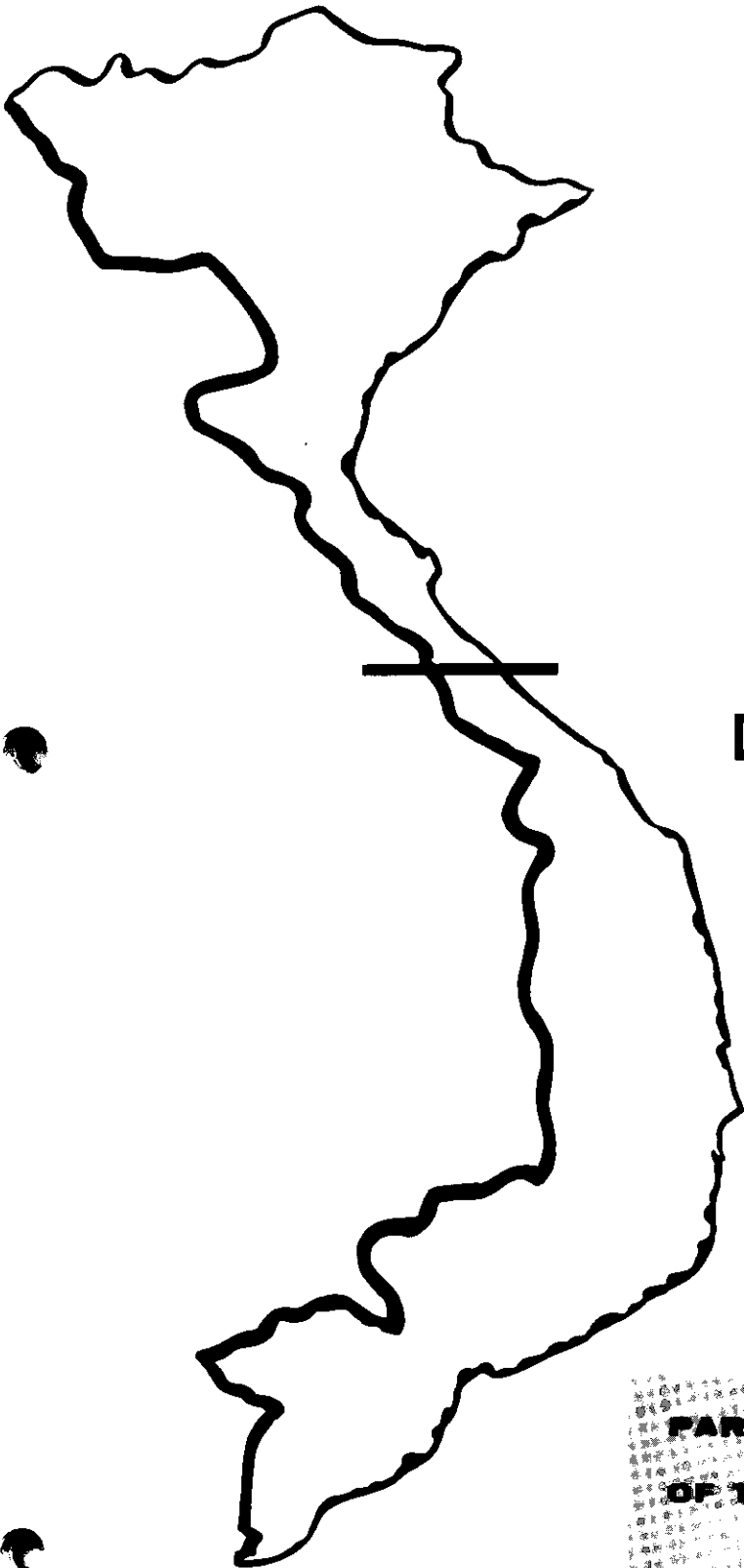


DOCUMENT NO. 72

ALS ~~REF~~ FILE / ~~SUBJ.~~
DATE SUB-CAT.
12/69 Song Hao
(dyp)



VIET-NAM

DOCUMENTS AND RESEARCH
NOTES

**PARTY LEADERSHIP IS THE CAUSE
OF THE GROWTH AND VICTORIES
OF OUR ARMY**

By Lieutenant General Song Hao

VIET-NAM DOCUMENTS & RESEARCH NOTES is issued as a research service by the United States Mission in Vietnam. It presents a selection of significant materials on Southern Viet Cong and North Vietnamese affairs. Copies of all captured documents used and full texts of any translations abridged may be obtained on request from the Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs, American Embassy, Saigon, Vietnam.

PARTY LEADERSHIP IS THE CAUSE OF THE
GROWTH AND VICTORIES OF OUR ARMY

By Lieutenant General Song Hao

Background

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Viet-Nam People's Army (VPA) the Lao Dong Party daily Nhan Dan, the official VPA newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan, and Radio Hanoi serialized three major articles in December 1969. The first, by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Minister of Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the VPA, deals comprehensively with the Lao Dong Party's military line. The second, by Lt. Gen. Van Tien Dung, the VPA Chief-of-Staff, treats in detail "Vietnamese military art." (1) The final article, and the subject of this Research Note, is a contribution by Lt. Gen. Song Hao, since 1961 Chairman of the VPA's General Political Department, entitled "Party Leadership is the Cause of the Growth and Victories of our Army." (2)

"Party leadership," asserts Song Hao, "is the cause of, and the decisive factor in, the birth, growth, and victories of our Army." "Constantly and firmly maintaining and thoroughly implementing Party leadership" is, in his view, "the highest principle of directing all activities of our Army." As for the Army, it is "a trenchantly violent tool of the proletarian dictatorship" which must "make the Party's political line and goals its fighting aims."

Song Hao stresses the "extremely great importance" of ideological education in the Army, and calls success of the "ideological front" "the steadfast foundation for gaining success

(1) For the text of the Vo Nguyen Giap article, see Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 70. For the Van Tien Dung article, see No. 71.

(2) The Song Hao article was serialized by Nhan Dan, Quan Doi Nhan Dan, and Radio Hanoi from 24 to 26 December 1969.

in the armed struggle front." Because of the "many sacrifices and hardships" of armed struggle there is, according to Song Hao, "a permanent conflict between active revolutionary and passive rightist thoughts." And individualism, an evil he attributes to the private ownership system, is a vestige of the old society "that we have not yet completely gotten rid of." Such shortcomings must be constantly combatted, for "ideological steadfastness" is "the revolutionary army's absolute strongpoint."

In its leadership of the Army, Song Hao emphasizes, the Party must be constantly concerned with "class viewpoints." Since the Army is "a tool of our Party," it "absolutely must possess the stand and ideology of the working class." Song Hao connects the goals of the working class with the war for national liberation by declaring that "If the working class wants to liberate itself, it must solve the national problem and liberate the people." A major weakness during the early years of the VPA was, according to Song Hao, that most of the officers and men were from "the peasantry and other intermediate strata"; although they were "animated by intense patriotism, they were not deeply conscious of the goals and ideals of the working class' struggle and they were more or less still influenced by non-proletarian thoughts." In order to assure that it remains a "new-style army of the working class," the Army must constantly "shape and consolidate the working class stand and ideology" and must "mainly choose workers and peasants in selecting, educating, and training cadres."

"Each class," says Song Hao, "has its own military art"; "our military art is that of the proletariat...of people's war and revolutionary war." As is the case in the political, ideological, and organizational fields, the Party also takes the lead in "the formation and development of our military art." Although Song Hao repeats the traditional theme that man is the decisive factor in battle, he gives unusual attention to the importance of "equipment and techniques": "Men with revolutionary consciousness and with scientific and technical capacity are the most important factor." "The duty of military science and techniques," says Song Hao, "is to continually provide the armed forces with suitable equipment and techniques and to insure that this equipment and technique attain the highest degree of efficiency and durability." Such emphasis on the "material and scientific base" of the Army is justified because the Army must face "an aggressive imperialist army having numerous concentrated troops which have substantial,

modern equipment." "The requirements regarding the quality of our contingents of cadres," he stresses, "in every respect have further increased."

Note: Underlined words and passages in the following text appear in italics or bold-face type in the original text.

PARTY LEADERSHIP IS THE CAUSE OF THE
GROWTH AND VICTORIES OF OUR ARMY

By Lieutenant General Song Hao

On 22 December this year, the VPA was 25 years old. Organized and led by our Party and venerated and beloved President Ho, assisted and reared by the people, and hardened in the revolutionary furnace for a long time, our Army has a very valiant history with periods of hard and fierce struggles but full of brilliant military exploits. Our Army has unremittingly developed the working class' beautiful revolutionary nature, our people's indomitable and heroic struggle tradition, and its matchless fighting strength to unite with the entire people to defeat great imperialist aggressive armies, including the U.S. imperialists' most cruel and modern one. Our Army became the people's powerful Army "loyal to the Party, faithful to the people, ready to sacrificingly fight for the Fatherland's independence and freedom and for socialism, fulfilling any tasks, overcoming any difficulties, and defeating any enemies."

Looking toward its glorious history, our Army is extremely enthusiastic and proud of the Party's and venerated and beloved President Ho's talented and clear-sighted leadership. The Party's leadership is the source of our Army's maturity and victories.

In the contemporary era, the transitional era between capitalism and socialism, national liberation revolution is an inherent part of the proletarian revolutionary worldwide and, in order to be thoroughly successful, any revolutions must be led by the working class and its Party. President Ho said: "It is necessary to have the leadership by the working class' genuine revolutionary Party. Only when led by a Party knowing how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to our country's concrete conditions can we lead national liberation revolution and socialist revolution to success." (1) Deeply penetrated by

(1) Ho Chi Minh, The Great October Revolution Opened the Liberation Path for Nations.

the scientific Marxist-Leninist revolutionary reasoning, inheriting the people's revolutionary struggle experiences and indomitable tradition, our Party intimately knows that, to regain genuine independence and freedom and to liberate the nation and the class, there is no way other than leading the masses in waging revolutionary struggle and using revolutionary violence to smash counterrevolutionary violence in order to regain and maintain administrative power and safeguard the construction of the country. President Ho taught: "In the hard struggle against the class' and nation's enemy, it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to oppose counter-revolutionary violence, regain administration, and safeguard it." (2) Therefore, in the revolutionary process on the basis of launching the masses' broad revolutionary movement and building powerful political force, our Party created and organized armed forces as violence tools for gaining and maintaining the revolutionary administration. To create the Army as its violence tool for carrying on revolutionary struggle was our Party's extremely important historical task.

The history of the world's and our country's revolutions proved this: the decisive significance is that this armed force must be organized and led by the working class' Party if it is to really become the working class' and nation's revolutionary struggle tool and to possess powerful strength to fulfill its role, for only when led by the Party can our armed forces have a beautiful revolutionary nature, really become the people's armed forces, and be boundlessly loyal to the class' and nation's revolutionary enterprise. Only under the Party's leadership can our Army have correct struggle aims, lines, and building principles and favorable conditions for developing strength, defeating any enemies, and fulfilling any tasks.

In revolution's history, the oppressed people who had their own armed forces, but who were not led by the proletarian class' Party either were dispersed by their

(2) Ibid.

rulers' attacks, or saw the exploiting classes change the nature of their administration, set up after their revolution's success, or take advantage of this administration to oppose the workers' interests.

In our country, under French domination, when our Party had not yet been founded to fulfill its historic mission, our people repeatedly arose and heroically struggled against the country grabbers and country sellers. Many revolutionary movements set up their revolutionary armies which struggled very heroically. But because of the fact that they lacked a scientific revolutionary theory, a correct line, and a firm leading organization of the advanced revolutionary class, these armed forces could not develop themselves and failed in achieving victory.

These revolutionary struggle movements did not succeed. Only when our Party assumed the leadership over the revolution, basing itself on the political struggle movement and the broad political force of the masses, did our people's armed forces-- set up and led by our Party--grow quickly and win glorious victories and our revolution achieve victory after victory. As justly pointed out by President Ho, "Our Party's red flag is as brilliant as the rising sun, tearing apart the screen of darkness and guiding our people in firmly advancing toward victory in our imperialist and antifeudalist revolution." (3)

The Party closely led our people's armed forces immediately after their founding. It built for them very firm political and ideological bases. It determined the objectives of their struggle, their revolutionary nature, and the line and principles ruling their building and combat. Thanks to this leadership, during the past revolutionary phases, our Army has continually and quickly grown strong, won glorious victories, and been always ready to fight and make sacrifices for the sake of national and class liberation, worthy of being called the heroic Army of a heroic nation.

(3) Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works, p. 76.

From the realities of our Army's building and combat tasks over the past decades, the following conclusion can be drawn: Party leadership is the cause of, and the decisive factor in, the birth, growth, and victories of our Army; leading the Army is our Party's historic task; and constantly and firmly maintaining and thoroughly implementing Party leadership is the highest principle of directing all activities of our Army and is a problem of class stand and viewpoint, revolutionary character, and political tasks of our Army.

I. The Party's Revolutionary Line and Tasks are Our Army's Struggle Objective.

The Party's political and military lines, the correct and creative lines on waging people's war and building the armed forces, are the trends for directing our Army's building and combat tasks. They are a lighthouse illuminating the way for our Army to continually, strongly, and steadily advance toward winning one victory after another.

Our Party has asserted our Army's struggle objective which is to implement the Party's revolutionary line, struggle until the country is independent and tillers are given land to cultivate, and advance toward socialism and communism. Our Army's function is to fight, work, and carry out production. Our Army's main tasks serve as a core in the armed struggle of all our people. They involve fighting and defeating the enemy on the battlefields and protecting the administration, the revolution, national independence and freedom, and socialist construction in our country. Our Army's struggle objective, function, and tasks reflect the revolutionary nature and determined-to-fight-and-win spirit of our people's Army.

In the past 25 years, heightening their nature and their "loyal to the Party and faithful to the people" tradition and constantly aiming at their struggle objective of realizing the Party's revolutionary line, our armed forces have bravely overcome all trials, fighting alongside the entire people to defeat every enemy and gloriously fulfilling all tasks.

Right after their emergence, our armed forces, compelled to operate under very difficult conditions, bravely fought against French colonialism and Japanese fascism, rising up alongside the entire people to regain administrative power, to advance the August Revolution toward brilliant success, and to found the DRV, thus marking the very important significant historic initial victory of the people's democratic national revolution in our country and opening a new era, the era of independence and freedom of the Fatherland.

In the resistance against French colonialism and the U.S. interventionists' aggression, to safeguard the newly regained power, our armed forces stalwartly conducted a protracted, hard struggle, cooperating with the entire people in defeating French colonialism and supporting our peasants' uprising to overthrow the feudalist landlord class and to successfully achieve the people's democratic national revolution in half the country.

Since the complete liberation of the Northern part of our country, our national revolution has entered a new phase with these two strategic tasks: achieving the socialist revolution in the North and completing the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country. Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism, the Enemy Number One of our people and the world's people, has invaded the Southern part of our country through neocolonialism, successively waging the "special war" and "regional war" in the South and then the war of destruction against the North.

Absolutely loyal to the Party's revolutionary undertaking and grasping their objectives and tasks, our people's armed forces, united with the entire people, have been resolutely conducting the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle to protect the North, liberate the South, and move toward national reunification, winning very great victories and now advancing toward complete victory.

The above realities are clear proof that our armed forces have been truly a sharp violent tool of our Party in the revolutionary struggle. Their struggle objective, task, and

function are to realize the Party's glorious revolutionary undertaking. Grasping and resolutely struggling to successfully implement the Party's political and military lines and tasks is the only duty of our armed forces.

The Party's revolutionary line and task and our armed forces' struggle objective reflect the development rule of our society and our people's interests and most basic and deepest desire for independence, freedom, and socialism, aiming at liberating the entire nation and class and bringing an easy, happy life to all our people.

This is a basic political condition to create unity between the armed forces and people, between the frontline and the rear, among the forces of revolutionary organizations, and between cadres and fighters. This unity is a source of invincible combat strength for our people's armed forces.

Our Party's military line is a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory on revolutionary war and revolutionary armed forces to the concrete conditions of our country. It inherits and highly develops our nation's tradition of stalwart, unyielding armed struggle and our ancestors' skillful, resourceful military art. At the same time, it accumulates the valuable experiences of friendly socialist countries. In correctly and creatively implementing our Party's military line and its line of building people's armed forces, our armed forces have built themselves into steadfast, strong forces in all spheres: political, ideological, organizational, man and community, leading organization, commanding organization, and mass organization, spiritual, capacity, knowledge, and material and technical bases. Our armed forces have unceasingly matured: their revolutionary nature has been further consolidated and developed and their comprehensive combat strength has developed rapidly and steadily.

Fighting for the Party's revolutionary line and tasks and carrying out the building task according to the Party's armed forces-building line and principle, our Army, from officers to enlisted men, has cherished a fine ideal and a great revolutionary objective. The unanimity between the Army's fighting

objective and the basic interests of each officer and enlisted man has resulted in the high political and moral unanimity within our Army. It is the cause of the boundless spirit of fighting and making sacrifices, of collective mastership, and of the creativeness and vitality of those who have voluntarily taken up rifles to liberate the people, the class, and themselves. It is a basis for building fine relations within the Army. It is a basis for the close revolutionary solidarity between higher and lower echelons and between officers and men; for the spirit of democracy and political equality--sharing hardship and assisting one another with kith-and-kin love; and for the sense of organization and strict discipline and voluntariness--always considering the implementation of tasks as a criterion for all acts and the implementation of the Party's revolutionary line as a content of one's lifetime struggle. This represents the revolutionary nature and political and moral strength of our Army which is entirely different from the army of the exploiting class, an army which is composed of mercenary troops and replete with internal contradictions and can easily disintegrate when faced with difficulties and dangers. Therefore, strengthening internal solidarity and seriously implementing all democratic and disciplinary systems is a problem of principle and a problem concerning the nature and valuable tradition of our Army.

Fighting for the Party's revolutionary line and tasks and carrying out the building task according to the Party's armed forces-building line and principle, our Army has actually become a revolutionary Army, a people's Army loved, trusted, protected, and cared for by the entire Party and all people. The Army-people unanimity tradition has become an immense source of strength of our Army. Our people's revolutionary spirit has forged the Army's fighting spirit. The people's hearts are the firm and steady prop for the Army. Our people's human and material resources are the abundant, inexhaustible potential of the Army. This source of strength has continually developed along with the successful development of our country's revolution and with the unceasing improvement of the revolutionary traditions and nature of our people and the building of our beautiful socialist regime.

Unanimously serving the people, our Army, when engaging in fighting, is resolved to destroy the enemy to liberate and defend the country. In peacetime, endeavors to study, improve its quality, develops its militant strength, and constantly heightens vigilance and readiness to go when ordered and fight when the enemy comes. It has achieved victories in all battles. Meanwhile, our Army has positively carried out propaganda among the people to enlighten them, has learned from, loved, and helped them, and has participated in building the country and consolidating the increasingly strong and steady rear.

Issued from the people and fighting for the people, our Army is also a sharp weapon of the revolutionary administration. Therefore, the task of our Army, a main organ of the state machinery, is to satisfactorily fulfill all tasks entrusted to it by the Party and State, and primarily to fight the enemy, to fight the aggressors, to defend the people's administration, to give an example of seriously carrying out the lines and policies of the Party, the laws of the State, and to contribute to building and strengthening a sound people's administration.

The realities of the struggle and building of our Army have clearly shown, thus far, that only by following the Party's revolutionary line, and continuously aiming at the Party's political objective to fight, will our Army have an accurate line of action, an absolute revolutionary spirit, and will our Army be able to associate patriotism with international proletarianism, the people's and national character with the class character of the army. Only by thoroughly understanding the Party's revolutionary line will we be able to strengthen the stand, viewpoint and revolutionary nature of the Army, to have a basis to correctly solve the relations between the Army and the Party, the internal relations of the Army, the relations between the Army and the people and the international solidarity relations, to properly develop the comprehensive strength of the Army and to help it fulfill its tasks. It is obvious that the political line, the military line, the stand, viewpoint and revolutionary nature of the Party are the origin and decisive factor for the maturity and victories of our people's armed forces.

At present, the revolution in our country is entering a great and historical phase. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to liberate the South and defend the socialist North was achieved and are achieving great and overall successes. Despite their obvious defeats, the U.S. aggressors are still very stubborn and cunning in prolonging the aggressive war. Our present anti-U.S. national salvation struggle requires that we must exert our utmost efforts to advance and achieve complete victory.

To fulfill this historic mission and to comply with President Ho's teaching that "as long as an aggressor remains in our country, we must continue our fight to sweep him away" (4) our armed forces must always be deeply aware of the Party's revolutionary line and their tasks, functions, and great responsibilities, heighten their strictly revolutionary spirit, their warm patriotism, and their determination to fight and win, persistently struggle alongside the entire people to lead the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking to complete victory, and fulfill their sacred oath toward beloved and respected President Ho.

II. The Stand and Thoughts of Our Armed Forces are Those of the Working Class and Marxism-Leninism.

According to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the revolutionary movement requires a revolutionary theory, revolutionary acts require revolutionary thoughts, and revolutionary organizations can be set up only with revolutionary people. Therefore, so far, our Army has, in any circumstances, attached extremely great importance to the ideological work, considering the political and ideological works extremely important conditions for carrying on any tasks. President Ho taught: "... the work of leading the thinking is the most important one..., only when thoughts are unified can actions be unified. If inside and outside the Party and from high ranks to low ranks, thoughts are unified and actions are unified, we will certainly succeed, despite difficult tasks and hard, complex work." (5)

(4) Appeal by Chairman Ho, 3 November 1968.

(5) Ho Chi Minh, Collected Works, p. 486.

Complying with President Ho's teachings, in the past scores of years, our Army has actively, permanently, deeply, and broadly carried out political education and ideological leadership in the Army-building task as well as in fighting in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and the principles and the Party's revolutionary line and tasks and on the basis of the characteristics of our armed forces' birth, maturity, and building and fighting activities.

Our Army was born and raised in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, when the Communist ideal deeply penetrated the hearts of billions of people, and when the dream of socialism came true for one-fourth of the earth. The Socialist camp came into being and developed vigorously. The national liberation movement was surging like a storm. The revolutionary and peace forces have become stronger than the counterrevolutionary and war-provoking forces. Our people's revolutionary struggle, which lies in the offensive position of the world revolution, which represents the great revolutionary tides of the era, which on the frontline of the world people's struggle, and which fights for peace, independence, democracy, and socialism, has therefore enjoyed the great support and strong encouragement from brothers and friends worldwide.

Our Army, which is the son of a heroic people--a people possessing an unsubmitive and indomitable tradition--has conducted a protracted and fierce revolutionary struggle against foreign aggression to build and protect the country. The spirit of loving independence and freedom and of accepting death rather than be slaves has become the deep and lofty desire of the Vietnamese people, has been transmitted from one generation to another throughout thousands of years, of history, and has been turned into the marvelously brave, revolutionary spirit of our Army.

Born in the masses' revolutionary movement, our Army comprises the elite sons of our people, who are filled with hatred for the enemy and eager for independence and freedom, who, in response to the Fatherland's call, are determined to follow the Party's revolutionary path in order to save the

country and their families, and who have voluntarily enrolled in the Army. Being directly organized, educated, and led by the working class Party and President Ho, being illuminated by vanguard theories, being guided in its action by correct revolutionary lines, being fostered and supported by the people, being permanently encouraged by the rear, and being forged in the furnace of protracted revolutionary struggle against foreign aggression, our Army has therefore constantly possessed a very high combat spirit.

Our Army is our Party's main tool of violence for struggling to liberate the peoples and the class and to seize and maintain the administration through the form of armed struggle--the most difficult and fiercest form of the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle, which utilizes both sociology and natural sciences--primarily sociology, military sciences, and sciences concerning the life-or-death national struggle and class struggle between us and the enemy--in order to achieve the political objectives of the revolution. Our Army's combat objective is the cruel imperialists' armed forces specialized in aggression, which possess powerful material and technological bases and many military and political plots and tricks to invade and rule our country.

In the last decades, our Army was built and fought under the condition that our country had two opposing social systems and administrations. The corrupt social system in the areas under enemy control, the enemy's psychological warfare arguments, and the remnants of the old society's views continually tried to influence our combatants' views. On the other hand, due to actual situation in our country and Army, the majority of our officers and men came from the peasantry and other intermediate strata. They were animated by intense patriotism. But they had weakpoints such as: they were not deeply conscious of the goals and ideals of the working class' struggle and they were more or less still influenced by non-proletarian thoughts.

The complete contrast between the utmost shameful life of a people having lost their country and the injustice and cruelty of the former social system, on the one hand, and a

life in independence and freedom and the niceness of the new social system, on the other hand, enabled people to compare and distinguish between black and white, strengthen their confidence in and love for the new system, and heighten their determination to struggle resolutely to erase the old and outdated social system and transform the old men in order to build a new system and new men.

Our Army was born and grew up in the revolutionary struggle movement of our people under the leadership of the Party of the Vietnamese working class. Our working class was very united. It was animated by the ideal of struggling staunchly for the liberation of our people, the laborers, and men, for the elimination of the old society, and for the building of a new social system. With its good tradition of unity and its history of glorious struggle, our Party led our people in undertaking an extraordinary revolutionary task.

Headed by President Ho, our Party early associated Marxism-Leninism and the international revolutionary experiences with the concrete situation in our country in order to lay down a genuinely revolutionary line and educate, mobilize, and organize our people to launch a revolution. Under the glorious banner of our Party and President Ho, our revolution advanced continually, achieving victory after victory. Our people were constantly animated by proletarian and revolutionary thoughts while engaging in revolutionary activities. Reformism and opportunism did not have the conditions to exert their noxious influences upon our Party's revolutionary armed forces. All nonproletarian thoughts were swept away gradually.

Building and struggling under these conditions, our Army has assimilated good ideas along with preventing the effects of leftover bad ideas. Generally, in revolutionary struggle, especially in armed struggle--a very critical and fierce struggle in which we have to overcome many sacrifices and hardships--there is a permanent conflict between active revolutionary and passive rightist thoughts. In this ideological struggle, the goal of the ideological task is to unremittingly improve and develop the good and to resolutely overcome and prevent the bad, so that revolutionary thoughts and revolutionary men can be

continuously bettered and mistakes and errors be swept away. Succeeding in the ideological struggle front is the steadfast foundation for gaining success in the armed struggle front. Conversely, successes in armed struggle have the effect of strongly mobilizing, enthusing, and developing our Army's active revolutionary thoughts.

In the past scores of years, under the Party's and venerated and beloved President Ho's leadership, our Army has unremittingly taught our cadres and soldiers Marxist-Leninist reasoning, the Party's political and military tasks and lines, the working class' nature, and the nation's the working class' and our Party's and Army's valiant struggle tradition, so that our entire Army is thoroughly aware of the aims and ideals of its struggle, absolutely believes in and thoroughly implements all the Party's lines, stands, and policies. We have constantly educated our Army, improved its patriotism and love of socialism, heightened its national pride and international proletarian spirit, deepened its hatred and indignation against imperialists, feudalists, and their henchmen and against any forms of oppression, exploitation, injustice, and cruelty, built its offensive revolutionary spirit and that of resolutely fighting and winning, improved and developed its heroic revolutionary spirit, and encouraged the emulation for annihilating the aggressors and achieving exploits. Thanks to this, our Army, since its birth, has been constantly and absolutely loyal to the Party, faithful to the people, and fought for them, determined to annihilate any enemies and fulfill any tasks entrusted by the Party and people. Our Army has had very many heroes and valiant combatants who have fought with matchless gallantry, a boundless sacrificing spirit, dedicating all their spirit and strength to the Fatherland. Under the Party's leadership, our Army has united with the people and achieved military exploits never known before in our nation's revolutionary struggle history, setting a brilliant example of the Vietnamese heroic revolutionary spirit. This is the success of our Party's correct and talented leadership, political teaching task, and ideological leadership in the Army.

This success, along with the growth and victories of the Army, provide us with the following major experience: to make

the Army politically and ideologically steady and strong and to increase its fighting capabilities, the most basic problem is to strive to popularize the working class' stand and ideology, to improve and develop the people's heroic, stalwart, and indomitable tradition, to uphold the heroic pride and the determined-to-fight-and-win spirit, to continually improve Marxist-Leninist ethics, to thoroughly carry out the Party's policies and lines, to resolutely struggle to overcome erroneous thoughts, and to continually improve officers' and men's knowledge of military science and work and organizational capacities.

Our Army is a revolutionary army founded and led by the Party. It is the working class' new type army fighting to implement the Party's revolutionary lines and tasks. Therefore, it must be built on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ethics, of the working class' revolutionary nature, of the unyielding spirit and tradition of revolutionary struggle of the people, and of our Party's political and military lines. This enables our Army to be endowed with a beautiful revolutionary nature, to develop an advanced military science, to really become a new type army, a powerful people's army, to be conscious of its historic mission, to distinguish between the enemy and our friendly forces and our own forces and between the two regimes, to nurture deep hatred for all oppressive and exploiting regimes, to heartily cherish and love the independence and freedom of the Fatherland--the beautiful socialist regime--and to force a determination to struggle for national and class liberation and socialist construction. Only by holding firmly to the working class' stand can we be aware of the two military lines, two kinds of war, and two types of army, thereby making it possible for us to successfully build the Party's revolutionary armed forces, to victoriously conduct the people's war, and to fulfill the glorious tasks and function of the people's army under Party leadership.

Moreover, because our Army is a tool of our Party and because it fights for national and class liberation and for building and protecting socialism, it absolutely must possess the stand and ideology of the working class and must possess communist ethics, as Lenin said: "... Our ethics are absolutely dependent

on the class struggle interests of proletariat. Our ethics originate in the class struggle interests of proletariat." (6) President Ho also taught us: "These ethics are not conservative. They are new, great ethics and are not for the sake of individual reputation but for the common interests of the Party, the people, and mankind." (7) Therefore, only by strengthening the training and improvement of the working class stand and ideology can our Army acquire the revolutionary nature, good political and ideological bases, a high combat spirit, and powerful combat strength in order to successfully implement the Party's political and military lines and insure that all our cadres and combatants not only become outstanding revolutionary militarymen to fulfill every task of the armed forces, but also become good citizens in our regime, the outstanding youths of our people, who are worthy of being the men of the great Ho Chi Minh generation and are ready to fulfill every task entrusted to them by the Party.

The building of the working class' stand and ideology and the development of our people's staunch and indomitable struggle tradition consist of closely combining the heightening of the class enlightenment with national enlightenment and the strengthening of genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

In the history of revolutionary struggle, the class problem and the national problem have been closely associated with one another. Any class lies in a definite people, and each class solves its national problem in conformity with its own viewpoints. If the working class wants to liberate itself, it must solve the national problem and liberate the people. Lenin said: "... the working class cannot become strong nor mature and take shape, if it does not 'form itself in the national scope' and if it does not possess 'a national nature ...!'" (8)

(6) Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 445. Su That Publishing House, 1959.

(7) Change Working Methods, p. 33.

(8) Lenin, Marx, Engles, and Marxism, p. 38, Su That Publishing House, 1958.

The emergence, maturity, and development of the working class in countries worldwide is closely connected with the people and country. The Vietnamese working class was born and grew up in Vietnamese society, and it has been linked to the Vietnamese society, and it has been linked to the Vietnamese people's history, tradition, and destiny. Therefore, it is necessary to rely on the historic conditions of Vietnamese society in order to build the working class stand and ideology for the Army so that we can acquire concrete and accurate revolutionary contents. Only if we firmly stand on the working class stand to examine and solve the national problems, can the national spirit and patriotism develop fully and in the right direction, can we have strength in our revolutionary acts, and can our Army fulfill its task as a struggle tool for national and class liberation.

Our people have always had a tradition of unyielding indomitable struggle. But it is not true that in all historical periods that spirit can be developed into sufficient strength to win victory for the revolution. It is dependent on certain historical conditions. During nearly a century under French colonialist rule, our people, losing their country, independence, and freedom, were politically oppressed and economically exploited. Remaining culturally ignorant, they could not raise their heads and progress. All their successive uprisings and struggles failed because they lacked a correct leading class. The feudal class surrendered to imperialism and served as its lackey. Though being a great force having an earnest revolutionary spirit, the peasantry could not lead the revolution because it represented a scattered, small production. The national bourgeoisie was small and weak. Only the Vietnamese working class, representing the most advanced production formula and having a strictly revolutionary spirit, was capable of uniting the entire nation and mobilizing the public at large to participate in the revolution. Right after its emergence, it conducted successive struggles against the enemy. President Ho was a great patriot, the first Vietnamese communist, and a genial leader of our working class and people. He used Marxist-Leninist theories to educate our working class and people and to lead the Vietnamese revolution to a completely new phase.

Our Party and the respected and loved President Ho hoisted high the national and democratic banner and led our people in overthrowing imperialism and feudalism in order to advance our country toward socialism. With national and democratic revolutionary lines, our people advanced toward socialist revolution in an extremely correct and creative fashion, thus correctly reflecting the law governing the development of Vietnamese society and correctly satisfying our people's age-old basic demands and earnest aspirations for "national independence, land to the tillers, and advance toward socialism." Our Party has vigorously awakened our people's patriotism and has forged their hatred and spirit of resolutely and thoroughly opposing foreign aggression and every oppression and exploitation. Our Party's correct lines and practical activities have succeeded in mobilizing and organizing the extremely great revolutionary forces of various revolutionary classes, various strata of people, and various nationalities in the United National Front and in building the steady worker-peasant alliance bloc under the working class leadership, thus making our national revolution truly become our masses' struggle undertaking throughout this revolutionary movement process, our Party and President Ho paid special attention to educating our people and stirring their patriotism and traditions of staunchness and unsubmissiveness. President Ho taught us: "Patriotism is like a precious object. Sometime it is displayed in a glass case or a crystal vase to be clearly and easily seen. Sometime it is hidden in a trunk. Our duty consists of bringing out and displaying these hidden precious objects. That is, we must endeavor to explain to everyone, organize him, lead him, and stimulate his patriotism so that he will devote all his energies to fulfilling the patriotic task, the resistance task." (9)

Under the leadership and education of our Party and President Ho, our patriotism was closely associated with our love for socialism; nationalism with proletarian internationalism; the task of national liberation with the task of liberating the working class, laborers, and mankind. This association created for our people and Army a deep revolutionary sentiment and a great power which we used to defeat the enemy.

(9) Ho Chi Minh, Collected Works, p. 367.

In past decades, under the leadership of our Party and President Ho, our Army closely associated its education and the heightening of its class consciousness, socialist consciousness, and proletarian internationalist spirit with the improvement of its national consciousness and genuine patriotism. Our Army was constantly encouraged by the entire Party, all our people, and all our friends worldwide to struggle for national independence and unification and for socialism. In close association with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, this patriotism developed strongly day by day and became a strong power urging our Army to enthusiastically advance and surmount all difficulties in order to fulfill its tasks and defeat the enemy. Our Army fought under any circumstances to fulfill its great duty toward our people and Fatherland and its noble duty toward the world revolution. Simultaneously our Army stood shoulder to shoulder with the brotherly countries and revolutionaries worldwide, helping each other in the struggle against the enemy--imperialism, headed by U. S. imperialism. Thus our Army was worthy of being called the new-style army of the working class, an army belonging to both our class and people. The love and assistance of all our people and the support and admiration of brotherly countries, brotherly armies, and revolutionaries worldwide heightened its morale and increased its strength, enabling it to attack and defeat the enemy.

Our Army's determination to fight and win is the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary offensive spirit of the working class in association with the patriotism and the tradition of heroic and indomitable struggle of our people and Party. This is a manifestation--in a most concentrated way--of the loyalty to the Party and people of an armed force whole-heartedly fighting and undergoing sacrifices for the interests of its class and people. It is also a brilliant manifestation of the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism in the Ho Chi Minh era.

The determined-to-fight-and-win spirit is the spirit of resolutely and successfully carrying out all tasks entrusted by the Party and of being always ready to go anywhere when the Fatherland requires and do anything at the request of the

Party and the people. It is the spirit of never submitting to any enemy and resolutely using the revolutionary will, courage, stalwartness, and advanced wisdom of the working class and the heroism and bravery of a people to fight and defeat all enemies. It is also the spirit of constantly upholding revolutionary vigilance, continually heightening the militant strength, and being ready to annihilate all enemies and win complete victory for the revolution.

This noble determined-to-fight-and-win spirit will remain forever as our Army's valuable tradition. President Ho, the beloved father of the armed forces, offered our Army the determined-to-fight-and-win banner. When he was alive, he constantly fostered the determined-to-fight-and-win spirit of soldiers. It was this spirit which was instrumental in the glorious military exploits in the nine-year resistance war against the French--typical of these exploits was the historic Dien Bien Phu victory--and is instrumental in resounding victories in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. Thanks to the determined-to-fight-and-win spirit, in the history of its glorious struggle, our Army has constantly overcome innumerable difficulties and hardship, has continually developed its forces, has become increasingly strong and ever-victorious in fighting, and has triumphed over all enemies and satisfactorily fulfilled all tasks. Therefore, the improvement and development of the determined-to-fight-and-win tradition has become a very important and indispensable educational content vis-a-vis people's revolutionary war.

Shaping and consolidating the working class stand and ideology is a process of building and improving collectivism and overcoming individualism. The fact that our Army's collectivism has been built increasingly firm and steady has repulsed and wiped out individualism. This success has led to the victories of our Army on the battlefields and has enabled it to be constantly endowed with the "loyal to the Party and devoted to the people" revolutionary nature and to have a basis for carrying out Party leadership in the Army-building task and in combat. Therefore, our Army's very important ideological task involves satisfactorily building collectivism and thoroughly overcoming individualism.

Like individualism, collectivism has its class origin, its remote social origin. The formation and development of collectivism as well as the birth and destruction of individualism are governed by definite regulations and conditions. In the revolutionary struggle, once the Party of the proletariat keeps a firm hold on Marxism-Leninism, it is fully able to understand and transform the society. Likewise, in the ideological task, under the same condition it is able to understand and transform men's thoughts. Therefore, it is certainly able to build collectivism and overcome individualism.

Individualism is an outcome of the private ownership system. Certainly, it will be abolished simultaneously with the private ownership system. In a socialist regime, there will be no foundation for individualism to exist and develop. The existence of individualism in society as well as in the army is a leftover outcome of the old society, an outcome that we have not yet completely gotten rid of. In a socialist regime, individualism is an obstacle to social progress. In the revolutionary army, individualism is completely contrary to its revolutionary character and is a great obstacle to fulfilling its tasks. The reason is that individualism will be harmful to the solidarity and unity of an organ, to the individual's progress, and to building communist ethics, thus restricting the development of revolutionary capabilities for fulfilling tasks.

The Communist revolutionary and ethical ideology--the essential substances of which are awareness of the duties toward national liberation, class liberation, and socialist construction; the spirit of being ready to sacrificially fight for the communist ideal; the "oneself for everyone, everyone for oneself" spirit; the spirit of being industrious, economical, righteous, honest, impartial, humble, united; and so forth--is completely consistent with the foundations of the neosocialist regime and the new man. It is being heightened and encouraged by everyone and has in fact, become the vanguard ideology that has constantly guided our people's and Army's revolutionary activities.

The communist proletarian and ethical ideology, the core of which is collective thinking, is mankind's most progressive ideology. It has the power to forcibly persuade and re-

educate man in order to liberate him from being tied to and influenced by the ideologies of exploiting classes and old socialist regimes, and to improve him. Constantly and satisfactorily educated and trained, any of our cadres and soldiers, regardless of class, will be able to abandon their old classes' and societies' stands, points of view, and ideologies, in order to adopt the proletarian and new society's stand and ideology. By so doing, the only way is to make all-out efforts to build revolutionary ideology and to be trained in realistic revolutionary struggle for production and for building the new society, so that everybody can have favorable conditions for developing good ideas and overcoming the bad ones in any difficulty and complex situation and preventing influences from any false and enemy external ideas.

Thought directs action; action reflects thought. The working class' stand and ideology, the patriotism and love of socialism, the determination to fight and win, and the communist ethics of each of our cadres and soldiers and of our entire Army are reflected in every construction and fighting activity. Every person doing his best to fulfill every task according to his position and responsibility, to score the best results, and to unite with and assist his comrades and companions-in-arms to fulfill their duties reflects his powerful political awareness. For every unit as well as for our entire Army, fulfilling any building and fighting tasks reflects steadfast and fruitful ideological levels and political tasks. Fulfilling all the task entrusted by the Party and people is the criteria for assessing the ideological level and the result of the ideological task of our Army.

Born, matured, and acting under the extremely favorable conditions of the era, our people's new era; led, guided, and educated by our Party; benefitting from broad, deep, and constant political education and ideological leadership; and continuously trained in the seethingly revolutionary struggle furnace for a long time, our Army has a satisfactory revolutionary character and the extremely precious tradition of being "loyal to the Party, faithful to the people... Fulfilling any duties, overcoming any difficulties, defeating any enemies."

Our Army has had the honor of fighting under President Ho's leadership and education. He constantly taught us the heroic Vietnamese valiant and staunch spirit, the firm spirit of fighting for the noble and beautiful socialist and communist ideal, the love for comrades and compatriots, noble revolutionary unity, the paramount duty toward the world revolutionary enterprise, and the noble revolutionary ethics of being humble, simple, economical, righteous, honest, and impartial. Learning from President Ho and following his footsteps, our Army has unremittingly developed its satisfactory quality and revolutionary ethics, in order to be worthy of being a contingent of successors undertaking his great revolutionary enterprise.

Our Army's stand and ideology are that of the working class and of Marxism-Leninism. These have been steadfastly built under our Party's leadership and nurtured in the course of the revolutionary struggle and armed struggle of our people. The steadfastness of our Army's stand, ideology, and revolutionary nature has provided it with political and spiritual superiority and has been the revolutionary army's absolute strongpoint. This very political and spiritual steadfastness has created favorable conditions for our Army to be well organized, creatively make use of its military art, and have a correct ideological standpoint in building and using material and technical foundations in order to continuously develop our Army's combined strength. Thanks to this very political and spiritual steadfastness, our Army has been constantly a matured and victorious army that has fulfilled the function of being the Party's keen and violent tool which has satisfactorily carried out all tasks.

III. Firmly Grasp the Party Viewpoint and Ideology in Order to Build and Develop Military Art and to Build and Apply Military Science and Technology.

In any war, each belligerent side has definite political objectives and a war leadership line, on the basis of which it builds its armed forces, organizes and builds its rearbase, and, at the same time, builds its own military science and art in order to conduct the war, lead its armed forces' action, and achieve the established political objectives. Every army

attaches the greatest importance to building and developing its military art and constantly improving the standards of its military science and technology in order to win victory. An army's military art and scientific and technological standards represent the content of and a condition for building the strength of a war and of this army. This strength exerts a highly important influence on the outcome of a war. Military art, which falls within the realm of sociological science, bears a highly obvious, comprehensive class character and is dependent on the character of a war, the nature of an army, and the historical position of the class leading this war and this army. Therefore, there is no common military art for the armies of different classes, On the other hand, each class has its own military art.

Thus, to victoriously lead the revolution, the proletariat's party, which is the revolution's brain trust, must possess not only a correct revolutionary line, correct revolutionary objectives, and powerful revolutionary mass forces, but also methods of carrying out revolution and a highly scientific, creative art of leading the revolution in order to develop revolutionary strength, achieve revolutionary objectives, and implement revolutionary lines. As far as leadership over a revolutionary war is concerned, to acquire strength for winning victory, it is necessary to successfully build a combined, comprehensive strength which encompasses the strength inherent in correct construction and combat lines, in the resolute, thoroughly revolutionary spirit, in the material bases and the standards of advanced military science and technology, and in a correct, skillful, and creative military art.

Our Army's military art is that of the proletariat. It is therefore basically different from that of the bourgeoisie, because our military science and art are based on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theories, on the stand, viewpoint, and ideology of the working class, on the revolutionary nature of a new-type army, on the just and mass character of the liberation and revolutionary wars, on our people's glorious traditions of military struggle against foreign aggressions over the past thousands of years, and on the rich experience drawn from the history of armed struggle in the revolutions in various countries in the world.

Fully aware of the great importance of the military art in building the combat and increasing the combat strength of our army in order to achieve victory in the armed struggle, our Party has attached importance not only to leading our Army in building itself politically, ideologically, and organizationally, but also in leading the formulation and development of our military art.

Since the formation of our armed forces, which carried out armed struggle in coordination with political struggle to regain and maintain revolutionary power, our Party has led the building of a unique, extremely creative military art for our army. In building our army and in fighting against the enemy, our military art, through various revolutionary periods, has been constantly improved and has successfully developed its absolute superiority, making a highly important contribution to the victory of the revolutionary war in our country.

Built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theories and on the armed struggle experience of the world working class, our military art has been deeply imbued with the revolutionary stand and ideology and the correct, creative political and military lines of our Party. Our military art also has inherited our people's courageous, stalwart, indomitable, skillful, and creative traditions and experience in revolutionary and armed struggles. Our military art has been based on the firm, comprehensive strength of our country's revolutionary men, revolutionary armed forces, and advanced social system. Built and improved by President Ho, the great leader of our party and people and the beloved father of our Army, our military science and art have developed inspiringly and in conformity with the historical conditions and situation of the armed struggle in our country.

Lucidly demonstrating its correct, creative character, our military art has contributed toward developing the enormous strength of the people's and revolutionary wars in order to defeat the professional armies of the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists. In the South, the extremely talented military art of the southern people and liberation troops is defeating the U.S. aggressor army's strategies and tactics and

is contributing toward developing the Vietnamese military art to a degree that is unprecedented in the history of our people's armed struggle.

Through decades of combat and building, our armed forces have acquired the following profound experience: our armed forces' military art could only be built and developed under our Party's leadership. Only by basing ourselves upon the Party viewpoint and ideology can we firmly grasp and creatively apply this military art in order to defeat every enemy.

Our military art is that of people's war and revolutionary war. It is deeply imbued with the revolutionary stand and viewpoint and the scientific, objective assessment methods adopted by our Party in correctly and creatively solving the problems of exerting over the armed struggle, strategic leadership, leadership over campaigns, tactical leadership, and so forth, in order to advance the war toward victory.

In our military art, which has been deeply imbued with the people's war viewpoint of our Party, we have developed the enormous strength of the masses of people, using them as the main force in waging the war. We also have regarded the working class' resolute and thoroughly revolutionary spirit, our people's stalwart, indomitable traditions and creative intelligence, and our armed forces' determination-to-fight-and-win spirit as the basic factors determining victory. This also represents the political and moral superiority of the people's war and of the revolutionary army.

This history of the anti-aggression war in our country shows that though possessing absolute political and moral superiority, we have been usually inferior to the enemy in equipment, weaponry, and technology. Therefore, only by fully developing our absolute political and moral superiority, insuring good organization, satisfactorily using our equipment and weapons, clearly understanding the enemy, and knowing ourselves well, can we acquire an active, resolute, skillful, and creative spirit and a high determination to win.

Based on the people's war viewpoint, on the conditions and circumstances under which the war is conducted, and on the balance of forces existing between us and the enemy, our military art has fully reflected and lucidly demonstrated the motto of waging an all-people, all-out, and protracted war, relying mainly on our own strength, and doing our best to procure international assistance.

In our military art, we have successfully developed our people's enormous forces, using our three-troop-category armed forces as the core forces employed by all our people in fighting the aggressors, successfully developing the capabilities of everyone, every organization, and every force, successfully using every kind of equipment and technological means, and bringing into full play all our strongpoints and experience in fighting the enemy, in order to achieve victory. Our armed forces must highly demonstrate their initiative, active spirit, and spirit of fighting perseveringly, of simultaneously and satisfactorily performing combat and construction tasks, and of annihilating the enemy while improving our forces. They must insure that the more they fight, the more powerful they become, and the more victories they win. It is also necessary to satisfactorily develop the strength of the three troop categories in close coordination with the movement for mobilizing all the people to fight the aggressors, to coordinate armed and political struggles, and to highly develop the combined strength of the people's war. The people's war in the southern part of our country has been highly developed. The southern armed forces and people have coordinated their armed and political struggles and their three-pronged--military, political, and troop prosecuting--offensive in all the three strategic--mountainous, rural delta, and urban--areas. These are the special features of the "wage an all-people, all-out war" motto and of the talented military art of the people and the people's armed forces of our country.

Our military art has demonstrated the revolutionary offensive ideology and the spirit of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy. This offensive spirit originates in the working

class' thoroughly revolutionary ideology, in our people's stalwart, indomitable spirit, and in our Army's determination to fight and win. Firmly grasping this offensive ideology, our troops, under normal circumstances, constantly maintain their vigilance and a high combat readiness, setting out whenever they receive orders, fighting the enemy whenever he comes, and winning whenever they fight. In combat, our troops highly develop their determination to win.

Taking the initiative in actively, courageously, skillfully, resolutely, and continuously attacking the enemy, winning one victory after another, from small to big victories, and advancing from winning gradual, partial victories toward winning total victory. This offensive ideology has also been demonstrated by the spirit of actively and extensively annihilating the enemy's strength and war equipment, undermining his morale, weakening him organizationally, and completely frustrating his aggressive determination, schemes, and acts.

Our military art has also reflected the creative spirit of the Vietnamese working class--the class which leads the revolution and masters the society, sciences, and technology--and the brave, resourceful, intelligent, creative, courageous, and persevering tradition of our people and army in production and combat. This creative spirit has developed our people's and army's invincible strength and experiences and strongpoints in fighting the enemy and in protecting the country. This creative spirit has made our Army constantly possess a strong organization, high technology, and good methods of action and find many methods of attacking the enemy with high efficiency and great strength, of using small forces to defeat large enemy forces, and of using quality to defeat quantity. This creative spirit has made every troop category, armed branch, locality, and battlefield develop its capabilities, experiences, strongpoints and possess unique, creative combat methods. It is this creative and active spirit which has forced the enemy not to fight in accordance with strategies and tactics--his strongpoints in fighting.

This constitutes the Party's basic thoughts in our military art. Thoroughly understood in the process of building, development, and application, these thoughts have made our army's military art far surpass every military art of any army of the exploiting class, of imperialism.

War is not only a challenge to the lines, the determination and will of human beings, and the strength of a regime, but also a challenge to the military art and the level and ability to build and utilize military sciences and technology.

Therefore, in order to build strong armed forces, it is necessary to possess accurate building and combat lines, material and technological bases, men with revolutionary enlightenment, and a high combat spirit, to firmly grasp the party's political lines and tasks and military lines and tasks, to firmly grasp the military art, and to accurately utilize the army's equipment and technology.

In the armed struggle as well in practical production, both men and tools are very important. If there are tools but no men, there is no production; conversely, if there are men but no tools, or if there are tools which no one knows how to use, production cannot develop. It is the same with building the armed forces. We all know that without men with revolutionary enlightenment, there can be no revolutionary army; and that without weapons, equipment, technology, and accurate use of these weapons, equipment, and technology, there can be no army, nor an army with good combat ability. Lenin repeatedly said: "The fact that an army does not prepare for firmly grasping all types of weapons, every means, and every combat trick, which this army has in hands or can have, constitutes a stupid and even sinful act." (10)

Therefore, in the armed struggle and building the armed forces, our Party not only has set forth correct military lines and tasks and firmly grasped the building of the revolutionary stand, thoughts, and nature and the building of our Army's

(10) Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 76, Moscow, 1950.

military art, but has also paid special attention to leading and heightening our army's scientific and technological level and to building its material and technological bases. Therefore, leading the building and development of the military sciences and technology constitutes an aspect of the Party's leadership over the armed struggle and the building of the army; and firmly grasping the Party's viewpoints and thoughts in order to correctly build and to satisfactorily utilize sciences, technology, and material bases is a responsibility and an extremely important requirement of our Army.

From the point of being equipped so rudimentarily in their early days, with many units possessing only knives, hand grenades, and rifles as weapons with which to fight the enemy, our armed forces now possess great, strong material bases and an increasingly higher technical and scientific level. Many of their armed branches and services possess material and technical bases embracing many sections, including techniques of use, maintenance, and repair, production, service to combat, and military activities. We possess not only modern equipment and techniques, but also rudimentary weapons and equipment which are used very creatively and effectively in combat and construction. We possess not only equipment and techniques with which to fight the enemy, but also to protect and strengthen our forces.

As manifestations of the success of the people's war line, our army's growth and victories in past decades reflected the moral strength and talents of our people and army, the rapid heightening of our Army's scientific and technical level, and the quick development of its material bases. Under party leadership, our army kept a firm hold on the Party's viewpoints and standpoints concerning the heightening of the Army's scientific and technical level and the building and development of its material bases.

Science and techniques must serve the revolutionary task and conform to the party's political line. In the Army, military science and techniques must serve the building and combat tasks. The duty of military science and techniques is to continually provide the armed forces with suitable equipment and techniques

and to insure that this equipment and technique attain the highest degree of efficiency and durability, thus enabling the armed forces to annihilate the enemy and protect and develop themselves.

This is the class standpoint, the revolutionary standpoint, and the most fundamental standpoint of our Party concerning its leadership over science and techniques, because as long as there are classes and class struggle in the society, not only sociology, but also natural sciences are built and used to serve the political goals of a class.

Military science and techniques are a branch of natural sciences. But their building and application must be closely associated with the Army's political objectives, building and combat line, and class nature. Thus, in building and applying our military science and techniques, we must be guided by our Party's political line and goals and military line and goals, regard the completion of our Army's building and combat tasks as our objective, and use the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, the revolutionary offensive spirit, the mastership spirit, and the creativeness of the working class and people as an ideological base which we must rely on to stimulate the development of military science and techniques.

Our Army's military science and techniques, built and used in accordance with this standpoint, have speedily and steadfastly developed, keenly satisfying the construction and fighting needs, thus making important contribution to fulfilling our army's duties.

On the basis of these duties and needs, the building of our military science and techniques must be incessantly and tightly linked with the historical circumstances and conditions of our national revolution and the construction and fighting realities of our army.

The socialist revolution in our country is that which advances from agricultural economy and small production into socialism by bypassing the capitalist development phase. Our working class and people are the masters of society and are increasingly mastering science and techniques. Our national

economic bases previously were not substantial and our national defense industry not yet highly modernized, thus, we did not yet have material and technical conditions for producing modern, fine, and complex pieces of equipment. However, thanks to the Party's correct revolutionary line and our self-reliance spirit, by developing the strength of the material and technical bases of our country's excellent socialist regime, and thanks to substantial help from the socialist camp, we have had steadfast material and technical bases for successfully building and fighting. Our armed forces have developed our people's and army's tradition, experience, and strongpoints in producing and fighting and learned from and satisfactorily used the militarily scientific and technical progress achieved by fraternal countries in order to build, develop, and satisfactorily use our army's military science and techniques.

The practice of our armed struggle is that of a people's war developed to its apogee to oppose the enemy who is the aggressive imperialist army having numerous concentrated troops which have substantial, and modern equipment. This practice requires that our Army's science and techniques satisfy the construction and fighting needs of three troop categories, of branches and services, and of the masses for carrying on war with many types of weapons and stratagems on all battlefields and under various concrete circumstances, in order to fully develop our strongpoints to defeat the enemy. Only by clearly understanding this construction and fighting practice along with developing creativity in building military science and techniques, can we develop our science, techniques, and experience and satisfactorily use science, techniques, and experience of fraternal countries' armies. Only by adhering to this practice can we render our Army's science, techniques, equipment, and weapons suitable to our national revolution, our fighting duties, climatic, geographic, and economic conditions, and to the Vietnamese people and defeat the enemy's science and techniques. Practices have proved that, improved and used at the right time and place and in accordance with the characteristics and strongpoints of the Vietnamese people, battlefields, man, and ways of fighting, any rudimentary or modern weapons and pieces of equipment can achieve tremendous effects, having high efficiency and power.

Therefore, the building and development of our science and techniques must closely follow the revolutionary realities in our country and the real situation of our army's building and combat so as to make science and techniques continually develop and satisfactorily serve our Army's goals.

Equipment and weapons are means of action for everyone in the armed forces. Therefore we must pay special attention to developing the mastership spirit and the abilities of all officers and men in the building and application of science and techniques.

Men and equipment and techniques--on which one bases oneself to build and organize an army to wage war--are two factors for achieving our Party's military goals and the objectives of our army's combat. Of these two factors, men with revolutionary consciousness and with scientific and technical capacity are the most important factor. Because men are capable of building, using, and developing the power of the material and technical bases in order to fight and defeat the enemy, because men are the decisive factor.

Therefore, to satisfactorily build and apply science and techniques, equipment, and weapons, first of all, it is necessary to build men and develop to the highest degree their activity as revolutionaries and masters of science and techniques. It is necessary to build a revolutionary stand and ideology and combat ideals so that men can become the masters of their own lives. Only then can they become the masters of science and techniques and have correct views and the necessary capacity to build, develop, and apply science and techniques in a satisfactory way. According to the Party's revolutionary views, to master science and techniques does not mean to master them in theory only, but to master them also in practice; one must not only handle and maintain technical equipment satisfactorily, but also pay special attention to developing techniques, improving them continually, and discovering new techniques continually in order to continually increase the efficiency of science, techniques, weapons, and equipment in serving the needs of our army's combat and building tasks.

Under the leadership of our Party and President Ho, our Army not only had a correct building and combat line, good revolutionary nature and traditions, and very firm stand and views, but also a creative and unique military art and quickly developed military science and techniques. This military art and this military scientific and technical level made important contributions to the building of the fighting ability and the development of the overall power of our people's war and people's armed forces in order to defeat all enemy aggressors.

Now the aggressor in our country is U. S. imperialism-- an imperialist who possesses a large military force, who has modern material, scientific, and technical bases, and who continually changes his tricks, techniques, and equipment in order to achieve his aggressive plot. Our Army has acquired many combat experiences. Its equipment and techniques have made great progress during the anti-U. S. national salvation struggle. Thus, developing to a high degree our military art and heightening our Army's military scientific and technical level in order to completely defeat U. S. aggression is a requirement of our revolution army task and also a requirement of our Army. We must develop to a high degree our determination-to-fight-and-win tradition and, at the same time, constantly heighten the level of military art, develop science and techniques, and satisfactorily build and use our Army's material bases in order to develop the great fighting power of our people, completely defeat the aggressive plot of the U. S. imperialists, and successfully fulfill all historic tasks of our army.

IV. Build a Contingent of Brave, Stalwart, and Resourceful Cadres Employed as the Core of Our Armed Forces.

In the revolutionary struggle, we all know that, after determining a correct political line, the decisive condition for the success of this line is to organize its implementation in which the key problem is building a contingent of cadres firm and strong in every respect. Since cadres are a core force having a decisive nature in organizing the implementation of every line and policy of the Party, a bridge between the Party and the masses, educators, organizers, and guides of the masses in the execution of every Party line or policy, our

Party and President Ho, in the leadership over the VPA, have shown their great concern over building a contingent of cadres, considering it as a "precious capital of the Party" and the core of revolutionary forces. President Ho taught: "The success or failure of everything depends on whether cadres are good or bad" and "with good cadres, everything can be done." (11)

In our armed forces, a cadre must educate and train fighters in every respect on the basis of the party's line, policy, guideline, viewpoint, and thoughts while commanding them in combat and in every task. He is often a Party member or a party committee member assuming important tasks or technical work, leading the masses, and educating fighters. The basic condition insuring that our Army is really a people's army, an ever-victorious army having both wisdom and courage, is that the contingent of cadres must remain absolutely loyal to the Party, the people, and the fatherland, must be virtuous and capable, and must possess good manners. Such a contingent of cadres will help further strengthen the relations between the Party and masses and between cadres and fighters in the Army in a spirit of revolutionary comradeship, political equality, solidarity, and mutual assistance in fulfilling every duty.

Man is the most decisive factor of our armed forces' combat strength. He must be endowed with a high revolutionary awareness and combat skill and capacity and the effect of his role is very important. Though good, a weapon cannot develop its effect if it is not manipulated skillfully by a brave fighter. Although fighters are skillful, the armed forces cannot develop their revolutionary nature and combativity if cadres are not good organizers and commanders. Our armed forces' combat strength is a combination of many factors and a collective strength.

Under the collective leadership of Party committees and branches, the role of a cadre consists in organizing, coordinating, combining, and transforming separate or partial

(11) Change Working Methods, p. 18.

strengths into a collective strength. If cadres lack a high determination and power to organize the implementation, a resolution cannot be turned into an action, even though the leadership of Party committees and branches is accurate. As a result, there will be no success or the success will be limited. Moreover, if cadres are unsteadfast, the accurate leadership of party committees and branches will be affected. Under complex, difficult circumstances, the role of cadres, especially responsible cadres, is more important. Realities prove that in many cases of fierce struggle and difficult tasks, steadfast, resolute, wise, brave, and active cadres having a correct policy and versed in organizing its implementation have cooperated with their units in satisfactorily achieving their tasks and in leading the fight to victory. As taught by President Ho, "Cadres are the root of all tasks. Cadre training is a basic task of the Party which must feed and teach cadres, just like a gardener who cultivates precious trees. It is necessary to esteem talented people, cadres, and every person who is useful to our common work." (12)

Our people's revolutionary undertaking has progressed more and more. Our Party's political and military tasks have unceasingly developed. Our armed forces have matured rapidly and are now an army with all armed branches and services and with numerous complex equipment and techniques. Our combat scale has become larger and our military science has further developed. For this reason, the requirements regarding the quality of our contingent of cadres in every respect have further increased. So, building a sufficient contingent of steadfast, strong, and perfect cadres for various branches and sections is a great problem having a fundamental significance for the immediate tasks and exerting a very important effect on the long-term tasks. To satisfactorily build a contingent of cadres is to create a basic organizational condition for our armed forces to successfully carry out Party leadership in every situation and in every domain of activity in the Army.

(12) Op. Cit., pp. 52-57.

Originating from the Party's political and military tasks and the Army's building and combat tasks, with the aim of insuring that our Army fulfill every immediate and long-range task, our Army has, for decades of building and combat and through experiences drawn from realities, clearly understood the requirement for and the task of building a body of army cadres. This is the requirement to build a body of perfect cadres possessing high quality and adequate strength in order to meet the demands of various branches, echelons, army branches, armed services, and the three troop categories. This body of cadres must comprise individuals who are absolutely loyal to the Party, who wholeheartedly serve the people, who fight bravely, staunchly, resourcefully, and flexibly who work devotedly and positively, who possess fine revolutionary ethics and a high political, military, specialized, technological, and professional level, who possess an increasingly high cultural level, and whose health and ages are consistent with the requirements and duties, in accordance with every task. This body of cadres must continue and constantly develop the Army's tradition and experiences and must satisfactorily meet every immediate and long-range combat and building requirement. This body of cadres must possess steady core forces, good and abundant basic and reserve sources, and forces necessary to fulfill the present tasks, while possessing reserve forces necessary to satisfactorily fulfill the ensuing tasks. All this reflects the requirements set forth by the Army's combat and building realities and reflects the law governing the development of our army, which is that the more our army fights, the stronger it becomes, and the more it fights, the greater victories it wins.

Meeting these requirements is the basic objective of the policy toward cadres in our army. This is a continuous, long process of struggle in many fields, considering the comprehensive improvement and heightening of the cadres' level as a main task; considering the task of permanently seeking to understand and closely manage the cadres as a condition; considering the adequate assignment of works to cadres, with the aim of fully developing their morale and ability and of insuring the fulfillment of every task, as a goal. While building the body of cadres, it is necessary to firmly grasp the following three links:

leadership-assuming cadres, basic cadres, and specialized and technological cadres; it is necessary to pay attention to building the body of cadres as a whole and every individual cadre; it is necessary to streamline and develop the body of cadres of the three troop categories; and it is necessary to closely coordinate the leading echelons with various branches and specialized agencies in implementing the policy toward cadres in both building and combat, in and outside the army. The key problem for meeting the requirement in building the body of cadres in our Army consists of thoroughly grasping the Party's policy lines toward cadres.

The Party's policy lines toward cadres originate from the Party's political and organizational lines. These lines are the trends and principles of leadership over every aspect and link of the policy toward cadres. These lines clearly indicate in what direction the task of seeking the source of cadres and of forming and selecting them must be oriented, what norms this task must follow, and what requirements the contents of training and improving cadres must meet in order to attain the goal of making the body of cadres in the armed forces constantly steady politically, pure politically, firm in their stand and thoughts, absolutely loyal to the party and people, and virtuous and able to fulfill every task. This is a problem related to the building, firm protection, and development of the Army's nature and tradition and to the implementation of the Party's principles of leadership over our army. This is the basic direction and also an essential problem of the whole policy toward cadres, while it is also a trend by which every cadre may improve and train himself. In implementing the policy toward cadres in general and each individual cadre in particular, a failure in thoroughly grasping the Party's policy lines toward cadres will adversely affect the revolution and will impede the fulfillment of tasks by cadres. Because if these lines are not thoroughly grasped, there will be no trend for selecting and training cadres; the body of cadres will have no base from which to mature and develop steadily; there may be no problem under favorable circumstances, but in the long run and when facing difficulties, the body of cadres can hardly have a base from which to insure the fulfillment of their tasks.

To thoroughly understand the cadre-task line set forth by the Party is to correctly understand and implement the reviewed substance of this line including class direction and cadre criteria and policy. The direction of class effort, which shows the way for selecting cadres, is the principle guiding criteria and policy. Criteria are the requirements and conditions to be fulfilled in selecting, training, and improving cadres. Policy involves measures for training, improving, and assigning work to cadres in accordance with class direction and cadre criteria. These are the three fundamental substances of the cadre task line. They are tightly linked with each other. It is wrong to view the cadre-task line as only one of class direction or as dealing only with class origin, and not seeing that there are close relationships between class direction, criteria, and policy. Not to correctly solve anyone of these three questions is to fall into error in line and standpoint of the Party's cadre tasks.

Class direction is one of the fundamental questions of the cadre-task line of the Party. It clearly reflects our party's class stand. Our Army is a people's army--a trenchantly violent tool of the proletarian dictatorship, and a very important organ of the revolutionary state. It must exercise one of the functions of the dictatorial proletarian state which is to smash the class' and people's enemy. It must unite with the entire people to regain and maintain the revolutionary administration. Therefore, the Army must make the Party's political line and goals its fighting aims, make the working class' ideological stand and viewpoint its nature, apply the class line to the organizational task, and mainly choose workers and peasants in selecting, educating, and training cadres.

The Army's contingent of cadres must necessarily be that of the party and proletariat. This direction is absolutely necessary and correct. It is in accordance with the revolutionary practice in our country, the needs and tasks of our army, and with President Ho's teachings: "Workers and peasants are the masters of the revolution", "Workers and peasants have been most vigorously oppressed", "Workers and peasants are the

most numerous, also the strongest." (13) Since war, army, and state are outcomes of a society with classes, the building of our Army's contingent of cadres must insure correct class direction and sufficient political criteria as long as there still are class struggle, revolutionary struggle, state, and army. Even though in each revolutionary phase and each link of the cadre task, the use of class direction must be lively, concrete, and in accordance with the characteristics of each circumstance, it is necessary not to move confusedly away from class direction or to disregard political criteria. This is a question of stand and principle. Only by so doing, can cadre contingents have steadfast bases for developing, maturing, and fulfilling their duties.

To have an excellent cadre contingent serving as nucleus of the armed forces, the Party has set forth an ethical and talent criteria. It is the direction for each cadre to train and educate himself as well as the condition for selecting, training, and improving cadres and assigning tasks to them. The ethical and talent criteria as set forth by the Party are based on the stand and viewpoints of the proletariat and the requirements of its revolutionary tasks. They represent an important, basic content of the task line of cadres aimed at realizing the line of insuring the selection, training, and improvement of numerous elite cadres for the party and armed forces. If a cadre correctly follows the class direction but deviates from the ethical and talent criteria, he cannot become an elite cadre but will fall into formalism or fractionalism which has been criticized by the party. Otherwise, if he pays attention only to the criteria but fails to correctly follow the class direction, there will be no basis for the contingent of cadres to mature steadfastly.

Morality and ability are two fundamental qualities that all our officers must have. He who lacks one of these qualities cannot become an officer. President Ho taught us: "He who has talents must have virtues. He who has talents, but has no

(13) Revolutionary Path.

virtues... does harm to the country. He who has virtues, but has no talents resembles a buddha who, staying in the pagoda, does nobody any good." (14)

On the basis of thoroughly understanding our Army's missions and goals, we must base ourselves on the characteristics of each branch, profession, military branch, military service, post, or revolutionary phase to determine the concrete contents of officers' morality and ability. Any officer of any branch, any profession, or any post in our Army must regard combat readiness and fulfillment of his tasks as the objectives of his training. He must improve himself to the highest degree and must satisfactorily fulfill his tasks--especially under fierce and arduous circumstances and when the task is difficult and arduous. Fulfilling the combat and other tasks is the yardstick for measuring the morality and ability of our Army's officers.

The relationship between morality and talent, in fact, is the relationship between stand and ideology and work capacity. An officer must have both morality and ability. Morality means revolutionary nature. It is a basis on which we must rely to improve officers, give them tasks, and develop their ability. Ability is revolutionary officers' capacity to work to develop the effects of morality and achieve the goals and ideals of the revolution.

President Ho taught us: "Carrying out the revolution in order to transform the old society into a new society is a very glorious work. But it is also a very heavy duty, a complex, protracted, and arduous struggle. Only he who is strong physically can carry a heavy load and travel the long way, a revolutionary must have a revolutionary morality to fulfill the glorious revolutionary tasks." (15)

The realities emerging from our Army's performance of construction and combat tasks have further substantiated this

(14) Appeals of Chairman Ho, Vol. 3, p. 279.

(15) Chairman Ho, "Revolutionary Virtue," Hoc Tap, December 1958.

teaching by President Ho. Only ethics provides a sound basis for cultivating our skills. Likewise, creativeness, skillfulness, and flexibility originate in the determination to fight and win. The development of skills and the usefulness of these skills to the revolution can only be achieved on the basis of ethics. Conversely, only by acquiring skills can we meet ethical requirements. In the Army, which represents a combat organization possessing extensive equipment and technological means and many highly complex and inspiring combat forms, even greater importance must be attached to the problems of leadership, command, technical, and professional skills.

The ethics which our army cadres must possess is that of the armed revolutionaries standing on the forefront of the armed struggle of all our people. These ethics, which President Ho taught our Army's cadres are: "Politics manifested while fighting the bandits," the spirit of loyalty to the Party and devotion to the people, a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, and unflagging fighting determination, and the spirit of "standing ready to fight and to undergo sacrifices for the fatherland's independence and freedom and for socialism," and by willingness to sacrifice one's life for the revolution. This represents the climax of the revolutionary ethics of those directly engaged in combat in the life-or-death struggle against the enemy on the battlefield. (16) These ethics, which are an inseparable component of the proletarian revolutionary ethics and of collectivism, are closely associated with the qualities and the fine traits of the outstanding workers in every field of activity. It is therefore necessary, under normal circumstances, to strenuously cultivate one's revolutionary qualities and cultivate correct thoughts and sentiment toward one's duties, the Party, the people, one's comrades and comrades-in-arms, oneself, and one's family. We must train ourselves into "simple, modest, diligent, thrifty, honest, selfless, upright, and impartial" cadres; resolutely eradicate individualism; and insure that in construction and combat and under favorable or difficult circumstances, a correct attitude is constantly maintained toward the enemy, the Party, the people, and our comrades and comrades-in-arms in combat, in work performance, and in other activities.

(16) Chairman Ho and the People's Armed Forces, p. 22.

Ethics alone is not enough. It is also necessary to acquire capability. Only by so doing can we become cadres. While stating that ethics represents the basic factor, we also assert that capability is highly important. Capability represents the levels of understanding, knowledge, and experience, and the ability to practice. This represents the level of understanding of Marxist-Leninist theories, the ability to organize leadership and command, and the levels of political, military, cultural, professional, and technological knowledge. As a Party cadre in the armed forces, every cadre in our Army--depending on his level of knowledge and ability and on the requirements of each echelon--must be thoroughly imbued with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and theories concerning war and the army; know how to correctly and creatively apply these theories to the practical conditions of the armed struggle in Vietnam; be deeply imbued with our Party's military line; and understand our ancestors' traditions of and experience in fighting the aggressors, and the extremely rich, creative experience in combat and construction acquired by our Army and people under Party leadership. In a situation in which our military science has increasingly developed and our Army's material and technical bases have been increasingly improved, and in which the enemy has concocted many insidious, perfidious schemes and tricks, possesses extensive, modern equipment and technological means, and has regularly changed his tricks and improved his equipment, it is all the more necessary for us to strenuously engage in studies, in exploring new things, and in recapitulating our experience in order to constantly improve our standard in all fields and, thereby, insure an increasingly satisfactory fulfillment of our duties.

Only by firmly grasping and correctly applying the ethical and capability criteria and, on the basis of these criteria, selecting, training, and improving our cadres, can our Army build a firm, strong cadre fully capable of fulfilling every task. It is erroneous to separate ethics from capability to attach importance only to capability while slighting ethics, or, conversely, to stress only ethics while paying inadequate attention to capability or to separate the ethical and capability criteria from the class direction.

To implement the class direction and applying ethical and capability criteria, we must also firmly grasp the cadre policy, which is an important part of the line governing the performance of work-related cadres. This represents the provisions and measures for training and improving cadres and effecting a distribution of work in conformity with the class direction, the established criteria, and the ability and strongpoints of each category of cadres, with a view to insuring that the cadre corps develops steadfastly and that each cadre progresses and fulfills his duties. Our cadre policy is based on the Party's organizational line, on the requirements of revolutionary tasks, and on the real situation of our society and army. The main content of the cadre policy consists of training and improving our cadres, effecting a distribution of work and assignments in conformity with their ability, and, thereby, meeting revolutionary requirements and creating conditions for our cadres to constantly progress and to serve the revolution more and more satisfactorily. The cadre policy demonstrates the Party's stand and viewpoint regarding the common interests of the revolutionary undertaking. This policy also demonstrates the sentiment of the Party, the army, and the organization toward cadres. If only a certain aspect, a certain facet of the cadre policy is understood, this policy will be implemented in a deviate fashion.

Thorough understanding of the Party's line governing the performance of work related to cadres is demonstrated by a thorough, correct implementation of all the three following contents: the class direction, the established criteria, and the cadre policy. The process of thoroughly understanding the Party line governing the performance of work related to cadres represents a process of heightening the level of class enlightenment, cultivating correct ideological awareness, and rectifying in time any erroneous cognizance of the line governing the performance of work related to cadres. In awareness, in action, and in the performance of educational and organizational tasks.

Over the past decades, led and educated by the Party and President Ho, the cadre corps in our Army has made rapid, steadfast progress and has met the Army's construction and combat requirements. This is a result of the correct, creative application of the Party's line governing the performance of

cadre-related work in our armed forces' construction and combat situations. Our Army has not only built a large, strong cadre corps, but also has acquired extensive, valuable experience in the performance of work related to cadres. We have gradually and fully realized the problems of a principled nature and have understood more profoundly and become more confident in the Party line governing the performance of work related to cadres.

With the Party's correct, creative line governing the performance of work related to cadres, with the valuable experience acquired over the past decades, especially the rich experience acquired during the years of construction and of anti-U. S. national salvation resistance, and with a cadre corps which has been tested in the two great revolutionary wars of our people and which possesses very abundant, steady replenishment sources, we definitely possess a firm basis for building a cadre corps which is absolutely loyal to the Party and the people, which is ethics-imbued and capable, and which outstandingly fulfills every task entrusted to it by the Party and the State.

V. Build and Steadily Consolidate the Political Task Organization and System in Order to Carry Out the Party Leadership.

The revolution led by the working class party is the greatest, the most thorough, and the deepest revolution in the history of society. Because the proletarian revolution basically differs from all preceding revolutions, it is designed not to replace a form and system of exploitation with another, but it is aimed at establishing the working class dictatorship, at completely reforming the old society, and at building a completely new socialist system, without class, with no more exploitation and oppression--the most advanced and superior society in history.

In order to score successes in revolutionary struggle, it is primarily necessary to have the genuine Party of the working class which firmly grasps the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, which possesses correct and creative revolutionary lines, and which is closely related to the masses in order to be

the vanguard force of the class and the staff of the revolution. Moreover, it is also necessary to have the masses' great and powerful revolutionary forces possessing a high sense of political enlightenment, a close organization, and a firm revolutionary spirit and serving as forces to implement the Party's revolutionary lines and tasks. Because the masses are the founders of history, the revolutionary undertaking is that of the masses, and without a massive participation by the masses, revolution cannot be crowned with success.

For this reason, in revolutionary leadership, the responsibility of the Party of the working class consists not only in setting forth correct revolutionary line and tasks, but also in carrying out the revolutionary mobilization task and leading and organizing the successful implementation of revolutionary line and tasks. These are the two basic links of the revolutionary leadership task. If the Party cannot set forth a correct line, it cannot lead the revolution. Moreover, it does not carry out the revolutionary mobilization task in leadership, it cannot develop the masses' strength and transform the revolutionary line and tasks into real victory.

Revolution is a comprehensive struggle in all spheres and on all fronts with the participation of many revolutionary mass organizations and forces. For this reason, the Party's leadership task must embrace all domains and fronts and must be carried out in all revolutionary forces of the masses. Wherever the revolutionary struggle and the masses' activities are prevalent, there the Party must carry out its leadership and revolutionary mobilization task to concentrate the masses' great strength to defeat the enemy and realize the revolutionary objectives.

Our country's revolution led by the Party of the Vietnamese working class is a people's democratic national revolution moving toward the socialist revolution to liberate the nation and class and to build a socialist and communist regime it is the greatest, deepest, and most complete revolution in our country's history.

To successfully lead this revolution, our Party has not only set forth a correct revolutionary line and determined a very creative revolutionary method, but has also grasped the revolutionary mobilization task and carried out steadfast, comprehensive leadership in all struggle spheres and among the masses' forces. As a