

## HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL CULTURE WITH THE ISSUE OF RULING PARTY CULTURE IN VIETNAM<sup>1</sup>

### A Cultura Política de Ho Chi Minh com a Questão da Cultura do Partido no Vietnã

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#### Abstract

In this article, the writer focuses on analyzing the core features of Ho Chi Minh's political culture: The relationship between culture and politics; The basic characteristics of Ho Chi Minh's political culture; The great contributions to political activities he strived, cultivated, trained to create his image as well as generations of leadership in Vietnam. Aauthor used interdisciplinary methods such as philosophical, anthropological, political, cultural, psychological methods, and flexibly combined them during the analysis process. The results achieved in this article are: Firstly, clarifying the characteristics and values of Ho Chi Minh's political culture; Secondly, analyze the role of Ho Chi Minh's political culture in building the clean and strong Communist Party of Vietnam am ... In short, facing a volatile political world, with conflicts and fierce and unpredictable competition, has caused many officials in the Party's leadership team to become seriously corrupt. They do not consider serving the country or the people as a duty or a goal, but only as a means for them to achieve their own illegitimate goals, failing to maintain the necessary legitimacy of the people. leader. Therefore, studying Ho Chi Minh's political culture not only has theoretical significance but also has profound practical value, and is an urgent political task in Vietnam today.

**Keyword:** Political culture; Political ethics; Ho Chi Minh's political culture; Ruling party culture

#### Resumo

Neste artigo, o escritor se concentra em analisar as principais características da cultura política de Ho Chi Minh: A relação entre cultura e política; As características básicas da cultura política de Ho Chi Minh; As grandes contribuições para as atividades políticas que ele se esforçou, cultivou, treinou para criar sua imagem, bem como gerações de liderança no Vietnã. Um autor usou métodos interdisciplinares, como métodos filosóficos, antropológicos, políticos, culturais e psicológicos, e os

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<sup>1</sup> Article for publication of the unviveristy-level topic research, will be reported in the school year 2024-2025 on "Ho Chi Minh's political culture with the construction of leaders in Vietnam", led by the author. The project received financial support from Ho Chi Minh City University of Industry and Trade



combinou de forma flexível durante o processo de análise. Os resultados alcançados neste artigo são: Em primeiro lugar, esclarecer as características e valores da cultura política de Ho Chi Minh; Em segundo lugar, analisar o papel da cultura política de Ho Chi Minh na construção do Partido Comunista do Vietnã limpo e forte ... Em suma, enfrentar um mundo político volátil, com conflitos e competição feroz e imprevisível, fez com que muitos funcionários da equipe de liderança do Partido se tornassem seriamente corruptos. Eles não consideram servir ao país ou ao povo como um dever ou uma meta, mas apenas como um meio para atingir seus próprios objetivos ilegítimos, falhando em manter a legitimidade necessária do povo. líder. Portanto, estudar a cultura política de Ho Chi Minh não só tem significância teórica, mas também tem profundo valor prático, e é uma tarefa política urgente no Vietnã hoje.

**Palavra-chave:** Cultura política; Ética política; Cultura política de Ho Chi Minh; Cultura do partido governante

## Introduction

Unlike all other species in the natural world, humans are social beings. However, to live in an orderly and structured manner, humans must establish various relationships with one another, one of the most fundamental relationships between the commander and the followers, known as the political relationship. Therefore, from the beginning, humans are political beings (Thach, 1999, 179). Politics is a vast category, but its core is the issue of government-seizing, maintaining, and utilizing state power. (The National Council directed the compilation of the Vietnam Polytechnic Dictionary, 1995, vol. 1, 478). Politics is certainly also a concentrated manifestation of civilization, creative activities and liberation. (Vietnam Polytechnic Dictionary, 2007, 603) Plato (427-347), affirmed: "Politics is the art of ruling people with their contentment." (Prelot, Lescuyer, 1975, 67) The qualifications and effectiveness of political activities are shown for humans' benefits towards building a humanitarian, humane, democratic and progressive society, reflecting political culture's basic content of the national and ethnic community.

Political culture is a part and a manifestation of culture (Quang, 1995, 19); it was born, exists and develops associated with the existence and development of the State. Culture is a fundamental aspect of social life, encompassing all of humanity's creative achievements that bear the marks of truth, goodness, and beauty, expressed in both material and spiritual realms, aimed at satisfying the



aspirations of human life and society. (Duong, 2002, 51) Political culture is the sum of values of thought, behavior and specific institutions in accordance with social progress created and fostered by humans throughout their interaction with state power. Political culture manifests itself through political institutional organizational models, standards, qualities and competence of each individual's political attendance and the whole community. Thus, politics cannot stand beyond culture, but must be in culture, associated with culture. The politician's legitimacy depends on the person's cultural behavior representing the crystallization of the Vietnamese nation's and the era's essence, deeply influenced by Marx-Leninist doctrine. It was shaped, developed, and perfected throughout his revolutionary activities.

As a part of human culture, Ho Chi Minh's political culture represents the crystallization of the Vietnamese nation's and the era's essence, deeply influenced Marx-Lenin's theory. It was formed, developed during his revolutionary operation. The core content of Ho Chi Minh's political culture is the thought and action to thoroughly implement the basic national rights and true human rights; is the foundation of his thought, morality and style; it holds great theoretical and practical value and is the foundation of Vietnamese revolution's victory. Ho Chi Minh was not only a renowned cultural figure but also a famous politician. The smooth combination of politics and culture formed his special leadership art. Ho Chi Minh's political culture reflected the relationship between holistic elements of political thought and behavior, closely tied to his political life and career, expressed through his character and political assets he contributed to his practical political life. His revolutionary activities included learning, laboring, raising ideological awareness and reactions to political issues which are aimed at ensuring freedom, equality, solidarity and peace for all peoples in the world based on respect for the diversity of cultural identity; Humans are liberated from all constraints, given comprehensive development conditions and enjoy all cultural achievements created by humans.

With such content and meaning, Ho Chi Minh's political culture had a profound influence not only for the struggle for independence for the nation and the defense of the fatherland, but also to contribute to constructing a political civilization in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's political cultural researched for realistic politics in Vietnam, specifically the Party's culture in leadership, therefore,



became very important. Especially in the new context with many changes, unpredictability, uncertainty and instability, to achieve this goal, I will address some of the following basic tasks:

Firstly, generalize works and research documents on political culture and Ho Chi Minh's political culture, and identify the gaps that require further study.

Secondly, analyze the characteristics of political culture and Ho Chi Minh's political culture; Highlight the unique characteristics of Ho Chi Minh's political culture;

Thirdly, provide guidance on political culture, especially political morality for leaders in Vietnam today.

## 1. Research overview

Ho Chi Minh is a hero of national liberation and a Vietnamese cultural celebrity. Therefore, his thought has attracted the attention of many scholars at home and abroad. With the famous project: "Ho Chi Minh: A Life", published in 2000, a famous historical researcher from the US made very prominent analysis and evaluation. In his work, Duiker spent more than a decade of hard work to learn about Ho Chi Minh, read many different types of documents, including folk sources and official documents in many languages. He reviewed the popular songs and poems in Vietnam to the French secret agents buried in the storage... The first significant value of this work was its comprehensive and well-organized collection of materials, utilized with scientific rigor. Another notable contribution of this study was that Duiker deeply discovered each stage of operation and important thoughts of Ho Chi Minh. He traced Ho Chi Minh's difficult journey from a traditional patriotism to bourgeois democratic socialism, and finally to Leninist communism. Throughout his whole life, Ho Chi Minh was always a great patriot showing his patriotism in the spirit of humanity, revolution, progress - that was the core of Ho Chi Minh's political culture. And when reading Ho Chi Minh's biography, Duiker made the judgment:



No matter how evaluated, Ho Chi Minh was one of the most influential characters in his era... In the twentieth century, only very few people left such a deep impression in their era like Ho Chi Minh. (Duiker, 2007, 9)

After Duiker, in 2003, another valuable Western monograph on the life and career of Ho Chi Minh appeared. It was the book "Ho Chi Minh-The Missing Years" by Sophie Quinn-Judge. (Quinn, 2003: 197) Considering in a certain way, the book of Sophie Quinn-Judge as a compensation for the gap in Ho Chi Minh's life and career research from 1919 to 1941, especially from 1923 to 1941, when he was active in the Soviet Union, China, Germany and Thailand. These gaps appeared because previous researchers could not access and use the Soviet or international archives. The work of Sophie Quinn-Judge brought more complete and accurate information, helping to adjust more false information and highlight the role and special qualities of Ho Chi Minh. Other international works such as (Hémery, Daniel 1990): *Ho Chi Minh: De l'Indochine au Vietnam*, Gallimard, Paris, 1990; (Blaga Dimitrova, 1985, 23) "One hour with comrade Ho Chi Minh"; (Bernard Fall, 1967, 108-109): *The Two Vietnams*; (Benoit De Treglode, 2000): "The first contacts between Vietnam and the Soviet Union (1947-1948)"...

In Vietnam, the study of Ho Chi Minh's political culture was also a relatively new content in the field of social sciences and humanities in general, in politics in particular. Independent political studies have only appeared for a few decades. Among these works, the book: "Ho Chi Minh Culture and Development" by Pham Ngoc Anh and Bui Dinh Phong presented Ho Chi Minh's thought on building a new culture - Ho Chi Minh's political culture; Ho Chi Minh's ethical culture; Ho Chi Minh's thought on human rights, education, revolutionary press, cultural characteristics in the design of the state system and the direction of applying those ideas in the current conditions in Vietnam. In particular, in the ten pages of books (Anh Phong, 2009, 61- 71), the authors also generalized a number of ways to see and make the initial concept of political culture and judgment about the process of visualization, development of Ho Chi Minh's political culture, although it was brief.

In the article: "Party culture - Awareness and issues" by Do Nguyen Phuong, the author affirmed that in the conditions and characteristics of the Vietnamese political system, referring to the



main political culture is referring to the Party culture. Phuong also pointed out: "The highlight of Ho Chi Minh's conception of political culture was the idea of the people" and "Ho Chi Minh's political and cultural ideology served as the theoretical basis for studying political culture and Party culture today". (Phuong, 2004, 16- 22) However, the issue of political culture - specific manifestations have not been analyzed.

In two separate researches on political culture, Ho Chi Minh's political definition has been raised by the authors. Accordingly, Nguyen Van Khoa said that Ho Chi Minh's political culture was a valuable system of knowledge, ideals, beliefs, qualities, political capacity ... formed during his political activities; As a result of the creative application and development of Marx – Lenin's political culture, the integration of traditional national and human political cultural values built a civil rights politics. (Khoa, 2016, 31)

Nguyen Huu Lap defined that:

Ho Chi Minh's political culture was the outstanding aspect of Ho Chi Minh's culture, including the total of values of thought and political behavior rooted in truth, goodness, and beauty. These values were created by Ho Chi Minh during his lifelong struggling for the liberation of the nation, class, and humanity, all from the working-class perspective. His political culture embodied the integration, application, and development of traditional Vietnamese political values, global political ideals. Adapting Marx - Leninism into specific conditions of Vietnam and manifesting in the ideology, behavior and political personality with its own characteristics had great value for the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people while enriching the political cultural values of humanity. (Lap, 2016, 33), etc.

In summary, these studies offer a comprehensive and accurate portrayal of Ho Chi Minh's life, career, and his impact, particularly his political culture. Key features include:

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh's political style was reflected in the intellectual aspect (profound political knowledge, foresight regarding political developments, and political forecasting abilities) in terms of political ethics (democratic and humane political leadership) "... Thus, Ho Chi Minh's political style included thought, behavior and method.



Secondly, Ho Chi Minh's political culture was valuable, but not all values but only the basic, outstanding and unique values, those embody truth, goodness, and beauty with high creativeness . In other words, Ho Chi Minh's political culture was a selective crystallization of the nation's political cultural and humanity. It developed to a new level in accordance with Vietnamese political characteristics and has become the trend of the times.

Thirdly, Ho Chi Minh's political culture honestly, vividly and actively reflected the struggle for national and human liberation. It demonstrated the unity between benefits, ideology and political actions to the goal of "national independence associated with socialism". It was guiding principle that run through Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary thinking, words, and actions.

However, researching Ho Chi Minh's political culture with the construction of the leadership culture of the cadres and civil servants, including the Communist Party's culture in Vietnam, had not been focused, or If explored, it often took a superficial, dogmatic, and one-sided propagandistic approach, and mainly accessed to the perspective of "communist ideology". The "gaps" of political culture and culture in the leaders - ruling (about behavior, morality, lifestyle ...) would inevitably make them become corruption. The corruption of political qualities and ethical culture in the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam today can be said to be alarming. Many officials and Party members have succumbed to individualism, selfishness, opportunism, and pragmatism, chasing after fame, wealth, corruption, wastefulness, and disregard for principles. The complex issue of “power buying” and power manipulation has become widespread (The Communist Party of Vietnam, 2014, 44-45) so, the essence of Ho Chi Minh's political culture research made its spirit penetrate into all thoughts and actions in leaders, becoming their guiding principles, culture and political dignity, morality.

## 2. Research method

Stemming from research issues and approaches, the topic uses the following specific methods:

Interdisciplinary research methods such as philosophy, anthropology, politics, culture, psychology help to understand Ho Chi Minh's political culture with relative independence in



development, internal logic. Ho Chi Minh's political culture was formed, developed from certain historical conditions as well as its inheritance and influence. The process of applying methods and subjects, summarizing the common operations in scientific research such as: analysis-synthesis, deduction-induction, historical-logical, system-structural, and interpretation clarify the research content.

Document analysis method: This method aims to provide initial knowledge about research issues, as a foundation for the development of the objectives and directions of the topic and ensures objectivity, science and practicality of the research issue. This is also the method used throughout the topic from the formation of the idea until the study is completed.

### **3. Results and Discussion**

#### **3.1. Ho Chi Minh's political culture: Characteristics and values**

Ho Chi Minh's political culture was born and developed in association with the historical characteristics of the Vietnamese nation - a nation which spent thousands of years struggling to build and defend the country. The advent and development of Ho Chi Minh's political culture not only inherited and developed the creative elite of political culture of the nation and humanity but also absorbed the spirit. It met the requirements of the Vietnamese revolution with the goal: "Independence, freedom of civil rights, and happiness for the people ". Therefore, Ho Chi Minh's political culture had the following basic characteristics and values.

#### ***Patriotism and humanity throughout Ho Chi Minh's political culture***

During the centuries of building and defending the country, the Vietnamese have nurtured the love of their homeland, patriotism and a resilient and firm will (See Ho, 2011a: 38). Witnessing the misery of the people under colonial and feudal rule, Ho Chi Minh soon had a sense of finding the way to save the country, establish happiness for the people. Throughout his revolutionary life, patriotism dominated all his thoughts and actions, and as he said: "his only one desire, the ultimate desire, is how to make our country completely independent, our people are completely free, everyone has food,





everyone is educated ”. (Ho, 2011b, 161) Therefore, when reading Lenin's primary discussion on ethnic and colonial issues, he believed and followed, he confided: “At first, Patriotism rather than communism, gave me the news of Lenin, the third international news.” (Ho, 2000d:128) And in his revolutionary life, Ho Chi Minh always considered the propaganda of patriotism as one of the important tasks; Patriotism is not only in awareness, but also in action. He called: " patriotism must be realized through acts of service for the country and resistance." (Ho, 2012: 38 -39) Ho Chi Minh's business was the process of fighting and devoted to the revolution, for national independence, for the happiness of the people. There is no private purpose for myself. He once said: "I have no family, nor have children. The Vietnam is my family” (Ho, 2011b, 95).

The humanity in Ho Chi Minh's political culture was consistent in the goal of his revolution, determined by him as: national independence, civil liberties and happiness for people. For him, a superior political regime must be associated with national independence, freedom, prosperity and happiness of the people; The independence of our nation must be on the basis of respect for the independence of other peoples. In addition, he spent his life striving for this goal. During the Vietnam Revolutionary Journey, Ho Chi Minh always showed care for people, towards liberating people, fighting for people to live in independence, freedom, equality and happiness. He thought that if a nation achieves independence but its people remain in poverty, then independence has little meaning. Therefore, he always pondered and longed: "How to make our country completely independent, our people are completely free, everyone has food and education." (Ho, 2011a, 187) That goal came from love of people and the desire to free people from suffering. Considering every development of the national liberation revolution as well as the socialist revolution must be a new step of the cause of human liberation. Therefore, after gaining independence, he launched the movement of hunger eradication and illiteracy; immediately building democratic political institutions and combining nation-building.

Ho Chi Minh always sought the least violent method because of his respect for humanity, loving and respecting people in the war. Thus, in the uprising for the government, he always advocated a close combination of political struggle with military struggle, in which the political struggle of the



masses played a decisive role. During the anti -French resistance war, he once said, "French blood or Vietnamese blood are human blood, the French or Vietnamese are human beings." (Ho, 2011a, 510). During the war, armed for fighting was a difficult decision, the final choice was made when peaceful measures were no longer effective. To accomplish his goals, he often chose the least damage to the lives of the people, comrades, even for those on the other side of the battle line. Modagat Ahmet, UNESCO Director of Asia-Pacific region affirmed:

Only few characters in history have become a part of the legend right from the time when he/she is still alive and it is clear that Ho Chi Minh was one of them. He would be remembered not only to liberate the country and free the people who were dominated, but also a modern sage that brought a prospect and new hope to those who struggled without tolerance to make it to eliminate injustice and inequality from this earth. (UNESCO and Vietnam Social Science Committee, 1990, 22)

That is the way Ho Chi Minh has become an outstanding cultural celebrity.

### **Ho Chi Minh's political culture considered the people as the foundation**

Ho Chi Minh's political culture was the quintessence of Vietnamese political culture from tradition to modernity, expressed in love, respect and absolute trust in the strength of the people, he said: "The people are the roots... If the roots are strong, the tree will be stable". (Ho, 2011b, 501-502). He thought nothing was as strong as the people's solidarity. Therefore, when talking about convincing the people's hearts, he concluded: "If we are trusted by the people, we will not be afraid of everything. On the contrary, without the support of the people, we will not be able to do good work." (Ho, 2011e, 142) In his lifetime, he fought to bring freedom to the people, create conditions for them to become the owner of the country and society, he declared: "Democracy is a universal key to solve all difficulties ". (Ho, 2011e, 325) To ensure the legitimacy of the government when receiving the authorization from the people on the early days of regaining freedom as well as the important tasks of the country, Ho Chi Minh City paid special attention to the organization of the general election so that the people could directly choose the delegates who deserved themselves in



the country's management. According to him, general election is an opportunity for the entire country to choose talented, virtuous people, to shoulder the work of the country ... The general election is freedom and equality; That is democracy, solidarity ". (Ho, 2011a, 133) However, for the people to be the owner of the State, Ho Chi Minh particularly attached great importance to the mechanism of power control. (Ho, 1995e, 579-597) He always reminded the political duty of cadres and Party members to be responsible and ready to sacrifice and benefit the masses. In his will, he advised: "In the Party's practice, the democracy is spacious, regular and serious self -criticism and criticism are the best way to strengthen and develop the unity of the Party." (Ho, 2011e, 622)

Because of his respect to the people, Ho Chi Minh fully trusted the intellectual, ideological, spiritual and moral strength of the people. He criticized the arrogant thoughts, selfish people. He said: "There are ordinary people who are ignorant, they are not talented. Hence, they do not bother to learn from the people, not to discuss with the people ". (Ho, 1995b, 298) He emphasized: "We need to be aware that: The force of the people can be endless, quick and effective at solving problems, while talented people and large organizations are thinking without finding proper solutions". (Ho, 1995b, 295) He continued: "The revolution is the task of the nation, not the task of any individuals". (Ho, 1995d, 197) He directly criticized and rejected the cult of personality of the Communist Party.

The idea of "people are the root" is always the goal and ideal throughout the revolutionary career of Ho Chi Minh. His people-centered philosophy became a lighthouse for his entire views and political behaviors and the Vietnamese revolutionary progress. Bringing a prosperous, free and happy life to the people is his consistent view and the Vietnamese revolution. Ho Chi Minh emphasized the responsibility of the Communist Party, the State, and socio -political organizations, cadres and Party members to the people. He stated if the country is independent but people do not enjoy freedom, such independence will be meaningless. (Ho, 2011a, 521) He affirmed the trend, professionalism for society to develop based on the people. He emphasized the people as the root. Ho Chi Minh always attached great importance to the diversity of life and politics. He emphasized to bring politics into the midst of the people. (Ho Chi Minh, 1995b, 298). The thesis of political view was intrinsic part of daily life reflecting the view of both scientific and humanistic of Ho Chi Minh to reach the point of view "



Politics with culture ”, which is a true, professional and friendly politics. For politicians, rulers or political party, the core of political culture lies in the connection with the people, embodying the values of friendliness and unity between the rulers and society. The idea of taking the people as the root made the core values: morality, style and spirit of tolerance in Ho Chi Minh political culture.

### ***Ethical values and characteristics of Ho Chi Minh's political culture***

Ho Chi Minh was a typical example of the leader who dedicated and cultivated political morality. Political morality is the core part of revolutionary morality in Ho Chi Minh. Throughout his life, he highly raised moral practices to fulfill his duty to serve the Fatherland and serve the people. According to him, there must be four vital virtues in life: diligence, thrift, integrity, and impartiality (Ho, 2011c, 213), lacking a virtue is not a human. In order to practice political morality, he always upheld the virtue of sacrificing, voluntary, self-conscious, practicing political morality, focusing on the motto of construction associated with resistance. He championed sacrifice, voluntary commitment, and lifelong self-discipline. In the last article in 1969, he emphasized: Striving to improve revolutionary morality, resolutely wipe out individualism. (Ho Chi Minh, 2002, Complete works, vol.2: 439) He thought individualism was the enemy in his heart, an internal enemy and decisively combated individualism. Individualism is a disease that breeds numerous other moral failings. (Ho, 2011b, 90) He stated “If we are not brave enough to resist, it will damage not only each person but also damage each individual and achievements of the entire movement”

Ho Chi Minh sacrificed his whole life to do politics but not for himself. His only one purpose was to bring independence to the nation and freedom to the people, he asserted: “My whole life has one purpose: to fight for the benefits of the nation and the happiness of the people. Whether I have to hide in the mountains, endure imprisonment, or face dangers, it is all for that goal”. (Ho, 2011a, 272) He viewed moral cultivation as a lifelong task, comparing it to the daily routine of washing one's face. That is also the job to persevere for a lifetime, no one can be subjective. (Ho Chi Minh, 1995a, 293) Ho Chi Minh considered morality to be the root of political people, he said: “Like rivers, there is a source of water. Without water, the rivers are shallow. Trees must have root, without the root, the



trees wilted. The revolutionary must have morality, without morality, no matter how talented, it is not possible to lead the people ”. (Ho, 2011b, 292- 293) Thus, he always put himself in a position of being the people’s public servant; All political thoughts and actions from determining goals and methods of implementation took the rights, lives and property of the people as the basis to decide. The cultivation and training of political morality in Ho Chi Minh was the basis for him to unite and gather a large number of people to follow the revolution, to enlist the great help both physically and mentally. In addition, the spirit of the working people and progressive and peaceful forces in the world were for the cause of resistance and national construction of the Vietnamese people.

### ***Tolerance culture in Ho Chi Minh’s Ideology***

Ho Chi Minh's tolerance culture was the crystallization of national culture. Vietnam is an agricultural country, over thousands of years of building and defending the country, creating a typical community culture. The community tradition has helped Vietnamese people promote the strength of the collective, creating a solidarity and support of helping each other in tribulation and difficulties.

Ho Chi Minh inherited and promoted the longevity values of the nation, including tolerance, seeing it as a method to follow him throughout his life for the country for the people. The unique feature of Ho Chi Minh’s tolerance was wholeheartedly cherishing the value, freedom and human dignity. Trusting people’s good points would flourish and complete through education and self – education, sympathy. Sharing encouragement helps tolerance, great generosity, strictness to yourself , but kind heart to people. Speaking at the meeting of the judicial officials in 1950, Ho Chi Minh said: "being a human, one must love the nation, love the people, and care for the suffering of oppressed people." (Ho, 1990, 174)

For enemies, when they use violence to invade, suppress the weak people, there is no other way but to use the revolutionary violence of the masses to regain independence and protect the country. However, in the war of national defense, Ho Chi Minh sought ways to minimize the casualties on the battlefield for both us and the enemy, he said: French blood or Vietnamese blood is all blood, French or Vietnamese are all human beings ”. (Ho, 2011a, 510) Ho Chi Minh's feelings for



people were expressed in understanding, sympathy and empathy. He put himself into the opponent's position to think, act and vice versa. He also cleverly pulled the opponent into his position so that they could understand the truth. Therefore, he advocated "appealing to the people's hearts is paramount". In the letter to Raoul Salan, the commander of the French army in Indochina, he wrote:

We used to be good friends. Unintended circumstances have turned us into two rivals. It is a pity! For the love of humanity, for the sake of our friendship, I urge you to strictly prohibit French soldiers from killing innocent civilians, raping women, burning villages, destroying the church and temple as they have been doing so far ... (Ho, 1995b, 141- 142)

Ho Chi Minh's tolerance culture was the embodiment of national cultural manifestation and humanity, typical of future culture. Ho Chi Minh always reminded Vietnamese people to absorb human culture. (Ho, 1995e, 350) Hence, he trusted and selected the positive elements of the ancient culture and put them into the new content. He wrote: "The motto of learning without weariness and teaching without fatigue "is from Confucius. Confucius is feudal and in Confucius's doctrine, there are many incorrect things, but the good things in which we should learn. Only true revolutionaries can collect the valuable understanding of the previous life ". (Ho, 1995e, 366) Ho Chi Minh used the spirit of tolerance of Jesus to call on the people to struggle to keep peace, he wrote about Jesus: "For his lifetime, Jesus only sacrificed, strived for freedom and democracy. Since his birth nearly 2000 years ago, his spirit of brotherhood has not faded but has spread everywhere, deeply permeating." (Ho, 1995a, 297) Ho Chi Minh's tolerance culture is also the culture of peace, the spirit of cooperation, solidarity and friendship in relations with ethnic groups and countries all around the world. The awakening of human conscience had been shown since Ho Chi Minh was still overseas. In An Nam, Ho Chi Minh (also known as Nguyen Ai Quoc) wrote: "... An Nam people know that the French people represent freedom and justice, and will never abandon their noble ideal of universal brotherhood". (Ho, 2000d, 436) Right from the time the country has just gained independence, Ho Chi Minh has implemented a soft, flexible foreign policy to enlist the opportunity for the development of peace. The behavior imbued with the spirit of tolerance culture.



Humans are living in a world with many "hot" points by political, national, ethnic and religious conflicts in many territories, one of the main reasons is being greedy, angry, selfish, narrow -minded, obstinate. Ho Chi Minh's tolerance culture with the foundation of human's love is the spirit of solidarity, generosity and forgiving, reconciliation and perseverance in personalization, expanding exchanges. It promotes international exchange and cooperation in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, respecting the right to self-determination of each nation, and resonating mutual interests, thus becoming a bright point with a wide-reaching impact.

### ***The values of Ho Chi Minh's style***

Ho Chi Minh was an exemplary person in many aspects, from thinking style to working style; from behaving style to expressing style in daily life. The entire style system created his great and noble personality. That personality with the meaning of the combination of his own personality were trained and cast by himself.

One of the highlights in Ho Chi Minh's style was the way to conduct very harmonious, flexible, smooth combination between reason and love: soft, clever, but very resilient, drastic; It was flexible, creative but very brave, steadfast, and courageous before all challenges and difficulties for national independence and happiness of the people. His style was solidarity, kindness, but resolute and persistent protection of the nation; he knew when to be gentle and when to be firm. He understood the times and situations; he was self-aware and aware of others. He knew when to advance and when to retreat, adapting to circumstances. (Trong, 2022, 184) Ho Chi Minh was especially unhappy with all manifestations of narrow, superficial, one -way thinking. Facing a somewhat arrogant, overbearing attitude of Party members, he said: "Our party does not come down from the sky. It is in society ... Just like those who wade through mud, there will be traces of mud on them... They need a long time to clean it." (Ho, 1995,b 263) Politics is a field full of biases, so it is easy to be superficial and extreme. An American journalist of the Newsweek newspaper once interviewed Ho Chi Minh and asked him if the one - party system was good or not good, he replied: "That's good, if the Party is good. If not, that's not good." (Brocheux, 1959, 185)





To his behavioral culture, we also feel an elegant, humble and very sincere manner. In his life, Ho Chi Minh has experienced many ups and downs of the situation, with many tortuous and complicated situations to solve; He met and exposed to all people in society. However, in the contacts, he was always courteous, humble, never put himself higher than others, but cared delicately and thoughtfully to those around him. Contact with Sainteny, the first French Consulate General, after the Geneva Agreement, in Hanoi, he did not show anger, arrogance, but actively shook his hand, quickly broke the tension for the opponent with a sincere and intimate gesture of kissing, he said: “We have fought, fought too much, but very honorably. Now we need to forget all that, we need to work together”. (Sainteny, 1970, 100) In Ho Chi Minh’s style, there is absolutely no rippling of cult of personality. Many rulers do for ordinary people when they are close to the opportunity to feel suffocated, but Ho Chi Minh brought a new image of a true president of the people. It was simple but great. Sincerity and humility make his value, just like Jean Lacouture commented: “There is no leader in the world today who is both the originator and protector of his people, both the source and direction, both thought and practice, both the nation and revolution, both the nice 'Uncle' and military commander... ”. (Lacuture, 1967, 71)

### **3.2. Ho Chi Minh's political culture with the construction of a pure and strong Vietnamese Communist Party**

Building a pure and strong Vietnamese Communist Party is a big thought, a central issue, throughout Ho Chi Minh ‘s entire theoretical system in general, Ho Chi Minh’s political culture in particular. Ho Chi Minh focused on building morality in the Party, especially when the Party was in power; he made the Party truly become a genuine party, morality, and civilization. Therefore, for twenty four years as the President, he persisted in educating cadres and Party members, preventing the phenomenon of alienation, especially combatting misleading tendencies. Regarding power such as bureaucracy, relying on power, taking advantage of power, abusing power, passion for power, keeping position for personal benefits etc, in his "will", he advised: "The first thing that must be done





is to adjust the Party ensuring that every Party member, every individual fulfills the tasks assigned by the party and wholeheartedly serves the people. " (Ho, 2000d, 503)

Respecting the people and prioritizing their needs, "taking the people as the foundation" must become a principle in all activities of the ruling party which is the characteristic of Ho Chi Minh political culture. He made it clear: "We understand that the government agencies from the country to the villages, all are public officials must serve the people. They have to carry the common job for the people, not to oppress the people. (Ho, 1995a, 56) How to make each Party member and cadres be trusted and loved by the people? Ho Chi Minh paid special attention to building a close relationship between the Party and the people against all manifestations of losing democracy, bureaucracy, authority. He emphasized the historical responsibility of the Party, the exemplary pioneering and the responsibility of the contingent of cadres and Party members before the Party and the people. He set a request for the contingent of cadres and Party members to be talented and virtuous people, winning the affection and trust of the public, asserting that "the party is not an organization for making wealth ". (Ho Chi Minh, 2011b, 249) He repeated Lenin's words : "No one can destroy us except for our own mistakes. The whole problem lies in the word "if". If we cause division through mistakes, all will collapse. " (Lenin, 1979, Complete works, vol. 42, 311) Therefore, according to him, the Party must always be alert and promptly detect and correct all violations, trampling the people's ownership; bureaucracy, away from the people and other diseases, keeping the Party always clean. In order to "clean" bureaucracy among the cadres and Party members, the leader can avoid being eliminated when suffering from this dangerous disease, Ho Chi Minh gave a "special treatment", that is Practice "4 musts": "Putting people's interests first; being close to the people, understanding the people, learning from the people; honestly practicing criticism and self - criticism; being thrifty, honest, and fair ". (Ho, 2011c, 90)

Building the Party in morality, according to Ho Chi Minh, was the survival principle of a ruling party. Ho Chi Minh always promoted the morality of the leaders, especially for the party member, he wrote: "Our Party is a ruling party. Each party member and cadres must really imbue the revolutionary morality, be truly thrifty, honest, fair, and impartial." (Ho, 1995e, 557) Ho Chi Minh



paid special attention to building the Party culture. Each cadre and Party member, shining examples of morality would be the highest cultural symbol of the nation - Party culture. Party culture, in which he was considered as a basic, decisive factor in all success and victory of the Party and revolution, although he never used the concept of "Party culture". The concept of Ho Chi Minh's Party culture shown in a separate way in the thesis that summarized the depth of the Party's activities when he said: "Our Party is morality and civilization" (Ho, 1995d, 5) "civilized" covered intelligence, ideals, noble purposes, orientation for the progress, evolution and development of the country because people with natural relationships, good society. The Party is moral, civilized which meant the Party had a "high quality" cultural quality.

Ho Chi Minh's thought on building a clean and strong Party. Thus, it had a vital significance for the existence of the Communist Party and the current renovation career in Vietnam. Unlike most other countries in the world, the Communist Party in Vietnam is considered to be the only force of the State and of the Vietnamese. This assertion was recorded by the Communist Party in Article 4, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. (Thong, 2013, 4) and, the Vietnamese Constitution now only acknowledges a single party that exists legally is the Communist Party, so when it comes to the Party, it is referring to the Communist Party and vice versa.

In Vietnam, after more than 90 years of establishing the Party and more than 35 years of implementing the renovation process, under the leadership of the Party, according to the "report" of the Communist Party, the country has gained achievements quite impressively. (The Communist Party of Vietnam, 2011, 20) However, besides the advantages and problems that arise in new conditions, there are still complicated and painful issues in social life. The XI Congress of the Communist Party (2011) affirmed: "The situation of decline in politics, ideology, morality and lifestyle in a large part of party members and corruption, waste, bureaucracy, negative and social evils have not been prevented and repelled but also continues to be complicated." A significant number of officials and party members, including leaders and managers fell into individualism, selfishness, opportunism, and pragmatism. They chased fame, wealth, and power, which led to corruption and wastefulness... besides corruption, the situation of seeking position and power of cadres in Vietnam was also very



complicated and persisted for a long time. (The Communist Party of Vietnam, 2012, 21) These statements, although somewhat vague and lacked specific data, they showed the openness, humility, and courage of party leaders who dare to acknowledge the shortcomings of the Party and its members. The Communist Party of Vietnam also conducted a public action to discipline 2740 Party organization with 167,000 corrupt and negative Party members, of which 190 central cadres. (Government, 2022: 13) The above parameters, of course, only symbolic significance, completely not accurately reflected the negative situation, corruption, which was "serious political disease" in Vietnam currently. On January 30, 2023, the international transparency organization (TI) published on the index of corruption, Vietnam only reached 41/100 points and ranked 83/180 globally, dropped 1 step compared to the year 2022. This figure which reflected the corruption situation in Vietnam was very serious and increasingly complicated, there was no cure.

Applying Ho Chi Minh's thought on building a clean and strong Communist Party is to create the strength of the Party. The regular adjustment and renovation is to make the Party clean and strong, making the contingent of cadres and Party members constantly fostering and improving the moral qualities, political bravery and working capacity to meet task requirements. And especially, we must know that the objective situation changes for hours, a point of view today is right, the next day maybe not. If the Party is not awake of reviewing the Party's behavioral ideas to quit wrong things, it will definitely not keep up with the situation and will be abandoned. (See also Ho, 2011a, 28).

## Conclusion

In order to renovate and regulate the Communist Party, which means the Party must be "moral, civilized" emphasized by Ho Chi Minh, in addition to raising the moral example of the leadership, perhaps it is imperative to return to the rule of law principles. This means that the democracy and political freedom must really have a solid legal basis for people to enforce and protect their ownership. Only then: If the government harms the people, the people have the right to fire the government; The new law can "bring comrades who have bribed to public opinion, to punish them 10 years of imprisonment and 10 years of misery" as Ho Chi Minh deterred. (Ho, 2000b, 496)



We are living in an era of globalization with a very fierce competition world and full of disagreements, conflicts and fluctuations: "uncertainty", "instability", "unpredictability", along with traditional and non -traditional security challenges, the role of political culture will determine the effectiveness and success of the decisions, both short -term and long -term in the development process of the country. At any time, political culture - pure ethical culture creates strength ensuring the righteousness of the ruling political Party.

For the political regime that only recognizes a single political Party like in Vietnam today, progressive political culture is an important factor for the reasonable existence of the regime. Ho Chi Minh was aware of that, so his whole life was working, he always cultivated and trained to become an exemplary example of political and ethical qualities. He not only lived and practiced the standards, true values in daily life, but also was interested in fostering, educating good and kind qualities for his leadership team in the Party. To Ho Chi Minh, political culture was almost identical to revolutionary morality, considered the root of political people, the decisive factor to ensure the success of the revolution.

Indeed, during the struggle for national liberation in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh's the noble qualities in practical political activities which have become a mental strength with the intense attraction, motivation encouraging the entire Vietnamese people. It helped to follow the revolutionary party and made great victories. Ho Chi Minh was also aware that a nation, one Party and every human being were good with great attraction yesterday, not necessarily is still loved and praised by everyone today and tomorrow. If their hearts are not pure anymore, it is easy to fall into individualism. (Ho, 2000d, 558). The temptations of money, power and fame have led many officials to corruption and betrayal, turning them into "parasites" who exploited the nation. It can be said that corruption, negativity, seeking power in Vietnam have become a disaster, a "incurable political disease" that has a terrible destruction, but has not found a effectively curable treatment. In my opinion, The most visible and important solution should be political freedom guaranteed by the Constitution and the Democratic law in order to maximize the manipulation of the power of state agencies and individuals holding power associated with that citizen morality including officials' ethics about the rights and



social obligations. Only through this approach can the Party mitigate bureaucracy, corruption, and a loss of democratic values among its leaders.

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