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GENERAL SONG HAO ON PAVN TRAINING MISSION

1972

HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON MICROFILM

Doc 3

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FILE	SUBJ.
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(Hanoi Quan Doi Nhan Dan in Vietnamese 18 Jan. 1972 pp 1-3 published a speech by Lt Gen Song Hao, Director of the VPA General Political Department, at the conference to disseminate the 1972 Military Training Plan: "Constantly Heighten the Army's Combat Strength and Advance To Achieve New Victories").

Under the leadership and education of the Party and President HỒ, and through the progress of long training and challenge in the revolutionary war, our army has quickly attained its maturity and achieved glorious victories. Our army has closely united with all our heroic people to fight the French, expel the Japanese, lead the August Revolution to success and the resistance to victory, defeat the French colonialist aggressors and the U.S. interventionists and achieve the resounding Dien Bien Phu victory. Today in the great anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, our army has together with the compatriots and combatants throughout the country struggled very stalwartly, achieved victories of strategic importance and created very favorable conditions for the struggle.

Our army is worthy of being an heroic army of the heroic Vietnamese people, worthy of the commendations of beloved Uncle HỒ! Our army is loyal to the Party, devoted to the people, ready to fight and sacrifice for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism, fulfills any task, overcomes any difficulty and defeats any enemy.

The history of the victorious and glorious struggle of our army has proved that in the protracted revolutionary struggle, fighting along with construction is a law of development of our army.

With respect to our country -- which is not very large and not very populated -- to defeat the imperialist aggressors who have large forces with modern weapons and techniques, we must resort to the combined strength of the people's war in which the People's Army with very high combat quality must play the core role. In the building of the people's armed forces, we must always attach great consideration to the question of the army's quality. In the old days, our ancestors

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attached great importance to using seasoned troops to fight the enemy who had larger forces. Trần Quốc Tuấn [13th century hero] said: "In the army, quality is the most important factor. The number does not count." In the present day in the revolutionary war, our army must have a determined strength and at the same time must have very high quality. The war is the confrontation of strength between our forces and the enemy forces. Its constant development requires that we exert great efforts, at every phase of its development, to make outstanding steps forward, and to be strong to defeat the enemy. The subjective efforts on the basis of objective conditions must certainly be a factor that strongly influences the process of the development of the war, and that determines the victory or defeat in the war. Through 27 years of continuous struggle and victories, our army has become stronger than ever. We have great strength composed of three categories of troops. Our army has a high political consciousness, very beautiful revolutionary traditions, an increasingly improved material and technical basis, good combat forms and methods and rich experiences in combat. Today all army branches and services are equipped with modern weapons and war means. We have a strong, loyal and experienced body of cadres and an army of strong and young combatants who make quick progress, who are eager to fight the enemy and who are brave and intelligent. These are the manifestations of high combat quality and at the same time constitute favorable conditions for constantly heightening this combat quality.

Our army's combat strength is the combined strength of the revolution, the political consciousness, the fighting spirit and the discipline of the cadres and combatants, the leadership, command and organizational capability of the cadres, the combat technique and tactics, the organization and equipment, and the way of managing and maintaining the troops. In the improvement of combat quality, we must attach importance to various aspects such as the building of men and the community and the close coordination between ideology and organization, discipline and democracy and technique and tactics. The requirement for an improvement of the quality in an overall manner must be based on the task of building the Party's armed forces and on the revolution's political and military tasks which require that we must have a strong army to defeat all enemies and fulfill all tasks. The process of maturity of

our army is the process of constant struggle to improve the quality in all aspects: in combat and construction, on the forefronts and in the rear bases, in the three categories of troops, in all armed services and branches and in all agencies and schools.

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To improve our army's combat quality, first of all we must continually strengthen our army's revolutionary nature, using the heightening of its political level as a foundation for fulfilling the task of building our army in all other fields. We must be constantly imbued with the view that the Party must exercise absolute, comprehensive and direct leadership over the army, widely develop the education of the Party's political and military lines inside the army, constantly streamline Party organizations of all echelons and strengthen comradeship inside the army and the bloodsealed relationship between the army and the people. This is the beautiful revolutionary nature and tradition of our army. It is also the source of our army's invincible power.

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Our army is a shock army of all our people on the armed struggle front. It is also a tool of revolutionary violence in charge of achieving and safeguarding the power, achieving national independence and freedom and struggling for the sake of socialism and our international obligation. Our army must have a high level of political enlightenment; it must be boundlessly loyal to the revolution and constantly worthy of the confidence of the Party and people. The fighting spirit is one of the most important factors of our army's fighting power. In order to collaborate with all our people in fulfilling the historic mission of defeating the U.S. aggressors -- the top imperialists who have a very reactionary nature, many wicked plots and tricks and great economic and military potential -- our army must have high fighting qualities; it must be strong enough to overcome all challenges. First of all it must have firm political qualities and stanchly fight well.

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To heighten the fighting spirit of our army, first of all we must help all its cadres and combatants strongly develop their intense patriotism, be imbued with the bloodsealed north-south love and heighten their proletarian internationalist spirit.

Our patriotism means love for independence, freedom, democracy, national unification and socialism. But this patriotism must be based on a deep and firm consciousness of the new class because only through adopting the proletariat's stand will we be able to build a thorough revolutionary spirit and a determination to struggle against all oppressive and exploiting regimes. This patriotism is the result of an association between the spirit of independence, the sense of democracy and the bloodsealed north-south love and the task of defending the North, liberating the South, unifying the country and constructing socialism. The Vietnamese people are indivisible. Viet-Nam is indivisible. Southern compatriots are members of the big Vietnamese family. Rivers can run dry, mountains can erode but this truth remains unchanged: as long as the South is invaded by the U.S. aggressors and as long as even one inch of Vietnamese territory has not been liberated, we will continue to fight. The will to liberate the South, unify the country and build socialism is the common will of all our people and is the "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and "we would rather lose everything than become slaves" will. We must closely associate genuine patriotism and noble proletarian internationalism.

Our people's resistance war is of great international significance: it is closely related with the struggle of the fraternal Lao and Cambodian people and makes worthy contributions to the common struggle of all the revolutionary people the world over against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Thus never have patriotism and international feelings been so closely associated in the mind of each Vietnamese as they are today.

To heighten our army's fighting spirit we must constantly educate our cadres and combatants in order to improve their revolutionary ideal. This revolutionary ideal is the objective of the struggle of all revolutionary combatants, their sacred responsibility and the power that encourages and guides all their enlightened, voluntary and resolute actions. Our ideal is to live and fight for independence, freedom, national unification, socialism and communism. These are the highest, crowning, most enduring and greatest interests of our people. These are also the problems that are closely connected with the glorious future and happy life of all of us. The objective

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of the life of each of our cadres or combatants is to fight to the end for this noble ideal. We understand well that the anti-U.S. national resistance is the present most sacred and urgent task of all our people throughout the country. It is for this reason that we have the courage and strength to fight perseveringly and ~~staunchly~~ ^{staunchly} until total victory.

In heightening our army's fighting spirit, we must encourage all the troops to vigorously develop revolutionary heroism and translate their noble ideals into revolutionary action in all fields: combat, construction, work and study. The vigorous/ development of revolutionary heroism is the glorious result of the leadership and education by the Party and President Hồ and also the high development of our people's stalwart, indomitable tradition and our VPA's glorious characteristics and tradition. It is the crystallization of our splendid valor, intelligence, creativeness, the spirit of coordinating action in scoring collective achievements and creating capabilities for achieving high combat efficiency and great work output. The brilliant examples -- for instance heroine Lê Thị Hồng Gấm held high the offensive spirit, ~~loyalty~~ loyalty and unmissiveness and lived bravely and died gloriously; hero Lê Ma Lương who has devoted all his youthful enthusiasm to fighting for the revolutionary ideal, fighting well and annihilating many enemy troops; and numerous glorious achievements of the heroes and heroic units of the people's armed forces in both zones of the country -- are vivid pictures representing the new abundant development of the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism.

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Heightening the army's fighting spirit is also the process of educating our cadres and soldiers about the revolutionary tasks and the situation and tasks of the army so that they may understand the requirements, resolutely make outstanding efforts, hold high their determination to fight and win, and, together with the entire people, persist in and push forward the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance until total victory.

In order to heighten the army's fighting spirit, an extremely important factor is the sense of organization and the spirit of conforming to discipline. Therefore, cadres and commanders of our army units must constantly educate our

troops and improve their discipline.

Our army's discipline fully reflects the political characteristic and the fine concept and organizational principles of a new army of the working class. It is self-imposed discipline that is based on the revolutionary characteristic of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist ideas, the political enlightenment, the thorough knowledge of the Party's policies and the unanimity between cadres and soldiers, between the higher and lower echelons and between the troops and people and which uses democracy as a principle in organizing activities. It is the genuine iron discipline that no army of the exploiting classes can possess.

The sense of organization and discipline of our army is manifested by the following basic relations:

Duty toward the Party -- The attitude of our cadres and soldiers toward the Party is the most concentrated manifestation and the most basic political requirement of the army's discipline. Ideologically and organizationally, our army must absolutely obey the Party's leadership and consider it as the supreme principle governing our activities. All our cadres and soldiers have clearly understood that the Party is the staff of the revolution, the vanguard of the working class and the fighter bringing about happiness and looking after the interests of the people. Therefore our army has been extremely loyal to the Party's revolutionary undertaking, has always considered the Party's political tasks as a struggle objective and has stood ready to sacrifice itself in order to successfully fulfill all tasks entrusted to it by the Party. Our army has trained itself in line with the Party's concept and organizational principles, thus making the army conform with the revolutionary characteristic of the working class, the army's spirit and action conform with the requirement of the Party's revolutionary and political tasks, the army's fighting and working performances conform to the Party's revolutionary style and the soldiers conform to the nature of the working class vanguard. Our army is absolutely confident in the Party's leadership, closely unites around the Party Central Committee and the Party committees of all echelons and is determined to successfully

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carry out all policies, instructions and resolutions of the Party. To train our strict discipline we must first of all improve our sense of obeying the Party's leadership and strictly implement all policies of the Party.

Duty toward the state -- Our army is one of the core elements of our proletarian dictatorial state. Our cadres and fighters have the duty to respect and defend the state and observe its law in order to safeguard the fruit of the revolution, the masses, the worker-peasant class and ~~our~~ our own sacrifices. We must consider the consolidation and strengthening of unity between the army and various state organs to be a fundamental political requirement of military discipline because it is a manifestation of the unanimity in the political ~~respect~~ and in the ~~respect~~ ^{interests} of the class, people's and ~~fatherland's~~ ^{interests} as well as a source of strength for our state and army. Therefore our cadres and fighters have always shown respect for and protected the revolutionary administration, have stood united with the state organs and have strictly implemented the state's policies and lines.

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Duty toward the people -- Our army comes from the people, serves their interests and relies on them to fight the enemy. The endless strength of our army is credited to its close relations with the people. Our army can only become powerful with the boundless love and support of the people. Therefore when building and strengthening military discipline it is necessary to build and strengthen the masses' discipline; that is, to promote the unity between our combatants and the people, a very important condition for increasing our army's combat strength.

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Educated by our Party and President Ho, our combatants have wholeheartedly served the people. We love, respect, help and protect the people. We humbly try to learn from them and have always stood united with them in combat and production. We strictly observe the masses' discipline and act in accordance with the 10 honor oaths and the 12 points of our military discipline. As a result relations between the army and people have become as close as ~~that~~ ^{those} between fish and water. Our combatants and people are united in a great solidarity

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bloc that no enemy force can divide and no difficulty can shake. Our combatants have always been respected, loved and cared for by the people in production, combat and work.

Duty toward our comrades in arms -- Two relations exist in our army: between the comrades themselves and between commanders and subordinates, that is, between higher and lower echelons, between cadres and combatants. These two relations are being constantly strengthened and consolidated. We consider comradeship the basis for the relationship between military men, between commanders and subordinates, between higher and lower echelons and between cadres and combatants. These two relations are being constantly strengthened and consolidated. We consider comradeship the basis for the relationship between military men and the love of those revolutionary men who are attached to each other by the sacred mission to devote their lives to serving the revolutionary undertaking of the Party and people. Our cadres and combatants stand united with each other, show mutual love, share woe and weal and coordinate action in combat and work. They are always ready to assume the heaviest tasks and help each other fulfill their missions. In difficult situations as well as in victorious positions they always show good comradeship. Although we hold different positions and have different ranks, we are all politically equal. We all have a high sense of democracy and collective mastership. We all possess a good sense of responsibility and an accurate spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Let us respect and help each other so we can make progress and fulfill our mission. At the same time, because the army is an organized and disciplined military collective, we must pay equal attention to the relationship between comrades and ~~that~~ between commanders and subordinates. Leading organs and leading cadres are organs and officials in charge of implementing the Party's policies and lines and of realizing the mission of the revolution and army. Therefore our cadres and combatants always respect and obey their commanders. Faced with challenges and difficulties, we all stand ready to sacrifice everything to fulfill our mission and satisfactorily implement combat orders. We are ^{all} determined to

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overcome all obstacles to fulfill our mission and to strictly observe the army's regulations, laws, systems and discipline. The correct settlement of these two internal relations has contributed toward further developing our army's strength and "determination to fight and win" tradition.

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Attitude toward the enemy--The enemy of our army is the enemy of our people. That is why our cadres and combatants have a definite and clear-cut attitude toward the enemy: deeply hating him and resolutely fighting him in order to annihilate him with a firm fighting will, an unsubmitive spirit and heroic courage. In combat our cadres and combatants have manifested their heroism and ^{staunchness;} ~~staunchness;~~ they always advance and never retreat. When the man in front falls down those behind enthusiastically advance to replace him. They are determined to fight and fight until total victory. When they are not in combat our cadres and combatants are constantly vigilant against any enemy, ready to frustrate all his sabotage plots and resolutely protect the revolutionary achievements. As a revolutionary army fighting for a just cause, our army has a humanitarian attitude toward the enemy who has put down his weapons and surrendered. Our cadres and combatants have constantly and strictly implemented the Party's policy toward POW's and surrendered enemy troops. This policy and this attitude have greatly influenced the enemy's fighting spirit and helped those who have been flattered into joining or have been forced to join the enemy army realize the humanitarian feelings and just cause of our army, nurture hatred for aggressive wars and for their mercenaries' life and return to the people and the revolution.

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The good manifestations of the above five relations prove that our army has constantly developed its revolutionary nature and traditions and strictly maintained discipline, thus enhancing its power in order to defeat all its enemies. ^{enhance}

President Hô taught us that "discipline is the strength of our army." Imbued with this teaching, we must constantly strengthen military discipline in order to cope with any development of our army and revolutionary tasks.

We must thoroughly understand the significance and goal of discipline because organized and disciplined activities are rules of activities of society and collectives and are conditions for

allotting work and coordinating activities in society and in a revolutionary organization. Social activities are organized ones, therefore there must be principles, regulations and norms to shackle members to form a bloc and guide, assign and coordinate every act in order to realize a goal that is discipline. Thus discipline is the string that links members of an organization and the element that concentrates everyone's capability into a common force and a unified action so as to bring the organization's strength into full play. If discipline is weak, organization is loose; without discipline, organization disintegrates. Organization requires discipline. In order to build a strong organization it is necessary to firmly consolidate its discipline. Therefore a party must have its bylaws, a state its legal system and an army its rules. Particularly concerning an army we must see more clearly that discipline is of extreme importance.

Discipline is an important factor in creating strength to fulfill tasks. It is a condition for using and organizing forces, skills and intellect, allotting work, coordinating actions and building and using material and technical bases and equipment of the army. Discipline reflects an army's revolutionary nature and each cadre's and combatant's stand, class viewpoint, level of revolutionary awareness, responsibility spirit, morale and personality. Without discipline an army cannot have internal unity and unite the army and people and cannot have the strength to defeat the enemy.

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For this reason we must permanently strengthen the educational task and inculcate strict self-conscious discipline in the entire army. We must further develop our fighting quality and achieve progress in strengthening discipline and in effecting a change in the self-conscious sense of enforcing discipline among the cadres and combatants and in strictly controlling enforcement of discipline. In order to educate the cadres and combatants and to inculcate the sense of discipline in them, it is necessary to develop democracy and use it as a basis for building discipline; only in this way can discipline be firm and not deviate from the right direction. Our army is a revolutionary army imbued with both democracy and strict discipline. The army's discipline is the discipline of the cadres and combatants who have the same goals and ideals and who

willingly and self-consciously enforce this discipline in order to unify their determination and action. We use democracy and discipline to insure unified solidarity and to create strength necessary to fulfill our duties. We regard democracy as a principle for political and organizational activities and a measure for political and ideological education so as to heighten our revolutionary consciousness and to guide and control the enforcement of discipline. Experience has shown that the more democracy is developed, the more internal solidarity will be consolidated and the more strict discipline will be. The higher the revolutionary consciousness, the more united and singleminded the cadres and combatants at high and low levels will be, and, at the same time, this revolutionary heroism will help us acquire the sense of voluntariness and self-consciousness, necessary for enforcing discipline in a more serious and strict manner.

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We must develop democracy in many aspects, but we must concentrate mostly on developing the revolutionary self-consciousness of the cadres and combatants in acquiring a high sense of discipline in order to fulfill their duties; on upholding the sense of responsibility and collective mastership among the cadres and combatants with regard to the building and combat activities of their units, as well as the control of discipline enforcement; on exercising political equality between cadres and combatants and between high and low echelons; on consolidating the relationship of unity, which is that the cadres love the combatants and that the combatants respect and obey the cadres. The development of democracy must be carried out along with the building of the sense of principle and close organization in order to satisfactorily exercise democracy and enforce strict discipline.

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Lenin said: "The army must possess the most strict discipline which must be enforced not through whipping, but on the basis of consciousness, loyalty and the spirit of sacrifice of the workers and peasants themselves" (Lenin, Complete Works, Volume 29, page 225). Therefore we must intensively proselyte and educate all cadres and combatants and make them self-consciously acquire a high sense of discipline. It is necessary to repeatedly educate the cadres and combatants at all times and in all places and to educate them in actual

fighting and in everyday work. The cadres must educate the combatants and the masses must educate themselves. It is necessary to motivate the people to educate and help the combat troops enforce discipline and control discipline enforcement.

The cadres and combatants must seriously train themselves, must heighten the sense of responsibility, must be advanced in the ideological field and must be exemplary in all domains. Cadres at all levels, especially medium and high-level cadres and leading cadres, must be severe toward themselves in order to set examples for lower levels. Party members must set examples for the masses and the agencies must set examples for units. It is necessary to possess high determination and correct measures, not to be formal and mechanical and not to control discipline enforcement in a perfunctory manner.

We must actively inspect the cadres and combatants and urge and guide them in enforcing and strictly maintaining discipline.

It is necessary to carry out the reward and punishment system. Rewards must be made in time and in a manner to set examples. Punishments must also be carried out in time so as to produce educational effects. It is necessary to firmly grasp the direction of mainly concentrating on praising good examples, developing positive factors and on eliminating passive, backward factors.

It is necessary to closely combine the ideological and organizational tasks and to link the educational and persuasive talks with the task of training and carrying out strict supervision, which means that the educational task must be performed along with the educational and guidance tasks and the organization of the strict fulfillment of tasks.

To strengthen the educational task and heighten the political level and to reinforce the measures to organize and control discipline enforcement are the two tasks to be carried out simultaneously and to be combined closely. This is the relationship between democracy and discipline and between self-consciousness and the requirements to be met and is also the method of building and consolidating the discipline of a revolutionary army.

To increase the strength of the army it is necessary that we build steadfast political bases while endeavoring to improve the technical and tactical skills of our armed forces.

To defeat the enemy ^{our} people's armed forces must have not only a stalwart combat determination but also good fighting methods. Forged by the war, our armed forces have gained many valuable experiences. As the war develops our armed forces must possess more improved fighting methods and achieve better combat coordination between various armed services. Therefore it is necessary to take positive measures to solve the problem of increasing the leadership and organizational abilities of our cadres and of improving the technical and tactical skills of our combatants so they can keep up with the development of the situation.

The improvement of the leadership and organizational abilities of cadres is a very important content of our army's present efforts to heighten the quality of its cadres. To improve the quality of cadres is to turn cadres into well qualified men with good ethics. We attach much importance to the development of ethics because we know that ethics are the nature of revolutionary cadres and a steadfast basis for developing their abilities. However, cadres who have good ethics but who do not possess good leadership and organizational abilities cannot become members of a revolutionary army. The war requires that our military cadres possess increasingly better leadership and organizational abilities. All our military cadres must possess good ethics and abilities in order to fulfill their missions.

Undergoing many years of hard training and fierce challenges our military cadres have gained many valuable experiences in leadership, organization and command, have satisfactorily fulfilled all missions entrusted, have worthily contributed toward building a powerful army, have rapidly matured and have gone from one victory to another. We are very proud of our achievements. However, compared with the requirements of the revolutionary and military tasks, it is necessary that our cadres make more efforts to improve themselves in all fields. To meet these requirements, it is necessary that our cadres endeavor to study and train themselves so they can have the capabilities to satisfactorily fulfill all missions entrusted and worthily contribute toward helping higher echelons exert command and leadership while guiding lower echelons in implementing all

policies and lines. The abilities of our cadres must be reflected in the victories and fulfillment of all missions by their units.

The development of the abilities of cadres aims at making all political, military and technical cadres possess good leadership and organizational abilities so they can effectively guide their units. It is necessary that we seek every means to motivate and encourage all our cadres to overcome all difficulties and hardships and make great efforts to increasingly improve their leadership, organizational, professional and technical abilities.

Along with endeavoring to increase the quality of our cadres, it is necessary that we make efforts to enhance our combatants' morale and increasingly improve their technical and tactical skills. Manpower and war equipment are two factors that form an army. However, in a revolutionary army, man must possess high political enlightenment and must know how to use and be master of the war equipment. If we do not have men with high political enlightenment we cannot form a revolutionary army. If we do not possess equipment and techniques and do not know how to use them we cannot form an army, or if we form one it cannot fight well. Lenin once said: In the final analysis, the victory of any war is the fruit of the morale of the masses who shed blood on the battlefield (talk at the enlarged Conference of Workers and Red Army soldiers of the Revnotsimonovskiy Region, 1920). It is a stupid, even a criminal act if an army is not prepared to understand combat maneuvers, weapons and war means that the enemy possesses or may possess. (Lenin, Complete Works, Volume 31, Russian version, National Printing House, Moscow, 4th edition, 1950, page 76)

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The military strength of the three categories of troops of our people's armed forces is created by the combined use of rudimentary and modern weapons. To fully develop this strength it is necessary to possess good knowledge of the use of both rudimentary and modern techniques, of which the improvement of the knowledge of the use of modern weapons constitutes a very important, urgent need, especially for our regular forces. The more modernized war becomes and the more refined weapons and techniques man invents, the greater the need to possess good scientific and military knowledge of the use of these modern

✓X weapons and war means. Only by so doing can we effectively develop their effects and achieve high combat output. Therefore to be master of modern weapons and techniques it is X necessary that we develop the revolutionary spirit and determination to fight and motivate all our combatants to endeavor to study and improve their scientific and technical knowledge of the use of this modern equipment so they can effectively develop their effect in combat. To be master of modern weapons and equipment means to know how to ~~appro-~~ use them *appropriately use them*, fully develop their effectiveness in accordance with the fighting methods of the people's war and enhance the decisive role of man in the war.

✓X To increase the troops' combat capacity it is necessary to raise their tactical level and properly solve the relationship between techniques and tactics. Good weapons are not enough; there must also be good fighting methods to win the battle. The effectiveness of weapons and techniques cannot be separated from the tactical requirements. In our military art, tactics are very important. Our people's war tactics have been developing in all aspects and very effective offensive moves are available. For this reason all units in our people's armed forces must hold fast to and skillfully apply the tactics of the three troop categories. They must fight well in isolated attacks as well as in major attacks so as to be able to achieve coordination of minor, medium and major attacks on all types of terrain and fulfill their combat task under all circumstances.

To increase the combat quality of our armed forces we must also properly carry out management of troops. Troop management is one of the essential duties of commanders. A good commander must properly organize, train and use his troops. Troop management includes management of people and material and technical means. To properly carry out this task is to directly contribute to developing the armed forces' combat strength.

To properly manage troops our cadres must first understand the line and guidelines concerning the building of the army. They must properly understand and implement the managerial principles of a revolutionary army, maintain and develop our armed forces' beautiful traditions and seriously and fully meet these requirements: achieve internal solidarity

of weapons and means. In insuring good technology it is necessary to pay special attention to developing the sense of responsibility in agencies and to making the specialized cadres satisfactorily maintain and repair equipment, weapons and means and inspect their quality. Concerning the army's material equipment, weapons and technical means constitute the most important part and cadres at all levels must clearly know the characteristics and effect of the weapons in their units in order to use them properly and to fully develop the characteristics and effect of their weapons and equipment.

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To manage the combat units and the material and technical bases satisfactorily is aimed at developing the army's strength in order to defeat the enemy and fulfill all tasks; it is therefore necessary to satisfactorily carry this out in all the three troop categories in combat, in construction and in the units on the frontline as well as in the units in the rear.

By constantly heightening our combat determination, by intensively educating ourselves and heightening our sense of organization and discipline and by endeavoring to heighten the cadres' leadership and command level and the combat troops' technical and tactical level, along with streamlining our organization, improving our equipment and carrying out more satisfactorily the management of troop feeding and the management of material and technical bases, we will certainly succeed in further heightening the army's quality and in achieving high combat efficiency in order to win even greater victories.

In order to cope with the development of the war and our combat duties our army will constantly improve its quality in all fields and meet the requirement that the more it fights, the stronger it becomes and the stronger it is, the greater battles it will fight and the greater victories it will win.

In our anti-U.S. national salvation task we are facing a very favorable situation. Through their protracted and hard fight our armed forces and people have successively doomed many strategic plans of the U.S. imperialists and have gradually changed the balance of forces between the two sides on the battlefield to our increasingly greater advantage.

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and unity of minds, observe self-imposed, strict discipline, thriftily build the army, undertake disciplined spiritual and material activities, fight well, manifest a high spirit of combat readiness and outstandingly fulfill all duties.

We must constantly strengthen the singlemindedness and solidarity between cadres and combatants and between upper and lower echelons because this is a source of invincible strength with which to defeat the enemy and also a precious tradition of our armed forces. The cadres' mass viewpoint must be constantly strengthened. They must display exemplary behavior, take care of the lower echelons and combatants, strengthen comradeship and build steadfast internal relations.

Our armed forces, with their long-standing combat history, their good revolutionary nature and their numerous armed branches and services, have developed vigorously and have coordinated their operations in several aspects and localities. Troop management must help develop our armed forces' internal solidarity and singlemindedness and must insure that they are highly concentrated and unified and closely organized. The promulgation of orders, regulations, systems and rules is aimed at meeting these requirements. Management of troops is also a task of organizing and controlling the implementation of regulations and rules. Proper management of troops must result in the fact that they are always ready to fight and can move quickly, fight well and fulfill all tasks outstandingly. So all commanding and leading cadres must constantly hold fast to the numerical strength, quality, thoughts and organization of troops and the material and technical bases.

The management of troops embraces many aspects: political and ideological management, management of the activities and actions of units, disciplinary management, technical management and management of equipment and materials. All these aspects are closely correlated and none of them can be disregarded. At present all units must further improve the troops' material and spiritual life, especially during successive operations and combat. During combat and during the movement of troops the troop mess often encounters many difficulties, and this requires that our troops

possess vigorous, tenacious health to fulfill their tasks. For this reason the troop mess and prevention of disease in combat and during military operations are very important in management of troops. To promote a better material and spiritual life in the units the leading and commanding cadres must properly organize housing and eating, arrange time and coordinate combat, labor and relaxation to create conditions for our troops to take care of themselves, enjoy recreation and engage in cultural, literary and artistic activities in a joyful and healthy manner. To insure that our troops have good, clean and sufficient food our cadres must personally daily observe and control the transportation of food, the cooking and processing of food, the mess personnel's service spirit, the financial operations, the boosting of production, sanitation and disease prevention activities and the care of sick soldiers. It is necessary to improve the mess task, develop cultural, gymnastic and sports activities and organize the reading of newspapers and listening to the radio in order to make our troops' spiritual life more joyful and enthusiastic.

The management of the army's material and technical bases is a very important task. Our army now possesses very great and modern material and technical bases. This is a very important condition for improving the army's combat strength. We must satisfactorily maintain these material and technical bases and use them properly to develop the army's strength fully.

In order to manage the material and technical bases satisfactorily it is necessary to closely combine the ideological and organizational tasks and insure good technology. In carrying out the ideological task it is necessary to inculcate the sense of responsibility and the consciousness of organization and discipline *disci-* in the cadres, heighten the sense of discipline enforcement among the combatants in protecting the army's property, heighten the consciousness of protecting public property, thriftilly build the army and combat waste and corruption. In carrying out the organizational task it is necessary to control, urge and guide the implementation of various systems and regulations regarding the management of property and maintenance

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Since starting their aggressive war in our country the U.S. imperialists have repeatedly concentrated efforts on seeking to create military superiority in an attempt to rapidly doom our people's resistance; but every time they concentrated their efforts they experienced increasingly heavier setbacks.

When starting the "special war" strategy the Americans hurriedly strengthened their forces in all fields, increased the number of puppet troops and poured in more money and equipment in an attempt to create a strong posture and annihilate the Southern Liberation Armed Forces. But right at the moment the Southern Liberation regular army was formed and when it did not yet possess many large branches and technical services, the U.S.-puppets were dealt heavy, annihilating blows. From Ap Bac to Binh Gia, Ba Gia and Dong Xoai, the U.S.-puppets were dealt strong blows by the liberation regular army. The U.S. "special war" strategy failed.

When shifting to the "local war" strategy, in only a short period of time the Americans massively sent their most seasoned armies to the southern part of our country, aimed at changing the balance of forces on the battlefield to their advantage. They have simultaneously waged two wars in both parts of our country-- one on the ground and one in the air--in order to materialize their aggressive scheme.

This was the unprecedentedly great limited war in the U.S. imperialists' history of aggression. It was the peak of the U.S. strength in the process of the war of aggression in Viet-Nam. But U.S. iron and steel could not pierce the brass fortress of Viet-Nam. The U.S. strategy was triumphed over by the revolutionary war strategy. The U.S. Armed Forces were inferior to the Vietnamese people's armed forces. After overcoming the ordeal of extremely heroic and stalwart fighting, our people scored very glorious exploits. The North completely defeated the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction while the South launched a surprise strategic attack in the early spring of Mau Thu, rocking the United States and causing the U.S. imperialists to go downhill.

With the special war strategy, the war of destruction strategy and the limited war strategy basically bankrupting them, the U.S. imperialists, trying to extricate themselves from their

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deadlock and defeat, have given birth to a new strategy called "de-Americanization" or "Vietnamization" and the so-called Nixon Doctrine. But this new strategy is experiencing the same tragic defeat as the previous strategies.

The U.S. military defeat in the war of aggression against Viet-Nam is very obvious. The U.S. political defeat is ever heavier. The colonialist and aggressive U.S. face is exposed with horrible crimes. The puppet Saigon administration is obviously a group of lackeys in the U.S. pay, who serve the Americans, who are politically isolated and who are weakening seriously.

Our people's resistance struggle, shining with the just cause and recording resounding victories has encouraged the American people to struggle resolutely against the U.S. authorities' policy of prolonging the war of aggression.

On the international plane, although the U.S. authorities have actively and frantically carried out diplomatic activities, they are isolated.

Because of the heavy military and political setbacks in the war of aggression in Viet-Nam and of the defeats in the war of aggression in Laos and Cambodia the U.S. imperialists are facing difficulties on all fronts--military, political, diplomatic, economic and financial--both at home and abroad. These numerous difficulties are the result of the repeated defeats and are factors in causing the Americans to suffer new defeats.

The great victories our armed forces and people have won are laying a firm foundation and creating new favorable conditions for advancing to win still greater victories and eventually final victory.

Our people's political and military forces are growing strong. The political forces of the majority of the masses are very powerful and are seasoned in struggle. They have been developed strongly in the mountain and jungle areas, in the countryside and in the urban centers. The people's war in the localities is now in the flush of development. The regular liberation forces have accumulated much experience

in launching large-scale attacks and in fighting battles involving many armed branches. They have won many victories and have matured quickly.

The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle of our people as well as of the Lao and Khmer people has always enjoyed the sympathy, support and great assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the world revolutionary movement, all progressive mankind, the American people and the three revolutionary streams of the era. This great encouragement is further increasing the fighting strength of our people and of the Lao and Khmer people who are struggling enthusiastically against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle is gathering momentum. The great victories in the recent past are becoming a new strength. We are now in an offensive and victorious position and are on the advance, whereas the enemy is passive and defeated and is on the decline. Bringing into full play our advantages and overcoming all ordeals, our armed forces and people are determined to win new and even greater victories.

The Nixon clique, though heavily defeated, is still striving to resist our struggle in order to save itself from defeat. The clique is concentrating on seeking every means possible to extricate itself from its defeat and deadlock in order to continue carrying out its aggressive scheme.

The U.S. aggressors are still subjective, even though they are in a predicament. Therefore they continue to plunge into military adventures. Our armed forces and people must be vigilant and must realize that our struggle will continue to be difficult and fierce and that we must overcome all ordeals and resolutely advance to win new victories.

This situation and these tasks require that we make enormous and continuous efforts to constantly tip the balance of power to our advantage. This is a process of hard struggle, relentless offensives and continually building up and developing the forces and increasing the combined strength of the revolutionary war in order to win repeated victories.

The rule of our revolutionary war and resistance in combat must go along with construction, and the more we

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fight the stronger we become. Application of this rule to various phases must have different characteristics. Its application to the first phase of the resistance is different from its application to the present situation. However, we must always firmly observe this rule and realize at all costs the need to become stronger after each battle.

In our struggle we always take advantage of and create favorable conditions and are determined to score greater achievements and make big leaps forward. Simultaneously, we always pay due attention to building powerful forces and laying the foundations for subsequent victories and final victory.

✓ Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking is of great importance. Our people's victories have contributed toward making the balance of force in the world develop to the advantage of the revolutionary people and to the disadvantage of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Our people's heroic struggle has opened a new decline for the U.S. imperialists and has turned upside down the counterrevolutionary global strategy of the international gendarmes. Our people demonstrated a truth of the epoch: A small country with a small population can defeat all enemies, including the U.S. imperialists, the most powerful imperialist, because its people are united and possess stalwart determination and because they are guided by a vanguard party and enjoy the sympathy and support of the socialist countries and the revolutionary world peoples.

2/K To fulfill our glorious historic mission and our sacred international duty our armed forces and people are determined to defeat the Americans' Vietnamization strategy and, together with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian people, to woefully frustrate the reactionary Nixon Doctrine.

Implementing President Ho's testament, our entire armed forces and people are determined to enhance revolutionary heroism and persevere in and intensify the resistance until final victory.

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On the great frontline the Southern armed forces and people are vigorously developing their active position, staging relentless attacks against the enemy on all battlefronts, combining big battles with medium and small battles, coordinating offensives with uprisings and intensifying their activities in all three strategic areas, creating favorable conditions for greater achievements.

X✓

In the vast rear base our armed forces and people are closely combining production with combat. For the sake of their kith-and-kin Southern compatriots and for the sake of their sacred international duty they are making effort to build socialism, stand combat ready, assist the frontline in all respects and actively build the armed forces and consolidate our economic and national defense potential. Our armed forces, actively improving their combat skills, are determined to appropriately punish every one of the Americans' war acts and military adventures.

Faced with the new situation, our armed forces and people are striving to develop their offensive position, are making outstanding efforts and are achieving combat coordination with the fraternal Lao and Khmer people in order to score greater victories before achieving final victory.

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~~Annex A~~
~~All: "The Ten Directives" and "Twelve Point Code of Conduct"~~
~~of the North Vietnamese People's Army are as follows:~~
are as follows: