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ARM THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES AND BUILD THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap

Part IV: Arm the Revolutionary Masses Strongly and Widely
and Build a Regular, Modern People's Armed Forces

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PART FOUR OF VO NGUYEN GIAP ARTICLE ON PEOPLE'S ARMY

[For Part One, "Marxist-Leninist Theory on Organization of Proletariat", see DAILY REPORT No 40, 28 February 1972, Supplement 3; for Part Two, "Our People's Traditions and Experiences in Building Armed Forces in the Past", see DAILY REPORT No 46, 7 March 1972, Supplement 5; for Part Three, "The Creativeness of Our Party and People", see DAILY REPORT No 83, 27 April 1972, Supplement 14 and DAILY REPORT No 108, 2 June 1972, Supplement 18.]

Section 1

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 25 Sep 72 pp 1, 3 8

[Article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army"--Part 4: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses Strongly and Widely and Build a Regular, Modern People's Armed Forces"]

[Text] (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN editorial note: Recently Gen Vo Nguyen Giap wrote an important article entitled "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army," the article consists of four parts:

(Part 1: Marxist-Leninist Theory on Military Organization of the Proletariat.

(Part 2: Our People's Traditions and Experiences in Building Armed Forces in the Past.

(Part 3: Our Party's and People's Creativity in Arming the Revolutionary Masses and Building the People's Armed Forces in the Past 40 Years.

(Part 4: Arm the Revolutionary Masses Strongly and Widely and Build a Regular, Modern People's Armed Forces.

(The text of this article has been published in recent issues of HOP TAP and TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN.

(Beginning with this issue, we introduce to our readers Part 4 of this article.)

We have studied Marxist-Leninist theory on the military organization of the proletariat in the struggle to achieve the proletarian dictatorship and to protect the socialist state. We have pointed out our ancestors' traditions and experiences in building the armed forces in our national uprisings and national wars. We have also analyzed our party and people's creativity in arming the revolutionary masses and building the people's army in the armed uprisings and revolutionary wars in our country in the past several decades. We then derived the law governing the organization of our people's revolutionary armed forces in the present struggle to oppose colonialist domination and the imperialist war of aggression in order to attain the revolutionary objectives set forth by our party, independence, freedom and socialism.

A clear understanding and realistic application of this law to the new conditions will help determine the trend of development of the people's armed forces in order to fulfill our people's present historic mission of completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. This is also of great significance for the building of our people's revolutionary armed forces in both parts of our country in order to protect the socialist north and the independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral south in the future as well as to defend, in the long range, our unified fatherland from any war of aggression that may be waged by the imperialist enemies.

In both parts of our country our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance has achieved great victories and is entering a decisive period.

On the southern battlefield, though seriously defeated militarily and politically, the Nixon administration has for the past several years stubbornly continued the "Vietnamized" war strategy. Along with withdrawing most U.S. combat units, the U.S. imperialists have extensively tried to strengthen the puppet troops so they can replace the American troops in South Vietnam and assume part of the fighting in Indochina under U.S. command. The enemy has stepped up its "pacification plan," conducted people-hounding sweeps and established a dense network of posts and forts in an attempt to turn the south into a huge concentration camp to control our compatriots, destroy the revolutionary bases and seize manpower and material resources to serve his neocolonialist war of aggression. The enemy has tried to maintain the Nguyen Van Thieu fascist lackey clique and has ruthlessly stamped out the southern people's aspirations for peace, independence, neutrality, national concord, freedom, democracy and improvement of the living conditions.

In the north the enemy has stubbornly continued his war acts by repeatedly sending aircraft to fly reconnaissance missions and to bomb and strafe many populated areas, perpetrating more crimes against our compatriots. Nixon and Laird also insolently threatened to use air and naval forces to resume the war of destruction to prevent the vast rear base from assisting the great frontline, destroy the socialist north's economic and military potential and shake our people's determination to fight.

In Laos the enemy has intensified the "special war" by sending aircraft to conduct extermination bombings of the Lao liberated area, by stepping up the "Laotization" plan and by introducing more Thai troops into Laos to rescue the heavily defeated Vientiane puppet troops and the Vang Pao bandits and to collaborate with them in launching counterattacks to ward off the offensive of the Lao revolution.

In Cambodia the enemy has carried out the insidious "Khmerization" plan, infused a breath of life into the Phnom Penh puppet administration, strengthened the puppet army, carried out "pacification" activities to herd the people and has used the U.S. Air Force to support the Phnom Penh puppet troops in their criminal operations to oppose the Cambodian people. The Nixon administration also forced the reactionary Thai administration to send Thai troops to Cambodia to oppose the Khmer people.

It is clear that despite their losing posture, the U.S. aggressors still maintain the wicked intention of invading our country, are stubbornly prolonging and expanding the war to maintain the yoke of neocolonialist domination over the south and are implementing their role of international gendarme in Southeast Asia by the so-called "sharing responsibility" under the "Nixon doctrine," whose real nature is to exploit the bones and blood of others fighting in the place of the Americans with U.S. weapons and money for the filthy interests of the U.S. monopolistic capitalist cliques. Therefore our aggressor enemy is still U.S. imperialism, but the concrete combat target of our people, of the peoples in the three Indochinese countries on the battlefield, has undergone many changes. In the present phase of "Vietnamization, the puppet forces, lackeys of the Americans, organized, equipped and trained by the Americans, with their many modern weapons and war means supplied by the Americans, with their military branches and services, with the combat coordination of U.S. air and naval forces and with U.S. logistical support, have gradually become the key strategic force of the war of aggression and the key combat target of the revolutionary war. The U.S. imperialists have also tried to develop the might of their modern air and naval forces

to attack the northern part of our country (Footnote: Article written in March 1972).

With such a concrete combat target, all the people of our country are determined to defeat the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The FLAF in the south faces the duty of coordinating with the masses' political forces in destroying and disintegrating the Saigon puppet forces -- the "backbone" of the "Vietnamization" strategy -- and at the same time smashing the "pacification plan" -- the human and material base of this strategy. Our people's armed forces in the north must defeat the U.S. air and naval attacks, must stand ready to smash all of the U.S. imperialists' frenzied military adventure steps, must firmly and steadily protect the socialist north and must help fulfill the great year's duty to the great frontline. Our people must coordinate closely with the peoples of fraternal Laos and Cambodia to defeat the formula of "lackey reactionary military forces plus U.S. air power" of the "Nixon doctrine" on Indochinese battlefields.

On the path of continuing the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the north, of carrying out the people's national and democratic revolution in the south and of advancing toward peace and national reunification, our people's struggle will have to endure still many tense and complex phases, but it will certainly succeed. The military organization of our people must not only respond to the urgent short-term duties but must also respond to all duties under all circumstances in the revolution's advancement, even after the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been defeated. The people's armed forces in the north must have adequate strength to protect the socialist north, must smash all acts of aggression and sabotage by imperialism and its lackeys, must act as a sharp tool of the proletarian dictatorship, must insure the building of a really firm and strong north in all aspects and must serve as a firm and steady basis of the struggle for national unification. The liberation armed forces in the south must be strong enough to protect the revolutionary results already achieved, must firmly maintain the independence and neutrality of the south, must defeat all schemes of the imperialists and the reactionaries must help advance the revolution continuously and must build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam.

Because our country is situated in an area that has a very important strategic position in Southeast Asia, as mentioned in the first part, it has been an objective of aggression by many cruel enemies for countless generations. For only tens of years in the recent past, as many as three imperialisms have succeeded one another in invading our country. Even after the U.S. imperialists have been defeated, world imperialism will not run out of odious schemes against our country. Our nation is very eager for independence and freedom and loves and longs for peace to build the country and improve the people's living standards in all aspects. However, we must always stay very vigilant. We must always be firm and strong in politics, economics and national defense, must closely combine building the economy with consolidation of national defense and must, under all circumstances, have a strong national defense system -- with massive armed forces consisting of a strong permanent army and the armed forces of the numerous masses -- to protect the people's labor movement for peace and to stand ready to conduct war victoriously to protect the fatherland against all enemy aggressors, protect the state administration and resist internal subversive elements.

On a long-term basis, after our country is unified it will undergo very great changes. Vietnam will become a wealthy and powerful country with modern industry, modern agriculture, advanced culture and science and a population of 50-70 million in the coming

decades. Our people have sufficient bases for building a firm and strong national defense foundation and advancing the undertaking of building the people's army and arming the revolutionary masses to a new degree, thus having sufficient strength to protect the country and defeat any imperialist aggressor enemy.

If a war to protect the fatherland were to break out at present or in the future, it would be a just war of self-defense on our own territory. Therefore it would develop the strength of our entire people, our entire country, our entire nation to the highest degree in order to defeat the enemy. A number of conditions and circumstances, under which any such future war might break out would be similar to those today -- for instance, the situation in which a small force fights a large force, geographic conditions and so forth. Because usually the enemy who dares invade our country must have larger and stronger forces than ours, the balance of forces between us and the enemy may vary, but the situation in which a small force fights a large force will remain unchanged. As for geographic conditions, although these are always being altered by our people's industrious hands, they generally will remain almost unchanged for a long time. If a future war to protect the fatherland breaks out, it will be developed under the geographic conditions of our country, which is a tiny, long country, mostly composed of jungles and mountains, split by many rivers and which has thousands of kilometers of coast line and a tropical climate.

All this permits us to conclude that we can inherit, use and develop many experiences from past wars to protect the fatherland, experiences from uprisings and liberation wars and the present and previous experiences in military organization in conformity with the new conditions and circumstances in order to build the all-people national defense foundation and to build the people's armed forces of the socialist north, the independent and neutral south and the unified Vietnam of the future. If a war to protect the fatherland breaks out in our country, it will be a highly developed people's war and the people's armed forces in our nation will develop tremendously and comprehensively in terms of personal strength, the degree of comprehensive development of the ranks of cadres and combatants, the degree of equipment and technology, the organizational degree, combat methods and combat strength.

At present, to fulfill the historic obligation of completely defeating the U.S. aggressors, our people must have very large and strong political forces and very large and strong armed forces to strengthen comprehensively the political, economic and national defense might of our country. We must hold fast to the party's policy of arming all our people and make every effort to develop the masses' armed forces very strongly and broadly, along with intensively building a tremendously large and strong people's army and mobilizing and developing our people's forces to the highest degree on the military front so as, together with all our people, to defeat the enemy under all circumstances.

In the south, implementing the military struggle and political struggle guidelines simultaneously in order to defeat the U.S. "Vietnamization" strategy, the southern armed forces and people are vigorously developing the comprehensively offensive posture of the revolutionary war, closely combining armed struggle with political struggle, combining offensives with uprisings and concentrated combat with guerrilla warfare and annihilating the enemy along with gaining the right to ownership for the people, expanding it in all the three strategic areas, engaging in combat along with developing their military and political forces, positively expanding and consolidating the liberated areas and becoming stronger the more they fight.

pointed out by the PROSV and the southern liberation armed forces' high command, to develop the masses' armed forces very strongly and broadly along with building a tremendously large and strong liberation army and strengthening the liberation armed forces' three troop categories are the basic contents of the undertaking of strengthening the present revolutionary armed forces in the south.

Americans and puppets have retreated into a strategically defensive battlefield position. Through a tyrannical repressive and coercive apparatus from the central level to the local level, they have implemented an extremely barbarous fascist policy against our compatriots. Under these circumstances the southern people, relying on their people's continuously developed and increased political forces, have endeavored to outstandingly develop the mass armed forces throughout the three strategic areas.

The need to develop the mass armed forces in a vigorous and widespread manner is closely linked with the need to further develop guerrilla warfare so as to fight battles involving concentrated forces and defeat the "Vietnamization" strategy militarily. The need to develop the mass armed forces is also closely linked with the need to accelerate the masses' offensive and uprising movement, conduct a three-pronged offensive against the enemy and smash his "pacification" program. The mass armed forces and guerrilla warfare -- in which the regional troops play a core role and which are closely coordinated with the political forces -- must successfully maintain firm footholds and fight the enemy on the spot with creative and flexible methods. The mass armed forces and guerrilla warfare must maul or annihilate the enemy very extensively, disperse him, pin him down and encircle and split him up, launch surprise raids against his vital positions, attack and destroy his rear service installations, cut his communications lines along land and waterways and help thwart his combat maneuvers. The mass armed forces and guerrilla warfare must thwart the enemy's people-herding sweeps, protect our own political bases, annihilate or disintegrate the coercive apparatus of the village hamlet puppet administration and the reactionary local armed forces and break the enemy military post network. Mass armed forces and guerrillas warfare must firmly maintain and comprehensively strengthen the resistance's potential and frustrate the U.S. imperialists' insidious scheme to "use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese and use war to support war."

In the protracted revolutionary struggle of our people in the south, the mass armed forces have increasingly played an extremely important role in the revolution's advance. The masses' armed organizations exist anywhere the people's political bases exist. Relying on the revolution's political forces, which have developed ever more extensively on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the southern people have strenuously strengthened the mass armed forces quantitatively, qualitatively and in line with appropriate organizational forms. Have created armed forces fighting the enemy throughout the south -- from the mountain areas to the delta, from the rural areas to the urban areas and from the liberated areas to the temporarily enemy-occupied areas -- and have transformed the masses' political forces into a tremendous strength in each locality and throughout the battlefield.

Relying on the people's political forces and the mass armed forces, the southern armed forces and people have striven to build and develop the liberation army into a really big, powerful army. The need to intensively build the liberation army, including big, powerful regional troops, is closely linked with the need to step up the military struggle and simultaneously develop conventional and guerrilla warfare to defeat enemy troops militarily and, in coordination with the political struggle, advance the resistance to final victory.

The liberation main-force units have been developed quantitatively. Specifically, their quality and equipment have been improved. With necessary armed branches and powerful reserve forces, the liberation armed forces have gained high mobility, have been provided with adequate rear service and material and technical facilities and have become increasingly well versed in combat involving coordination among various armed branches on different scales and in different areas of activity. On the southern battlefield conventional combat has increasingly developed, has gained increasing strength, has been performed on an ever extending scale and has achieved increasing efficiency. The liberation main-force units have annihilated a substantial part of the Saigon puppet main-force troops by wiping out major puppet main-force units, have breached the enemy's defense lines, have foiled his combat measures, have enlarged the liberated areas and have won increasingly great victories. The liberation main-force units' great victories in defeating the puppet main-force units have exerted a very vigorous and adverse impact on the combat morale and organization of all puppet armed forces and the entire puppet administration; have directed a strong blow at the U.S. imperialists' aggressive determination; have effectively supported guerrilla warfare, the political struggle and the mass uprising movement; have created tremendous possibilities for proselytizing among the enemy's military and civilian personnel; and have contributed significantly to changing the balance of forces and the war situation increasingly in our favor.

Liberation army local units are being developed to be mature and strong enough to serve alongside the militia and guerrilla units as the nucleus of the local people's war, to develop guerrilla warfare and the mass uprising movement to a higher level, to smash the U.S.-puppets' "pacification" program and to coordinate effectively with the main force army in large-scale battles to defeat the "Vietnamization" strategy militarily. Local army units are being built in this direction: Each district, province or city must possess a number of army units that are appropriately organized and that have a high combat ability and necessary technical units that can carry out many combat tactics proficiently. The local troops must be strong and well trained. They must fight well and motivate the people to operate in a concentrated or scattered manner to become thereby a strong offensive force of the local people's war. In close coordination with militiamen and guerrillas, many local army units in South Vietnam have neatly annihilated many civil guard and militia units, destroyed series of posts and camps, demolished series of strategic hamlets and people-herding centers, strongly supported the masses' political struggles and uprisings and effectively cooperated with the liberation main force troops in local battles.

On the South Vietnam battlefield, many provinces and localities have grasped the people's war line and the line of arming the entire people. By applying these lines resolutely and creatively, they have built not only broad and steadfast political forces but also strong local armed forces, including large numbers of strong militiamen and guerrillas and strong local troops who have a great combat strength and can fight the local enemy troops through good combat tactics. For this reason, they have stepped up the local people's war and advanced the offensive and uprising movement by new steps. They have gradually frustrated the enemy's "pacification" scheme, bankrupted his people-herding, pressganging and troop-upgrading schemes and maintained and developed the revolutionary forces in every respect.

Realities of the southern revolutionary war reveal that the popular masses are a steadfast basis of the entire revolutionary undertaking, while the masses' political forces are a solid foundation of the armed forces, and the masses' armed forces are a steadfast basis of the revolutionary army. For this reason, to secure powerful forces for the revolutionary war and to fully develop the great strength of people's war, it is

necessary to build a political army of the revolution and on this basis build the people's armed forces, including the masses' armed forces and revolutionary troops, to develop the three troop categories in a balanced manner, to deploy the three troop categories in a strategic offensive position on all battlefields and to closely coordinate concentrated combat with guerrilla warfare and the armed struggle with the political and troop-proselyting struggles. In this way we can create the greatest combined strength to annihilate and disintegrate the enemy army, smash the "pacification" program, defeat the "Vietnamization" strategy and advance toward defeating completely the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war.

In particular, because the U.S. imperialists have shifted to the "Vietnamization" strategy, carried out their shrewd plot to "use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" and tried to build a puppet army, including the main and local forces, serving as a tool to continue their aggressive war, the problem of grasping the rules on organizing the people's armed forces assumes a very important significance.

If we have a strong political force, we must have a strong armed force. If we have the strong and broad armed forces of the masses, we must have a seasoned liberation army with high quality and adequate numerical strength. If we have large and strong self-defense, militia forces and strong local troops to form strong, broad local forces, we must also have a very strong and mobile main force. If the two forces and the three troop categories coordinate closely, operate harmoniously, develop fully their strategic role in the revolutionary war and step up the armed and political struggles and the conventional and guerrilla warfares to a high level, our southern compatriots and combatants will surely defeat the puppet army, topple the puppet administration, frustrate the "Vietnamization strategy" completely and advance the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking to final victory.

While persisting in prolonging the war of aggression in the south and expanding the war throughout Indochina, the Nixon administration has unceasingly intensified its war acts against the northern part of our country. It has concocted many insidious short and long-term schemes against the socialist north, the great rear of the great front-line and the firm and solid base of the nationwide revolution. We must therefore constantly concern ourselves with developing the northern people's armed forces so that they, together with all the people, completely defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to firmly protect the socialist north at present as well as in the long run.

The north must be comprehensively powerful and firm politically, economically and in national defense. We must therefore intensively accelerate the socialist revolution and socialist construction, unceasingly heighten political and moral unanimity among the people, carry out economic and cultural construction and development and thereby consolidate and strengthen the all-people's national defense and closely coordinate economic development and national defense. Only by achieving a strong economy, which embodies the central economy and the local economy, can we have a strong national defense and wage people's warfare on a national scale as well as in each locality. It is necessary to work out combat readiness plans and ready the country in all respects to constantly hold the initiative under all circumstances.

To satisfactorily strengthen our people's armed forces in the north, we must know how to apply and develop all our people's experiences, as analyzed in Part 2, especially the experiences gained by our party in the protracted revolutionary struggle, as analyzed in Part 3. These experiences include those gained in the August general uprising, in the resistance against the French colonialists and in the years of peaceful construction; the fresh experiences gained by the northern armed forces and people

in the years of resistance against the war of destruction; and the extensive experiences gained by our compatriots and combatants in the south in waging the people's war against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression. We must, under all circumstances, firmly grasp the following rules governing the building of our people's military organizations: Arm all the people and simultaneously arm the revolutionary masses and build the people's army, and coordinate the people's army with the mass armed forces and vice versa.

We must positively build the people's regular and modern army and, at the same time, intensively develop strong and widespread mass armed forces and strengthen the three troop categories of the people's armed forces -- the main-force units, regional troops and militia and self-defense forces. It is necessary to continue to consolidate the people's armed security force. We must have both really strong regular-combat forces and really powerful reserve forces. We must continue to satisfactorily implement the state's policies and statutes governing the building and development of the people's armed forces and the consolidation of all-people's national defense. We must at the same time continue to supplement and perfect these policies and statutes in accordance with future national development. Special importance must be attached to developing the cadre corps, which plays a core role in building and developing the armed forces and in consolidating national defense. We must gradually strengthen the armed forces' material, technical and rear service bases throughout the north and in each locality.

First of all it is necessary to continue to step up the development of our army into a new-type revolutionary army that actually belongs to the people and into a regular army that is modernized in accordance with our country's conditions and that plays a key role in all the people's military organizations to steadfastly protect our revolutionary achievements and our beloved country, defeat all aggressor enemies at present as well as in the long-run and fulfill all combat and production tasks and other tasks assigned by the party and the people.

As pointed out earlier, the building and development of a regular and modern people's army is fully consistent with Lenin's concept of building and developing a worker-peasant Red army. Our party pointed out this task in its Central Committee resolution on building the army and consolidating of national defense in 1957 and in the third party congress resolution in 1960. Realities emerging in the 1954-64 peaceful construction period and from the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance testify to the complete correctness of these resolutions.

At present and in the near future we must build the people's army into a modern and regular socialist army, consisting of main force troops and local troops with permanent forces having a suitable numerical strength and a very high combat quality and with massive and well-organized and trained rear forces.

Our army must be a truly revolutionary and popular army, and at the same time must be a highly modern army with a modern ground force, a modern air force and a modern naval force.

Our ground force must advance toward having adequate necessary armed branches, having a structure and organizational pattern suitable to its ever-developing combat duty, having strong firepower and attack strength and having high mobility in all topographical and weather conditions in our country, and must develop adequately its role as a force that decides victory on the battlefield.

Our air force must be further strengthened in accordance with the guideline of appropriate quantity and high combat quality and highly creative fighting methods in order to firmly and steadily protect the fatherland's airspace against the air force of any aggressor enemy and coordinate in fighting closely with the ground and naval forces.

Our naval force must be built ever stronger in accordance with the guideline of having adequate quantity and high combat quality, having an ever better organizational structure, having ever more modern equipment, having fighting methods suitable to the river and sea battlefield in our country and being capable of protecting the long shoreline and the thick river network of the fatherland.

Relying on the ever-increasing momentum of the building of socialism in our country, and at the same time making the fullest use of the assistance by the fraternal countries of the socialist camp and the latest scientific and technological achievements in the world, our party and people are determined to strive to continue building the people's army into a very powerful force with an invincible fighting strength and capable of dealing iron blows, defeating all schemes of aggression by any enemy and protecting firmly and steadily the fatherland's sacred territory, airspace and seas.

Our army must first of all and forever be a truly revolutionary army of the people. This principle is a key problem of the party's theory on building the army, and we must always maintain a firm grasp on this principle under all circumstances.

The fighting strength of a revolutionary army is the combined strength of the following factors: the degree of revolutionary enlightenment, the cadres' and combatants' fighting spirit, rational organization and the standard of technical equipment of the army, the combatants' technical and tactical knowledge and the cadres' knowledge of military science and art, leadership and command ability. This strength is a product of the dialectical unity between man and weapons, between politics and technology, between military science and war means and between ideology and organization.

Both reality and theory show that the factors constituting the army's fighting strength play a very important role and have a very close relationship with one another. To create the greatest fighting strength for the army, each factor must be developed most adequately and combined closely with other factors.

Without a fighting spirit, or with a low one, we cannot have a creative revolutionary willpower; nor can we have active combat acts or a basis for development of the material and technical factors and the tactical art. Even though it is well organized, equipped and trained, an army can be defeated easily if its fighting spirit is low. Nonetheless, we cannot defeat the enemy purely with spiritual strength. With a high fighting spirit, but with an inferior standard of technical equipment, an irrational organization of forces or incorrect fighting methods, we will not be able to create a great fighting strength and the spiritual factor will not be developed really adequately to become a great material strength to defeat the enemy on the battlefield.

Lenin once stressed the great effect of the spiritual factor in warfare. He said: "In any war, victory is finally decided by the spiritual state of the masses fighting on the battlefields." (Footnote: "Complete Works of Lenin," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Vol 31, p 165) Lenin also said: "Even the best army and even the men most faithful to the revolution will be quickly destroyed by the enemy unless they are equipped, supplied and trained adequately." (Footnote: "Selected Works of Lenin," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol 2, Part 1, p 359)

So, when examining the armed forces' combat strength, we must maintain the dialectical unity of these factors. It is obviously wrong to stress only the material and technical factors and consider them as decisive while disregarding the political and spiritual factors. On the other hand, it is also incorrect to pay attention only to the spiritual factor and to separate it from the material factor.

In assessing the importance of these factors, we hold that the most basic one is the political or spiritual factor or the troops' awareness of the revolutionary ideal, combat objectives and political objectives of the war, or the fighting spirit of the cadres and combatants. The war "the masses' awareness of the goal and causes of the war is of great significance and insures its success." (Footnote; "Complete Works of Lenin", Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Vol 31, p 165) If they are aware of the interests of their class and the national interests, the cadres and combatants of the revolutionary army are ready to struggle and make sacrifices for independence, freedom and socialism. If they go to battle with a single desire and will to defeat the enemy, they will have extraordinary energy and strength. The history of the struggle and maturity of our armed forces, who have gone from "having nothing" to "having something" and from the position of weakness to the position of strength and defeated the cruellest imperialist aggressors of the era is eloquent proof of this argument of Lenin.

Armed struggle is a form of fiercest class struggle and national struggle. The characteristic of armed struggle is that it is connected with sacrifice and bloodshed. For this reason a revolutionary army must have a steel-like fighting will and high spirit of self-denial for the country. In this way it can stand firm before all trials, overcome all difficulties and trials of the war, develop the power of weapons, apply combat tactics creatively, and give full play to the organizational power to defeat the enemy.

Under our party's correct leadership, through training and combat in a protracted, hard, and fierce revolutionary struggle, our armed forces have acquired a revolutionary nature, a very beautiful political quality and a very high combat spirit and have strongly manifested the thoughts, sentiments and ethics of the working class, the Vietnamese nation and the era. This is our absolute loyalty to our party's and people's revolutionary undertaking. This is our unshakable determination to fight for the fatherland's independence and freedom and "to sacrifice everything rather than lose the country and live as slaves." This is the warm love for the country and socialism and a spirit of genuine proletarian internationalism. This is our determination to fight and win, our will to assault and exterminate the enemy, our brave fighting spirit, our wonderful creativity and resourcefulness, our sense of solidarity and close coordination and our organizational and disciplinary sense. This is our warm affection for our compatriots and comrades, our deep hatred for the imperialists and their henchmen and our great hate for all oppression and exploitation. This is our high revolutionary vigilance against the plots and maneuvers of all enemies of our class and nation under all circumstances. This political quality and brilliant spirit was described properly by beloved and esteemed Uncle Ho as follows: "Our armed forces are loyal to the party, faithful to the people and ready to fight and sacrifice for the fatherland's independence and freedom and for the sake of socialism. They can fulfill any task, overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy." This is the strongest point and a strong motive force in our armed forces' combat strength. This is an extremely valuable capital of our armed forces in our construction undertaking and our struggle at present and in the future. In building our army into a regular, modern army, we are determined to maintain and develop this precious capital and turn these noble qualities into steadfast virtues and beautiful traditions for all generations.

More than ever, faced with the U.S. imperialists' plot to prolong their aggressive war in our country and to expand it to all of Indochina, our armed forces, heightening their spirit of self-denial for the country, must fear no hardships and sacrifices, persist in and step up the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and fully develop the role, effect and functions of a people's army. Our armed forces are determined to punish the U.S. aggressors appropriately for their military adventures against our country and to fulfill their sacred national duties and their noble international obligations and to fight the U.S. aggressors until complete victory.

Section 2

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[Continuation of Part 4 of article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army"]

[Text] To unceasingly enhance the army's revolutionary nature, it is necessary to constantly and firmly grasp and strictly implement Leninist principles in building the army politically. This has become a fine tradition of our army.

We are consistently and deeply imbued with the party's absolute, direct and comprehensive leadership over the army and regard this as a most fundamental principle.

We unceasingly consolidate the party organization system and the political work system and constantly intensify the political task in the army.

We attach importance to disseminating the party's lines, revolutionary tasks, guidelines and policies, enhancing the army's political enlightenment and consciousness of the nation and social class and heightening the army's determination to fight and win.

We attach importance to thoroughly understanding the party's military line and ideology and the military science and art of the people's war.

We are active in training a cadre corps that is absolutely loyal to the party's revolutionary cause and that possesses leadership, command and organizational capabilities.

We advocate extending democracy and intensively upholding strict voluntary discipline and the iron-like discipline of a revolutionary army.

We have satisfactorily built the relationship between the army and the party, between the army and the revolutionary administration and between the army and the people, the army's internal relationship and the relationship between our army and the armies and peoples of the fraternal countries.

Regarding the party, our army has consistently demonstrated its absolute confidence in the party's lines and leadership, has voluntarily complied with the party's leadership, has strictly implemented all the party's lines, guidelines and policies and has struggled resolutely to protect all the party's lines, principles and views and to successfully fulfill all tasks entrusted to it by the party.

Regarding the revolutionary administration, our army has consistently demonstrated the spirit of respecting and protecting the revolutionary administration, has closely united with state agencies and has strictly implemented all the state's lines, policies and laws.

Our cadres and combatants have wholeheartedly served, respected and helped the people, have fought self-denyingly to protect the people's interests and have strictly observed mass discipline.

Regarding the army's internal relationship, our cadres and combatants have brought into full play the spirit of unity, unanimity and single-mindedness at all levels, mutual love and the spirit of sharing weal and woe and sincerely helping one another. Our cadres and combatants have at the same time demonstrated the spirit of submitting themselves to their organizations, strictly implementing all orders, directives and resolutions of higher echelons and implementing all regulations, standing orders, statutes and rules of the army.

Regarding the armies and peoples of fraternal countries, our army has consistently demonstrated a genuine internationalist and proletarian spirit, has feared no sacrifices and hardships, has sincerely united with the fraternal countries' armies and people and fought shoulder to shoulder with them against the common enemy and has consistently regarded the fraternal countries' revolutionary cause as our own.

To develop the strength and effectiveness of party leadership, it is necessary to improve the ability of party organizations, cadres and party members in the army to firmly grasp the party's political and military lines and raise their practical organizational standards. It is also necessary to meet requirements arising from building and developing a regular and modern people's army to fulfill all political and military tasks entrusted by the party. Our party has gained extensive experiences in building the army politically and ideologically and in building an army that consists mainly of the infantry and that has a given number of armed branches. Our party is advancing toward satisfactorily solving problems arising from the building and development, for the present and the future, of a regular and modern people's army that consists of many armed services and branches and that is suitable to our country's practical conditions. Therefore, one of the present important tasks is to conduct comprehensive studies to gradually and firmly grasp and correctly apply the development and combat rules of a regular and modern people's army in our country and develop a Vietnamese military science for the defeat of the Americans at present and for long-range defense of the fatherland. We will thereby continue to perfect, develop and materialize the party's military line and its line for building a regular and modern revolutionary army.

On the basis of improving the army's revolutionary nature, it is necessary to step up the regularization and modernization of the army.

Regularization is the necessary step of all armies when their organization has developed to a certain degree of perfection. It is not just in the present era but occurred even in the past, in our country as well as in many other countries in the world, that the building of a regular army has been set forth and implemented. The more modern an army becomes, the higher its requirements for concentration and unification will become and the more strongly the problem of regularization will be stepped up.

Lenin pointed out that in conditions of fighting against a powerful enemy who might risk an adventure at any time and at a time when the army was using modern technical equipment ever more comprehensively and fighting in accordance with modern fighting methods that required very close and flexible coordination of combat activities, there would never be a unity of wills and acts without a high degree of concentration and unification. Tens of thousands or millions of men operating in a large area cannot

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quickly change their fighting formulas and methods or action guidelines in accordance with a uniform will that is suitable to the developments in battlefield situation; therefore, combat duties cannot be resolved successfully in modern warfare.

Regularization is implementation of the army's unity in organization based on the systems, ordinances, and statutes to bring all the army's activities into a uniform pattern, improve its organizational, concentrating, and scientific characteristics, and achieve unanimous and resolute actions and close coordination among all parts of the army in warfare. Regularization is closely related to the promulgation of systems, ordinances, and statutes and to their implementation.

A revolutionary army can achieve regularization as well as the army of the exploiting class. However, because these two armies have a different political nature, their regularization is also different regarding objectives, content, and method of execution. The regularization of the army of the exploiting class is aimed at serving reactionary political objectives. All systems and orders of this army reflect its counterrevolutionary nature and the unequal relations among its troops, who are forced to observe discipline blindly and mechanically. On the contrary the regularization of a revolutionary army is aimed at serving the noble political objectives of the revolution. All systems and orders of this army reflect its revolutionary nature and its beautiful constructive principles as a new-style army. Its systems, orders, and regulations are implemented on the basis of its cadres' and combatants' political awareness, sense of self-conscious discipline, initiative, and creativity. Because the regularization of a revolutionary army is achieved on an excellent political basis, this army is stronger than the army of the exploiting class.

In previous years the promulgation, amendment, and improvement of systems, orders, and regulations have had a great effect on the building of our army. The systems regarding military service, service of officers and noncommissioned officers, and military ranks, the orders regarding internal affairs, ranks, police, and discipline and the regulations on the rear services and political and staff tasks have helped strengthen the unity of our army, step up its regularization, and increase its combat strength. Basically, all these systems, orders, and regulations properly reflect our army's revolutionary nature and a thorough awareness of the party's thoughts, military line, military art, and principles regarding the building of our army consistent with the actual conditions of our army and our country. War realities help us make necessary improvements and remedy the irrational points and provide us numerous experiences in building and improving the orders.

We must base ourselves on the constantly developing situation and building and fighting mission of our army to continue to study and improve these systems, orders, and regulations in order to better serve the mission of accelerating the regularizing of our army at present. At the same time we must promote the building of an increasingly better system, order, and regulation network to serve as a basis for stepping up regularization in the future. This system must advance toward covering activities in all aspects of our army, and must include the following:

-- Major systems reflecting our party and government policies and guidelines concerning the building of our army and strengthening of national defense which have a legal character vis-a-vis our army and people.

-- Regulations concerning the organization and equipment of the army and armed services and armed branches, serving as a basis for unifying the organization of the army.

-- Orders concerning the internal affairs, ranks, police, and discipline, serving as a basis for the organization of activities of the regulars.

-- Combat orders of the army and armed services and armed branches aimed at determining basic fighting methods for the combatants, detachments, and corps.

-- Regulations concerning staff, political, rear service, school and branch activities....

We should know that no matter how well established these systems, orders, and regulations are, they cannot cover all practical requirements. Orders can only set forth a basic trend for the activities of our army, but cannot solve all problems at every place and time. Therefore, while upholding correct implementation of these orders we must constantly develop the creativity and resourcefulness of the cadres and combatants and avoid stereotyped, mechanical applications.

The content of these orders reflects the experiences and building and fighting requirements of our army in a fixed period of time and under definite conditions. The building and combat realities of our army and its abilities in all respects -- as well as those of the enemy army -- such as military science and military art, are constantly changing. Therefore, orders should be constantly improved and developed so they always have a new vigor and can develop the effects of practical guidance over the activities of the army.

On the basis of gradually improving these systems, orders, and regulations we must continue to step up education and correct implementation of them. Implementation must be based first of all on the organizational ability and discipline observance of the cadres and combatants, and must be gradually stabilized to become a bearing, a new habit, a habit of the working class, which is closely linked with modernized production, but not the habit of small producers linked with the scattered, free way of doing business in handicraft.

In stepping up regularizing, a very important problem is to uphold the organizational and discipline consciousness of the army. Lenin emphasized that building a strict military discipline and the spirit of strictly implementing all orders and regulations is of extremely great importance, necessary to improve the level of regulars and the combat strength of the Red army. He also pointed out: "The army must have the strictest discipline" (Footnote: "Complete Works of Lenin" Vol 29, p 226, in Russian), and "we must transform the command apparatus, from the highest to the lowest level, into steel-like arms and implement combat orders at all costs." (Footnote: "Lenin, Complete Military Works (1917-1920)," Military Publishing House, USSR Defense Ministry, 1956, p 30)

Our army's discipline is the self-conscious, strict discipline of the revolutionary army. It reflects the revolutionary nature and ideological and organizational building principles of a working class army. It is a genuine discipline, a new-type discipline, a truly firm discipline that no exploiting class army can have.

In the long process of combat and building, under the leadership of our party our army has forged a very fine tradition of revolutionary discipline. This tradition of discipline has always been an important contributory factor in our army's victories. However, with regard to discipline, our army does not have only strongpoints. Our army was born and has grown up in an agricultural, backward country which has just begun building socialism, where the old traces of small-scale production have had a very great impact on all human and social activities. Our army has also matured through

the difficulties and hardships of a protracted revolutionary war; has gone from having nothing to having something, from the few to the many, and from guerrilla war to conventional war; has operated on different battlefields; and has fought continuously for many decades under very difficult circumstances.... In such a situation, apart from their fundamental strongpoints, our cadres and combatants also have many thoughts, habits, ways of life, and behavior that are not in accord with the rigorous organizational patterns of a modern army. We still do not possess a very rigorous military discipline consistent with new developments in organization and equipment to meet all our army's increasingly heavy and complicated combat and construction missions.

Therefore, it is necessary to continue to make our troops understand clearly the role and necessity of discipline in a modern regular army. We must create a vigorous change in the organizational and disciplinary sense and the management of the army to make our entire army implement strictly all systems, orders, and regulations and obey unquestioningly all orders and instructions from higher echelons.

The regularization of our army is the problem of regularizing the people's army and the revolutionary army. Therefore, in stepping up the regularization of the army it is necessary to harmonize very well the relations between centralization and democracy, between the party committees' leadership and the role of commanders, and the unity between cadres and combatants and between upper and lower echelons. It is necessary to link the ideological task closely to the organizational task, the task of educating and motivating closely with the training and managerial task, the sense of awareness with the necessity to fulfill common tasks, and to adopt proper punishment and reward measures. It is necessary to develop our cadres' and combatants' sense of responsibility and spirit of collective ownership regarding control over the implementation of discipline and other systems, orders, and regulations. Our cadres' exemplary conduct and organizational and managerial capabilities are of great significance in this respect.

Along with regularizing our army we must continue to increase its modernization. The modernization of the army is a necessary requirement to improve our army's combat strength in a situation where our people are engaged in building socialism and have established many material and technical bases for large-scale socialist production. In particular, world science and technology has not developed to a very high degree. As a result, this has constantly brought about many great and rapid changes in the equipment and techniques of all armies in the world. Modernization will insure that our army possesses increasingly improved equipment and techniques in order to successfully handle any aggressive enemies.

To speak of modernization is to speak of constant improvement of equipment and techniques for the army, development of technical branches and services, and improvement of our cadres' and combatants' knowledge of the use of new weapons and war equipment. To speak of modernization is also to speak of the establishment of a modern national defense industrial system and the expansion of a modern communications network in order to insure bases for our army to operate in modern war conditions. If our army possesses firm political enlightenment, scientific organizational patterns, and modern equipment and techniques, it must necessarily increase its combat strength outstandingly. The new men of the people's army must possess ardent love of their country, profound socialist enlightenment, high organizational and disciplinary sense, and modern military knowledge.

Relying on the achievements of the technical revolution in socialist building in our north in past years, and thanks to the help of the fraternal countries of the socialist camp, today our army has a material and technical base stronger than ever. Our infantry is now equipped with very modern weapons. Our armed service

from the ground, air, and naval forces to the artillery, air defense, armored, engineer, chemical, signal, and transportation units are now equipped with modern weapons and war means. Together with the development of the services and branches, we have begun to build a system of installations to insure good techniques. Our cadres and combatants have clearly progressed in maintaining steadfastly and in using the modern weapons and means under the concrete conditions on our country's battlefields. Obviously, compared with the end of the anti-French resistance, our army has now made a big stride on the path of modernization. Its great successes in the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation are a part of this new development in equipment and techniques.

However, this is but initial progress. Actually, compared with armies of many countries in our camp and in the world, our army's level of modernization is not yet high. There still is an equipment and technical gap between our army and the enemy's. The present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, as well as our long-range national defense, require that we make great efforts to modernize our army. This is both a duty and an aspiration of our army and people.

We must build a modern army suited to the concrete conditions and best fulfilling the demands of our country's national defense. Therefore, we must always be aware of the party's political, economic development, and military lines. We must creatively solve the problems of modernizing our army on the basis of the abilities and concrete conditions of our country, our combat objectives and the balance of forces between us and the enemy; the military art of the people's war; and the trends of development of military science and technology in the world....

In the present era a modern army must be an army with many branches and services. Therefore, it is necessary to build the branches and services harmoniously and appropriately. At present, as well as in the relatively distant future, we consider the ground forces as the main armed service in the Vietnamese People's Army and consider infantry as the main armed branch and artillery as the main firepower in the ground forces. We will continue to strengthen the air, antiaircraft, and naval forces and the armored, engineer, signal, chemical, and transportation units; build rationally combat armed branches and combat support armed branches; and enable technical armed services and branches to have greater and greater importance in the army's organizational structure and to bring into full play greater and greater combat efficiency in combat involving many armed branches in modern war. Our army must stand ready to defeat the enemy under conditions where he uses ordinary weapons as well as when he recklessly uses nuclear weapons.

To bring its efficiency in war into full play, a modern army must insure both satisfactory techniques and satisfactory communications systems. Therefore, we must accelerate construction of a system of national defense industry and a system of communications suitable to our army's combat demands and to our country's practical conditions, on the basis of coordinating national defense requirements closely with economic requirements and coordinating the building of the state rear with building the army's rear organizations.

This network of national defense industries must satisfy the requirements for minor, medium, and major repairs, produce spare parts and goods used to improve the equipment so it can meet tactical requirements, and advance toward turning out a number of types of weapons and means according to its capacity. It is necessary to develop unceasingly the communications network, including land routes, railroads, waterways, and air routes, and to coordinate closely the communications lines of military

importance, the communications lines of economic importance, and the central communications lines with the local communications lines to satisfy the modern army's need for mobility under all war circumstances.

The regularization of an army is a protracted struggle. It depends on the development of the building of the material and technical bases for socialism. Thus, on the basis of close coordination with the plan for economic and cultural development, there must be an army regularization plan for a relatively long period of time to determine the trend and major objectives as a basis for training cadres, doing scientific and technical research, and achieving basic construction. At the same time there must be a plan for each short period of time to solve the concrete problems and advance the army step by step.

The people's army comprises the main force and local force. As we have analyzed on several occasions, the local force plays an important strategic role in the people's war. For this reason, in building our people's army we must concentrate on building the main force and the local force simultaneously.

With our party's correct guidelines, during the years of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, our local forces, especially the forces in charge of struggling directly against the U.S. war of destruction such as the air defense, artillery, and engineer forces, have made new progress as regards organization, equipment, combat ability, and command ability. Many provinces, cities, districts, and industrial centers possess antiaircraft artillery units which have downed many U.S. aircraft, ground artillery units which have set ablaze U.S. warships, engineer units which have contributed greatly to insuring local communications and transportation operations, and army units which have quickly annihilated ranger teams and fulfilled their combat tasks. With a new combat strength the local force is preparing to cooperate with other armed forces and defeat all military adventures of the U.S. imperialists, and to protect the locality steadfastly. It is clear that our local force has now made greater progress in some respects than the main force did during the anti-French resistance. This has helped increase the power of the local people's war. This fact proves the correctness of the policy of strengthening the local force by building necessary armed branches for it, equipping it with modern weapons and war materiel, and turning it gradually into a modern, regular army.

The local army must be built according to the principles and trend for building a people's army. However, because the local army's combat tasks, activities, and combat tactics are different from those of the main force army, and because the local army's activities are connected with the locality, it is necessary to apply properly the principles and trend regarding the building of a people's army.

Section 3

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[Continuation of Part 4 of article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army"]

[Text] When building the regional forces, we must know how to base ourselves on each locality's characteristics, military position, and combat task within the scope of the general combat task, the capabilities of each locality in terms of manpower and economic resources, the topographical conditions in each locality, and the forecasts

of the enemy situation in each locality. In each province, city, district, or industrial area the regional forces must be built in accordance with a specific scale, a specific table of organization and equipment [TO/E], and specific combat methods. This should not be done in exactly the same way as is done in the regular armed forces, nor should it be done uniformly and mechanically in all localities.

Even when effecting the regularization and modernization of the main forces, we maintain that it is still necessary to pay adequate attention to the characteristics of duties and the combat methods of different forces operating in different areas or on different battlefields, so as to determine appropriately their TO/E and pattern of activities and avoid effecting this plan in a uniform and mechanical manner.

With regard to regularization of the local forces, it is all the more necessary to pay adequate attention to the situation, specific conditions, and specific characteristics of the localities. Regularization must have a realistic content that can at the same time reflect the necessary requirement of concentration and uniformity and the necessary differences among various localities. It is a big mistake to base ourselves on the characteristics of localities to slight the requirement for concentration and uniformity and the spirit of organization and discipline, as well as to neglect the implementation of systems, ordinances, and regulations in the local forces. On the other hand, effecting uniformity and concentration in a duplicate and mechanical manner is also incorrect. While carrying out modernization it is also necessary to determine the specific requirements, learn to use weapons and suitable means, and at the same time know how to combine modern weapons and means with relatively modern or rudimentary ones. Experience clearly shows that if weapons are not suitable to a locality they will have no effect despite their high modernity, and that, on the contrary, other types of less modern but more suitable weapons will be able to develop their high effect. Defeating the enemy, playing well the role of a core force -- the powerful fist of the armed struggle in the localities -- and carrying out all duties successfully -- these are the purposes of utilization of all principles to build the local forces.

Faced with the present requirement of intensifying the local military task aimed at making an important contribution to the defeat of all the military adventure steps by the U.S. imperialists, firmly and steadily protecting the socialist north, and fulfilling the great rear's duty to the great frontline, it is necessary to actively build the local forces by a new step.

The local force must possess a reasonable permanent force and a well-trained and organized strong reserve force which can be developed rapidly when necessary. There must be strong infantry units and necessary armed branches, equipped with modern weapons and war materiel and possessing creative fighting methods, a high mobility, and an outstanding combat strength. The local force must be skillful in launching concentrated attacks and in guerrilla warfare, must closely coordinate with the militia and self-defense forces, and must at the same time cooperate with the main force army to exterminate the enemy and protect the locality.

With strong local forces suitable to the local situation and combat requirements, with powerful, broad militia and self-defense forces, and by closely coordinating with the constantly consolidated people's armed security force, the local people's armed forces in the socialist north will have a new vigorous combat strength and the local people's war will have very great capabilities.

To carry out properly the task of building local armed forces in particular and the local military task in general, it is necessary to strengthen the party echelons' leadership over the local military task, streamline the local military organs, and build and improve the contingent of local military cadres. The local military requirements, serving as advisers to the local party committees in stepping up the local military tasks, guiding and commanding the local forces in construction and combat, and guiding the local people's armed forces.

It is necessary to improve the leadership and guidance of the local military tasks so they can promptly meet the present and future local requirements for national defense and keep pace with the increasingly great possibilities for building and development of the local economies.

To enable the armed forces to master modern technical equipment, grasp and apply military art principles proficiently, and acquire a high combat ability, it is necessary to concentrate on the military training task. This is a very important, permanent task in building the armed forces in peacetime as well as in wartime and a problem of decisive importance regarding the raising of the armed forces' combat efficiency and combat readiness level.

The aim of military training is to defeat the enemy. Thus, training must be consistent with the military tasks and line, the military art requirements, our present situation and the enemy's in each period of time. It is necessary to understand this principle thoroughly, train the armed forces comprehensively so they can meet all war requirements and acquire a fighting will, an organizational and ~~disciplin~~ sense, combat behavior, physical strength, and technical and tactical skills; improve the military training in the best way so it can meet the requirements of combat realities; and heighten the cadres' and combatants' offensive will, resoluteness, bravery, resourcefulness, and creativeness in all combat activities.

To meet the requirements of modern war it is necessary, on the basis of understanding the views on combat guidance and our armed forces' military art, to train the cadres and combatants to understand and use all modern technical equipment proficiently and apply properly all principles regarding military campaigns, tactics, and the organization and command of coordinated combat in the armed branches and forces. The troops must be trained to apply as many tactics as possible, to be skillful in the offensive or defensive in staging mobile assault attacks, in attacking the enemy in his well-defended fortifications, in fighting coordinated or isolated battles, and to be proficient in initiating attacks of various scopes on many different terrains, under all weather conditions, and under all complicated circumstances. Our armed forces must be able and ready to defeat the enemy with ordinary weapons or when he recklessly uses nuclear and chemical weapons.

To win victories in coordinated combat our armed forces must be strong in all their structures, from the upper to the lower levels and from the command organs to the basic units, at all levels, and in all branches and organs. For this reason it is necessary to train individuals, detachments, military groups, command organs, combat units, and preserve forces in campaigns and tactics, to grasp the task of training command cadres and organs, and to concentrate on building very strong and seasoned basic units.

It is necessary to make the armed forces follow closely the enemy's progress in every respect and stand ready to foil all his new combat measures. It is necessary to concentrate on learning from and creatively developing our armed forces' numerous combat experiences of the armed forces of fraternal socialist states in a creative manner.

In building during wartime or in peace, it is very dangerous if we are self-satisfied with our success and do not improve the military art. Therefore we must closely coordinate the study of military science and the training tasks, develop and improve our military art constantly, pay due attention to recapitulating training experiences, improve training programs and training methods, and insure that our army can always develop its superior military art and its great combat strength to fight and defeat the enemy.

To carry out properly the task of building a modern, regular people's army, it is necessary to build a contingent of cadres steadfast and strong in every respect.

This contingent of cadres must be of high quality and its number must be sufficient to meet the increasingly great requirements for the revolutionary task. It must represent the increasingly strong development of our armed forces which possess a strong nucleus force, a reserve force and an abundant successor force. It must possess a perfected, balanced structure comprising leading cadres, command cadres, specialist and technical cadres, managing cadres, basic cadres, regular cadres, local cadres, cadres of the permanent force, and cadres serving the reserve force. It must satisfy all requirements of the armed forces in wartime as well as in peacetime and now as well as in the future.

To build such a contingent of cadres, it is necessary first to permanently grasp and correctly implement the party's line on the cadre tasks. This is a line regarding the working class cadres. The problem concerning the working class character of the contingent of cadres is a basic one within this line. Whether this problem is solved properly or not is closely related to the maintenance and development of the revolutionary character of our armed forces, to the armed forces' steadfastness and resoluteness under all circumstances, and to the heightening of our armed forces' revolutionary offensive spirit and revolutionary heroism. In any situation, we must thoroughly understand the party's line on cadres and must seriously follow the class trend and political criteria for each phase of the revolution's development as pointed out by the party. It is necessary to hold fast to this principle: Under the conditions of a society facing the problems of class, war and the army, the class nature in building the contingent of cadres of the armed forces must not be neglected.

Because our cadres belong to a revolutionary, modern, and regular army, they must acquire a strong political ability, political, military, specialized, and technical skills, and an increasingly high cultural knowledge. The cadres' quality must be revealed in his ability to fulfill all combat missions and tasks entrusted by the party.

Our cadres must first be absolutely loyal to the party, the revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat, and the communist ideal, must be endowed with warm patriotism; must serve the people and fatherland wholeheartedly; must have pure revolutionary sentiments, a strong revolutionary offensive spirit, a determination to fight and win; and a deep hatred for the enemy; must fight bravely and work devotedly; must display a high sense of organization and discipline and good combat and work behavior; must fear neither hardships nor sacrifices; and must fulfill all tasks under all circumstances bravely, resolutely, sourcefully, and creatively.

Our cadres must widen and deepen their political, military, scientific, and technical knowledge, must possess the necessary economic knowledge, and must have the ability to lead, guide, organize and act. Our cadres must endeavor to study and hold fast to the Marxist-Leninist principles on war and the army, must be imbued with the party's

military and political lines and military science, and must understand our nation's tradition and experiences in the struggle against aggression. Our cadres must attentively study to understand the enemy better, must select and learn from the experiences of fraternal socialist countries in a creative manner, and must be aware of the new achievements of the world's military science. It is necessary to struggle tenaciously to improve cultural, scientific and technical knowledge and to increase the capability to manage and train troops, the capability to carry out leadership and guidance, and the capability to organize coordinated combat of the armed branches and forces.

The building of a modern, regular people's army requires a contingent of cadres well-versed in techniques and steadfast in politics to serve as the nucleus in the use, management, improvement, and invention of modern technical equipment. This contingent of technical cadres must include the cadres of all necessary branches at various levels, ranging from middle-level and high-level cadres to engineers and scientists. They must understand and master modern science and technology and must apply this knowledge creatively to solve our armed forces' technical problems properly while contributing to building our country's science and technology. We must also possess a contingent of cadres in charge of research who have some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, military science, and the realities of the revolution and revolutionary war in our country, so they can serve as the nucleus in the study and development of military theories and military science.

When dealing with the contingent of cadres of the people's armed forces, we must deal with the reserve cadres force whose important role is connected with the position of the reserve force of the armed forces in wartime. So, along with building the body of cadres of the permanent force, it is necessary to concentrate on building the reserve cadre force. The reserve cadre force must be powerful and of good quality. The number of its cadres must be sufficient. It must possess a perfected, balanced structure to meet the need for developing the strength of the armed forces and various armed branches and services under all circumstances. It is necessary to manage properly the reassigned and demobilized cadres of the army and to build a good system of training reserve cadres and systems of enrollment, statistics and mobilization in various branches, state organs, enterprises, schools and in the civilian armed forces.

The rule of development of the revolution and revolutionary armed forces requires that our party closely coordinate the cadres engaged in the fight for several years with the young cadres. It is necessary to concentrate positively on strengthening the veteran cadres while forming, improving and promoting boldly the young cadres who have matured in combat and work, who possess revolutionary qualities and abilities, whose future is promising and who can serve in the army for a long time.

To build a contingent of cadres, we must adopt many measures, train in combat and work and form and strengthen cadres at school or while they are on duty. At present as in the future, the network of schools plays an important part. It is necessary to further consolidate the network of schools of our armed forces -- the institutes, colleges and training and refresher schools of the armed branches and services and military regions.

Along with building a modern, regular people's army, it is necessary to strengthen and develop the civilian armed forces and to develop the militia and self-defense organizations in the countryside and cities by increasing their numerical strength and quality so that they can acquire an increasingly great combat strength consistent with our country's all-sided development in the socialist construction and with the increasingly great combat requirements of the people's war to protect the socialist fatherland under the present conditions.

These forces must be capable of serving as the nucleus for the entire people in the struggle to protect the localities, must develop their assault role in the task of developing the economy, and must serve as a powerful reserve force for the people's armed forces. This reserve force must become a strong and steadfast basis for the national defense and people's war and must be united with the people's armed forces into a powerful armed force of the socialist state to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all other future aggressors, to fulfill all tasks entrusted by the party and people, to maintain all the fruits of the revolution, and to safeguard the fatherland's sovereignty, territorial integrity and security.

Building strong, broad civilian armed forces under all circumstances and in peacetime as in wartime is a concentrated manifestation of our people's high revolutionary vigilance. In the current anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking, it is necessary to intensify the building of the civilian armed forces in order to contribute to protecting and building our socialist north and to defeat all war schemes and acts of the U.S. imperialists. After our protracted and hard resistance against the aggressive U.S. imperialists ends successfully and after our people regain complete independence and freedom and start rebuilding the country in peacetime, our permanent armed forces at that time may be reduced. We must therefore intensify the building of the civilian armed forces to readily cope with any situation and must closely coordinate the economy with national defense, and national reconstruction with the preparations for national defense.

We all know, the masses' armed forces are one of the two fundamental components of our state's military organization. The militia and self-defense forces are one of the three troop categories of our people's armed forces. Since the militia and self-defense forces are the party's revolutionary armed organization, they must be built according to the common lines, concepts and principles regarding the building of the revolutionary armed forces. This is a matter of principle that we must never neglect. The militia and self-defense forces are not permanent armed forces because they are an armed organization that cannot be dissociated from production and because their members are at the same time civilians and military men. Consequently, the militia and self-defense forces are different from the regular and regional forces which are permanent armed forces. It is necessary to clearly see the differences between the militia and self-defense forces and the people's army in order to step up the building of the people's armed forces and vigorously develop the very important strategic role of the militia and self-defense forces.

The militia and self-defense forces are the masses' large armed forces that reflect most concentratedly and most directly the mass character of the proletarian state's military organization, a character that originates from the liberation of the working class as Engel has predicted. These are the armed forces that can coordinate most closely and most directly with the political forces. The combat strength of the militia and self-defense forces originate directly from the strength of the masses in the localities and installations. Therefore, in building the militia and self-defense forces, it is very important to develop their numerical strength and to mobilize the greatest number of people in the local political forces to participate in this task.

The militia and self-defense forces are the armed forces that cannot be dissociated from production because they directly engage in production while directly participating in combat in order to protect production and the lives and property of the people. All military activities of the militia and self-defense forces are closely related with other production, economic and cultural activities. The source of strength of the militia and self-defense forces lies in the comprehensive strength of the production

organization. In the countryside, the combat strength of the militia is closely linked with the strength of the cooperatives. In cities and industrial areas, the strength of the self-defense corpsmen is closely linked with the comprehensive strength of the plants, enterprises and industrial sites. Therefore, in building the militia and self-defense forces we must always associate production requirements closely with combat requirements and economic requirements closely with national defense requirements. If we do not respect this principle, we cannot successfully build the militia and self-defense forces and these forces cannot have combat strength.

The militia and self-defense forces are armed forces that are linked most closely and most directly with the installations and localities. They are the main force of the people's administration at the basic level. They are organized and guided by the local party organization and built up according to the concrete conditions and circumstances in each locality and installation. The combat quality of the militia and self-defense forces must be reflected, first of all, through their ability to fulfill their combat and production missions right in the localities and installations. In building the militia and self-defense forces, we must necessarily base ourselves on the combat and production requirements of each locality and each installation and on the real situation in the political, economic, military and geographical aspects of each locality and each installation in order to have appropriate guidelines and measures to build the militia and self-defense forces and avoid the tendency to imitate mechanically.

The militia and self-defense forces are armed forces that carry out combat missions mainly by adopting the method of dispersing troops to fight the enemy, by applying guerrilla fighting methods and by staying close to the people and holding onto the land in order to fight the enemy right in their production installations and native land. The militia and self-defense forces have the mission of seriously decimating or partially annihilating the enemy's strength and of directly maintaining and protecting the lives and property of the people in the installations and localities. Therefore, in building the militia and self-defense forces, we must not imitate in a mechanical way the method of building the regular and regional forces which are concentrated armed forces operating according to the principle of launching concentrated attacks with the use of regular troops at different levels.

The present northern militia and self-defense forces have been developed on the basis of a more and more consolidated and strengthened socialist regime. Therefore, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the characteristics of the socialist regime regarding production relations, class structure..., to bring into full play the political-spiritual and organizational superiority of the socialist regime and to thoroughly use the new potential of equipment and of the level of the comprehensive development of man in the collective workers and peasants class, in order to develop the militia and self-defense forces vigorously and constantly.

First of all we must considerably develop the militia and self-defense forces quantitatively. This is a very important requirement of the task of building the masses' armed forces. Lenin pointed out clearly: "The success of the revolution depends on the quantity of the proletarian masses and peasants that arise to defend the revolution..." (Footnote: "Lenin, the First Success of the Revolution," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, p 112)

On the basis of the superiority of the socialist regime, we are fully able to organize a large number of the people in organizations for combat and serving combat demands in the localities and to increase the percentage of militiamen and self-defense combatants among the people, thus making the militia and self-defense forces the broad form of

military organization of the working class. We advocate universal military training to enable all strata of our people, regardless of age and sex, to receive necessary, appropriate military preparations to fulfill the aspiration to participate in fighting the aggressors and defending the country. We are determined that when the aggressors recklessly wage a comprehensive war of aggression against our country they will encounter counterattacks, not by a few hundreds or thousands or a few millions but by tens of millions of people. That is, all our people from the mountains to the plain, from the midland to the coastal areas and from the rural areas to the cities will simultaneously stand firm in their localities and closely coordinate with the people's army to counterattack them everywhere in every way and with all kinds of weapons.

The strength of the masses' armed forces in the socialist regime does not lie only in quantity, but also in quality, in the political and spiritual strength, in organization, in equipment and weaponry, in combat methods..., but above all in political and spiritual strength. Therefore, it is necessary to thoroughly understand and apply the party's principles of developing armed forces to militia and self-defense forces, constantly consolidate and strengthen the party leadership over the militia and self-defense forces, attach utmost importance to the political task, be clearly aware of the class lines and political standards in organizing the militia and self-defense forces and make the militia and self-defense forces always be the sharp, trustworthy tools of the proletarian dictatorship at the basic levels. The militia and self-defense forces' level of political awareness is linked most directly with the working people's political level. Political-ideological education for the militia and self-defense forces is not separated from political-ideological education for all the working people in the localities and installations and must be concerted and conducted by the local party organizations, mass organizations, administrative organs, production installations and military organs. Regarding the content of political-ideological education, besides general requirements for each citizen, it is necessary to attach importance to making the militia and self-defense forces thoroughly understand the duties of revolutionary armed forces in general and of the militia and self-defense forces in particular and to being thoroughly aware of the local military task. The militia and self-defense forces must also heighten their revolutionary vigilance, national defense consciousness and the spirit to fight and sacrifice to protect the people's life and property in hamlets, wards, cooperatives and factories, defend the people's administration and the localities and develop collective ownership in defending and developing the country.

Section 4

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 18 Sep 70 p 3 S

[Conclusion of Part 4 of article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army"]

[Text] Organizationally we must pay attention to building the militia and guerrilla forces in the rural areas and cooperatives, and at the same time to building the self-defense and combat self-defense forces in the cities, industrial centers, worksites, state farms, organs, and schools, together with development of socialist building, new industrial and economic areas are increasing, and the ratio of workers, cadres, civil servants, and laborers in the cities among the people is mounting. New changes are being noted in the rural areas. Agricultural cooperatives are being improved in production relations and strengthened in regard to material and technical bases, and the

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collective peasantry is increasingly maturing. This situation determines the increasingly important role of the self-defense force, besides the militia force, and consequently establishes the necessity to pay due attention to building both the self-defense and militia forces. The self-defense force must correctly reflect the overall development and combat strength of the workers and laborers in the cities, and the militia force must correctly reflect the overall development and combat strength of the collective peasantry and the socialist rural areas in the northern part of our country.

Our country has different regions covering mountains and forests, the midland, delta, and the coast. It has a large rural area, cities, and industrial centers. Each region has a different degree of importance in political, economic, and national defense matters, different characteristics in geography, population, customs, and habits, and different potentials in various respects. We must base ourselves on the characteristics, conditions, and situations in the localities in establishing tasks and trends for building the masses' armed forces suitably in various areas. These tasks and trends must vary from the mountain region to the delta, the coastal area to the hinterland, the rural areas to the cities, industrial centers, and areas along strategic communications lines. Only by so doing can we make the militia and self-defense forces in the localities fully use the capabilities in manpower, equipment, local logistics, of their own localities to build them into seasoned local forces with special combat and combat support capabilities suiting the conditions in each locality, and serving them as the core forces for vigorously developing the people's war at the basic level and as a shock force in building and developing the local economy.

The militia and self-defense forces perform the military task along with the production task or other tasks and missions in the state machinery. Therefore, in organizing the militia and self-defense forces we must consider the situation at the time, production conditions, and the people's activities and study task, and base ourselves on such production bases as the production teams, cooperatives, factories, work sites, schools, farms, organs, villages, hamlets, and city wards. Thus we will be able to ensure that the militia and self-defense forces' activities closely coordinate economic and production activities with other tasks under all circumstances in wartime as well as in peacetime.

To most fully exploit and develop to the highest degree the available and increasingly developing capabilities of the national economic branches and other branches of activity in society, and rationally organize and use the militia and self-defense forces in these branches to improve combat efficiency and insure the combat and combat support tasks of these forces. During the years of fighting against the war of destruction, self-defense organizations were formed in a number of cities and industrial sectors in the various branches, such as the machinery, construction, overland and water transportation, postal and medical branches, other branches of activity on rivers and seas, and so forth. Experiences show that if we know how to develop the technical and professional abilities of each branch, classify militia and self-defense forces according to their various missions, and base ourselves on that to establish the correct trend for building and using these forces and rationally organizing and assigning tasks to them, the masses' armed forces will have new great capabilities to meet the new requirements of modern war, efficiently coordinate their activities with the local and main force troops, and replenish our VPA armed services and armed branches.

Regarding equipment, basing ourselves on combat requirements and terrain conditions, we advocate gradually equipping the guerrillas and combat self-defense forces with some suitable and fairly modern weapons and war means, while continuing to pay attention to developing the rudimentary and improved weapons. The technical revolution in the northern part of our country is aimed at building new socialist material and technical bases and at transforming handicraft laborers into mechanical laborers, thus giving another meaning to the motto "equipped with whatever means available." This motto mainly referred to rudimentary techniques, but now it has a tendency to be related increasingly to modern techniques. With new capabilities in the localities at the present time, we must pay attention to exhaustively using modern and relatively modern weapons and equipment available to equip the key units of the militia and self-defense forces. However, we must not pay undue attention to rudimentary and improved weapons and equipment. The combat facts in our country show that rudimentary and improved weapons and equipment prove to be highly efficient, and that they have great power which enables all our people to take part in the fight against the enemy with many lively and resourceful fighting methods for self-defense in their own country. On the other hand, however developed the industry of a nation may be, it cannot practically arm all its people. Therefore, while key units of the masses' armed forces are equipped with new or relatively modern weapons and war means, the majority of the people must still use exhaustively all kinds of improved rudimentary weapons and equipment to annihilate the enemy. Otherwise the solution to the problem of arming the entire people and the broad masses will certainly be limited.

It is necessary to step up the building and development of specialized cells, teams, and units having the characteristics of various armed branches in the militia and self-defense forces. This is a development step with the characteristic of a law in improving the fighting strength of the militia and self-defense forces in the conditions of modern warfare, wherein the equipment of the militia and self-defense forces are further improved and strengthening each day, and in a situation in which our people are proceeding with socialist industrialization and the building of the material and technical bases for socialism.

Thanks to the party's correct policies, during the years of struggling against the war of encirclement, many anti-aircraft machinegun, anti-aircraft artillery, and ground artillery detachments, many engineer, signal and fire fighting cells, and many fire detachments equipped with mortars and a number of other sophisticated weapons emerged in the militia and self-defense forces. The combat and combat support efficiency of the militia and self-defense forces has been manifestly improved. The militia and self-defense forces in various localities have downed many U.S. aircraft, set fire to U.S. warships, quickly and neatly annihilated enemy commando teams, skillfully manned modern and relatively modern equipment, made important contributions to detecting and demolishing sophisticated U.S. bombs, mines, and water mines, repaired and renewed roads, bridges, and airfields, built projects, and have produced much modern technical equipment for the anti-aircraft artillery, missile, signal, engineer, and naval forces. This reality allows us to confirm that the militia and self-defense forces in the socialist north are totally capable of using satisfactorily various types of modern weapons and war means to fight the enemy and support combat. In time this capability will increase each day, because the cultural and technical knowledge and the organizational level of our people are being constantly improved and because we have a very great force of transferred and discharged soldiers serving as the core of the masses' armed organizations everywhere and consisting of cadres and combatants of various armed services and army branches of the people's army.

We must pay attention to providing military training for the militia and self-defense forces and for all people. Having ourselves on our methods of conducting the war and military arts, on the combat requirements and duty of the localities in different situations, on our combat targets, and on the real situation concerning the militia and self-defense forces' work, production activities, and tasks, we must study hard and improve the content and methods of training militia and self-defense forces completely.

We must train the militia and self-defense forces to possess a high offensive defense capability, to fully understand guidance and combat ideologies, to maintain a firm political attitude, to master the art of militia warfare in various conditions, and to have good tactical and technical knowledge and good professional skills in accordance with local conditions. We must make the militia and self-defense forces familiarize themselves with the local conditions, possess an excellent independent fighting ability, and at the same time be able to extend close combat coordination with other combat armed forces in the localities. We must combine the military training of the militia and self-defense forces with production. In branches with enough conditions it is necessary to directly combine the task of improving combat and combat support skills with production work. It is necessary to seriously consider the militia and self-defense forces' method of fighting the enemy as an art and an important content of our military science, and on this basis properly set forth the problem of recapitulating the combat experiences of the armed forces in both parts of our country, and study, drill, and develop ceaselessly the art of fighting the enemy in the masses' armed forces of our country.

Along with training the militia and self-defense forces and the reserve force, we must also carry out military study within the party and step up popular military education among the people. To build the nation's gallant tradition of protecting the country, we must draw on the past experience of independence brought into use many methods to encourage the people to learn in the martial arts, such as holding festivals with sports, games in martial arts, wrestling, archery, and swordsmanship. We must also carry out a successful and advance toward promulgating a system of popular military education among the people in order to heighten realistically the national defense consciousness, improve military knowledge, and develop the gallant tradition of the people. It is necessary to develop strongly the military physical training movement and provide it with an ever richer content, fully reflecting the requirements of the people's war in our country under present conditions. It is necessary to popularize military knowledge widely among the people in various forms suitable to each age -- from all to boys and girls -- and, step by step, study to develop more organizations for military study and research such as aerobics, communications, and gymnastics clubs. It is also necessary to step up the movement to establish brotherhood between mass organizations and army units.

A modern regular army must essentially possess a well-organized, strong reserve force. The militia and armed forces are an abundant source of reserves for the people's armed forces. The building and management of a reserve force assumes very important significance, because it meets the requirements for replenishing the armed forces in wartime and for preparing our country to handle any situation in peacetime. The reserve force must be good in quality and strength to meet the requirements for expanding the force and replenishing the infantry and other armed branches and services of the people's armed forces. There must be a policy, system, and plan to build and manage the reserve force properly. Major attention must be paid to the enrollment and management of demobilized and reassigned army men who are qualified to serve in the reserve force. There must be a plan for military rehearsal and mobilization to restore and develop

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or armed forces rapidly when necessary. There must be a proper training system to keep the cadres and combatants of the reserve force full on and keep pace with the development of the modern army and modern military science, develop their key role in the local armed forces, and serve the armed forces when necessary. Major attention must be paid to the system of managing and training reserve cadres in the ranks of cadres of state organs and college students... as was mentioned above. We must have a plan according to which the reserve troops in a certain branch or locality should be assigned to reinforce a certain armed branch or service or a certain local force so that the best results can be obtained. For instance, the engineer force will build a reserve force in the architectural branch, the signal force will build a reserve force in the post office branch, the medical branch will build a reserve force of medical cadres, and the navy will build a reserve force in the economic branch operating in the rivers and sea and among people in the coastal areas or along the riverbanks... In this way the cadres and combatants assigned to the army will be able to organize and maintain a technical and professional knowledge in the armed branch or service they will serve. After, when they are demobilized and sent to work in their home branches, they will become the nucleus of the civilian armed organizations at their places of operations and will be able to develop their latent technical and professional abilities to boost production and raise their work efficiency. This is therefore very advantageous to combat, construction, national defense, and economy in both wartime and peacetime.

Armed forces, according to our party's viewpoint means organizing, educating, training, and arming the masses in addition to positively consolidating the rear politically, economically, and in national defense and building a stable foothold for the people's war at bases and in localities.

The strength of the rear in the people's war throughout the north as well as in each locality depends on the success of our people's socialist construction. Thus, to build a stable and strong rear we must strive to carry out properly the three revolutions in the socialist revolution undertaking and make the localities politically advanced, economically prosperous, and strong in national defense. While accelerating the building of local economies we must have a plan to closely coordinate the requirements for economic building with the requirements for consolidating national defense in the agricultural, industrial, communications, transportation, post office, medical, cultural, and architectural branches.

We must accelerate the building of combat villages, combat wards, combat clusters, and mutual support combat areas, while insuring readiness to handle all war circumstances and conveniences for production operations and the people's activities in peacetime. They must be stable offensive and defense battlegrounds of the three troop categories and solid props for the people to fight and continue production under fierce war circumstances. We must make careful preparations and guard against the use of nuclear weapons by the enemy. We must build combat villages and wards comprehensively. We must have a strong party organization, a powerful civilian political force, strong militia and self-defense forces, a plan to alter terrain features, a combat plan, and a plan for training the local armed forces as well as the entire people. We must make practical preparations to transform each hamlet, village, and ward into a solid fortress of the people's war at bases and each province into a strategic unit of the all-people national defense.

In building the civilian armed forces, in addition to strengthening the local party committees' leadership and the local military organs' guidance, it is very important to build a contingent of strong cadres for the civilian armed forces and militia and self-defense organizations. This contingent must respond to the increasingly strong

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development of the civilian armed forces in strength, quality, organization, equipment, and the method of fighting invaders, and it must meet the increasingly heavy and complicated requirements for consolidating national defense and conducting the people's war at home.

The cadres in charge of the militia and self-defense forces are military cadres who cannot be dissociated from production because they must fulfill both production and military missions, and because their work and combat are closely linked with the people's activities in the invasions. Great attention must be paid to quality and class selections and political points must be firmly grasped in developing the cadres of cadres in charge of the militia and self-defense forces. In addition to ensuring all common requirements for political qualities that all revolutionary armed forces must possess, the cadres in charge of militia and self-defense forces must fully understand party lines and political and military missions and local political, economic, and military missions and must be determined to implement all resolutions of the party committee decisions and instructions of the local administration and all instructions and orders from upper military organs. Cadres in charge of the militia and self-defense forces must have the necessary military knowledge and general knowledge of the local political, economic, and cultural situation. They must understand the situation in the installations and must know how to link the military task with the economic and other tasks. They must have the ability to help the party committee decisions exercise leadership over military activities, and they must have leadership and command capabilities and the capability to organize good implementation of the construction, combat, and combat-support missions and the missions to assist the front-line, to popularize general military knowledge among the people, to develop the reserve forces, and to implement the army's rear policies as well as to implement all other tasks related to the national defense mission in the localities.

We must base ourselves on various revolutionary motivation drives in the localities and on combat and work realities to select outstanding brothers and sisters for the contingent of cadres in charge of the militia and self-defense forces. This must be linked with party development and mass organization development in the localities to create a source of cadres for the militia and self-defense forces. It is necessary to distribute proper work to create conditions for cadres to assume specialized missions, accumulate experience, and fully develop their abilities to fulfill all missions in the localities.

If we firmly grasp and properly implement these tasks, from developing very highly the quantity of militia and self-defense forces to constantly improving their quality in the political, ideological, and organizational fields and in the fields of equipment, training, establishment of rear bases, and improving the quality of cadres, we will carry out venerated Uncle Ho's instructions that each citizen be a valiant fighter, each village, hamlet, or city ward a fortress, and each cooperative or enterprise a rear base of the people's war, and thus the entire nation is a common battleground to exterminate all enemy aggressors.

Our people are living through the most glorious days in our history, because we are engaging in a very victorious and extremely heroic and creative fight against very cruel invaders, the U.S. imperialists, and because we are participating in a creative labor undertaking to build a new and very good socialist regime in an era of independence, freedom, and socialism for our fatherland.

The present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance causes us to remember with legitimate pride and a very high sense of responsibility the overall history of our people's glorious struggle against foreign invasion, and in particular our people's very successful struggle under the Tran dynasty. At that time our people had to cope with and successfully handled the Yuan-Mongolian invaders -- the cruelest enemy of our people in the past, and also the cruelest enemy of mankind in the middle ages -- who trampled on Asia and Europe and dominated and erased the names of many countries from the world map. Our people fulfilled outstandingly our sacred national mission, opened the way for the collapse of the Yuan-Mongolian imperialists, and made a worthy contribution to the anti-aggression struggle of many countries and peoples at that time.

Now, in the new era of mankind's history that was opened by the Great October Revolution in Russia and in the Ho Chi Minh era in our country, once again, under our party's leadership, our people have gloriously defeated the U.S. imperialists, the cruelest and most powerful enemy of our people at present and also the number one enemy of the world's peoples. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is the most glorious and greatest resistance in the history of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle against foreign invasion. This resistance is now considered as the center and forefront of the world's peoples' movement to oppose the aggressor U.S. imperialists.

Our people understand clearly and fully our sacred national mission and our lofty international duty. We have the determination and strength to advance and defeat completely the U.S. aggressors, liberate the south, protect the north, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, thus marking a turning point in the historic collapse of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism and making a worthy contribution to the world's peoples' revolutionary struggle movement.

The key to our people's successes in the 13th and 20th centuries, as well as in the history of the struggle we waged for survival and development against aggressive powers that were bigger and more powerful than ourselves, lies in the fact that we relied on all the people's patriotism, developed the strength of the entire country, mobilized all the people to arise and fight the aggressors with the entire country's combined strength, staged uprisings by all the people and waged people's warfare in which the army and the mass armed forces played core roles. Tran Quoc Tuan's "joint efforts by the entire country" ideology and the strategy of "turning all the people into combatants" in the 13th century were constantly developed -- with increasingly inspiring content, increasingly high quality, and ever greater strength -- until they culminated in President Ho's great military ideology: "All the people unite," "the entire country fights the aggressors," and "31 million compatriots are 31 million courageous American-annihilating combatants."

Today our people have the party's correct, independent, sovereign, and creative political, military, and internationalist lines, an advanced social system, and increasingly stronger political-moral and material-technical forces. Our people also enjoy the positive assistance of countries in the socialist camp, and the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind. In the new era we have the invincible strength inherent in the militant unity of all the people and the entire country. This unity is based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. We have powerful political and armed forces. The people's armed forces have the regular and modern people's army, and strong and widespread mass armed forces. We will certainly fulfill outstandingly our sacred national duties and noble internationalist obligations.

The ideology whereby "the entire country makes joint efforts and all the people are turned into combatants" and "all the people unite and the entire country fights the aggressors" and whereby military organizations are formed through "arming all the people and combining the army with the mass armed forces" is a distinctive feature of Vietnamese military ideology, a military ideology adopted by a small country to defeat big aggressor enemies in a just national struggle for independence and freedom. The principle of "arming all the people, combining the people's army with the mass armed forces and conversely, using the mass armed forces as the basis for the people's army, using the people's army as the core of the mass armed forces, and developing the three troop categories of the people's armed forces" is a very important content of the line on building the people's armed forces in particular and our party's military line in general. It is also a very important part of Vietnamese military science in the present era. The establishment of this organizational principle is a very great achievement and a very great success for our party and people. Experience shows that in the revolutionary struggle in general and the armed revolutionary struggle in particular, once correct lines have been adopted it is extremely important to solve the organizational problem correctly in order to achieve victory.

This military organizational principle is a valuable weapon in the treasury of experiences of various nations, especially small nations which are victims of aggression and are enslaved and which arise to fight and triumph over imperialism and colonialism to achieve national independence, democracy, and social progress.

We must firmly abide by this principle under all circumstances. We constantly keep ourselves abreast of social and war realities and the realities emerging from the development of production science, and technology. We learn positively and discriminately from the experiences of the fraternal socialist countries and other nations in the world. In the violent struggle between us and the enemy we have consistently based ourselves on the specific historical conditions and situations in each epoch to apply the party's military line and military organization principle, have continuously and creatively applied and continuously developed this line and this principle, have not allowed conservatism to arrest our progress along this line, and we have not applied this line and this principle in a mechanical and stereotyped manner. We have done so to constantly increase the fighting strength of all our people, vigorously develop the Vietnamese people's warfare, firmly consolidate Vietnam's national defense, and build and develop the Vietnamese people's armed forces into increasingly powerful armed forces.

Our people and nation are resolved to advance resolutely toward winning total victory in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, prosperous, and powerful Vietnam.

Our people and nation will eternally defend the beautiful country left by our forefathers and will maintain eternally and firmly the independence of the beloved Vietnamese fatherland.

NOTE

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PART FOUR OF VO NGUYEN GIAP ARTICLE ON PEOPLE'S ARMY

[For Part One, "Marxist-Leninist Theory on Organization of Proletariat", see DAILY REPORT No 40, 28 February 1972, Supplement 3; for Part Two, "Our People's Traditions and Experiences in Building Armed Forces in the Past", see DAILY REPORT No 46, 7 March 1972, Supplement 5; for Part Three, "The Creativeness of Our Party and People", see DAILY REPORT No 83, 27 April 1972, Supplement 14 and DAILY REPORT No 108, 2 June 1972, Supplement 18.]

Section 1

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 25 Sep 72 pp 1, 3 S

[Article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army"--Part 4: "Arm the Revolutionary Masses Strongly and Widely and Build a Regular, Modern People's Armed Forces"]

[Text] (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN editorial note: Recently Gen Vo Nguyen Giap wrote an important article entitled "Arm the Revolutionary Masses and Build the People's Army," the article consists of four parts:

(Part 1: Marxist-Leninist Theory on Military Organization of the Proletariat.

(Part 2: Our People's Traditions and Experiences in Building Armed Forces in the Past.

(Part 3: Our Party's and People's Creativity in Arming the Revolutionary Masses and Building the People's Armed Forces in the Past 40 Years.

(Part 4: Arm the Revolutionary Masses Strongly and Widely and Build a Regular, Modern People's Armed Forces.

(The text of this article has been published in recent issues of HOP TAP and TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN.

(Beginning with this issue, we introduce to our readers Part 4 of this article.)

We have studied Marxist-Leninist theory on the military organization of the proletariat in the struggle to achieve the proletarian dictatorship and to protect the socialist state. We have pointed out our ancestors' traditions and experiences in building the armed forces in our national uprisings and national wars. We have also analyzed our party and people's creativity in arming the revolutionary masses and building the people's army in the armed uprisings and revolutionary wars in our country in the past several decades. We then derived the law governing the organization of our people's revolutionary armed forces in the present struggle to oppose colonialist domination and the imperialist war of aggression in order to attain the revolutionary objectives set forth by our party, independence, freedom and socialism.

A clear understanding and realistic application of this law to the new conditions will help determine the trend of development of the people's armed forces in order to fulfill our people's present historic mission of completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. This is also of great significance for the building of our people's revolutionary armed forces in both parts of our country in order to protect the socialist north and the independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral south in the future as well as to defend, in the long range, our unified fatherland from any war of aggression that may be waged by the imperialist enemies.