

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

LE DUAN

**FORWARD UNDER
THE GLORIOUS BANNER
OF THE
OCTOBER REVOLUTION**



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1967

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On November 7, 1917, like a bugle sounding a charge, the first salvoes of the October Revolution shook the world and awakened all progressive mankind.

The October Revolution — the first victorious proletarian revolution in a country covering one-sixth of the globe — broke the weakest link of the imperialist system, ushering in a new epoch, that of collapse of capitalism and of triumph of socialism.

Ever since communism is no longer the "spectre which haunted Europe", and has, instead, become the reason of life and the hope of the labouring people in all continents. In Europe as in Asia and Latin America, in Moscow as in Peking, in Hanoi as in Pyong Yang, in Berlin as in Havana, over a billion people are advancing towards communism with differing methods. In the capitalist world an unprecedented revolutionary tide is seething, involving no less people longing for national independence, peace and socialism.

THE PATH OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD SITUATION

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* K. Marx and F. Engels asserted that the capitalist society was out of date and that it would disappear to make room for the civilized communist society. Exactly seventy years later, this scientific prediction came true. The 1917 October Revolution just as all people's revolutions that are taking place in the world now, prove the great value and the strong vitality of Marxism-Leninism, the highest creation of man's genius, the sharpest weapon in the hands of the working class and the labouring people who are struggling for the abolition of the old society and the building of a new one. The October Revolution constitutes the first milestone marking the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over all reactionary currents and all opportunist tendencies in the workers' international movement. With the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism from being a scientific doctrine has become the conscience of our times, and communism which was the hope of the toiling classes, a vivid

reality. In its wake, therefore, Marxism-Leninism has been rapidly and widely diffused, and has become the torch that enlightens the path, and impels the march forward, of world revolution towards an entirely new stage of development.

The October Revolution has demonstrated that any historically outdated social regime can be overthrown, however cruel it may be, and whatever barbarous, fascist means it may resort to with a view to frustrating the legitimate aspirations and the urgent demands of the popular masses. When the proletariat, together with the poorer strata, have risen up, guided by a correct political line, they turn into an invincible force capable not only of crushing all reactionary strongholds but also of building up a much more sumptuous social structure than the old. Moreover, the working class and the labouring people in each country are perfectly in a position, on their own initiative, to attack their enemies, achieve national liberation and emancipate themselves without waiting until revolution has broken out in other countries.

The international significance of the October Revolution also lies in that it produces to revolutionaries the world over a remarkable model of strategic and tactical conduct. V. Lenin and the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union successfully settled a series of basic problems of a decisive importance for proletarian

revolution; they asserted and had ceaselessly consolidated the exclusive leading role of the working class, the most advanced class which is linked to modern production — representative of historic progress — the most authentic interpreter of the labouring people's interests; they created a new-type party of the working class, a monolithic bloc on the ideological plane and in action, which is made secure by its close organizational unity; they built up the worker-peasant alliance as the steadiest basis of national union, the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they combined tightly and in a well-balanced manner social revolution and the national-liberation movement, took advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions to strengthen revolution, differentiate the enemy's ranks and isolate him, and spearhead the struggle against the most dangerous adversary at each given moment.

Under the genial leadership of V. Lenin and the Communist (Bolshevik) Party, the October Revolution has become a vivid lesson for an ingenious and flexible application of the theory on revolutionary violence and on insurrection for the conquest of power. It is a revolution with a markedly popular character, the uprising of broad masses under the worker-peasant-alliance motto, combining armed force and political force into powerful revolutionary violence strong enough to smash the capitalists' and landlords' counter-revolutionary violence.

Those are basic problems of universal significance for all countries, and burning ones concerning revolutionary strategy in our times.

The victory of the October Revolution is not merely the victory of the Russian and other peoples of the U.S.S.R., but the common victory of proletarian revolution and national liberation all over the world. For this reason, the communists and the international working class, waged slaves as they were, have for a long time regarded the Soviet Union as the first motherland of the proletariat, the first base of world revolution, the banner of a new epoch, which will thoroughly eliminate all forms of oppression, exploitation and build up equality and friendship in the relations between man and man.

Under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, once they had become the masters of their society, the labouring people of all nationalities in the U.S.S.R. fought heroically to defeat their internal and external enemies, and in a few decades completed socialist construction. A backward agricultural country, the U.S.S.R. has grown into one of the most developed industrial countries in the world. This grand achievement enabled it to defeat the most truculent armies of fascist Germany and Japan in the Second World War. Hardly had the war come to a close when the Soviet people, who had

evinced marvellous heroism in fighting, eagerly tackled reconstruction; in less than a five-year plan, they healed up the serious wounds left behind by the war, and national economy reached the pre-war level. Fulfilling several subsequent long-term plans, they have been advancing along the socialist path with ever-new ardour. In a relatively short historical period, in which they had moreover to spend nearly twenty years on war and economic rehabilitation, the Soviet people have turned their country into a magnificent palace. Compared with 1913 when tsarist Russia attained the highest degree of development, in 1966 industry went up 66 times, engineering and metallurgy — 538 times, electricity — 267 times, chemical industry — 294 times and light industry — 16.2 times. The same year food production topped the 1940 level by 1.8 times and meat production — 2.3 times. Thanks to the powerful development of industry and agriculture, the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people has been markedly improved; the real income of the workers has increased 6.6 times, that of the peasants — 8.5 times; 34 million people are enjoying a retiring pension while almost half of the population moved into new houses; and in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period the number of school-children is nearly 5 times higher, that of students — over 32 times, that of doctors — 20 times.

The great successes achieved by the U.S.S.R. over the past fifty years constitute the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, of the line of socialist construction of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. They sprang from the most relentless class struggle of the Soviet working class and labouring people against their internal and external enemies. They stemmed from the Soviet citizen's ardent patriotism, unbounded heroism and sacrificing spirit, unshakable will and tenacity. Those great successes have made it possible for the U.S.S.R. to fulfil its international obligations towards the peoples of other countries.

The first socialist country, the U.S.S.R. has explored a completely new path and set precious examples to the peoples now building socialism, examples which have been reflected by the general laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction summed up by the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries in Moscow in 1957.

The victory of the Soviet Union over fascism not only safeguarded the first socialist State but also *generated favourable conditions for the triumph of revolution in a series of countries in Europe and Asia, thus allowing socialism to outgrow the boundary of one country and become a world system, pushing ahead the national-liberation movement now surging up as tidal waves, and creating for world revolution an overall offensive position against imperialism.*

Though coming into being not a long time ago, socialism has proved its evident superiority over capitalism and all previous social systems. Oppressed and held in contempt for ages, the toilers have become the masters of society, of economy and of their own destinies. Oppression, exploitation, competition, anarchy and economic crises — inevitable products of capitalist economy — have no more bases for survival. The economy of the socialist countries has been developing at a quicker rate than that of any capitalist country. Today, the socialist camp accounts for over one-third of the world's aggregate industrial output, and its annual industrial production increases by roughly 12 per cent whereas that of the capitalist countries registers an augmentation of no more than 5 per cent.

At present, the socialist countries are relying on the dictatorship of the proletariat — the power apparatus of the working class and labouring people — to build up their economy on the basis of the collective ownership of the means of production and for the satisfaction of the people's requirements. This essential character of socialism is an objective reality resulting from many socio-economic factors. It guarantees the right of the people as masters of the society in their occupations, in production and distribution. It fans enthusiasm among all members of the society while at work, and makes everyone realize that his interests, far from

being trampled upon as under by-gone regimes, are organically related to the collectivity's and the society's. Socialism has awakened and strongly promoted collective spirit, social spirit among the labouring people, helping them understand the truth and consciously respect, and submit to, the interests of the social community. Socialist consciousness and the unity of individual interests and social interests constitute the root, the basis of all heroic achievements in productive labour as well as in the fight for the safeguard of the socialist motherland. Nevertheless, as socialist economy has come into existence a rather short time ago, as consequently the laws governing it have not been brought into full play, and many economic problems of a practical nature are still in their process of development, difficulties and at times blunders cannot not possibly be avoided.

In the socialist countries the revolutionary transformation of the relations of production must be prosecuted up to the higher phase of communism, those relations having to be ceaselessly consolidated and perfected, particularly in the field of distribution and management. Practice has proved that the elimination of private ownership and the establishment of collective ownership as well as the institution of a socialist, equitable and rational mode of distribution requires a thorough revolutionary spirit. On this condition only

could socialist relations of production fully play their role, and the right of the labouring people as masters of the society be consolidated and enhanced.

“In the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system”.* Technological revolution, therefore, forms one of the most important links for the building of socialism and communism. The socialist countries rely on their political and economic superiority to promote science and technology now that technological revolution is in full swing in the world. On a world-wide scale, the U.S.S.R., the first and the most powerful socialist country, stands in the van as far as a number of important sciences and techniques are concerned. Many other socialist countries, formerly under-developed ones, are also heading towards the summits of world science and technology. The whole socialist camp takes pride in those successes.

The ideological and cultural revolution aims at forming new men unreservedly faithful to their class and their motherland, resolute to eradicate the backward vestiges of ancient regimes while preserving the precious heritage handed down by mankind over the centuries. The new man brought up under socialism must be the expression of the best integration of the

* Lenin, *A Great Beginning*, Selected Works, Vol. II, Part 2.

most valuable riches of the past with the heights of present-day culture, the best integration of today's realities with the lofty ideal of tomorrow, the integration of deep patriotism with true internationalism.

If the socialist countries succeed in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at home, in bringing its considerable effect into full play, and at the same time stepping up co-operation and mutual assistance in accordance with the objective laws of socialism, and proletarian internationalism, then doubtless their economic building and cultural development will score brilliant successes, the socialist system will be consolidated, thus laying the basis for the richest and the healthiest moral and material life.

For the working class now master of the society, economic construction and cultural development are a veritable "revolutionary festival" just as the struggle for the conquest of power. Socialist revolution, the central task of which is the building of a new economy, continues vigorously in our camp in close connexion with the revolutionary struggle of the peoples fighting against imperialism and other reactionary forces. The more successes, and the more quickly their revolutionary cause achieves them, the greater the positive effect of the socialist countries on world revolution. Inversely, the seething revolutionary movement in

several continents constitutes a considerable support to socialist and communist construction in our camp. Obviously, in the present epoch national independence, democracy, peace and socialism are inseparable objectives. This revolutionary cause demands that the communists in the socialist camp who are playing the role of a shock-brigade in the common struggle, evince utmost tenacity and fortitude and fully realize their responsibilities towards not only their own peoples but also the revolutionary cause of the world's people as well.

During the past few decades the world revolutionary forces with the socialist camp as the hard core has kept on growing and exerting an ever more decisive influence on the historical arena, while the imperialist camp has been declining and plunging into endless crises. In order to halt the process of collapse of capitalism, and to hinder and liquidate social explosions directed against it, rulers in imperialist countries, especially in the United States, actively push ahead its switching over to State-monopoly capitalism, set up international alliances, embark on arms race and exploit the new possibilities of the technological revolution. On the other hand, they forge such myths to conceal the rottenness of imperialist capitalism as "popular capitalism", "democratization of capital" the "welfare State". However, all those economic,

political, and military schemes have no other effect than to *soothe temporarily* certain of the bitter contradictions plaguing imperialism; they cannot retrieve the latter from its general crisis. Therefore, though extremely frantic and perfidious, it has proved over the recent period incapable of hemming in the revolutionary tide sweeping the breadth and length of the world. Imperialism has been under attack everywhere, chiefly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and it is American imperialism that has suffered the most setbacks. In face of the powerful blows of the socialist and national-liberation revolutions, of the awakening and uprising of the oppressed peoples as well as the heavy defeats and the bankruptcy of old-pattern colonialism, the imperialists with the U.S.A. in the van, have been forced to shift to neo-colonialism, which is none other than disguised colonialism.

Thus, *neo-colonialism did not spring from a strong but a weak posture of imperialism; it aims at parrying the offensive of the revolutionary forces to maintain the positions of imperialism in the world*

At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas of revolutionary tidal waves, areas where operate all the contradictions existing in the world, the weakest link of the world imperialist system. Here, the labouring people, whose bulk is constituted by the peasantry, are suffering from most ruthless oppression and

exploitation by imperialism acting in collusion with the native landlords and compradore bourgeoisie. The urgent requirements of production and the earnest aspirations of the people in those areas call for national liberation and the emancipation of productive forces. The formation and development of the socialist camp including former colonial countries, greatly inspire the oppressed peoples, the workers and the peasants above all. They have risen up with an extraordinary revolutionary mettle, demanding not only national liberation, democratic reforms but also the emancipation of labour and the march towards socialism. This situation does not allow imperialism to persist obdurately in its old colonialist policy, which would entail the risk for them to lose all. It has hastened to compromise with the native bourgeoisie, mainly with the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, and, relying on these elements, to implement a neo-colonialist policy with a view to the preservation of its privileges, its political, economic and military positions. "Leave to better grasp" is its motto.

So, neo-colonialism constitutes an imperialist policy designed to save crumbling old-pattern colonialism, to prevent newly-liberated countries from attaining real independence and to thwart the tendencies towards socialism among the workers and peasants in those countries.

The socialist camp has become a powerful political and economic force exerting a deep influence on the process of world revolution. The good nature of the socialist system brings out in relief the ugly character of the imperialist-capitalist regime in the eyes of the world's labouring people, exasperates their hatred for the latter, and stimulates them to rise up in struggle not only for their immediate vital interests but for the future of generations to come. The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries provides to the peoples still under imperialist rule vivid experiences and rich lessons, which help them find the path to their liberation. In addition, economic and technical assistance given by the socialist camp to the countries which have just achieved national liberation with a view to building a sovereign national economy largely contributes to the consolidation of their independence, thus creating for them the possibility of avoiding dependency on imperialism. This situation embitters the contradictions between the socialist and the imperialist camps; the contention between them is the grimmest class struggle taking place in all continents, in all the political, economic and ideological fields. To redress this disadvantageous situation and stave off heavy setbacks, the imperialists, the American imperialists in the first place, cannot refrain from revising their cynical, outdated old-pattern colonialist

policy. "Granting of independence", "economic aid", "peace corps", propagation of a "Western way of life", etc., constitute deceptive moves intended to sow division between the national-liberation movement and the socialist camp, and to drag the "Third World" in the wake of imperialism.

Thus, neo-colonialism is an imperialist policy aimed at countering the far-reaching influence of the socialist camp on the national-liberation movement, and at maintaining the peoples of all countries in the orbit of world capitalism.

For the last few decades, the market and raw-material problem has become a thorny one for the imperialist capitalists as the successes of the socialist and national-liberation revolutions in a series of countries have narrowed the imperialist markets and spheres of influence; further, the technological revolution has made it possible for the economy of imperialist countries, including defeated West Germany, Japan and Italy, to rehabilitate and develop fairly rapidly, hence the need of new markets and sources of raw materials. After the Second World War U.S. imperialism in particular has surpassed all others and become the richest, the most powerful, the chieftain, in the capitalist world. All that has largely exacerbated the already bitter struggle for markets and raw materials. Nevertheless, the revolutionary and peace forces have grown strong

enough to stay the hands of the imperialist war-fomenters, depriving them of the possibility of unleashing another world war with a view to a redistribution of markets. The imperialists have to find new forms of struggle to dispute markets and spheres of influence. Neo-colonialism has proved to be one of the most suitable means used particularly by the American imperialists. Reposing on their economic and military superiority in the capitalist world, at the same time benefitting by the weakness of, and the difficulties encountered by, the other imperialists, U.S. imperialism has, during the years immediately after the war, used the labels: "defence of the Free World", "oppose the communist danger", economic and military "aid", to conclude military alliances with many countries, even imperialist Powers, in order to keep them under their thumb. Thanks to those moves the Americans have put pressure on their contenders in their own former colonies or dependencies, or driven them out. In order not to lose their colonies to the Yankees the other imperialists have also switched over to neo-colonialism, seeking every way and means to escape the United-States pressure and prevent its penetration. Naturally, the recourse to neo-colonialism by one imperialist country to wrest markets from another does not exclude, but necessarily implies, the use of armed violence under the form of reactionary *coups d'état* and military

conflicts involving forces subservient to differing imperialisms in neo-colonies.

Therefore, *neo-colonialism is the policy of the imperialists aimed at disputing markets and sources of raw materials among themselves, in the conditions of the balance of forces turning clearly in favour of revolution, a policy of U.S. imperialism to play the role of an international gendarme and achieve world hegemony.*

In short, neo-colonialism is a necessary product of historical evolution, born of the general political and economic conditions of the world, of the operation of basic contradictions of our epoch, and of the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution. Neo-colonialism spearheads its attack on the national-liberation movement, the socialist forces and the peace forces all over the world. One can foresee that it constitutes the last basic form of colonialism while capitalism is in the throes of death. In the present period *the main content of the struggle against imperialism lies in the struggle against neo-colonialism.* To counter neo-colonialism is not only the specific task of the forces of national independence and national liberation, but the common task of all revolutionary forces in the world.

Since the victory of the October Revolution, and especially after the Second World War, the national-

liberation movement owes its outstanding characteristic to the awakening of the workers and peasants who have been playing a more and more decisive part among the forces of national liberation, while the national bourgeoisie, though to a certain extent anti-imperialist in tendency, is essentially hesitant and reformist. Moreover, nowadays, these forces find a most steady prop in the socialist camp. All those new factors have enabled the national-liberation movement to develop not only on a large scale but also in depth, thus acquiring a new quality. Though national and democratic in content, national-liberation revolution no longer remains in the framework of bourgeois revolution ; instead, it has become an integral part of proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat on a world-wide scale. This well-known thesis by Lenin does not just preserve its entire value, but is still more clearly born out by today's revolutionary practice. That is why the national-liberation movement possesses a tremendous offensive capacity and an extremely great effect, seriously threatening the rear of imperialism and creating conditions for socialist revolution to spread all over the world. This is a new characteristic feature, a new possibility of our times, which gives a concrete expression to the offensive position of revolution, the overwhelming position of the advanced socialist regime in the face

of the outdated capitalist regime. It constitutes a striking manifestation of the decisive effect of the socialist system on the development of human society.

Now, a whole series of former colonies have attained varying degrees of independence. They stand at a crossroad: either they follow the path of capitalist development or, by-passing it, proceed directly towards socialism. The general trend of our epoch as well as the situation in those countries do not allow them to choose the historically beaten track of independent capitalist development and eventually tread the imperialist path as the Western countries did. Should they do so, they could not but in the long run fall under the imperialists' neo-colonialist domination. As a matter of fact, daily, hourly, world imperialism, chiefly U.S. imperialism, is seeking every way and means to impose neo-colonialism on the newly-independent countries by attracting them to the capitalist road. This policy of the United States is not entirely unfruitful. Taking advantage of their economic difficulties and certain weak points of their rulers, the U.S.A. has succeeded, odiously and criminally, in penetrating into a number of these countries. To escape this dangerous situation and safeguard their national independence, the latter should side with the socialist camp and rely on its assistance with a view to advancing towards the

path of non-capitalist development. In other words, if formerly nationalism was linked with capitalism, nowadays it must necessarily be linked with socialism. To materialize non-capitalist development, the hub of the problem must be solved: revolution should evolve in accordance with the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the working class must lead the revolution, and State power must be a really national-democratic one. Failing this, "socialism" of any kind will only boil down to disguised capitalistic reformism, dependent on one or another imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place.

Over the last period monopoly capitalism has rapidly switched over to State-monopoly capitalism. This fact, on the one hand, evidences the difficulties and contradictions besetting capitalism and on the other, reflects the high degree of development of the productive forces. As Lenin rightly put it, it constitutes the most adequate material preparations to shift to socialism. Counting on the latest achievements in science and technology, monopoly capitalism and the governments under its sway step up oppression and exploitation of the working class and labouring people, curtail democratic freedoms, show tendencies to fascisation and accelerate arms race. Hence, the embitterment of the contradictions with the imperialist-capitalist camp, particularly those opposing monopoly capitalism to the

working class and all strata of the toiling people, contradictions which have grown sharper than ever before. The popular masses set out against the arms race, for economic interests and democratic freedoms. There thus exists the possibility of mobilizing the masses that the working class must grasp. Under the motto: peace, national independence, democracy and economic interests, the working class can rally the toiling masses, various intermediary strata as well as all other democratic and patriotic forces in a broad national united front, spearheading its attack on the chieftains of monopoly capitalism to achieve democracy, social progress and safeguard world peace, thereby preparing conditions for the overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism.

So, with the intensive development of State-monopoly capitalism, with unprecedentedly sharp social contradictions, the fire of socialist revolution is smouldering in the womb of the imperialist-capitalist countries. Let the working class there and its party, efficiently aided by the socialist camp and prompted by a resolute offensive spirit, hold aloft the banner of socialism, national independence and democracy, put forth a correct political line, and the fire of socialist revolution will break out and burn down the outdated capitalist regime already condemned by history. From the point

of view of strategy in the transition epoch from capitalism to socialism, the struggle of the proletariat in imperialist countries takes on a decisive significance as to the "burying of capitalism". If the national-liberation movement strikes at the reserve sources in the rear of imperialist-capitalist countries, the struggle of the proletariat in these countries hits at the very den of capitalism and will eliminate from human society a regime several hundred years old.

In short, those three major revolutionary movements — building of socialism and communism in our camp, non-capitalist development in newly-independent countries and socialist revolution in imperialist-capitalist countries — though generating different effects and playing different roles, form three great currents giving rise to the tidal waves of socialist revolution in our epoch, which attract mankind out of the capitalist orbit into the socialist orbit.

We are living in a glorious and extremely inspiring period of history. Never has socialist revolution had such possibilities of development. Socialism has become the direct objective of the world people's struggle; every movement for national independence, democracy and peace must be directed to socialism the image of which is the socialist camp. On the other hand, the socialist system is becoming the decisive factor for the evolution of human society, the steady prop for the

development of national independence, democracy and peace. In the common struggle for socialist revolution the urgent problem now is to consolidate and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Responsible for the revolutionary movement in its own country, each Communist Party must firmly preserve its independence, fully accomplish its duties as a revolutionary vanguard, and at the same time reinforce co-operation with, and respect the independence of, the other fraternal Parties, thus making an active contribution to the common cause of world revolution.

Since the end of the Second World War the imperialists, with the American imperialists at the head, have been feverishly setting up aggressive military blocs to encircle the socialist camp, and seeking every way to infiltrate into its member-countries and sabotage their development. They have been militarizing their economy and frantically speeding up the arms race, using the atomic weapon as a scarecrow to intimidate the world's people. In particular, U.S. imperialism has been most urgently preparing for war, a fact that is proved by the considerable increase of its annual military budget. Aided and stimulated by it, the West German militarists are plotting to create a dangerous war hotbed in Europe in an attempt to materialize

their revanchist schemes. All those moves have brought imperialism to the "brink of war", and pointed out that their main tendency is to use violence, that their basic policy is the policy of war. In face of such a situation, the safeguard of peace, the defence of the socialist camp and national independence constitute one of the most urgent tasks of our times.

At present, together with the unprecedented growth of the world revolutionary movement, the peace forces have also developed and proved stronger than those of war. Powerful as it is, the peace movement has the real possibility of smashing one after another war policy of imperialism led by the U.S.A., and of eventually foiling all its war plans. This, as a result, will plunge imperialism still deeper into contradictions inherent in it, and engender new conditions for the march forward of revolution. That is why now the peace movement is not merely an anti-war movement with a democratic character as it used to be, but one that takes on a new, really revolutionary and offensive significance. It can be said that the struggle for peace is one of the spearheads poised against imperialism.

With the general offensive trend of world revolution the struggle for peace can and must be organically linked with the revolutionary movement in the countries of the capitalist system, aimed at materializing the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-

wide scale. In order to prevent a new world war and safeguard peace, we should actively oppose and frustrate all war schemes and acts of imperialism with the United States as the chieftain, reinforce the strength of the socialist camp in all the political, economic and military fields; we should keep vigilant and stand ready to deliver counter-blows at the adventurous undertakings of the war maniacs, and push ahead the national-liberation movement and the struggle for socialist revolution of the working class in imperialist countries. While striving to build socialism and communism and strengthening their potential in all respects, the socialist countries should give active support and assistance to revolutionary movements in other countries, especially the national-liberation forces fighting against neo-colonialism to engage in the path of non-capitalist development. Inversely, at the same time as they resolutely fight the magnates of State-monopoly capitalism, the people in the countries of the capitalist system must closely link their objectives of national independence and socialism with the task of safeguarding peace and the socialist camp; they should regard the existence and growth of the latter as the *sine qua non* of the progress of world revolution and of revolution in their own countries. A general survey of the international situation and an elaborate analysis of new factors regarding the revolutionary forces as

well as the actual position of the imperialist and other reactionary forces, show us that the forces of revolution and peace obviously outdo those of imperialism and war. Therefore, far from standing in the defensive, *revolution holds an offensive position and revolutionary strategy must be offensive so as to crush one after another war policy, and eventually all the war plans, of imperialism with the U.S.A. as the ringleader; this strategy must aim at fighting off imperialism step by step and smashing the imperialist system by chunks in order to liquidate it, at vigorously impelling national-democratic revolution and raising high the banner of socialism.*

The tremendous strength of world revolution is none other than the integrated strength of the many political forces which, from various directions, attack U.S.-led imperialism. Only by closely combining the strengthening of the socialist camp in all fields with the wholehearted support to the revolutionary movement of the oppressed labouring people, closely combining the struggles for national liberation and socialism, and the revolutionary struggle for the liquidation of imperialist domination with the struggle for world peace, only by so doing can the forces of revolution, peace and democracy frustrate all the war schemes of imperialism and make world revolution advance continuously.

The objective situation described above urgently calls for the co-ordination of the forces of the whole socialist camp and the establishment of a world united front against imperialism led by U.S. imperialism. The setting up of this front ranks as one of the most basic problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics. It has already been raised in such a way as to suit the specific situation of each period of the past few decades.

After switching over to the imperialist stage capitalism does not only exploit the working class and the labouring people at home but also suppresses the independence of many countries and ruthlessly oppresses and exploits their people. Lenin's motto "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite" sounds like a bugle, rallying the oppressed throughout the world in a united front to oppose the common enemy—world imperialism.

Before the Second World War, facing the fascist danger the Seventh Congress of the Communist International stood for the formation of a united front including all socialist, democratic and peace forces. It was a democratic front against fascism and fascist war. Undoubtedly, this front tactic was entirely correct, conform to the demands of that time, namely, opposition to fascism which was the gravest danger for all peoples.

Today, with the general offensive trend of world revolution, the united front must, on the one hand, repose on the socialist camp and the movements for socialism and national independence as the hard core and, on the other, rally on a very broad basis numerous forces fighting for peace, democracy and social progress. The front must mobilize every possibility of the world's people in order to isolate the war maniacs, crush their war schemes and acts, and safeguard world peace, thus pushing revolution ahead.

Provided the socialist camp and other revolutionary forces in the world prove resolute to further promote the offensive spirit of the October Revolution, and follow the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, world revolution will surely enter a new phase of tidal development, and the three objectives of our epoch—national independence, peace and socialism — will certainly materialize.

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION IN THE LIGHT OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October Revolution has proved that conditions for a world proletarian revolution are ripe and that the Marxist-Leninist line of proletarian revolution is perfectly correct. It has awakened the Oriental peoples and paved the way for the introduction of Marxism-Leninism into Viet Nam.

The theory and practice of the October Revolution have helped the Vietnamese revolutionaries realize that national liberation must be linked to world proletarian revolution. Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese communist, has assimilated the Marxist-Leninist theory, in particular the thesis on national revolution in the colonies, and propagated it in our country.

In 1930, the Party of the Vietnamese working class came into being, opening a new page in the history of our revolution. For the first time after nearly seventy years of slavery, the Vietnamese people are led by a

staunch and clear-sighted vanguard party, and guided by a correct scientific, revolutionary line.

Following Lenin's teachings on revolution in the countries of the Orient, the Vietnamese revolutionaries have applied the Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete and specific conditions of the Vietnamese society. The first Political Programme of the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) has clearly stated that in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, while socialist revolution has triumphed in the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese revolution has become a component of world revolution. In leading the Vietnamese revolution, the Party has firmly grasped and resolutely upheld the banner of independence and democracy, and correctly solved the peasant problem regarded as the essential content of the national question, and the agrarian problem, as the basic content of the democratic revolution. The Party's programme with its mottoes "national independence" and "land to the tiller", closely combines the anti-imperialist task—national liberation—with the anti-feudal task—struggle for democracy; it correctly reflects the objective law of development of the Vietnamese society, a colonial and semi-feudal society, meets the basic and urgent requirements of the Vietnamese people, and opens the way for the Vietnamese revolution to advance towards

socialism. Thanks to a correct programme and its practice, the Party has strongly aroused the national spirit of the people, mobilized the immense revolutionary force of the labouring peasantry, which, combined with that of the working class, make the hard core of the national-democratic revolution. At the same time, the Party has built the worker-peasant alliance into a solid bloc under the leadership of the working class to serve as the basis for a broad national united front, the mainstay of the democratic people's power.

The said strategic line and tactics did away with all conceptions which blurred class antagonisms and helped the workers and peasants get rid of the influence of bourgeois reformists, petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and Trotskyite provocateurs; hence it has ensured the exclusive leadership of the working class.

In the history of the Vietnamese people's struggle against French colonialism, many patriotic movements followed one upon another, many armed insurrections broke out; some established resistance bases in hardly accessible mountain regions for a long-term struggle, as the uprising of Phan Dinh Phung which lasted ten years, or that of Hoang Hoa Tham stretching over nearly thirty years. However, none of these movements brought the national-liberation cause to success. Their failure was due to many causes, but it clearly proves

that revolution must be made by the broad masses, it must be a truly popular movement if it is to succeed. As Lenin said, revolution must be the work of the masses.

Right after the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party, a mass revolutionary movement flared up throughout Viet Nam, the apex of which being the Nghe An and Ha Tinh Soviets (1930-1931). Workers and peasants in these provinces rose up to overthrow the colonial rule and the local administration of mandarins and despots, setting up a worker-peasant power in some rural areas. Though suppressed the uprising strongly awakened the revolutionary spirit of the entire people and pointed to the immense revolutionary capabilities of the workers and peasants.

From 1936 to 1939, in face of the fascist threat, the Party timely adopted a new orientation, shifting from underground to semi-clandestine and semi-legal activities, ingeniously combining these forms of struggle, even using "people's councils" and "colonial councils" to initiate throughout the country a powerful movement against the reactionary colonialists, feudalists and aggressive fascists, for the conquest of democratic freedoms, the improvement of living standard and the safeguard of world peace. This campaign involved millions of people and politically educated broad masses of the workers and peasants,

greatly enhancing their patriotism and class consciousness.

After the outbreak of the Second World War and the occupation of Indochina by the Japanese fascists, the Party shifted its main activities to the countryside; while continuing to build up the political forces of the masses, it created armed forces, started a country-wide patriotic movement and local guerilla activities against the Japanese and French fascists, and set up the Viet Bac* resistance zone and guerilla bases.

In August 1945, taking advantage of the great victory of the Soviet Union over fascism — which was a golden opportunity—the Party launched a sweeping general insurrection. In this the Party relied on the existing political forces in urban and rural areas, combined their action with that of the people's armed forces, smashed the enemy's leading organs in the capital and other towns, liquidated his rule in rural areas, and established a revolutionary power throughout the country. Thanks to this mass action the August Revolution rapidly triumphed from North to South.

The local insurrections and revolutionary tides started and led by our Party since 1930 were preludes to the August Revolution which creatively

* Mountain region north of the Red River (*Publ.*).

applied Lenin's principles on revolutionary violence and insurrection to conquer power. The August Revolution aptly combined political struggle with military struggle, local take-over in the countryside with insurrection in towns, long-term preparation of political and military forces with rapid mobilization of the masses at the favourable moment to overthrow the imperialist and feudal power.

The August Revolution constitutes a brilliant achievement of the heroic struggle for liberation waged by the Vietnamese people during nearly a century. It liquidated the colonialist and feudal power, and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the first worker-peasant State in South-East Asia, ushering in a new era in the history of the country. The August Revolution and the subsequent achievements of the Vietnamese revolution have proved the correctness, and contributed to the development of the theory on proletarian revolution in the countries of the Orient.

The August Revolution dealt a heavy blow at international imperialism and its colonial system. That is why the imperialists co-ordinated their action to destroy the Vietnamese revolution. Protected by British troops, helped by the American imperialists, the French colonialists came back and

connived with the native reactionary forces to unleash a war of aggression in an attempt to re-establish the colonial and feudal rule.

Under the leadership of the Party with comrade Ho Chi Minh at its head, the entire Vietnamese people took to arms and resolutely waged an all-out and protracted war. Relying mainly on their own means, they set up a strong people's army, built up their forces while fighting, consolidated their rear while attacking at the front, waged an armed resistance while gradually implementing democratic reforms then land reform to improve the living conditions of the peasants and boost the potential of the patriotic war in every field.

Thanks to the Party's correct leadership and our people's ardent patriotism and indomitability, people's war vigorously developed in scope and strength, driving the French Expeditionary Corps to a stalemate then defeat. The great victory of the Chinese revolution, which had liberated the entire Chinese mainland, greatly stimulated our people in their struggle, reinforced our resistance and created favourable conditions for our people and armed forces to deliver decisive blows at the enemy. The glorious victory of Dien Bien Phu brought the resistance war to a successful end, decided on the fate of the French colonialists in Indochina and compelled them to sign the Geneva Agreements

recognizing Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

However, the national-liberation revolution of the Vietnamese people has not yet come to a close. While the completely liberated Northern part has shifted to socialist revolution, the South has to fight on against the aggression of the American imperialists, against their and their henchmen's rule to achieve the national-democratic people's revolution throughout the country. Indeed, for nearly a quarter of a century U.S. imperialism has been the enemy number one of the Vietnamese people. Having failed in helping the French colonialists to reconquer Viet Nam, in prolonging and expanding the Indochina War, the Americans supplanted the French to continue their aggression against South Viet Nam with a view to perpetuating the partition of our country, turning South Viet Nam into a neo-colony and military base, preparing an offensive against North Viet Nam and the socialist camp, threatening the independence of the peoples of Viet Nam and of Indochina as a whole, and halting the revolution in South Viet Nam and South-East Asia. This is a component of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism to check the revolutionary wave storming the bulwark of U.S.-led international imperialism.

In South Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has rigged up a dictatorial, fascist puppet administration to drown the patriotic movement in blood, and force the people to accept a neo-colonial regime. But the South is part and parcel of one and the same Viet Nam, its people belong to a nation which has a glorious four-thousand-year history, struggled for nearly a century to break the fetters of colonialism and which, having actually reconquered its freedom and independence, was shaping its own destinies. No wonder that the South Vietnamese people resolutely oppose the policies of aggression of the American imperialists, and their and their henchmen's policy of enslavement so as to wrest back their revolutionary gains, conquer their right to live, and choose a way of development suitable for the general evolution of the times.

Fighting under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation and at the fore-front for the defence of their motherland, our staunch and heroic compatriots in the South continue writing the most brilliant pages of our national history. The process of the South Vietnamese revolution is one of uniting, organizing and developing all revolutionary and patriotic forces to smash the American imperialists' aggression and the puppet ruling clique to liberate the South, defend the North, reunify the motherland, safeguard the independence and peace in Viet Nam,

peace in South-East Asia and the world. The immediate and basic objective of the South Vietnamese people is *to achieve independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity and to advance towards national reunification*. To this end, there is no other way than to use *revolutionary violence* to oppose the brute and cynical violence of the American imperialists and their henchmen.

The August Revolution like people's revolutions in other countries have taught the South Vietnamese revolutionaries that any revolution with a marked popular character must use both political and military forces to secure victory. Revolution being the uprising of the oppressed and exploited masses, one must adopt the revolutionary mass viewpoint to understand revolutionary violence which involves two forces—political and military forces — and two forms of struggle — political and armed struggle—and thereby to realize the offensive position of revolution when revolutionary situations are ripe. On the contrary, if one considers revolutionary violence merely from the point of view of armed struggle, and consequently takes into account only the military force of the two sides to appraise the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution, mistakes will be inevitable: either one will underestimate the strength of the revolution and dare not mobilize the masses for insurrection, or, once

the insurrection has been launched, one will not dare step up the offensive to push ahead the revolution, or, when the armed struggle has been unleashed, one cannot avoid falling back to a defensive strategy.

In 1959-1960, when the American imperialists and their henchmen used most barbarous fascist means to sow terror and carry out mass slaughter, the South Vietnamese revolutionaries held that the enemy had sustained a basic political defeat and could no longer rule as in the past, while the people had come to realize more and more clearly that they could no longer live under the enemy's yoke and had to rise up and wage a life-and-death struggle to liberate themselves. Under those circumstances the South Vietnamese people uprose, using mainly political struggle combined with armed struggle, broke the enemy's grip, controlled large rural areas, wrested back power, redistributed land, set up "self-management committees", made every effort to develop their forces in every field, and launched a widespread people's war to carry on their liberation struggle.

In South Viet Nam, as the vast countryside has a natural economy not very dependent on the towns and an almost exclusively peasant population living on agriculture, the aggressors and their henchmen ruling in urban centres cannot establish a strict control over the rural areas. That is why, when conditions

are ripe for revolution, the villages constitute the weakest spot where the most rapidly the puppet administration becomes shaky and sinks into a crisis, hence the possibility of starting *local insurrections* and of destroying the enemy's power apparatus by big chunks.

After liberating extensive rural areas, the people gradually built up large and strong armed forces, rapidly organized powerful political forces, vigorously boosted the revolutionary movement throughout the South, stepped up political and military struggle, firmly upheld their offensive position, foiled all the enemy's political and military schemes, and kept on pushing forward the South Vietnamese revolution. Since then, *the close combination of political and military struggle constitutes the basic form of revolutionary violence in South Viet Nam*, the most suitable one to resist neo-colonialism. It has been used not only in the course of insurrections, but also in dealing with the American imperialists' "special warfare" and "limited warfare". This combination of political and military struggle is carried out in accordance with the balance of forces in the *three strategic rural, urban and hill-forest areas* as well as with the general tasks of the revolution and the specific tasks of each period.

Like the national-democratic revolution all over the country in the past the South Vietnamese revolution

at present takes the workers and peasants as the main force and the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class as the corner-stone of the national united front. Therefore, it cannot repose exclusively on the revolutionary forces in the countryside, but has to build up revolutionary forces in the towns as well, and impel revolutionary struggle in both of these areas. In the process of the struggle the revolutionary movements in both areas have been closely co-ordinated, greatly influencing and vigorously impelling each other. If the revolutionary upsurge in the countryside some years ago made its impact strongly felt upon the revolutionary movement in the towns the seething struggle of the urban masses now has created highly favourable conditions for uprisings in the countryside and the extension of people's war. The recent fierce political struggle of the townsfolk has restrained, sometimes slowed down or seriously upset, the military activities of the enemy on the battlefields, thus efficaciously helping the offensive of the revolutionary armed forces; inversely, the military successes on the battlefields like the repeated attacks by the Liberation troops against the enemy's rear bases and dens in the towns and cities have accelerated the growth of the urban revolutionary movement.

In short, *the South Vietnamese revolution develops by using the revolutionary violence of the masses to launch*

local insurrections in the countryside, organizing revolutionary forces in both rural and urban areas — military and political forces alike — and holding firm the offensive position to attack the enemy with military and political actions and agitation among his troops in all the three strategic rural, urban and hill-forest areas so as to smash gradually all his military and political activities and win complete victory.

Like the United States military strategy in the world, in South-East Asia and in South Viet Nam, American neo-colonialism is a passive and patched-up strategy, the product of a weakened position in face of the repeated offensives of the world revolutionary forces. Besides, neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam has gone bankrupt from the outset when the American aggressors and their henchmen had to resort to outright fascist methods against the people and the very social forces that they wanted to win over and deceive. By using "special warfare" and "limited warfare" to salvage a policy which had gone bankrupt since the very beginning, the American imperialists have been driven from one passive position to another, and the more they wriggle the worse their quandary and the heavier their setbacks.

With correct and flexible revolutionary methods the South Vietnamese people have overthrown the Ngo Dinh Diem fascist regime, plunged the puppet administration into endless crises and the Americans into a

"tunnel with no end in sight". With these methods people's war has reached an unprecedented height, foiled the American imperialists' "special war" strategy and that of "limited war" in its initial stage, a very atrocious war of aggression waged by 1,200,000 men with most barbarous weapons, which has consumed already 50 billion dollars.

Having sustained bitter setbacks and being bogged down in an irremediable morass the American imperialists strive on the one hand to extend their war of aggression in South Viet Nam, and on the other, cynically to carry out the war of destruction against North Viet Nam in the hope of shaking the determination to fight of the entire Vietnamese people, of preventing the North from helping the South, and of staving off an inevitable defeat. Over the past three years the Vietnamese people in the North have been resolutely defending their motherland, duly punishing all of the enemy's "escalation" steps, and have won great successes. Neither American planes nor warships could intimidate them. In the fire of war North Viet Nam continues advancing firmly towards socialism and fulfilling its duty as the big rear towards the South—the big front. The resounding successes of North Viet Nam are due to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the excellence of the socialist regime, to the awareness of the labouring people to be collective masters of

the society, to the patriotism and unshakable will for national reunification of the entire Vietnamese people, and to the correct, clear-sighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh.

Standing on the fore-front of the struggle against the American imperialist aggressors, the Vietnamese people are accomplishing their sacred national tasks while performing heavy and glorious international obligations, thus contributing to solve the fundamental contradictions of the world in this epoch. The struggle of the Vietnamese people forms the spearhead of the world revolutionary tide, the peak of the common struggle of the labouring people and all nations for peace, independence, democracy and social progress. That is why it has been enjoying the deep sympathy and active help of all revolutionary forces in the world, first of all, of the socialist camp. This huge and valuable support constitutes one of the decisive factors for the victory of the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Holding higher the banner of national liberation, peace and revolution, the entire Vietnamese people will advance firmly towards final victory, thereby fulfilling also their lofty international obligations towards the labouring people and other nations throughout the world.

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Thirteen years ago, North Viet Nam entered the stage of socialist revolution. This met the requirements of the North Vietnamese society in the process of its development, and the eager aspirations of the working class and people. Moreover, to take the North to socialism is to satisfy the urgent demands of the revolution in the whole country and of the struggle for national reunification.

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party has advocated that North Viet Nam with a backward agriculture in which small farming predominated, can by-pass the stage of capitalist development to proceed straight to socialism. This thesis which was put forward in the 1930 Political Programme of the Party is now confirmed by practice.

The socialist revolution in North Viet Nam is the integration of three revolutionary processes — revolution in the relations of production, technological revolution, cultural and ideological revolution — aiming at ceaselessly heightening the people's material and moral living standard on the basis of an advanced technique and a high labour productivity, on the basis of the establishment of the labouring people's right as collective masters of the whole economy, down to each region and each production unit. Each of these three revolutions has a different content, objective and role, but all of them must be carried out alongside, throughout the

transition period, for they are closely linked to one another, influence and impel one another.

After three years of economic rehabilitation, North Viet Nam entered the period of economic and cultural transformation and development. While laying the initial material and technical bases of socialism, we relied on the people's democratic power exercising the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat to make the *revolution in the relations of production*. This was a necessary step of the socialist revolution, for we had first of all to transform the private capitalist industry and trade, and the small individual economy — peasant for the most part—in order to establish socialist relations of production, and make them predominant under the two forms of ownership of the entire people and collective ownership.

In the development of the modes of production it is the productive forces which assume the decisive role, but to promote these, appropriate relations of production are needed. The socialist relations of production set up in North Viet Nam play a revolutionary part of great importance. They constitute the essential factor which makes it possible for the productive forces to develop and creates social premises to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and further the ideological and cultural revolution. They form one of the main motive forces of the socialist revolution in North Viet

Nam. In the initial period of socialist building in which the material and technical bases are still weak, if one knows how to repose on the superiority of the socialist relations of production in order to use properly the labour force brought into play by co-operativization, improve the organization and management of production, gradually ameliorate techniques while enhancing the sense of being collective masters among the people, then one can obtain a higher productivity, boost economic construction and develop production.

In the revolution of relations of production, one must not only transform the relations of ownership of the means of production, but also pay attention to satisfactorily solving the problem of distribution so that in the process of distribution the labouring people realize that they are really masters of social economy. To this end, one must strictly apply the principle of distribution according to the work done while ensuring the satisfaction of everybody's basic living requirements in accordance with the development of social production. One must also closely combine the method of material incentives with political education and moral stimulation to heighten the people's ardour in their work. The revolution in the relations of production does not come to an end with the establishment of new ones, but continues throughout the transition period; it must unceasingly

consolidate, develop and perfect those relations of production at the same time as proceed the building of the material and technical bases of socialism and the improvement of economic management.

For a country which advances towards socialism by-passing the stage of capitalist development, the transformation of relations of production is only a first step in the whole revolutionary process. To radically transform the Vietnamese society and firmly set up a socialist mode of production, the key problem is to promote the *technological revolution*. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and new relations of production, the technological revolution constitutes the most important motive force to take North Viet Nam to socialism. Only by accelerating the tempo of the technological revolution can one bring the productive forces to a high degree of development, create the material bases for the consolidation of the new relations of production and for the building of an advanced culture and science, thereby ensuring victory for socialism.

In the present stage, the main task of the technological revolution in North Viet Nam which forms the essence of socialist industrialization, consists in building a modern industry capable of transforming agriculture and supplying technical equipment to all economic branches in order to turn an economy

based on manual labour into a highly mechanized one. In Viet Nam, the technological revolution comprises two parallel processes: we have on the one hand to repose on the economic and technical aid of the socialist camp and on international co-operation so as to shift from manual labour straight to modern and ultra-modern technique; on the other hand, to proceed from manual labour to semi-mechanization and mechanization. That is the best way, for it tallies with the concrete possibilities of North Viet Nam and wins time to overcome the scientific and technical lag of our country.

The advance from a small individual production to large-scale socialist production obviously requires *a new division of labour in the entire society* on modern material and technical bases. This new division of labour is closely related to the three above-mentioned revolutions, particularly to the technological revolution. To push ahead the technological revolution, to improve the instruments of production and provide a new technical equipment to all branches, is to create favourable conditions for a rational division of labour in each branch as well as in the whole economy, which in turn influences and stimulates the technological revolution. The key problem at present is to equip agriculture with a new technique in order to increase its productivity, and apply a rational division of labour in agriculture and in the country's various regions,

then on this basis to supply enough manpower for the continuous advance of industry. Only by closely associating the technological revolution with a new division of labour can we strongly boost both the national and regional economy, ensure a harmonious development of industry and agriculture, of production and distribution, impel the productive forces, raise the productivity of social labour, and tap the latent riches of the country in the most rational and profitable manner.

In the process of socialist revolution, the establishment of a new mode of production and the building of an economic basis constitute the decisive factor, but from a subjective point of view, the impact of man plays a very important role, for it is under the socialist regime that the labouring people make history consciously ; moreover, the socialist system alone can liberate man from all social and natural fetters, and restore his genuine value. Indeed, there is a very great leap to make for a waged slave or an owner of a small plot of land to become a collective master of the means of production, of the society. This leap requires that the labouring people profoundly understand their role as collective masters and strive to acquire the capacities and virtues needed to be the true masters of the society, of nature and of their own selves. All this shows that the *ideological and cultural revolution* acts also as an important motive force in socialist revolution.

From the ideological point of view, this revolution aims at educating and transforming the various strata of labouring people in accordance with the requirements of the new social regime, at imbuing them with socialist ethics, with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and a communist conception of life. From the cultural point of view, its objective is to liquidate illiteracy, raise the knowledge of the labouring people, transform backward customs and habits, and train an intelligentsia of the working class faithful to socialism. In short, the cultural and ideological revolution must on the one hand serve the revolution in the relations of production and the technological revolution, and on the other, form new men possessed of the best revolutionary virtues, the best qualifications for production, a high scientific and technical level, and a fine, rich, healthy cultural and moral life, men capable of continuing and promoting the precious national traditions while eliminating the negative aspects of the regime of small production and of the colonial and feudal society.

The socialist line of economic transformation and construction in North Viet Nam is best reflected in two big movements: agricultural co-operativization and socialist industrialization. For lack of a large-scale industry, agricultural co-operativization has to go along with water conservancy and improvement of

farming techniques in order to develop a diversified agriculture as *a basis for industrial development*. However, agriculture cannot advance vigorously by itself unless it is impelled by large-scale industry. Therefore, the only way to transform the country's backward agriculture is to build a socialist industry, regarding this task as the central one of the transition period and to give priority to *heavy industry as the corner-stone of the national economy*. In the process of industrialization, one must have a correct orientation by developing both the centrally-run industry and the regional industry, by serving first of all agricultural production and the consolidation of co-operatives, and by ensuring a harmonious development for industry and agriculture so as to make national economy progress vigorously and steadily.

The three above-mentioned revolutions constitute the basic content of the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam, the steps to be taken by a backward agricultural country in its advance towards socialism. To bring those three revolutions, agricultural co-operativization and socialist industrialization to success one has to wage a fierce class struggle to solve the problem: who will win between socialism and capitalism. If formerly the struggle for power was the basic content of class struggle, now that power has been conquered, *to carry out those three*

revolutions constitutes the basic content of class struggle throughout the transition period towards socialism and communism. Those are also the essential tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Lenin said, "...The dictatorship of the proletariat... is not only the use of force... against the exploiters and not even mainly the use of force... The guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is the essence. This is the source of the strength and the guarantee of the inevitable complete triumph of communism." * The dictatorship of the proletariat is an extremely important motive force of the socialist revolution. The North Vietnamese people have been wielding this efficacious instrument to transform the old economy, build a new economy and a new culture; besides, they firmly use this weapon to smash all war schemes and acts of the American imperialists and their henchmen, timely to repress the reactionary elements who want to sabotage the people's revolutionary work. To bring the dictatorship of the proletariat into full play the most important and decisive problem is unceasingly to enhance and strengthen the leadership of the working class, to build a Marxist-Leninist Party that is staunch, united and closely

* Lenin, *A Great Beginning*, Selected Works, Vol. II, Part 2.

linked to the masses, to strive to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and to rely on the workers and collective peasants as the main force to build socialism.

In more than ten years of socialist revolution, the North Vietnamese people have scored great achievements: the North Vietnamese economy and society have undergone far-reaching transformations. Socialist transformation of economy has been achieved in the main. Co-operativized agriculture has overcome many trials and proved its superiority over the former individual agriculture. After the first five-year plan (1961 - 1965), the initial bases of heavy industry have been established together with many enterprises of light and regional industry. From 1955 to 1965 industrial production increased by 22 per cent every year and agricultural production by 4.5 per cent, the part of industrial and handicraft production in the national economy rose from 17 to 53 per cent. Education, medical work and culture also made outstanding progress: illiteracy was wiped out, nearly one out of four people went to school, the number of doctors was 25 times higher. These initial achievements have brought about a new strength and constitute a source of enthusiasm which stimulates the North Vietnamese people to build a happy life and resolutely defend the socialist regime.

Promoting their ardent patriotism and their sense of being collective masters of the country, the seventeen million North Vietnamese will certainly foil the American imperialists' war of destruction and, together with their brothers and sisters in the South, they will fight to the end to achieve national liberation and reunify their motherland. The struggle has not come to an end; the Vietnamese people are fully aware that the American imperialists remain obstinate and perfidious, reckless and truculent. However, by their heroic and tenacious struggle, with the active and considerable assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the sympathy and support of progressive mankind, they will certainly win final victory.

Fifty years constitute a short span in the history of mankind as in the history of a nation. But when reviewing the tremendous progress and splendid victories of the Soviet people and of world revolution over half a century, progress and victories achieved thanks to the October Revolution, we feel a boundless enthusiasm and a firm confidence in the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism, in the triumph of world revolution and in the bright future of communism. We are deeply grateful to the October Revolution, to Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilitch Lenin who have opened the path of liberation to progressive mankind. The glorious achievements of the October Revolution

will live for ever in the hearts of the world's people. For ever the radiant light of the October Revolution will illuminate all continents.

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The Vietnamese revolution is a component of world revolution and its successes have never been separated from the latter's. For the Vietnamese people, the victories of the October Revolution, of the resistance against fascism, of the August Revolution and of the Chinese revolution, of the resistance against the French colonialists and the American imperialists at present, are great events in one and the same historical chain. In the jubilant atmosphere of the 50th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, a great festival for the labouring people the world over, the Vietnamese communists, working class and people warmly hail the fraternal Soviet Communist Party and people and wish them more outstanding successes in the establishment of the material and technical bases of communism. The glorious victory of the October Revolution and the grand achievements of the Soviet people have been, and will always be, a great stimulus for the Vietnamese people.

In response to the sacred appeal for national salvation made by President Ho Chi Minh "Nothing is

more precious than independence and freedom", the Vietnamese people, united as one man, are determined to defeat the American aggressors, to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance towards the building of a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Viet Nam. We are confident that thanks to their valiant and hard fight on the battlefields and their selfless labour in the fire of the war, our people will create a radiant life in Viet Nam, just as the heroic sacrifices of the October Revolution combatants and the army of Soviet labouring people have built on the great Lenin's motherland the majestic work we see today.

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