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THE TEACHINGS OF PRESIDENT HO FOREVER ILLUMINATE THE COURSE  
OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PARTY

[A number of observations recorded by Le Duc Binh after reading President Ho's "Party Development" which was published by Su That Publishing House in 1970; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 18-29]

President Ho founded and trained our party, the vanguard unit of the Vietnam working class and the leader of our nation's liberation. When he passed away, President Ho left our people with the factors of victory of the revolution which he established through many efforts and nurtured throughout his life. Under the effect of these factors, the most basic of which is the leadership of the vanguard party, our country's revolution has recorded great achievements and our people have been and are continuing to move steadily along the victorious course charted by him.

In his search for a way to liberate the nation, President Ho found Marxism-Leninism and, at an early date, came to the conclusion that "there is no other way to save the country and liberate the nation than by means of the proletarian revolution."\*(page 82) On this basis, he made every effort to study and spread Marxism-Leninism in our country's revolutionary movement and, at the same time, actively prepared the necessary organization and trained cadres to create the conditions needed for the establishment of a political party of the

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\* All excerpts in this article, with the exception of those with separate footnotes, are from Ho Chi Minh's "Party Development," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970.

Vietnam working class. In his work "The Revolutionary Road," President Ho pointed out that the most important thing for insuring the victory of the revolution is the establishment of a revolutionary political party of the working class founded on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism:

"What is the first thing a revolution must have?

Before everything else, there must be a revolutionary party within the country to mobilize and organize the masses and liaison with oppressed nations and the proletariat everywhere else. Only with a strong party can the revolution achieve success just as a ship can only sail smoothly if it has a strong pilot. For the party to be strong, it must have a philosophy as its nucleus, a philosophy which everyone within the party adheres to and understands. The party which does not have a philosophy is like a man who does not have intelligence or a ship without a compass.

There are many theories and philosophies, however, the most legitimate, the strongest, and the most revolutionary philosophy is Leninism."(page 11)

In early 1930, as a result of the preparations made by President Ho, our party was born. With the birth of the party, the history of Vietnam entered a new chapter and our country's revolution took several great leaps forward. As President Ho said:

"During the several decades preceding the founding of the party, the situation was as black as night.

As soon as it was born, our party raised the flag of the revolution and united and led all of our people in a struggle to liberate the nation and the class. The red flag of the party is as bright as the newly risen sun cutting through the darkness and lighting the way which will lead our people steadily to the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution."(page 102)

The great victories recorded by the Vietnam revolution during more than the past four decades have been closely associated with the clear-sighted leadership of our party under the guidance of President Ho. Maintaining and continuously strengthening the leadership role of the party has been a fundamental and decisive factor in each victory of the revolution. In reviewing the lessons learned from the victories of the Vietnam revolution, President Ho emphasized the leadership role played by the party: "The Vietnam revolution

has progressed from victory to victory which proves that, in the age of imperialism, the people of a small colonial country can, under the leadership of the proletariat and its party with its broad base among the masses, primarily the peasants, by uniting each strata of patriotic people in a united front, and with the sympathy and support of the world revolutionary movement, primarily the powerful socialist camp, definitely win victory."(page 84)

In the present age, only the working class, by means of its political party, can lead the working people and nation to total victory in the revolutionary struggle to liberate the nation and build a new life. As soon as our party was born, it established itself as the political party of the Vietnam working class, one loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Fully aware of the trend of development of the age and on the basis of a scientific analysis of the position of the various classes in the society of Vietnam, our party, which confirmed the leadership role played by the working class in our country's revolutionary undertaking, criticized the mistaken tendency to underevaluate the role and revolutionary ability of the working class and, on this basis, deny the working class nature of the party. President Ho said: "To win victory, the revolution must be led by the working class. Because, it is the most progressive, the most aware, the most determined, the most disciplined, and the most tightly organized class."(page 68)

As a result of this historical role played by the working class, the political party of the working class is the most revolutionary political party and one which has the full status of a leader of all the people. Therefore, President Ho emphasized: "Each revolutionary must deeply understand that our party is the most progressive and tightly organized corps of the working class and the leader of the working class and laboring people."(page 71)

Confirming the working class nature of the party is confirming that the party is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the ideological system of the working class, and that its cadres and members always adhere to the stand of the working class and wholehearted struggle for the revolutionary ideals of the working class. President Ho said: "The revolutionary must be fully aware of this and take the stand of the working class as his own so that he can wholeheartedly struggle for socialism and communism, for the working class and all laboring people."(page 71)

President Ho emphasized the working class nature of the party and, at the same time, always pointed out that the party

must be intimately bound up with the nation and be its representative. In the present age, the stand of the working class is the fullest expression of the fundamental interests of all the people. Genuine patriots who have a patriotic stand can accept Marxism-Leninism and the stand of the working class. And, conversely, revolutionary fighters who take the working class stand as their own are most loyal people and those most willing to sacrifice their lives to liberate the working people and the nation. In our country, the workers' movement and the patriotic movement have been closely linked to one another, thereby providing fertile ground for sowing the seeds of Marxism-Leninism as well as providing a material base for the birth of the political party of the working class in Vietnam. President Ho said the following of the law governing the birth of the political party of the working class in our country: "The coordination of Marxism-Leninism and the workers' movement as well as the patriotic movement led to the establishment of the Indochinese Communist Party in early 1930." (page 88) Our party is a child of the workers' movement and the patriotic movement in Vietnam, the inheritor and developer of the excellent traditions of the working class and nation of Vietnam.

The interests of the working class are identical to the interests of the nation. Emphasizing the working class nature of the party is no different than acknowledging that the party can, once it is firmly based on the ideology of the working class, struggle for and serve the interests of the people and nation more and better than any other party. From the point of view of ideological systems, the party can only be a party of no other class than the working class. At the same time, from the point of view of the oneness between the interests of the working class and the interests of the people and nation, the party is not only the representative of the interests of the working class, but also the representative of the interests of the working people and the entire nation.

After the party seized political power and entered the period of socialist construction, the party's responsibility to the people and the nation became heavier. In his speech opening the ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the party, President Ho spoke about this responsibility of the party in extremely simple but deep words: "Today, North Vietnam is completely liberated and the party is uniting and leading our people in emulating in socialist construction and the establishment of a life in which everyone is well fed and well clothed and has good customs and morals. As long as one Vietnamese is exploited and poor, the party will continue to feel grieved, because it will mean that it has not fulfilled

its task. Therefore, the party takes charge of large tasks such as changing our country's backward economy and culture into an advanced economy and culture and, at the same time, is always concerned with small things such as the fish sauce our people need in their everyday lives. Therefore, our party is great because it encompasses the entire nation and because it is close to the heart of each of our compatriots."(pages 103-104)

President Ho built our party into a party of the working class and, at the same time, our party has been acknowledged by the entire nation as its leader, as a party which is of a tight working class nature as well as a broad mass nature. This is the special feature and the great source of strength of our party.

Maintaining and strengthening the leadership role played by our party is not an easy or simple matter. A party can only play a leadership role when it has the stature and ability of a leader. Therefore, the process of strengthening the leadership role played by our party has also been the process of continuously building a strong party. Under the leadership of President Ho, our party has been built into a politically, ideologically, and organizationally strong proletarian party and, as a result, can maintain and continuously expand its leadership role in our people's revolutionary undertaking.

The strength of our party is primarily the result of its correct political line. In his analysis of the causes underlying our party's winning of the right to lead the revolution as soon as it was born, President Ho pointed out: "Deeply imbued with Marxism-Leninism, the party has put forth a correct revolutionary line. In its 1930's civil rights-bourgeois revolutionary platform, the party established the task of resisting imperialism and feudalism, establishing an independent nation, and giving land to the tiller. This platform was very consistent with the fervent aspirations of the majority of our people, that is, the peasants. As a result, the party united large revolutionary forces around its class. The political parties of the other classes were either bankrupt or isolated. Consequently, the leadership right of our party -- the party of the working class -- was continuously strengthened."(page 89)

Our party has always taken the stand and viewpoint of the working class and has been absolutely loyal to the interests of the people and the nation, considering them the origin of each of its lines and policies. Our party has made every

effort to study and correctly apply Marxism-Leninism, is deeply imbued with its thorough revolutionary spirit, and has a firm grasp of the scientific knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Our party has tried to delve into the realities of Vietnam, scientifically analyze the comparison of forces between us and the enemy, analyze the special economic, social, and political characteristics of the different periods, apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism in order to summarize the experiences of our country's revolution, and determine the laws governing the Vietnam revolution. While applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to establish the lines, programs, and policies of our party as well as while studying the experiences recorded by fraternal parties, our party has always displayed a spirit of independence. As a result, since its establishment and after many stages of complex struggle in the democratic national revolution as well as the socialist revolution and in the war of resistance against the French as well as in the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation, our party has always had the correct political line and always put forth accurate guidelines for all of our party members and people. In generalizing the factors underlying the victory of the Vietnam revolution, President Ho said: "Our party is deserving of being the vanguard unit and the command staff of the proletariat, the working people, and the entire nation; our party knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism to the circumstances of our country in a creative manner in order to put forth correct lines and policies which insure the victories development of the revolution. Our cadres and party members, generally speaking, are genuine communists loyal to the interests of the class and the people, and have the respect and trust of the people."(page 137)

On the basis of its correct political line, our party has strengthened itself ideologically and organizationally. As a result of adopting a correct political line, our party has, during the various periods of the revolution, adopted accurate guidelines for providing cadres and party members with ideological education and struggling to overcome incorrect trends and concepts and guidelines for developing and streamlining the organization of the party in a firmly based manner consistent with the requirements of the revolution in order to strengthen the unity and unanimity within the party. Also as a result of its correct political line, our party has strengthened its intimate relationship with the masses, launched a mass movement, and, on this basis, developed the forces of the revolution and selected and trained many good cadres and party members.

As a militant, revolutionary party, our party must not only have a correct political line, but must also have high

fighting strength and good organizational ability in order to successfully complete each revolutionary task. Party ideological and organizational development must originate in the requirements of the political line and must insure that the party is able to successfully implement its political line.

Our party has been determined to struggle to implement its correct political line and, despite the countless difficulties and hardships, has never lost sight of its goals. In the process of struggling to implement this political line, our party has been rapidly trained and developed and has received the wholehearted trust and respect of the masses. The class nature and the vanguard nature of our party have been deeply reflected in its correct political line as well as in the extremely brave struggle it has waged.

The party requires that each party organization, each cadre, and each party member make every effort to implement its lines and policies. The measure of the spirit, the determination, the qualities, and the abilities of each party member is expressed in his revolutionary actions. Each party member must not only show his loyalty to the party and his excellent revolutionary qualities in his speech, but also in his deeds and the results and quality of his work. Obviously, we cannot say that an individual party member has good qualities or that a certain party organization is strong if their labor productivity is low, if the efficiency of their work is poor, if their production does not increase, and if the standard of living of the masses is not improved or if their professional activities are slow to develop. President Ho taught: "Realistic results which have contributed to production and the leadership of production must be used to measure one's revolutionary determination." (page 116) He also said: "During a war of resistance, each party member and party chapter which fights the enemy well is a good party member and chapter and each one which fights the enemy poorly is weak. Today, when North Vietnam is engaged in socialist construction, each party member and party chapter which produces well and leads production well is a good party member and party chapter. If their production and leadership of production is poor, party members and party chapters are poor." (page 121)

To increase the fighting strength of the party, it is most important that the unity within the party be protected and strengthened. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by President Ho, our party was always strongly united. This is one of our party's extremely valuable traditions,

one in which it can take very much pride and one which has created the party's strong combat ability and helped develop the great effect exerted by our party's leadership. President Ho said: "The reason why our party can lead the working class and all of the people to socialism is because our party has a correct policy and a united leadership. Our party's united leadership is the result of the conformity of thought and action of its members.

If party members do not think and act the same, the results are like a sandstorm, like 'an orchestra in which each musician plays a different tune.' Thus, it becomes impossible to lead the masses and carry out the revolution."(page 74)

The strong unity within the party is, first of all, based on the correct political line of the party. A thorough understanding of the political line and common efforts to successfully implement the political line of the party is the process of building and strengthening the party's internal unity. At the same time, ideological unity must be linked to and strengthened by organizational unity. Correctly implementing the system of democratic centralism and strengthening the discipline of the party in conjunction with expanding its democratic internal activities are very necessary in order to thoroughly insure ideological unity and the unity of actions within the party and put a stop to each phenomenon which tends to divide or split the party. Harsh criticism and self-criticism is of great significance in making party members feel closer to one another and bringing them together to help each other make progress. The development and strengthening of the spirit of comradeship and love which exists among communists is very important in strengthening the internal unity of the party and overcoming the discord and division caused by individualism.

In his will, President Ho advises that we must, above everything else, maintain the unity within the party:

"Unity is one of the extremely valuable traditions of our party and people. All comrades, from the Party Central Committee to the various party chapters, must maintain unity and unanimity within the party just as they keep a person in their sight when speaking with him.

Broad democracy and regular and harsh self-criticism and criticism within the party are the best ways to strengthen and develop the unity and unanimity of the party. There must be a spirit of comradeship and love."(page 176)

Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of the party. It is necessary to fully comply with this principle in order to successfully establish the various organizational relationships within the party: the relationship between the individual and the collective, between the minority and the majority, between the upper echelon and the lower echelon, and between the central and local levels.

On the one hand, the system of democratic centralism within the party requires that each cadre and party member heighten his sense of organization and discipline and unconditionally obey and comply with the various directives and resolutions of the party. The party member's high sense of organization and discipline is expressed in his full compliance with the resolutions of the party not only when favorable conditions exist for their implementation, but also when difficulties and obstacles are encountered and not only when these resolutions are suited to his interests, but also when they are contrary to his individual viewpoint and interests. Naturally, each party member has the right to and must express his ideas and thoughts to the party; however, he and the lower echelon must, whenever the upper echelon has put forth a directive or the party chapter or party committee have reached a certain decision, fully comply with it. Ideas can be different, however, actions must be one and the organization and discipline of the party must be uniform. President Ho emphasized: "The invincible strength of the party lies in the spirit of self-conscious discipline and the sense of strict organization of its cadres and members." (page 115) He also said: "Regardless of how many people our party has, it must, when fighting, fight as one person. This is because of the party's discipline, our discipline is an iron discipline, that is, it is both strict and self-conscious. Our comrades must make every effort to maintain the iron discipline of the party." (page 39)

On the other hand, the system of democratic centralism requires that the various collective, democratic activities conducted within the party be expanded. Collective leadership is the highest principle of leadership of the party. Only by expanding the democracy within the party is it possible to make use of the intelligence of the collective and reach the most correct decisions and adopt the most correct policies possible. Only by expanding the democracy within the party is it possible to unite and encourage all cadres and party members to actively and fully comply with the lines and policies of the party. Discipline based on self-consciousness is the strictest form of discipline. Centralism based on democracy is the highest form of centralism. President Ho harshly criticized each expression of bossism, arbitrariness,

and the placing of personal interests above the organization and the collective. He taught us: "We must have full respect for the collective and heighten the democracy existent within the party; we absolutely must not be arbitrary, place our own personal interests above the organization, or permit ourselves to be above discipline. The more merits one has to his credit, the more respectful he must be. Because, it only takes a few merits to become jealous and dogmatic."(page 115)

The development and growth of our party as well as that of each party member is the result of regular self-criticism and criticism which make it possible to continuously develop upon strongpoints and achievements and overcome shortcomings and mistakes. By developing self-criticism and criticism, the various activities conducted within the party are always rich and feverish, there is always democracy, unity, and vitality within the party organization, and each person makes continuous progress.

We must forthrightly and lovingly criticize our comrades and, at the same time, engage in strict self-criticism and attentively listen to the criticism of our comrades and the masses. "We cannot be afraid to make mistakes, only afraid that we lack the determination to correct our mistakes. To successfully correct our mistakes, we must stand ready to listen to the criticism of the masses and engage in serious self-criticism. By failing to listen to criticism and engage in self-criticism, we will surely be backward and regressive."(page 77)

We must avoid engaging in abstract and petty criticism. Self-criticism and criticism must be based on the implementation of the political task of the party and must be designed to stimulate the implementation of the political task as well as to carry out the tasks of the party member as stipulated within the party's statutes. President Ho said: "We must review our activities each day in order to try to carry out the ten tasks of the party member. Everyone must wash his face each day. The party member must review himself each day just as he washes his face each day. Each day, every party member must review himself. He must conduct this personal review on the basis of the ten tasks of the party member."(page 154)

In party development activities, it is not only necessary to know how to correctly establish the various relationships existing within the party, but also necessary to know how to correctly establish the relationship existing between the party and the masses. The intimate relationships the party has with the masses is the source of the party's strength

and an indispensable condition for maintaining and developing the excellent revolutionary nature of the party. Only by being close to the realities of production and the struggle of the masses, only by studying and reviewing the rich experiences recorded by the masses, and only by thoroughly understanding the needs and aspirations of the masses can the party apply Marxism-Leninism to put forth correct lines and policies. Once it has adopted a correct line, the party must delve deeply into propagandizing and persuading the masses, transforming the slogans of the party into the slogans of the masses, and encouraging the masses to self-consciously and wholeheartedly try to implement the line and policies of the party. This is the only way in which they can be implemented. In an analysis of the great lessons of the Vietnam revolution, President Ho emphasized: "The revolution is the undertaking of the masses and the victory of the revolution is the result of the sacrifice and creative intelligence of hundreds of people, particularly the workers, the peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals."(page 137)

Of foremost importance in strengthening the intimate relationship with the masses that a party in political power has is respecting and upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses. Doing this will improve the revolutionary initiative and the creative ability of the masses who are an important source of stimulation for the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction. President Ho harshly criticized each expression of bureaucracy, bossism, corruption, waste, and remoteness from the masses as well as violations of the right of ownership of the people. He taught: "To become a party chapter of 'the four goods' it is first of all necessary that party members set an example, fully comply with policies, truly respect the right of ownership of the people, and listen to the opinions of the masses as this is the only way they can be trusted, supported, and loved by the people. Thus, even the most difficult of jobs must be done."(page 158)

The party can only develop when it is closely related to the masses and based upon a broad revolutionary mass movement. The more the masses support the leadership of the party and the more enthusiastically they help, criticize, and inspect cadres and party members, the stronger the party becomes. On the other hand, using the revolutionary movements of the masses to select, challenge, and train cadres and party members is a very important measure as regards the development of the party.

President Ho often said: "we must welcome and encourage the masses to honestly criticize cadres and party members."(page 173)

He also pointed out that it is necessary to use the various mass campaigns, such as the "report achievements" campaign to build the party. He said: "By means of reporting achievements, everyone knows who does good work and who does not. This is true democracy and a very good method of criticism and self-criticism. In this way, the masses educate one another and even educate cadres. Because, among our cadres there are good comrades who do as they tell others to do, however, there are also a number of comrades who do not work but 'only tell people what must be done.' Reporting achievements is also a very good way to select good people for propaganda and education, admittance to the party, and training to become cadres. Thus, there is never a shortage of cadres. It is a very good way to develop the party."(pages 160-161)

In the process of developing our party, President Ho focused very much attention upon the development of the corps of cadres and the corps of party members and very much attention upon party chapter activities.

Cadres are the key force of the party and state and the people who are responsible for organizing the implementation of each line and policy of the party. President Ho emphasized: "...the unit cadre is the base of each job"... The success or failure of a task is determined by the quality of the cadre."(page24)

The correct selection of cadres is a very systematic job. It can be generally said that the examination and selection of cadres must be based on two areas: morals and talent. These two areas are closely interrelated. President Ho taught: "If a person is talented, he must have high morals. If he is talented but does not have high morals, he harms the nation. If he has high morals, but does not have talent, he is like a Buddha in a temple, that is, of benefit to no one."(1) In his will, President Ho advised our party to be concerned with training "people who are both 'red' and 'expert' to carry on socialist construction."(page 176)

It must be known how to apply these general standards in each specific case. In each field of activity, the work requirements as regards the quality and ability of the cadre are different in certain respects. A cadre in one job can develop upon his strongpoints, improve his ability, and complete his task but, if he is transferred to a different job, it may not be suited to him. The art of the leader is knowing

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1. "President Ho on Education"; Giao Duc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 138.

how to skillfully use a cadre, how to give him the correct job, how to insure the best possible completion of his revolutionary task, and how to help him develop and progress. President Ho pointed out very clearly: "We must remember that everyone has his good points and his bad points. We must utilize the good points of a person and help him rectify his bad points. We must use people as we use lumber. The skillful carpenter can make full use of all types of lumber be they large, small, straight, or curved."(page 15) Whether the cadre does his job well or not is partially dependent upon his ability, however, it is also dependent upon his responsibility as a leader. As President Ho said: "With skillful leadership, little talent can be developed into great talent. Without skillful leadership, great talent can degenerate into little talent."(page 32)

In the corps of cadres of the party there are both old and young cadres. Each type of cadre has his own strongpoints and shortcomings. By knowing how to successfully coordinate these two types of cadres, it is possible to develop upon their strongpoints and rectify their shortcomings so that they can, together, successfully complete the party's task. President Ho criticized the narrow attitude of those who are contemptuous of youth and, at the same time, reminded young cadres to respect older cadres. He taught: "Our party must skillfully coordinate old and young cadres. It should not look down on its young cadres. A small number of old cadres, who act like privileged officials, say that they have made contributions or that they adopt a 'fatherly' attitude toward young cadres and party members and brush aside whatever they say because they feel that the 'eggs are lecturing the hen.' Our age is a very glorious one. Society and the world have developed very rapidly. Yet, it is still wrong for older cadres to look down on young cadres. But, young cadres cannot be arrogant, rather, they must respect and learn from older, experienced cadres."

President Ho also provided very many rich and detailed instructions to guide leadership agencies in their search for cadres, the distribution of work and the utilization of cadres, and the care and support of cadres. He pointed out that the attitude of leadership agencies toward cadres and their work must be: "The party must take care of its cadres just as the nurseryman takes care of his valuable trees. The party must attach importance to talent, its cadres, and each person who has contributed to our common work."(page 24)

President Ho was very concerned with party chapter activities because "the party chapter is the foundation of the party and good party chapters mean that each will be carried

out well."(page 158) He constantly reminded the various party committee echelons to conduct good party chapter activities in order to build strong party chapters.

Party chapter activities are closely associated with the work of the party member. The party chapter allocates and inspects the work of the party member and is the best school for educating and training him. Only with strong party chapters is it possible to select and train many good party members. On the other hand, the party chapter is comprised of party members; the party chapter can only be strong if it has good members. President Ho said: "To lead the revolution the party must be strong. A strong party is the result of good party chapters. Good party chapters are the result of good party members."(page 149)

The party must have a specific number of members in order to be able to maintain its close relationship with the masses and uphold its leadership role in all sectors, all fields of social activity, and all production, combat, and work units. While not giving light attention to the significance of the number of members it has, our party has focused its attention, first of all, upon the quality of its members. If its members are of high quality, that is, if they have high political and ideological qualities, the revolutionary-offensive spirit, the exemplary vanguard spirit, and deep knowledge and ability, the party can, by means of them, unite, organize, and lead the masses in successfully implementing each of its lines and policies. For this reason, President Ho said: "The party needs more than many people, even though many is good, it needs high quality party members."(page 167) As regards party development activities, he advised: "...we must thoroughly adhere to the guideline for the development of the party, that is, the guideline that quality is better than quantity."(page 131)

Since the party is a party in political power, it must guard against the situation wherein it mistakenly accepts into its ranks opportunists, people seeking to join the party with the motive of satisfying personal interests, and people hoping vainly to use the title of the party member to acquire special rights and privileges. Therefore, in party development activities, it is necessary to carefully examine the political enlightenment, the quality, and the ideological motive of those seeking to join the party. President Ho seriously pointed out: "One joins the party to serve the people, serve the class, and serve the revolution... The party forces no one to join it. When one joins the party, he accepts the task and responsibilities of the party member; if he is afraid that he cannot serve the people or the revolution, he should

either not join the party or join at a later date."(pages 166-167)

The title party member is a very noble one which carries important responsibilities and heavy obligations with it. The party member is the vanguard revolutionary fighter of the working class and everyone in the party is aware of the goals and ideals of the party, is loyal to the end to the revolutionary undertaking of the class and the nation, and will make sacrifices and fight throughout his life for the glorious ideals of the party. The party member, as President Ho taught, must "be the leader and the loyal servant of the people." The party member is the leader of the masses, however, he is not remote from or above the masses and does not have special rights over them, rather, he must wholeheartedly support the masses and be closely associated with them. On the other hand, the party member is the servant of the people; however, he is not a member of the masses, rather, he must be worthy of being a vanguard fighter and a progressive political representative of the working class, must assume the responsibility of leading the masses, and must have the ability to educate, persuade, and direct the revolutionary actions of the masses. Leader of the masses and servant of the masses, these two aspects of the role of the party member are never in opposition to one another, rather, they are always closely linked to one another. Only by wholeheartedly serving the masses can the party member have the status of a leader and, conversely, only by fully carrying out his responsibility as a leader of the masses, can he serve the masses in the best possible manner.

As regards the education of cadres and party members, President Ho was constantly concerned with improving revolutionary virtues and combating individualism. In very many addresses and articles, he constantly reminded the entire party about this matter and his extremely pure and noble life is a brilliant example of revolutionary ethics, an example which continuously educates and stimulates us. President Ho taught: "Carrying out a revolution to change the old society into the new is a very glorious undertaking; however, it is also a very weighty task and a very complex, long, and difficult struggle. Only by being strong can we carry a heavy burden a long distance. The revolutionary must have revolutionary ethics as his foundation in order to complete his glorious revolutionary task."(pages 68-69)

Cadres and party members must display the virtues of diligence, frugality, honesty, and devotion, must express absolute loyalty to the party and the people, must be determined to struggle throughout his life for the liberation

of the nation and the ideals of communism, must always place the interests of the revolution above everything else, must be closely associated with the masses, must respect the right of ownership of the masses, must continuously improve his collective ideology, his spirit of unity, his spirit of organization and discipline, etc. Because our party is a party in political power, the maintenance and improvement of revolutionary ethics must be given even more attention. In his will, President Ho advises: "The party is a party in political power. Each party member and cadre must be truly impregnated with revolutionary ethics, that is, he must be truly diligent, frugal, honest, and devoted. We must keep our party pure and deserving of its position as the leader and truly loyal servant of the people."(page 176)

Each cadre and party member must vigilantly and constantly struggle against individualism because "the most decadent and most dangerous scar of the old society is individualism."(page 69)

Individualism is the source of many shortcomings and mistakes and can even cause cadres and party members to lose their qualities and change. Due to the fact that our party is in political power and in the face of the present difficult and decisive revolutionary struggle, it is even more necessary to direct our attention toward struggling to overcome each manifestation of individualism. President Ho taught us: "To maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism, it is first of all necessary that we ourselves be pure. To defeat the enemy, imperialism, and to successfully build socialism, it is first of all necessary to defeat the enemy within each of us, that is, individualism."(page 138)

As vigilant revolutionary fighters, cadres and party members must not only have deep revolutionary fervor, but must also have deep revolutionary intelligence, a thorough understanding of their jobs, and the ability to organize and lead the masses in carrying out their revolutionary tasks.

We must make every effort to study Marxist-Leninist theory because "only by studying Marxist-Leninist theory is it possible to strengthen our revolutionary ethics, maintain our stand, deepen our knowledge, heighten our political enlightenment, and successfully carry out the tasks assigned by the party."(page 79) We must make every effort to study the lines and policies of the party in order to gain a thorough understanding of them and be able to fully comply with them so that we can strengthen the unity and unanimity within the party. At the same time, we must make extensive efforts to heighten our cultural, scientific, and technical standards in

order to be able to carry out the task of managing the economy and building a new life. President Ho said: "Today, the party requires that its cadres and members not only be skilled in politics, but also in their profession, otherwise they cannot lead the masses."(page 117)

The important requirement of deepening one's knowledge in every respect requires that cadres and party members actively and resolutely study, study on their jobs, study the masses, study in schools, study with the aid of books, etc. Studying is an obligation of the party member and the measure of his revolutionary fervor and fighting determination. President Ho advised us: "I frequently hear comrades only 40 years of age say that they are too old to study. This thinking is incorrect, 40 years of age is not old at all. I am 76 years old and still try to learn more. We must study and engage in revolutionary activities throughout our lives. As long as we are alive, we must study and engage in revolutionary activities."(page 149) President Ho's great example of serving the revolution and studying throughout his life is an example to be followed by each of our cadres and party members.

The requirements of our party and President Ho have placed upon the party member are truly high ones. However, these requirements are indispensable and cannot be compromised because they are the requirements for building and strengthening the vanguard party which is leading the greatest and most difficult revolution in the history of our nation. To meet these requirements, each party member must engage in steadfast personal training and must make a very great effort, this is what makes the title party member more noble and beautiful.

In his life of revolutionary activity, President Ho was most concerned with developing our party and, until the day he departed from us, his words of advice were reserved "primarily for the party." By creatively applying the principles of party development of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam, President Ho illuminated and successfully solved the various problems which arise in the process of our party's development. His speeches and articles on party development are extremely valuable inheritances for our party and our country's revolution. His very rich and deep teachings will forever illuminate the course of development of our party and continuously stimulate our entire party to carry out its glorious historical mission.

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