people; they have not given up their schemes and activity aimed at restoring their former domination. How can one advance to socialism without enforcing proletarian dictatorship in a society in which a fierce struggle to solve once and for all the question of "who will win" between socialism and capitalism is still taking place; in a society where the productive forces are not yet fully developed, labour productivity is not yet high, social wealth is not yet abundant; where not everybody is politically conscious and professionally able to do his best for society; where the ways of thinking and style of work of the old society are still quite common among the people; and where

the State has to apply the principle of distribution according to labour.

Once the working class has conquered power, the State must be a proletarian dictatorship State. The line, directives and policy of this State must conform to the goal, ideal, stand, and viewpoint of the working class. The proletarian dictatorship State *can have this or other forms*. Soviet Republic, People's Republic, Democratic Republic... are different names for what *in essence are one: proletarian dictatorship*. There cannot be confusion between the essence and the form of this State power.

The proletarian dictatorship State is the most democratic one. Its democracy applies to the majority of the people — the working people — and its dictatorship to a few people — counter-revolutionaries, hangers-on and exploiters. The proletarian dictatorship State is the last State to appear in human history. It leads to the classless communist society, a society which does not need a State: the State will disappear by itself when the communist regime in the country is mature and the concrete situation in the world permits.

The October Revolution not only overthrew the old society but also *built a new society, the socialist society*, in conformity

with the objective law of development of history and the legitimate dream of progressive mankind.

The abolition of the old social order is usually easier than the creation of a new social order. The October Revolution is the first victorious socialist revolution in a backward country with small-scale agriculture heavily destroyed by civil war and foreign aggression, encircled on all sides by world capitalism. However, firmly grasping Marxist principles, braving all hardships and difficulties, the Party of Lenin has led the people in making steady advances in socialist transformation and socialist construction. Below are some concrete aspects:

— *Establishment of the right to socialist ownership in two forms — ownership by the entire people and collective ownership — and building socialist relations of production: nationalization of the main means of production appropriated by the bourgeoisie, socialist transformation of capitalist industry and trade through different measures, and agricultural cooperativization; exercise of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" means that able-bodied people must work for their*

living — more work more pay, less work less pay and no work no pay.

— *Socialist industrialization of the national economy*: priority is given to developing heavy industry, electrifying the whole country, creating material conditions for gradual mechanization, electrification and automation in industry, agriculture, communications and transport., application of the latest achievements in science and technology in order to effect large-scale mechanized production; constant and rapid increase of the productive forces of society.

— *Development of the economy according to plans*: putting an end to anarchic production and its disastrous consequences (crisis, unemployment...); a planned national economy; ensuring balanced and harmonious economic development; leading and managing the economy in a planned way.

— *Organization of socialist emulation*: building up a new type of organization of labour — socialist associative labour, disciplined labour of a high technical level and productivity, involving collective socialist emulation ardour. To encourage the emulation movement, the State combines material incentives with political education and moral motivation.

— *Cultural revolution*: wiping out illiteracy, increasing the general level of education step by step; actively training cadres and skilled workers; vigorously developing culture, education, science and technology; fostering socialist ethics; moulding the new, socialist man.

— *Gradually building socialism and advancing to communism*. Building socialism is a process of development which proceeds from a low to a high level. First, the Soviet Union built the material and technical basis of socialism, and from there continued until today when it has successfully built developed socialism and has begun the transition to communism¹.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union constantly educates the Soviet people in *socialist patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism*. This is a question

(1) The advance to communism in a socialist country is a process in which the following important changes have to be made:

— Differences between the system of ownership by the entire people and the system of collective ownership must be reduced, and collective ownership must gradually be transformed into ownership by the entire people.

— Production has to be developed, labour productivity increased on the basis of a modern science and technology, and communist abundance created.

pertaining to the nature of socialism. When the first socialist State was established, V.I. Lenin said: "The Bolshevik working class of Russia has always been internationalist in action,... Let us show that the Russian worker is capable of working much harder, of fighting and dying much more self-sacrificingly, when the world workers' revolution is at stake, as well as the Russian Revolution."¹

As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union has been increasing its support and cooperation vis-à-vis the fraternal socialist countries so that they may help each other successfully build socialism and communism and safeguard and develop the socialist system; actively supports the movement for national

...
— The principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" must give way to the principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

— Differences between town and countryside must be eliminated.

— The difference between manual and brain labour must be erased.

— The all-round development of people with communist morality must be fostered.

The content of the above does not figure in this speech:

(1) Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965; pp. 102-103.

liberation, the non-aligned countries' struggle to achieve political independence and conquer economic independence; and supports the struggle of the working class and working people of the imperialist and capitalist countries in the world. In short, the Soviet Union actively supports and assists the struggle of the world's people against imperialism, colonialism old and new, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

A great lesson to be drawn from the Russian revolution is that success in the socialist revolution and socialist construction is dependent on our *efforts to build a new type of Party of the working class and strengthen its leadership in all fields*. The Party uses Marxism-Leninism as its compass in all its activities. The aim of the Party is to abolish capitalism and all vestiges of feudalism, abolish all oppression and exploitation, build a new life in peace, freedom and happiness, and make socialism and communism realities. The line of the Party is a line of thorough-going revolution: from bourgeois democratic revolution to socialist revolution, from socialism to communism.

The Party is closely organized according to the principle of democratic centralism, with strict discipline, unity and one-mindedness,

and admits of no division and fractionalism ; the Party struggles on two fronts against right and "left" deviation, and does not allow the opportunists and reformists to misuse the Party's organization and undermine the Party's one-mindedness.

After winning power, the Party strengthens its leadership over the State power from the central down to local levels. The Party learns to grapple with the economy and manage it, manages society and unconditionally places itself at the service of the people ; it struggles against bureaucracy, authoritarianism, arbitrariness and abuse of power.

Above are *the basic features of the line of the Great October Socialist Revolution*. V.I. Lenin's doctrine on socialist revolution is a universal truth which holds not only for Russia, for the Soviet Union, but also for Viet Nam and other countries in the world.

The gun-roll of the October Revolution awakened the Vietnamese nation. When President Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese communist, while learning from the experience of other countries to save his own, arrived at Marxism-Leninism and the light cast by the October Revolution, he said : "Only socialism and communism can liberate

the oppressed nations and the working people throughout the world from slavery."¹

V.I. Lenin's *Theses on the National and Colonial Question* was the torch that lit the path for President Ho Chi Minh to surpass the vision of the Vietnamese revolutionaries before him and realize the truth of our times ushered in by the October Revolution.

Applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and guided by the light of the October Revolution, President Ho Chi Minh outlined the path of the Vietnamese revolution and founded the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the militant vanguard of the Vietnamese working class. Since then, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Viet Nam armed with a correct and creative revolutionary line, the Vietnamese people have consistently and perseveringly struggled, overcome countless difficulties and hardships, won a great victory in the August 1945 Revolution, in two protracted wars of resistance against French imperialism and US imperialism, leading to the Spring 1975 victory, carrying through the task of people's national democratic revolution in the whole

(1) Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Writings, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977 ; p. 252.*

country and setting the whole of Viet Nam on the path to socialism.

On the basis of the fundamental characteristics of our country, "a society with predominantly small-scale production advancing directly to socialism and bypassing the stage of capitalist development", the Party's Fourth Congress has now worked out the line for socialist construction throughout the country, and thus set the scene for a new stage in the history of our nation.

III

Dear comrades and friends,

Since the great October Revolution sixty years ago, countless wonderful changes have taken place on our planet: born in the salvos of the battleship "Dawn", the new world unceasingly develops and matures. The old world, in agonies at the death-knell sounded by the sailors of the interventionist imperialists themselves in the Black Sea, is heading for its doom. With increasing speed — the predictions of Marx, Engels and Lenin are coming true.

This year, we celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution as our entire people from Cao Lang to Minh

Hai are involved in jubilant socialist emulation, rebuilding our fatherland, and implementing our second five-year plan (1976-1980) according to the resolution of our Party's Fourth National Congress.

Our entire Party, people and army, inspired by the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the October Revolution and the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet working class and people are determined to struggle in order to turn the resolution of our Party into reality.

Positive elements are continually rising to the fore: in our country, every day, every hour, the labouring people's right to collective mastery is being developed and perfected, the material and technical basis of socialism is being strengthened, Marxist — Leninist ideology is taking pride of place in our entire people's spiritual life. New-type men are energetically working with ardent love for their country and socialism. Vanguard units are appearing in increasing numbers. Model work and behaviour blossoms in every field of life.

Nearly one year, guided by the resolution of our Party's Fourth National Congress, has led our entire Party, army and people to perseveringly struggle and overcome difficul-

ties caused by natural calamities, shortage of raw materials and technical means,... to fulfil the State plan.

In production and construction we have had a number of achievements, particularly in stepping up the production of food, developing the movement for water conservancy throughout the country, giving land reclamation and the establishment of new economic zones more prominence and size than in recent years. In brief, the industrial branches maintain their normal tempo of development and are beginning to focus on serving agriculture and water conservancy. Export is likely to reach the set quotas.

These successes evince our people's very high determination and bespeak the correctness of the resolution of our Party's Fourth Congress. However, in view of the potential of our national economy, these are but partial and initial successes, falling short as they do of our country's economic requirements at present.

Our immediate tasks are enormous. The Second Plenum of our Party Central Committee, Fourth Session, has adopted a resolution "to master the forces of the whole country and fulfil the task of agricultural development." It is the duty of our entire

Party, people and army to implement this important resolution well.

At present, we should satisfactorily bring in the autumn harvest in a satisfactory way, intensify winter crop growing to make up for the food lost due to natural calamities; persuade the peasants to sell agricultural products to the State, actively contribute to alleviating the day-to-day difficulties in people's lives, ensure raw materials for industry and increase export articles.

On the other hand, we must strive to over-fulfil the production plan for such items as electricity, coal, cement, chemical fertilizers, and building material and ensure electricity for production, in particular. The food industry and light industry must find materials in the country, must make economic use of raw materials, and make fuller use of waste products. The great potential of handicrafts and small industry should be utilized to step up the production of consumer goods serving the people's life.

We must concentrate building materials and construction resources in capital construction projects, and on the main ones first, to speed up their completion and commissioning.

Serious efforts must be made to redress the present imbalance in communications and

transport, particularly in the receiving of imports, to meet the requirements of the national economy satisfactorily.

Circulation and distribution branches (supply of materials, trade, prices, finance, banking) should strive to improve their management in the interests both of production and of the people's lives in general.

All branches, localities and bases should take concrete and practical measures to make full use of existing labour and land, as the superiority of our economy allows, aiming at ensuring the fulfilment of the State plan.

While striving to fulfil the 1977 State plan, we should make preparations to best carry out the 1978 State plan as well as possible and give new impulse to the work toward successful completion of the 1976-1980 five-year plan.

While actively building the economy we must pay due attention to strengthening and consolidating national defence and maintaining political security and social order. We must constantly heighten our vigilance in face of the perfidious schemes of imperialism and its stooges. We must continue building our modern regular people's army, which, together with other people's armed forces, should intensify its training, stand ready to fight and be firmly resolved to defend our

beloved fatherland. At the same time the people's army must do its best to help to build the economy, carry out water conservancy and land reclamation work, and build State farms; they provide part of the cadres for various branches, particularly in agriculture, forestry and capital construction. The security forces must maintain close contact with the masses so as to take timely measures to detect, prevent and repress all sabotage activities of the reactionaries, prevent and deal severely with all crimes, maintain order and security, and ensure that our people may carry on construction in peace.

We should step up the fostering and perfecting of socialist relations of production. In the North, we must consolidate and improve the management of State enterprises, farms, forestry sites, agricultural production and handicraft cooperatives, we must strictly enforce business accounting and socialist labour discipline. In the South, we must accelerate the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and trade, agriculture, handicraft and small trade. The slower the transformation the more the negative factors of capitalism develop and the more they harm the national economy. We must strictly implement our Party's and State's line and policies, and apply the experience gained during

socialist transformation in the North to the conditions in the South in a correct and appropriate way.

We should boost scientific and technical work, promote the great impact of science and technology so that they affect production, life and national defence directly. Our work should be based on the concrete conditions and the tasks of each branch and unit, to foster and make use of the practical efficiency which characterises scientific and technical work, but without being perfectionist; we should make bold and rational use of existing scientific and technical cadres, and strive homogeneous training of new scientific and technical cadres. We must encourage scientific and technological research work and create good conditions for its development. Our present guideline for scientific and technical research is to concentrate on applications which meet our immediate urgent requirements while doing basic and long-term research, and thus step by step building our country's own modern science and technology.

As regards ideological and cultural work, we must unceasingly carry out propaganda work, thoroughly explain the line, policies and requirements of our revolutionary work to the broad masses, and thereby arouse our

people's ardour and awareness in all fields of activity. We must make a habit of giving publicity to exemplary people, behaviour and work in the emulation movement, to raise labour productivity, improve our technology, safeguard public property, practise thrift and maintain labour discipline... We must thoroughly eradicate the influences and vestiges of US neo-colonialist culture, steadfastly struggle against erroneous thinking and negative manifestations of graft, waste, bureaucracy, laziness, passivity, pleasure-seeking, debauchery,... and even corruption by the exploiting classes. We must also criticize the small producer thinking and work-style daily eroding our people's socialist construction.

A question which must be given serious attention now regards fostering a correct relation between the three elements, the Party leadership over socialist revolution and socialist construction, people's mastery of the country under the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, and the State's management of economy, society and life.

We must strengthen the Party in ideology and organization, act upon our President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament: "Ours is a

Party in power. Each Party member, each cadre must be deeply imbued with revolutionary morality, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness. Our Party should preserve absolute purity and prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people." The Party must admit good people who distinguish themselves in the emulation movement for production, in the three revolutions: revolution in relations of production, scientific and technological revolution and ideological and cultural revolution; and resolutely expel retrograde and corrupt elements from the Party.

We must bring into play the labouring people's right to socialist collective mastery, through the activities of State bodies, particularly elected organs and mass organizations in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, and create a broad mass movement to build and defend our socialist Fatherland and strive to fulfil the State plan in a spirit of emulation, for the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people.

We must strive to build and strengthen the state of proletarian dictatorship, truly a State of the people, from the people and for the people. State bodies must on the one hand

promptly reflect the people's aspirations and will, and on the other serve the people and look after the interests of the masses. State cadres and employees must be trained, selected, educated and fostered as devoted servants of the people, preserving the prestige and promoting the efficiency of the State. We must step up work on the Constitution, strengthen socialist legality, and ensure that the Constitution and the laws are grasped and strictly implemented by the people.

As an active component of the world revolutionary force, our people strive to profit from favourable international conditions to heal our war wounds, build the material and technical basis of socialism, and consolidate national defence, while actively supporting and taking part in the world people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism, old and new, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our country is part of the world socialist system. We maintain unswerving solidarity, cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries, and work for the development and consolidation of these ties. Acting with determination upon our great President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament, we are doing our best to help restore and strengthen the militant solidarity

between the communist and workers' parties and between the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, with due consideration to both reason and sentiment.

We continue strengthening our militant solidarity, long-term cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea on the principled basis of complete equality, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate interests. Having fought for decades against imperialist aggressors and suffered countless sacrifices and hardships for the sake of independence and freedom ourselves, we fully realize the value of these sacred rights for every nation. That is why we always respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our neighbours and other countries, and at the same time we resolutely defend our own independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We fully support the just struggle of the South East Asian peoples for national independence, democracy, peace and real neutrality, without military bases and imperialist troops in their countries.

We fully support the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against

imperialism, colonialism, old and new, racism, zionism, for national independence, democracy and social progress.

We take an active part in the movement of the non-aligned countries in order to contribute to the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and monopoly, to defend independence and freedom, and wrest back their right to be masters of their natural wealth for ever.

We fully support the first struggle of the working class and labouring people of the capitalist countries against the monopoly capitalists in their countries and abroad, for welfare, democracy, social progress, the defence of national independence and world peace, and the complete victory of socialism.

Our people's revolutionary course is inseparable from the sympathy, support and great assistance of revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. On this occasion, we sincerely thank the Soviet Union, China, the other socialist countries and the peace and justice-loving countries in the world for their help to our people, in our patriotic war of resistance against US aggression in the past, as well as in the socialist construction at present.

To make a success of the above-mentioned work, to study the principles of Marxism-

Leninism and to creatively apply them as well as the precious experiences of the October Revolution to Viet Nam's conditions is the most appropriate and realistic way for us to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

Dear comrades and friends,

The sixty years since the October Revolution are but a brief span in the history of mankind, in which countless great events have changed the face of the world.

The struggle of the working class and peoples in the world can contemplate extremely promising prospects. The combined force of the three revolutionary currents in the world is shaking decadent capitalism to its foundations.

After our people's glorious victories in the August Revolution, in the two wars of resistance against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism, our entire people are today eagerly building a peaceful, independent, reunified and socialist Viet Nam in new favourable conditions.

Struggling on the socialist front requires that our people strengthen their solidarity, raise their vigilance, bring their revolutionary heroism into full play, strive to remove difficulties, create new potential and fulfil new and heavy tasks satisfactorily. This

socialist orientation is the cause not only of the freedom and happiness of over 50 million fellow-countrymen, but also of the prosperity and might of the world socialist system, in the victory of the struggle of the peoples in the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Let our entire Party and Army carry further the spirit of the October Revolution (1917) and the August Revolution (1945) and promote a socialist emulation drive; let us all strive to fulfil the State plan, and to implement the Resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress and of the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the militant solidarity and great solidarity between the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples!

The struggle of the world peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism is bound to triumph!

Long live the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of Viet Nam!

Great President Ho Chi Minh lives for ever in our revolutionary cause!

ERRATA

Page	Line	Instead of	Please read
16	15	world	word
23	11	into being	since the Communist Party came into being.
24	2	an unified	a unified
33	4	banner	banners
38	6	Viet Nam:	Viet Nam.
38	7	Who have	who have
41	5	Bolshevik Party	Bolshevik Party
54	12	the geatest	the greatest
73	26	economy	the economy

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