Presently, there is developing within the international Communist movement a fierce struggle between the two lines: the Marxist-Leninist line and the modern revisionist line. This struggle between the two lines reflects the fierce class struggle aimed at solving the problem "who will win" on a world scale. The result of this struggle is closely connected with the future of the international Communist movement, the future of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the world people's desires for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Modern revisionism has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and stated that Marxism-Leninism is outdated. Under the pretext of developing Marxism-Leninism under new historic conditions, it has distorted and rejected Marxist-Leninist principles. It has denied or blurred the aggressive and warlike nature of imperialism, replaced Marxist-Leninist theories on the class struggle, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship with views on class harmony and peaceful evolution. It has refused to recognize the leading role of the proletarian party and the general principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The line of modern revisionism is peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition. In fact, this is the peace-between-classes line, common to all revisionisms, old and new.

Concerning the imperialists, revisionism has done its best to embellish the imperialist leaders and exaggerate the power of the U.S. imperialists' nuclear weapons with the aim of causing people in various countries to be afraid of the U.S. imperialists and dare not engage in revolutionary struggles. It has stood up for the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists and for the view that the origin of the danger of war and of the present tense international situation is the existence of opposing "blocs" in the world and not the aggressive and warlike nature of the imperialists. Due to their failure to realize this nature, to their overestimation of the enemy forces, and to their underestimation of the masses' forces, revisionists in a number of fraternal countries have committed serious mistakes in the field of revolutionary strategy and tactics and arrived at unprincipled concessions and agreements with the imperialists concerning a number of problems.

Toward the international Communist movement, revisionism has criticized the Communist and workers parties and the Communists who are resolutely standing for Marxist-Leninist principles and called them
"dogmatist" and "wars like." It has tried to force the Communist and workers' parties to adopt its erroneous views and violate the principles on the relations between fraternal parties -- principles which were stated in the 1960 Moscow statement. It has criticized and tried to isolate the fraternal parties which are resolved to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism. It is the revisionists who have sown ideological confusion and organizational disorder within the international Communist movement.

Regarding the socialist camp, revisionism has propagandized for the so-called "Yugoslav-style socialist path" -- that is, the path of sabotaging the achievements of the socialist revolution and restoring capitalism. It has sown discord among the socialist camp and helped the imperialists to carry out their subversive and sabotaging plots in the socialist countries. Now it is helping the imperialists to carry out their "peaceful evolution" plan in the socialist countries in accordance with the "peaceful strategy" of the U.S. imperialists. In a number of socialist countries, revisionists have seriously jeopardized the solidarity and friendship between the fraternal countries, especially between the Soviet Union and China -- thus attacking the main support for the solidarity of our camp. At the same time, they have weakened the cooperation and assistance between a number of fraternal countries, doing harm to the construction task of the socialist camp and restricting the development of the influence of the socialist system, "the decisive factor in the development of human society."

Concerning the national liberation movement, revisionism does not support the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for national independence of the people in colonies and dependent countries. It advises the oppressed peoples against engaging in revolutionary activities -- using as a pretext the great sacrifices these people will have to suffer -- and asks them to wait until the imperialists grant them independence through their "anti-colonization" policy. In the nationalist countries, revisionism propagandizes for the "policy of standing outside all blocs," with the aim of sabotaging the friendly relations between these countries and the socialist camp and driving them into the traps laid by neo-colonialism. It urges the ruling bourgeoisie in the nationalist countries to oppose the Communist and workers' parties and destroy the national united fronts in these countries.

In a number of fraternal parties, the revisionists fail to realize the importance of the national liberation movement, underestimate the danger of neo-colonialism and fail to actively support the struggle by the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples to restore and consolidate
national independence. They do not warmly welcome and support the armed struggle of the people who are achieving independence and freedom, for fear that national liberation wars may lead to a world war. They exaggerate the role of the United Nations in the national liberation problem, causing the oppressed peoples to have illusions toward the United Nations as well as toward the imperialists. They acclaim the Communist and workers parties in a number of nationalist countries, which are tailing after the ruling bourgeoisie. Concerning the bourgeoisie in these countries, they fail to realize its deep distinctions. They lay emphasis only on its positive aspects and do not struggle against the anti-Communist policies.

Concerning the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries, the revisionists are undermining it ideologically by spreading the rumor that world capitalism has changed its nature and can be peacefully transformed into socialism; that the working class does not need to undertake a class struggle or carry out the proletarian revolution in order to destroy the bourgeois state machinery and achieve proletarian dictatorship; that the working class can follow "the parliamentary path" or use the "structural reforms" method within the framework of the bourgeois constitution to seize power and construct socialism. Their goal is to steer the working class along the reformist path, thus causing it to be disoriented in its struggle for socialism. Both the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements set forth both possibilities: peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism. But the revisionists have laid emphasis on the possibility of peaceful transition, the possibility of following the parliamentary path to seize power, although in many capitalist countries militarism and bureaucratism have developed to a high level.

Concerning the problem of war and peace, the revisionists propagandize for bourgeois peace, raving that with the appearance of nuclear weapons the nature of war has changed, that wars will only be ones of complete destruction; that there is no just and unjust war; that active peaceful coexistence and all-out cooperation with the imperialists is the only correct path just now. That is, in fact, the policy of agreement with and surrender to the imperialists, a betrayal of the revolutionary work of the working class and world's peoples. In a number of Communist and workers parties, the revisionists are using the appearance of nuclear weapons to formulate their strategy and tactics, regarding peaceful coexistence as the main strategy, replacing the revolutionary struggle line by the peaceful coexistence line, and replacing the political and ideological struggle between two opposing systems in the world by economic competition.
Concerning Stalin, our Party has constantly upheld the stand that Stalin was an outstanding Marxist who had the great merit of disseminating and developing Marxism-Leninism, a great leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement. Stalin made great contributions to the success of the October Revolution, to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship and the successful construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, and to the success of the Soviet people's patriotic war against world fascism, thus creating conditions for the birth of a number of people's democratic countries in Europe and Asia. Stalin had the great merit of leading the Soviet people in restoring and developing their economy, culture, science, and technology after the war and in reinforcing the Soviet defense forces. However, during the last years of his life, Stalin committed a number of mistakes in connection with the repression of counter-revolution and with the internal activities of the Party. Properly criticizing these mistakes in order to draw up experiences for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and for the international Communist movement is necessary. But, the revisionists have not comprehensively evaluated Stalin, and have exaggerated the struggle against the cult of Stalin's personality in order to negate the Marxist-Leninist principles which Stalin resolutely defended during his entire active life, to negate the inevitability of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, to negate the great achievements which the Soviet people accomplished under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the period which Stalin headed the Party and state, thus creating for the enemy of the class a favorable opportunity to launch counter-propaganda against socialism and the proletarian dictatorship.

The views of the Tito revisionist clique on the major problems concerning Marxist-Leninist principles, such as the class struggle, proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship, and the proletarian party and state as well as on the era's burning and important issues, such as war and peace, peaceful coexistence, national liberation revolution, and so forth, are basically similar to the views of the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties. The difference between the Tito clique and the latter lies in the fact that the Tito clique not only is undermining the international Communist movement in the ideological field, but also has become lackeys of the imperialists, and actually intends to undermine the revolutionary work of the world's peoples. As for the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties,
they have committed serious mistakes concerning standpoints and views regarding revolutionary strategy and tactics. Thus, they have caused heavy damages. But we regard their present errors as having the same direction as the errors of the international Communist movement. The contradictions between the Tito clique and the international Communist movement are the contradictions between the enemy and us, while the present contradictions between the revisionists and rightist opportunists in a number of fraternal parties and the Marxist-Leninists are the internal contradictions of the international Communist movement. However it is necessary to realize that while the Tito revisionist clique has become a commando unit of the imperialists and is undermining the international Communist movement, the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties have become the leaning points for the Tito clique.

The 1960 Moscow statement pointed out:

"While distorting Marxism-Leninism and depriving it of its revolutionary spirit, revisionism and rightist opportunism, in practice as well as in theory, adopted the ideology of the bourgeoisie, paralyzed the revolutionary will of the working class, took weapons away from the annihilated the spirit of workers and laboring people in the struggle against the rule of the imperialists and exploiters for achieving peace, democracy, national liberation, and success of socialism."

That is why at present, the struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism which are the main dangers to the international Communist movement. Only through resolutely struggling against revisionism and rightist opportunism is it possible to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, protect the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, protect the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, restore and strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. This is a very important condition for insuring the success of the struggle against imperialism -- headed by U.S. imperialism -- for achieving greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The 1957 Moscow statement pointed out:

"The survival of bourgeois influences is the internal cause of revisionism, and the surrender to imperialist pressures its external cause."
After World War II, the following objective and subjective conditions have contributed to the birth and development of modern revisionism within the international Communist movement: the demand for peace by the world's peoples, especially by the people in the countries which were heavily devastated by the war; the appearance of nuclear weapons and their destructive power; the influence of new scientific and technical progress upon production; the monopoly capitalists' new deceitful policies toward the working classes in a number of capitalist countries; the development of an upper class bureaucratic working strata; the imperialists' policies of oppression, terror, and fascistization; the lack of experiences concerning the achievement of the proletarian dictatorship and concerning socialist construction in the socialist countries and the discovery of errors and shortcomings caused by this lack of experiences; the shortcomings committed by many Communist and workers parties while building themselves up in the ideological and organizational fields; the quick development of the international revolutionary movement and of socialist and Communist construction; and the slow progress in recapitulating the theoretical task of the international Communist movement, and so forth. These conditions help us understand why revisionism has become an international event.

To efficaciously struggle against revisionism, first of all Marxist-Leninists should realize that this is a struggle in the field of principles to protect and develop Marxism-Leninism -- that is, to protect and invigorate the most important factor of the success of the revolution in each country and in the world.

In the theoretical and ideological fields, revisionism of any shade is dangerous to each Communist and workers party, to the international Communist and workers movement, and to the revolutionary task of the working class and the world's peoples. But, in the political and organizational fields, it is necessary to distinguish the contradictions between the enemy and us from the internal contradictions of the international Communist movement in order, consequently, to adopt appropriate measures and attitudes.

The anti-revisionist struggle is long, arduous, and complex, but will surely be successful. Closely united and struggling resolutely, Marxist-Leninist parties and individuals will surely be able to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and achieve victory on the ideological and political fronts. The following situations insure victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism:
- Imperialism is being weakened through grave general crises. Its reactionary and warlike nature is increasingly being laid bare before the eyes of everyone. The policy of unprincipled agreements with imperialism is increasingly being opposed by the world's peoples and will sustain an ignominious defeat.

- The superiority of socialism is increasingly becoming clearer, and the power of the socialist camp is daily reinforced. Workers and people in various countries are constantly being revolutionized. The revolutionary movement in various countries is constantly and vigorously developing. Daily realities assert the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and condemn the erroneous line of revisionism.

- Communist and workers parties are maturing everyday. Their theoretical and political levels are constantly being heightened.

The anti-revisionist struggle is an opportunity for Communists and workers to become more tempered. This struggle will surely develop even stronger and further enrich Marxism-Leninism. Communists the world over will be more impregnated with Marxist-Leninist principles, and this is a basic condition for the world revolution to favorably develop and achieve more brilliant victories.

Along with resolutely struggling against revisionism and rightist opportunism which are the main dangers at present, we must struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The 1960 Moscow statement said:

"Dogmatism and sectarianism cause revolutionary parties to lose their capacity to develop Marxism-Leninism on the basis of scientifically analyzing and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in a way suitable to concrete conditions; isolate Communists from other strata; cause them to passively wait or engage in 'leftist' or adventurous activities in their revolutionary struggle; prevent them from correctly evaluating in time new situations and experiences; prevent them from using their ability to achieve success for the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, against reactionary forces, and against the dangers of war; and consequently, prevent the populace in different countries from achieving success in their just struggle."
Dogmatism manifests itself through mechanically applying Marxist-Leninist principles of "reproducing textually" the policies, tactics, and experiences of other parties for application in one's country, without taking into consideration the concrete conditions and characteristics of that country, thus doing harm to the revolutionary work.

However, it is necessary to realize that in the present international Communist movement, there is a struggle between the Marxist-Leninist and modern revisionist lines. Dogmatism manifests itself only in one party or another. In fact, there is not a third line which must be combated, namely, the dogmatist line.

Sectarianism manifests itself in the fact that when there is a disagreement within the international Communist movement, a number of people in a number of parties tend to gang up and criticize and isolate the fraternal parties and Marxist-Leninists who have different views, thus causing serious disagreements and creating the danger of division within the international Communist movement, turning the disagreements between parties in the socialist camp into disputes involving state relations, setting up sects among the fraternal parties, and mobilizing the masses to isolate the fraternal parties and countries which are loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, it is necessary to combat bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. In fact, these latter are other manifestations of revisionism in the international Communist movement.

The resolution of the Third National Party Congress in 1960 said:

"Being a part of the great and powerful international Communist movement, our Party endeavors to contribute to strengthening solidarity and unanimity among the Communist and workers parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the principles set forth in the 1957 Moscow peace statement and manifesto, and actively struggles to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and resolutely combats revisionism and dogmatism."

Our Party pays special attention to the problem of protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the problem of strengthening solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. That is why we resolutely struggle against revisionism and other
opportunist tendencies, regarding it as a sacred duty for ourselves as well as for the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties the world over in order to protect the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, protect the fraternal parties and the fraternal socialist countries, and insure the achievement of increasing great victories in the struggle of the working class and world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. At the same time, this is a very important duty for strengthening solidarity and unanimity in our Party protecting our Party's correct line, and stepping up the revolutionary work of our people throughout the country.

IV. Our Party's International Duty

The revolutionary work of our people and of the world's peoples are interrelated and interdependent. The resolution of the Third National Party Congress pointed out:

"The Vietnamese revolution is part of the international movement struggling for socialism, national independence, and world peace."

That is why, up to now in determining the line and duties of the Vietnamese revolution, our Party has constantly applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, guided by the general line of the international Communist movement. Our Party has constantly and correctly associated the requirements of our people's revolution with those of the world revolution. This proves that our Party has constantly adhered to the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Immediately after its founding in 1930, our Party based itself on the platform of the Communist International and on the concrete conditions in Vietnam to determine the line of the national democratic revolution of our working class and people.

During the Indochinese Democratic Front phase (1936-1939), our Party based itself on the resolutions of the Communist International and on the prevailing conditions in our country to set forth the policy of concentrating forces to oppose the fascists and reactionary colonialists, to demand freedom, democracy, and a better life for the people, and to protect world peace and oppose wars of aggression.
During World War II (1939-1945), our Party led our people and united them in the anti-imperialist national united front and later in the Viet Minh Front to struggle against the Japanese and French fascists, liberate the country, support the Soviet Union, and contribute to the common struggle of the international democratic front against fascist aggression. The historic victory of the Soviet Union in its great patriotic war created favorable conditions for our people to rise up and seize power during the August Revolution (1945) and set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

When the French colonialists returned and again invaded our country, our Party led our people in resisting the U.S.-supported French colonialists (1945-1954). The resistance of our people against the French colonialists and U.S. interventionists along with the revolutionary war of the Chinese people against the U.S.-Chiang clique and the anti-U.S. war of the Korean people formed a common front against the warlike and aggressive imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists. The success of the Chinese revolution and of the anti-U.S. war of the Korean people created more conditions for the success of our national salvation resistance. The success of the August Revolution and of the protracted resistance of the Vietnamese people contributed to stepping up the national liberation movement, strengthening the forces of the international socialist system, and, at the same time, thwarting the U.S. imperialists' plot of enlarging the Indochinese war, thus actively contributing to protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

After the restoration of peace, our Party remarked that the common duty of the working class and people of Vietnam was to undertake the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North and, at the same time, continue to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, achieve national unification through peaceful means, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, contribute to the reinforcing of the socialist camp, support the national liberation movement and the struggle movement for democracy and socialism of the peoples in various countries, and to actively protect peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people during the past 9 years proves that the stepping up of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North exerts the most decisive influence upon the development of the entire Vietnamese revolution, as well as upon the task of unifying the country. At the same time, the revolutionary struggle
of the southern people exerts a decisive influence on the task of directly overthrowing the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and crushing their neo-colonialist policy in order to liberate the South and thwart the U.S. imperialists' plot of turning South Viet Nam into a military base to oppose the socialist camp, rekindle the Indochinese war, and expand the war to Southeast Asia. That is why, the present patriotic struggle of the southern compatriots is an active contribution to the world's peoples task of protecting peace and, at the same time, encouraging the national liberation movement.

Experiences drawn from the Vietnamese revolution confirm that the urgent requirements of the working class and the world's peoples are closely related and cannot be separated. These experiences also prove that if the socialist system is the decisive factor in the development of human society, the struggle of the people in the capitalist countries -- especially of the oppressed people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America -- is the direct decisive factor in overthrowing the colonial rule, weakening of imperialism, achieving national independence and democracy, protecting world peace, and creating conditions for socialism to succeed in more countries. These experiences also prove that to protect peace, it is necessary -- along with reinforcing the socialist system -- to drive back world imperialism step by step and overthrow it chunk by chunk. Revolutionary struggles, especially the national liberation movement under all forms, including under the form of a liberation war, are positive contributions to the protection of the socialist camp and to the protection of world peace.

The successes of our people's revolutionary work during the several past decades (the success of the August Revolution, the success of the protracted resistance, the great achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North, the continued successes of the southern compatriots' heroic struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys) prove that our Party's line is correct.

While struggling for the Marxist-Leninist line of the international Communist movement and protecting the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, we have continuously struggled for the strict implementation of our Party's correct line. That is why, in the ideological field, we, along with the Marxist-Leninist parties and people throughout the world, have opposed revisionism and other opportunistic tendencies. At the same time, we have endeavored to help our cadres and members eliminate erroneous views and develop the good traditions of the Party.
Since its founding, our Party has continuously engaged in an ideological struggle. On the one hand, it has defeated the reformism of the bourgeoisie, unmasked the super-class line of the petite bourgeoisie, and crushed the provocations and sabotage of the Trotskyites. On the other hand, it has overcome erroneous rightist and "leftist" tendencies within its own ranks. During the process of its building and development, our Party has continuously improved the proletarian standpoint of its cadres and members, helped them understand and be impregnated with Marxist-Leninist principles and the Party's line and policies so that they can correctly carry them out. On the other hand, being trained in the realities of a protracted and arduous revolutionary struggle, the great majority of our cadres and members have correct standpoints and views on the basic problems of the national and world revolutions. This situation reflects our Party's staunchly revolutionary will and spirit of solidarity and unanimity.

However, a small number of cadres have been influenced by modern revisionism. When the Nhan Van-Giai Pham clique took advantage of the fact that our Party criticized its own shortcomings and errors during the application of land reforms and the consolidation of its organizations and took advantage of the opposition against the cult of Stalin's personality to engage in sabotaging activities, a number of our cadres and members sided with it. During the past few years, while a fierce ideological struggle broke out inside the international Communist movement, a number of cadres supported the erroneous views and stand of the revisionists. A number of cadres and Party members have upheld rightist views which have been reflected in the following ways:

Concerning domestic problems, there have been the following deviations:

- They have slighted the problem of the people's democratic dictatorship, the substance of which is the proletarian dictatorship. They have failed to realize that strengthening the dictatorship over the enemy and developing democracy for the people are two inseparable aspects of our dictatorship. Thus, they have lost their vigilance toward the enemy and have been unwilling to repress the counter-revolutionary elements resisting transformation. On the contrary, they have become bureaucratic, arrogant, and commandistic toward the people. They have paid little attention to the problems of the state's jurisdiction and to resolutely maintaining and strengthening the socialist legal system. In charge of applying the law, a number of cadres and organs have not resolutely behaved in accordance with the law.
They have maintained that since the North of our country has basically completed the socialist transformation of the national economy, it is unnecessary to carry out the class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the economic and political fields, and it is necessary only to carry out the struggle between the socialist ideology and between the new and old in a perfunctory manner. They have maintained that since the exploiting classes -- landlords, bourgeoisie, including rich farmers have been transformed, it is unnecessary to resolutely continue transforming them into genuine workers. They have not correctly implemented the Party's class line in rural areas, slighted the problem of transforming small dealers, and loosely managed the market.

- They have not realized the importance of socialist industrialization toward the socialist construction of the North of our country. They have not thoroughly understood the view that agriculture is the base for developing industry, and industry plays the leading role in the national economy. They have not understood the correct relationships between accumulation and consumption. They have opposed the main task of building an autonomous economy and a relatively complete industry in which it is necessary to rely on accumulation within the country, achieve self-sufficiency, and, at the same time, pay special attention to and use satisfactorily the aid from the fraternal socialist countries.

- They have maintained that agricultural cooperativization was started too soon, that agricultural production would have been strongly stepped up if after land reforms, the peasants were allowed to engage in private enterprise on their own land for a certain time more. They have failed to realize the relationship between agricultural cooperativization, and socialist industrialization. They have not understood that after the land reforms, the slower that the peasants were led into agricultural cooperativization, the more conditions for a rich peasant economy would exist, and the more difficulties our industry and agriculture would then encounter. They have refused to look ahead, but look backward only. Instead of busying themselves with consolidating and developing agricultural cooperatives, they have constantly expressed regret for the old individualistic, scattered, and backward work methods.

- They have failed to see the difficulties in a backward agricultural country that has advanced directly to socialism by skipping the capitalist development phase and in the protracted, arduous, and complex nature of the struggle for peacefully achieving national unification. They have failed
to realize that to achieve success, one must not retreat before difficulties; instead, one must strengthen one's stand, have revolutionary courage and the determination to overcome all difficulties and fulfill one's duties. On the other hand, when evaluating the situation they have seen only the difficulties and not the advantages and successes. Thus, they have become pessimistic and suspicious and engaged in production, tasks and study with less enthusiasm and eagerness.

Concerning the struggle to peacefully achieve national unification and the liberation struggle of the southern compatriots, they have feared that these struggles might be protracted and arduous; they have been afraid of sacrifices. Concerning the southern compatriots' struggle, they have adopted a somewhat indifferent attitude and failed to realize the relationship between the revolutionary tasks of our people in both zones.

- They have failed to realize the Party's class and vanguard nature and the members' duties. That is why they have longed for security and enjoying pleasures. They have been worried about personal positions. They have neither enthusiastically and courageously fulfilled the tasks entrusted them by the Party, nor have they voluntarily set a good example in implementing Party and government policies. Their sense of organization and discipline has been low. They have paid no attention to consolidating Party chapters into leading nuclei at the basic level and to improving and helping the core cadres so that they could satisfactorily fulfill the tasks entrusted them by the Party and state.

Concerning international problems, they have been vaguely aware of the nature of imperialism as well as the problem of war and peace, the role of nuclear weapons, peaceful coexistence, economic competition, peaceful transition, and so forth. They have cultivated pacifist views, lost vigilance in face of the plots and actions of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Their fighting spirit has been blunted. Sometimes they have repeated or disseminated the erroneous views of the revisionists.

The above-mentioned rightist views have exerted a bad influence on the implementation of the Party's policies and line and upon the fulfillment of the state plan in a number of branches and localities. Therefore, at present, criticizing and resolutely overcoming rightist views is an essential task for insuring successful fulfillment of the tasks which the Third National Party Congress set forth and, at the same time, to prevent the influences of revisionism from infiltrating the Party.
Rightist views have a social cause and a class origin in a number of cadres and Party members. The majority of our cadres and members have come from the petite bourgeoisie. Those comrades have brought petty bourgeois thoughts into the Party when joining. Since our country was a country where small production occupied an advantageous position for a long period, it was natural that bourgeois and petty bourgeois thoughts have influenced our Party. For a large number of cadres and members who have been educated by the Party and trained in revolutionary struggle, bourgeois thoughts have been basically eliminated and proletarian thoughts have been improved. However, the vestiges of petty bourgeois thoughts have survived rather deeply in a number of other cadres and Party members. The characteristics of petty bourgeois thoughts are individualism, fear of fierce struggle, lack of firmness, and a unilateral and unrealistic subjectivism. Faced with revolutionary situations, difficulties, or advantages, petty bourgeois thoughts have usually manifested themselves under the form of rightist or "leftist," mostly rightist, deviations, thus leading to an easy assimilation of modern revisionist views. Although our cadres and members -- who have rightist views on one or another problem -- do not, generally speaking, support the erroneous views of the revisionists, we must admit that rightist thoughts are seed beds where revisionism can take root and advantageously develop if it is given the opportunity. That is why we must be clearheaded and take precautions against it.

International, as well as domestic duties require that we struggle against petty bourgeois thoughts and, at the same time, oppose the influences of bourgeois thoughts and the influences of revisionism, overcome rightist thoughts in order to prevent revisionism from doing harm, and make our Party become increasingly pure ideologically and firm organizationally and forever remain the clear sighted and courageous vanguard leader of the Vietnamese working class and people.

In addition to rightist thoughts, which are the main deviations, in our Party there have been manifestations of dogmatism and experimentalism and "leftist" deviations.

Dogmatism manifests itself in the fact that policies and stands of the fraternal parties and countries are applied mechanically, without taking into consideration the concrete conditions of our country and without conducting investigations and research on the concrete situation in the nation before adopting correct policies and tasks, and in the fact that during study phases, theory and practice are not closely connected.
Experimentalism manifests itself in the fact that theory is slighted, that revolutionary struggle experiences are not recapitulated in order to draw up general conclusions, that theory is not studied systematically in order to keep a firm hold on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and that one relies only on one's old experiences and those of the fraternal parties. Thus, in various tasks, there is lack of foresightedness and creativity.

Concerning "leftist" deviations, as far as internal relations are concerned, the relatively general manifestations are: preference to resort to administrative orders for the carrying out of the policies and stands of the Party and state; slighting the propaganda task in persuasion of the masses; refusal to follow the mass line; supporting egalitarianism, and so forth. As far as international relations are concerned, in the struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism there is no differentiation between the contradictions between the enemy and us and the contradictions within the international Communist movement. Consequently, this leads to deviations concerning struggle methods and attitudes. While criticizing the errors and shortcomings of the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties, one does not make a comprehensive and objective evaluation of our Party and people.

Basing itself on the requirements of the revolutionary tasks in the country and the tasks of the international Communist movement and in order to develop good points, overcome weak points, and cause our cadres and Party members to resolutely defend the Marxist-Leninist position under any circumstances, our Party must undertake the following tasks in its current ideological tasks:

To educate cadres and members -- especially leading cadres of all echelons and branches -- so that they can understand more deeply the line of the socialist revolution in the North, the line of the southern revolution and national unification, the line of the Party's foreign relations, and the Party's standpoint and views concerning the strategic and tactical problems of the international Communist movement and the international duties of the Party. To put itself on this foundation the Party must then consolidate the class standpoint, develop a thoroughly revolutionary spirit; improve the self-reliance spirit and the determination to overcome difficulties and fulfill tasks, struggle against the influences of revisionism and overcome rightist thoughts and other erroneous deviations, improve the revolutionary virtues of the proletariat, build the collective socialist ideology, struggle
against individualism, heighten the sense of organization and discipline and struggle against liberalism, teach patriotism and proletarian internationalism, strengthen solidarity and unanimity within the Party, create a strong revolutionary impulse among cadres, members, and the people; step up the patriotic emulation in order to satisfactorily fulfill the state plan, consolidate the North, make the North quickly, strongly, firmly advance toward socialism, actively support the patriotic struggle of southern compatriots, and make concrete contributions to world's peoples struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

To attain the above-mentioned goals, it is necessary to keep a firm hold on the direction of the ideological tasks, as set forth by the Third National Party Congress: "To improve the proletarian ideology, to struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeois ideology, and pursue the elimination of the vestiges of feudal and other non-proletarian thoughts." At the same time, it is necessary to correctly apply the following ideological struggle methods: struggle against the influences of revisionism and overcome the rightist thoughts is the main task. At the same time, it is necessary to prevent and overcome the manifestations of dogmatism, factionalism, and "leftist" errors; criticize the modern revisionists' erroneous views concerning the carrying out of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution; and criticize the cadres' and Party members' rightist views concerning the carrying out of tasks in the various localities and chapters.

For the time being, it is necessary to undertake the following tasks:

1. To pursue the systematic education of cadres and Party members in Marxism-Leninism with different requirements and levels. During the study, it is necessary to apply the method of connecting theory with practice. In Party schools, newspapers, and so forth, it is necessary to clearly and properly criticize the modern revisionists' views and uphold the spirit and experiences of the Marxist-Leninist struggle against revisionism and other opportunistic manifestations.

2. To rely on the "three against" movement in factories, construction sites, and collective farms and on the "improve cooperative management, improve techniques, and develop agricultural production in an all-out, strong, and firm manner" movement in the rural areas to step up the emulation movement for increasing production and practicing economy and, at the same time, struggle against corruption, waste,
and bureaucracy and struggle against rightist and conservative tendencies in the task of improving techniques; to apply the method, according to which cadres closely follow the realities and participate in labor; and strengthen the relations between the Party and the masses.

3. To strengthen the leadership over the organs and branches in charge of ideological, research, and propaganda tasks. It is necessary to prevent and combat the influences of revisionism in these branches, especially in philosophy, culture, arts and literature, and scientific branches -- including social and natural sciences.

4. To organize a careful study of the resolution of the 9th plenum of the Party Central Committee and confirm the correct stand and views of cadres and Party members on the tasks and lines of the international Communist movement as well as the international duties of our Party and people.

V. The Foreign Policy of Our Party

Our Party's stand is that of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is responsible before the working class and people of our country and has the duty of looking after the revolutionary interests of our people throughout the country. At the same time, our Party is partially responsible before the international Communist and workers movement and has the duty of looking after the revolutionary interests of the working class, laboring people, and oppressed people the world over.

To fulfill its international duties, our Party has based itself on the Marxist-Leninist view that the interests of the proletarian revolution in each country and those of the proletarian revolution the world over are one, and that the basic and long-term interests of each nation and those of the working class and world people are one.

At present, the revolutionary interests of our people and those of the world's peoples require that our Party resolutely protect and fully implement the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements. The Third National Party Congress pointed out the international duty of our Party as follows: "To actively contribute to the common struggle for socialism, national independence, and world peace."
The content of our Party's foreign policy, as pointed out by the Congress, can be summarized as follows:

- To endeavor to strengthen the forces of the socialist camp; strengthen the solidarity and unanimity and consolidate the unshakable friendship between our people and the people in the fraternal countries; develop relations of cooperation and mutual help between our country and the fraternal countries in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

- To continue to struggle and contribute to consolidating world peace, opposing the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists -- headed by the U.S. imperialists -- and achieving peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and social systems.

- To endeavor to support the struggle movements of Asian, African, and Latin American peoples to oppose imperialism and achieve national independence; strengthen friendly relations and develop economic and cultural cooperation with nationalist countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference; establish friendly relations with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

- To resolutely struggle for complete implementation of the Geneva Accords on Indochina.

- To expand the friendly relations between our people and the world's peoples, along with the building and strengthening of relations between our government and the governments of other countries.

To carry out the above-mentioned foreign policy, our Party now has the following policy and duties to fulfill:

1. **Restore and strengthen solidarity and unanimity within the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.**

The solidarity of the socialist camp and of the international Communist movement is a very important factor insuring the success of the revolutionary work of the working class and the people throughout the world.
There are at present in the world over 90 Communist and workers parties embracing over 40 million party members. The international Communist movement has become a political force exerting the greatest influence in our era. The socialist camp "is becoming the decisive factor in the development of mankind's society." To achieve victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, now more than ever it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity and unanimity within the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The imperialists -- headed by the U.S. imperialists -- are now mustering the reactionary forces and are using the modern revisionists to sow discord in the socialist camp, oppose the international Communist movement, undermine the revolutionary movement of world people, and sabotage peace. Thus, strengthening solidarity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement is of very great significance. This will manifoldly increase the forces of the world revolution and insure even greater victories for the world revolution and the protection of peace.

There appeared in the past few years, due to the appearance of revisionism, in the international Communist movement a disagreement between the Communist and workers parties on a number of problems concerning Marxist-Leninist principles and the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle. Revisionism is developing and confronting the international Communist movement with the danger of deep disunity. This disagreement between a number of parties has led to bad relations between a number of fraternal socialist countries.

This lack of solidarity has weakened the international Communist movement, limited the decisive influence of the socialist system, and exerted a bad influence on the revolutionary struggle of world people. The imperialists and their henchmen have endeavored and are endeavoring to take advantage of this situation to deepen the disagreements between a number of fraternal parties and countries -- especially between the Soviet Union and China. At the same time, they have shown their brazenness and isolation and have adopted an attitude of obvious intimidation and provocation, such as their provocations in Berlin, their plot of creating crises in the Caribbean areas, their pursuance of the plot to invade Cuba, their intensification of armed aggression against South Viet Nam, and so forth.
Therefore, the consolidation and strengthening of international solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements in order to muster all forces and concentrate the spearheads of attacks upon the common enemy of world revolution is an urgent task at present for all Communist and workers parties and all socialist countries.

The conference of delegates of Communist and workers parties, held in Moscow in 1960, remarked:

"...Greater solidarity among Communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a very important condition for mustering all the forces of the working class, all the democratic and progressive forces for insuring new victories for the international Communist and workers movement in its great struggle for the brilliant future of all mankind and for the success of peace and socialism."

To consolidate and strengthen international solidarity in order to defeat the imperialists -- led by the U.S. imperialists -- and their reactionary henchmen, it is necessary to struggle against revisionism which is the origin of the disagreement in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.

Our Party pledges to resolutely struggle, along with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, defend and develop the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements. It is necessary to draw a clear-cut frontier between Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and, at the same time, resolutely oppose the Tito revisionist clique -- the lackeys of imperialism, who have betrayed the international Communist movement.

In the ideological struggle to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and other opportunistic tendencies, we do not compromise in the field of principles; but we deem solidarity necessary in struggling to strengthen solidarity itself. We must adopt reasonable attitudes and base ourselves on the concrete situation and concrete objectives to adopt suitable struggle methods and forms.
We must endeavor to struggle to contribute to restoring and strengthening solidarity among fraternal parties. Pending the elimination of this disagreement, our Party advocates the necessity of maintaining unity, protesting against and preventing disunity.

Our Party must establish more contacts with fraternal parties in order to understand the stands and views of these parties and clearly express our Party's own stands and views and, at the same time, exchange views on problems in which both sides are interested.

Our Party is of the opinion that a conference of delegates of Communist and workers parties throughout the world must be convened to settle all disagreements. But, this conference must be carefully prepared and must not be convened in a hurry. Our Party hopes that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist Party of China -- which have the greatest part of the responsibility in the international Communist movement -- will resume the 1963 summer conference in order to settle their disagreements and prepare the necessary conditions for the coming conference of delegates of Communist and workers parties to achieve good results. We welcome the convening by fraternal parties throughout the world of bilateral or multilateral meetings to understand each other's views and initially settle disagreements, thus contributing to the preparations for the above-mentioned international conference.

The 1960 Moscow statement said:

"Communist and workers parties, when need be, must convene conferences to discuss urgent problems, exchange experiences, understand each other's stands and views, use the exchange of views to arrive at unanimous conclusions and coordinate their actions in the struggle for achieving common goals.

"When in a certain party problems arise which are related to the activities of another fraternal party, the leading organ of that party must discuss them with the leading organ of the interested party, and, if need be, hold meetings to exchange views."

These are very correct principles which every party has the duty to strictly respect. However, in the light of the realities occurring during the past few years, our Party has proposed to supplement them with the following points concerning the parties and the relations between Communist and workers parties:
Communist and workers parties do not intervene in each other's internal affairs. Each party has the duty to respect the independence of the other fraternal parties.

- To settle differences of opinions, the interested parties must give evidence of sincerity and reasonableness. They must base this attitude on an aspiration for solidarity, on the desire to conduct criticisms to strengthen solidarity. They must base their discussions on the spirit of comradeship. They must patiently and perseveringly wait for each other.

- All Communist and workers parties have the duty of publicly unmasking the Tito revisionist clique -- the commando team of the imperialists, the saboteurs of the international Communist movement -- which the 1960 Moscow conference of delegates of Communist and workers parties severely condemned.

We advocate the necessity of strengthening the solidarity between our country and the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the common duties of the socialist camp. Concerning relations among socialist countries, we advocate the necessity of correctly associating genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism and opposing all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

At present, the philosopher's stone of the loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is loyalty to the entire socialist camp. That is why our Party resolutely opposes all policies and actions aimed at weakening or doing harm to the solidarity between the 13 fraternal socialist countries. Our Party does not recognize Yugoslavia as a socialist country because, at present, under the leadership of the Tito revisionist clique, Yugoslav society actually is in the process of changing its nature, and in Yugoslavia capitalism is being restored.

It is necessary to struggle hard to achieve and intensify mutual help and cooperation among socialist countries in the economic, political, cultural, scientific, technical, and other fields in accordance with the principles of complete equality, voluntariness, mutual profit, respect of each other's independence and sovereignty, and mutual help on the basis of comradeship and proletarian internationalism.
Our Party maintains that the socialist countries have the duty of supporting each other's revolutionary work and national construction, encouraging each other, protecting and defending each other against the imperialists and the reactionaries in all countries.

Relations among socialist countries are an entirely new sort of relations between governments in the history of human society. The socialist countries have a common goal which is to achieve socialism and Communism, have a common enemy which is imperialism -- led by U.S. imperialism -- and have a common system which is the socialist system. But, due to the erroneous line and policies and the divisive and factional activities of the revisionists, in the past few years relations between a number of socialist countries have deteriorated. Serious disagreements have now arisen among a number of fraternal countries. We hope that these fraternal countries will discuss among themselves the settlement of these disagreements and restore and strengthen solidarity and unanimity within the socialist camp. If the disagreements have reached the point of causing harm to the governmental relations, the interested countries must endeavor to restore the normal governmental relations. They should not let these disagreements last too long and lead to national distrust. Concerning the relations between the socialist countries, and basing ourselves on the experiences of the recent years, we make the following proposal:

- In the socialist camp, it is absolutely necessary not to confuse the ideological struggle between parties with the governmental relations. One must not take advantage of these ideological disagreements to exert political, economic, and other pressures to force other countries to adopt one's own views.

- In the case where the enemy, namely, the imperialists and other reactionaries, provokes or attacks a fraternal country, the socialist countries -- whose disagreements have not been settled -- must put the common interests of the socialist camp above all, close their ranks, defend each other, support and help each other in the struggle against the common enemy.

Only through firmly adopting the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and basing oneself on the common interests of the world revolution, the task of constructing socialism and Communism in the socialist system, and the holding of meetings and discussions on the basis of comradeship
and discover similar viewpoints is it possible to settle disagreements and strengthen solidarity and unanimity within the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.


We have the duty to actively support and help in all fields the national liberation movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples struggling against imperialism and old and new colonialism. The exchange of experiences between our Party and the Communist and workers parties in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries is very necessary.

We advocate the necessity of strengthening friendly relations between our country and the nationalist countries in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism for achieving national independence and world peace, developing economic and cultural relations with these countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and of supporting and helping the people of these countries in the struggle to completely fulfill the national democratic revolutionary tasks.

We must struggle hard to contribute to enlarging the united front of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, for achieving and consolidating national independence, and achieving democracy and progress; actively participate in the organizations and activities of people's organization and activities toward strengthening solidarity among the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism; and contribute to the struggle to crush the influences of revisionism in the revolutionary movement in these areas. We must resolutely struggle to contribute to maintain the independence and combativity of these organizations of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples so that these organizations can continue to struggle resolutely against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism. At the same time, we must contribute to the struggle to strengthen the solidarity between the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the workers movement in the capitalist countries with the aim of achieving the common goals which are to oppose imperialism and new and old colonialism and to achieve peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.
3. Actively support the movement of the working class and people in capitalist countries struggling for democracy and socialism.

The struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries strikes directly at the imperialists and monopoly capitalists right in their lairs. The people in the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples must unite closely with the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries. It is necessary to achieve solidarity and mutual support between the people in socialist countries and the oppressed peoples on the one hand and the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries on the other hand in order to struggle against the common enemy -- imperialism.

Based on the above remark, our Party advocates the necessity of supporting the struggle of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries against the imperialists and monopoly capitalists for achieving peace, democracy, and socialism.

It is necessary to develop relations between our people's organizations -- such as trade unions, youth federation, women's union -- the Viet Nam Committee to Defend World Peace, and our literary and scientific organizations and their counterparts in capitalist countries. An appropriate policy and formula for these relations is to be decided by the nature of these organizations.

It is necessary to actively support the negroes' struggle movement against racial discrimination and to demand for racial equality, democratic freedoms, and a better life.

4. Contribute to protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

First of all, we must clearly realize that our people's efforts in building socialism in the North and struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the South are positive and concrete contributions in protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world. Meanwhile, our people continue to directly participate in the movement for protecting world peace, opposing the war-seeking and aggressive policy of the imperialists, opposing their armaments race policy, demanding that general disarmament be achieved step by step, that testing, production, stocking, and use of nuclear weapons be banned, that aggressive military blocs be disbanded, that military bases on foreign lands be dismantled, and that international disputes be settled through negotiations.
While participating in the movement for protecting world peace, we must adopt a clear-cut, definite attitude: we must support what is just and oppose what is wrong. We must adhere to our stand and principles. But, we must be flexible in applying tactics. The goals of our struggle are: to actively contribute to directing the peace movement along the right path; to focus the spearhead of attacks on the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists; to protest those views and policies which oppose the revolutionary movements of people in various countries to the struggle for protecting world peace.

We must contribute to the struggle to enlarge the front of forces that oppose the aggressive and warlike imperialists to protect world peace, and use the socialist camp, the Communist movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement as the core (the task of extensively winning over the peace forces must be carried out along with strengthening these core forces.) We must not let the desire of enlarging the peace movement and the international movement of the people's organizations throughout the world cause these movements to lose all concrete objectives and goals.

Our Party is of the opinion that while participating in a large front to struggle against the war-seeking imperialists and protect world peace, all people's organizations throughout the world must continue to keep their independence and own principles and focus their activities primarily on the implementation of these principles because these activities by themselves are a positive contribution to the struggle for protecting world peace. However, in addition to struggling for the implementation of their own principles, people's organizations throughout the world have the duty to struggle to implement the general principles of the world peace front and the resolutions of the peace movement in each area.

To satisfactorily fulfill the above-mentioned tasks, we must streamline and unify the leadership over the organs in charge of carrying out the foreign policy of the Party, government, and people's organizations in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front; modify the work methods of these organs, thus enabling these organs to unify their activities and closely combine their tasks. We must intensify the various aspects of the foreign relations task, especially the research and propaganda aspect.
Let all cadres and Party members tighten their ranks around the Party Central Committee, headed by Chairman Ho, strengthen solidarity and unanimity within the Party; heighten their sense of organization and discipline and their revolutionary consciousness, improve their fighting will and their determination to oppose the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and their henchmen, emulate among themselves to increase production, practice economy, study and carry out their tasks well, and satisfactorily implement the resolution of the Third National Party Congress and the various resolutions of the Party Central Committee.

The world situation is developing in a way increasingly favorable to the peoples of various countries, but unfavorable to imperialism and its henchmen. Holding high the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism, our Party is firmly struggling, along with the Marxist-Leninist parties, to resolutely protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, protect the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, oppose modern revisionism — which is the main danger to the international Communist movement — and contribute to strengthening the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in order to win greater victories in the great struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.