To meet the needs, both immediate and long-range, of economic construction and cultural development, our Party and our State must step up the training of large numbers of intellectuals in the social and natural sciences. They should be animated by unqualified loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the Party. In its structure and nature, our intelligentsia has undergone fundamental changes. Our present intellectuals are socialist ones, closely bound to the workers and peasants. The overwhelming majority come from worker and peasant families and have received their training under the socialist regime. The older intellectuals, educated by the Party and tempered by a long revolutionary process, have shown visible progress in their political and ideological stand and have rendered great services to the people. But all intellectuals, including those sprung from the working class and the peasantry, have weaknesses which they should seek to overcome, both through their own efforts and thanks to education and help from the Party, so that they could devote all their talents and energies to serving the great revolutionary cause of the people.

Our Party holds the intellectuals in great esteem, for knowledge is strength, and it is an indispensable weapon of the working class and the labouring people in their struggle to emancipate themselves and build socialism and communism. The working class is bound to have its own numerous intelligentsia. Besides, the Party must help the workers and peasants become gradually acquainted with modern science and technique so as to boost production, push the technical revolution forward, and organize a civilized life. We must cast off biases against intellectuals, culture, science
and technique. Every cadre, Party member, youth, and worker should study hard and seek to raise his level of knowledge in order to do his job well and ceaselessly progress. We must advance to the point where for members of Party committees at all levels, besides political standards, certain criteria will be set in terms of competence in economic management and science and technique. To give guidance to scientific and technical work, Party committees should have qualified staffs including experts in the various branches and departments of economics, science and technique. Party committees and leading bodies in the various ministries, specialized agencies, and research institutes should be reinforced. Scientific and technical cadres should be trained in ever larger numbers, ranging from skilled workers to chief engineers to savants.

The law governing the development of the revolution and the Party requires that the latter should associate veteran cadres with younger ones in a judicious way so that their good qualities would complement each other while their weaknesses could be better overcome thanks to mutual help. Indeed, each of these two categories of cadres has its own strong and weak points. Our Party must take solicitous care of its veteran cadres while seeking to foster, train and boldly promote large numbers of young people with high revolutionary qualities, great capabilities and potential energies, who have proved their worth in various revolutionary movements.

The strength of a Marxist-Leninist party lies in its unity and oneness of mind — its ideological and organizational unity. Of all the fine traditions of our Party, this is the finest.
That our Party has successfully faced all trials in all periods and brought the revolution to the present triumph is due to its unfailing unity and cohesion. As Lenin said, without organization the proletariat has nothing; organized and united, it will have everything. After the Party has seized power, its unity assumes all the more importance, for without unity of will, mind and action within the own ranks of the Party, the force leading the march of the whole of society, the fruits of the revolution could not be safeguarded and the most arduous and grandiose task ever undertaken in history, namely the building of a wholly new society, socialist society, could never be accomplished.

Furthering the tradition of unity and oneness of mind forged by forty years of hard struggle and continuous successes, and scrupulously acting upon President Ho Chi Minh’s sacred Testament, we are resolved to “preserve the unity of the Party as we would the apple of our eye.” The Party will never tolerate any manifestation of factionalism, the gravest crime against the revolution. Being the vanguard of the working class and the most active element of society, the Party has but one single will.

The unity of the Party rests on Marxist-Leninist ideology, whose purity it constantly seeks to preserve; on its correct political line which every day is translated into conscious action by the masses; and on the enlightenment of all its members concerning its ideal, aims and tasks. Its ideological unity is firmly ensured through democratic centralism, its basic organizational principle. However, since the Party is a revolutionary fighting army, ideological unity by itself is wholly insufficient. Ideology by itself can realize nothing.” Turning
ideology into action must of necessity be done through organization. Besides, without organizational unity, ideological unity could not come into existence and could not be maintained. This does not mean that there is no freedom of thought within the Party. On the contrary, democratic centralism requires and ensures the right for all members to discuss and decide all Party affairs and to put forward, within the Party organization, all ideas on all problems of concern to the revolution. Within the framework of the Programme and Rules worked out by the entire Party, the full exercise of the democratic rights of all members and the full blossoming of their intellect make up one of the most important guarantees of the Party’s vitality. The smothering of ideas is wholly alien to a proletarian party and to Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, freedom of thought can absolutely not mean turning the Party into a debating club. The Party is an army which, on the battlefield, must act as one man. Hence, the principles whereby the minority should submit to the majority, a lower echelon to a superior authority, a part to the whole and all Party members to the Central Committee—the highest leading organ between two Party congresses—are fundamental principles of democratic centralism. To violate them is to impair the iron discipline of the Party and to sabotage its unity. Lenin said: “Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.”

The Party’s leadership constantly rests upon the principle of collective leadership. Personal arbitrariness is totally alien to its nature. No individual, even one endowed with exceptional gifts, can ever understand and comprehend all things and events in all their aspects and ceaseless changes in form. Hence the necessity of a collective intellect. Only collective decisions taken on the strength of a collective mind can avoid subjectivism, which leads to errors with often dangerous consequences. Collective leadership is the highest principle in the Party’s leadership. This by no means lessens the personal responsibility of the leaders. At present, some comrades in a number of leading organs are not paying due regard to the principle of collective leadership. On the other hand, certain comrades rely on the “collective” to look after everything, and put the blame on the “collective” for every one of their own errors and failures without admitting their individual responsibility. We must put an end to this state of affairs.

Besides the above ideological fundamentals and organizational principles, unity and oneness of mind within the Party depends in no small measure on how comrades treat each other and how they settle their differences of opinion. Pursuing the same ideal and aim, for which they are engaged in a life-and-death battle, having together faced countless hardships and shared weal and woe, the Communists feel boundless mutual love and affection. No feeling can be more sacred than the comradely attachment which binds the Communists together in their struggle for their common ideal and aim. There can be no concessions on matters of principle. But, in the solution of complex problems, while not tolerating any injury to principles, they should behave towards each other.
in a way that conforms to both reason and sentiment and, if need be, wait for each other to come round in case of differences of opinion. Such practices are necessary and contribute to unity and cohesion within the Party. We have gained profitable experience in this matter, which we should continue to turn to account.

*Self-criticism and criticism* is a fundamental method for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Party and a law governing its development and progress.

The development of society—socialist society included—is an intricate process full of contradictions. An unceasing struggle unfolds between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness. As the situation evolves, new tasks confront the Party, calling for new ways to tackle problems, new approaches in organizational, political ideological work aimed at fulfilling these tasks. Ideologically and politically, the Party is a unified whole, but its cadres and members do not have a uniform grasp of things. In face of any shift in situations and tasks some comrades are quick to perceive the evolution of events and decide which way to act. Others take longer to understand, or understand only imperfectly. Others still are truly sluggish; their minds fail to grasp the new situation and tackle the new tasks, and they refuse to leave the beaten track. Besides, on account of various complicated factors many Party members are still under the influence of non-proletarian ideologies. Hence, it is only natural that as struggle between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness, should take place continuously within the Party itself. Self-criticism and criticism, coupled
with efforts to raise the level of knowledge of Party cadres and members, is the basic method for resolving those contradictions and strengthening the unity of the Party, educating cadres and militants, developing their good qualities and making up for their weak points. Lenin said that only a party that is courageous enough to practise self-criticism and publicly admit its errors and shortcomings, that knows how to discover the causes of these defects and resolutely strives to redress them, only such a party deserves to be called a revolutionary party, only such a party constantly remains in close touch with the masses and is thereby in a position to win victory for the revolution. President Ho Chi Minh used to urge us to engage in self-criticism and criticism, especially criticism from below, so as to bring about increasing vigour for the Party and continuous progress for its cadres and members.

In order to shoulder the increasingly heavier revolutionary tasks of the new stage, all cadres and militants should ceaselessly strive to consolidate their proletarian stand and elevate their revolutionary morals. The life and work of President Ho Chi Minh provide a shining example of communist ethics, which all of us are resolved to follow in order to temper ourselves. The model behaviour of comrades who fought selflessly, perseveringly and courageously, to their last breath for the communist ideal—Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Phan Dang Luu, Hoang Van Thu, Vo Van Tan, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and many others—serves as a lesson which helps us cultivate our revolutionary virtues.
Our Party is the vanguard of the working class. It represents the most dynamic element of society in its development. So it can have only one ideology, that of the proletariat: Marxism-Leninism. Strengthening our proletarian ideology, we are resolved to combat petty-bourgeois ideology, whose most common manifestations are, in the political field, rightist and “leftist” waverings, essentially the former; in the ideological field, individualism in many hues; in the methodological field, subjectivism, one-sidedness, etc. While it is essential to overcome petty-bourgeois ideology, we must at the same time resolutely oppose all influences of bourgeois ideology which may infiltrate the Party, and sweep away all vestiges of other non-proletarian ideologies.

All manifestations of non-proletarian ideologies are alien to our Party’s ideology. We must firmly eliminate them, as we would microbes seeking to invade a healthy organism.

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In short, the strength of our Party manifests itself in all fields. The Party must be strong both in its line and in the implementation of this line; it must be strong politically, ideologically, and organizationally; strong in the building of the State apparatus and competent organs of economic management; strong in maintaining close ties with the masses, ceaselessly consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and broadening socialist democracy; strong in its thorough understanding and firm grasp of the law of
development of society; strong in winning continuous successes for the revolutionary cause of the class and the nation, of which the Party is the organizer and leader. The source of its strength is its unity and oneness of mind on the basis of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the organizational principles of a new-type proletarian party.

We are determined to build up the Party and make it ever stronger so that it can successfully fulfil the historic mission entrusted to it by the class and the nation.
CHAPTER SEVEN

STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL UNITY
AND INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE
FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE,
DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM

We are observing the 40th founding anniversary of our Party at a time when the world revolution is surging powerfully and facing prospects of even greater victories.

After the Second World War, socialism grew beyond the boundaries of one country and became a world system. Owing to the extremely great successes it has won, the socialist camp has continuously and fully played its role as the decisive factor in the evolution of human society, the citadel of the revolution and the pillar of world peace. The powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America has brought about the collapse of the bulk of the system of colonial enslavement. It is fighting on to break the fetters of colonialism old and new and dealing decisive blows at the rear base of imperialism. The unprecedentedly powerful struggle waged by tens of millions of workers and toiling people in the imperialist countries, spearheaded against the reactionary rule of the State monopoly capitalists and their warlike policy, is a huge force battering the very lair of imperialism.

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Together with the broad world peace movement, those three great revolutionary forces are attacking imperialism repeatedly and from many sides, tipping the scale fundamentally in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. On the strength of the alliance of those forces, the people of the world are fully in a position to foil all dark designs and bellicose ventures of the warlike imperialists headed by the United States.

The period following the Second World War has also witnessed a high tide of socialist revolution and is the most seething epoch in the history of world revolution. In our camp, over a billion people, starting from different socio-economic conditions, are making great strides on the road of socialist construction and turning formerly backward countries into nations with a fine political regime, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, and powerful national defence. The independence of these countries and the happiness of their people are ensured, and humanity finds in them a shining example and a source of hope.

Under the influence of socialism, the national-liberation movement has expanded immensely in both scope and depth and has assumed a new quality. Its outstanding feature is that the struggle to eradicate colonialism old and new and all reactionary forces serving imperialism is organically linked with the effort to transform society in the direction of a non-capitalist development. Thanks to leadership by a truly revolutionary party, a correct line and appropriate revolutionary methods, firm support from the workers and peasants and other progressive strata of the population, and active
help from the socialist countries, the national democratic revolution in many newly-liberated countries can progress to socialist revolution through different modes of transition, bypassing the road of capitalist development.

In present-day imperialist countries, due to the rapid transformation of capitalism into State monopoly capitalism and intensified exploitation and oppression of the working class and toiling people, social contradictions have become more exacerbated. This makes it possible for the working class to reinforce its unity of will and action and, on that basis, rally broad masses of toiling people and other democratic strata into a united front opposing the rule of the State monopoly capitalists and the hold of the American imperialists, and struggling for democracy, social progress, peace and national sovereignty. The premises are thus created for a revolutionary tide which will result in victory for the socialist revolution.

Those three great streams will merge into the tidal wave of socialist revolution in our era, carry mankind into the orbit of socialism, and push the world’s peoples forward to complete the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

Over the past twenty-five years, desperately facing the growing successes of socialism and attempting to oppose the increasingly vigorous struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples, the imperialists, led by their American chieftain, while resorting to terror and demagogy at home, have left no stone unturned in their endeavour to counter attack the world revolutionary movement. They have reinforced their armies, launched the arms race, revived West German and Japanese militarism, frantically prepared for
a new world war, sought to surround, threaten and sabotage the socialist countries, and at the same time plotted in every way to divide the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces in the world. As regards the colonial and dependent countries, the imperialists have shifted to new colonialism and provoked many “special wars” or “limited wars” in the hope of suppressing the national-liberation movement.

But the time is gone by when the imperialists ruled the roost. All their frenzied counter-revolutionary actions cannot stave off their collapse. Imperialism has suffered defeats at the hands of the revolutionary forces of the world and has been forced to withdraw from one position after another. American imperialism, the imperialist chieftain now acting as a world gendarme, has fared the worst. Without a shadow of doubt, the world revolution is now in an offensive posture which grows steadier and stronger with every passing day. Carrying out an offensive strategy, the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace are capable of foiling every warlike policy and defeating every kind of war the imperialists may provoke in any region, eventually frustrating the whole of their bellicose plan. They will drive the imperialists back step by step, knock imperialism down piecemeal, and speed up its total collapse, thereby securing lasting peace for the world and growing victory for national independence and socialism.

In order to stamp out the wars kindled by the American imperialists and thwart the plan for a new world war hatched by the imperialist warmongers, and in order to win even greater successes for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, it is necessary to set up a united front
of the world's peoples against American imperialism. The core of this front should be constituted by the socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, and the national-liberation movement. At the same time the front should attract all peace and justice-loving forces and mobilize all potentialities of the world's peoples for this common aim: to isolate the American imperialists and their allies and servants, the war-maniacs, to check and smash all their aggressive schemes and actions, to defend peace and continue to carry the world revolution forward in an uninterrupted victorious advance.

The arduous and fierce class struggle now taking place on a worldwide scale urgently calls for the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only then is it possible to bring together all revolutionary forces in the world to oppose imperialism, frustrate all schemes for military aggression and all divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists against the socialist countries, and baffle all their attempts to suppress and sabotage the international communist and workers' movement.

The war of aggression against Viet Nam is an important part of the global strategy pursued by the American imperialists, the most warlike of them all. By this war, they hope to perpetuate the division of our country, turn the South into an American neo-colony and military base, at the same time push back socialism and use Viet Nam as a testing-ground
for the strategy, tactics, and new weapons to quell the revolutionary movement and prepare for a world war. In their criminal war in Viet Nam, the American imperialists have shown their true colours as extremely barbarous neo-fascists. However, they have been bogged down in a quagmire and have suffered pitiful failures. They are being severely condemned in the world and in the United States itself. Their dominant position in the capitalist world has grown more wobbly and is visibly on the wane. The Vietnamese people’s resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, is the crest of the wave of struggle of the world’s peoples battering imperialism headed by American imperialism. It contributes an important share to solving the fundamental contradictions of the world in this era, defending socialism, national independence and peace, and giving a strong impulse to the struggle of the world’s peoples for freedom, justice, human dignity and man’s right to existence.

Our people are infinitely proud to stand on the forefront of the revolutionary battle fought by the world’s peoples against American imperialism, the most dangerous foe of mankind. We pledge to do our utmost to defeat the aggression of the American imperialists and their agents and bring our patriotic war of resistance to a victorious end, so as to fulfil our sacred national duty and our lofty internationalist responsibilities and be worthy of the confidence of our brothers and friends the world over.

Ever since its foundation, our Party has considered solidarity with the international proletariat and the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries a most important duty
and a basic principle, and has regarded it as one of the decisive factors in the victory of our own revolution. This correct internationalist line has been consistently followed by our Party in the entire course of the revolution. It has, on the one hand, won us increasing support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement, and on the other, inculcated in our people the noble feelings of proletarian internationalism, preserved them from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, and frustrated the perfidious divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists and their valets. Besides, it has urged our people to contribute actively to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples.

Acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's last recommendations, our Party will bend all its energies, as it has always done in the past, towards restoring and safeguarding unity and cohesion within the socialist camp and among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will continue to consolidate and tighten the unshakable bonds of friendship between our country and the nations of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union and China, and strengthen co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields with the fraternal countries.

We energetically support the struggle of the proletariat and toiling people in the capitalist countries for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We resolutely uphold the fight of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism old and new, for national independence, and will continue to develop friendly relations with the nationalist countries.
We devote our greatest efforts to strengthening brotherly solidarity among the peoples of Indochina in their struggle against the common enemy, American imperialism; reinforcing the solid friendship between our country and the Kingdom of Cambodia; and setting up neighbourly relations with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

We are determined to fight on shoulder to shoulder with the brother socialist countries and progressive people the world over against the aggressive and warlike policy of the imperialist warmongers headed by the American imperialists, and play an active part in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We stand ready to establish relationships with all countries in the world which respect our sovereignty and independence, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Over the past forty years, every historic stage of the Vietnamese revolution — particularly the period from the August Revolution to the present war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation — is closely bound up with the active support and wholehearted assistance of the brother socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, the national-liberation movement, and peace and justice-loving people in the world.

Our people feel eternal gratitude to the brother socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, for their immense and priceless help, a noble example of proletarian
internationalism. We also extend heartfelt thanks to the other fraternal parties for their solidarity with our people and their active assistance to our protracted struggle. We sincerely thank the international proletariat, the nationalist countries and progressive people the world over, the United States included, for their unfailing sympathy and support to our just cause.