

result, it has succeeded in developing the great strength of revolutionary forces and of the entire nation and realizing its revolutionary line, tasks, and objectives.

Our armed forces are an armed revolutionary mass organization set up and led by the Party and employed as a violent tool for realizing the Party's revolutionary line and tasks. Our Party considers the organization of and close leadership over the armed forces as its political responsibility and historic task.

To carry out this leading task, our Party has not only laid down a political line and a military line to lead the overall building and combat tasks of our Army, but also conducted a deep revolutionary mobilization movement in the Army and carried out its comprehensive leadership over the Army. Our Party has built an organizational system and a leading system from top to bottom to exert leadership over the Army. It has also built a system and organized a network of political work in the Army.

In building an organization and a system of political tasks in the Army, our Party has aimed at carrying out the revolutionary mobilization task, exerting its leadership over the army, building our army politically, building its revolutionary nature, and developing its fighting power in order to successfully implement the Party's revolutionary line and tasks.

Immediately after founding our armed forces, our Party laid down the principles governing the political building of our armed forces, regarding them as the fundamental principles governing the building of our armed forces. It also built a system of political tasks and organized the carrying out of these tasks in the army.

At the 1st Party Congress in 1935, a resolution on the organization of a permanent worker-peasant self-defense corps was adopted, stipulating that in platoons and companies, there must be "a communist delegate playing the role of commander... [Nhan Dan ellipsis--ed]. The revolutionary nature of the self-defense corps must be preserved... [Nhan Dan ellipsis--ed].

The Party's commanding power must be strictly implemented in the self-defense corps... [Nhan Dan ellipsis... ed." (17)

In the national salvation army units, the Vietnam Liberation Army propaganda units, the Ba-To guerrilla units, and so forth, there were a system of political tasks, political commissars, and cadres entrusted by the Party with carrying out Party tasks and political tasks.

Due to the fact that our Party has been constantly concerned with consolidating them, political tasks in our Army have clear and correct goals and trend. They have been guided by Marxism-Leninism and the Party's experiences concerning revolutionary struggle. They have a strong and stable organizational system, have been governed by strict principles, and have work methods consistent with the organization of our Army's activities. Thus, political tasks have fulfilled their duty of implementing party leadership over our Army, consolidating our Army's revolutionary nature day by day, developing our Army's revolutionary traditions day by day, making our Army to constantly keep a firm hold on its struggle objectives, resolutely achieve the Party's revolutionary line and goals, and satisfactorily fulfill all tasks. Political task in our Army has become a source of power, a tradition, and a principle governing our Army's building.

Originating from the principle of Party leadership over the Army, from the Party's political and military lines, and from the characteristics and nature of the new-type army of the proletariat - a revolutionary army under our Party leadership--the political task is aimed at determining the goal, duties, principles of action, organizational forms, and work methods.

Since we have had our Army and the Party leadership over it, there have been the organization and activities of the political task. Our Army's political task is closely associated with the Party leadership and organizes its activities under the Party leadership. Wherever there are Party leadership, armed forces' activities, and army duties, there are the organization and activities of the political task.

---

(17) Military Resolutions of the Party, People's Army Publishing House, p. 21.

Our political task has considered the implementation of the Party leadership and the consolidation and strengthening of the Party leadership over the Army as a basic task, used the Party's political and military lines to determine the task trends and contents; considered the building of the revolutionary nature and the new-type army nature and the fulfillment of the Army's combat duties as a goal; and considered the leadership comportment and method in accordance with the Party's mass lines as the basic comportment and method of the political task.

The Party's revolutionary movement is a process of revolutionary enlightenment, political education, ideological leadership, and organization and guidance of the masses' action in achieving objectives and fulfilling revolutionary tasks. Therefore, in any field and in the organization of any force, the revolutionary mobilization task, aimed at implementing Party leadership, must regard Marxism-Leninism, the working class' stand, ideology, and nature, and the Party's revolutionary line and tasks as its trend and content; Party organizations as leading staffs; the building of men and mass organizations as the building of active forces; and the successful fulfillment of revolutionary tasks and the tasks of each organization and each force as its objective.

Thoroughly understanding the principles, standpoint, and methods of the Party's revolutionary mobilization task and applying them in accordance with the characteristics, objectives, and nature of the revolutionary armed forces, our political task is asserted its three fundamental characters--leading character, fighting character, and mass character.

Only through keeping a firm hold on the objectives and nature of the political task can we make all activities follow the right trend, correctly fulfill our tasks and duties, have correct work methods, and achieve all the objectives of the political task in all fields of our army's activities.

Our Army is a mass organization and a revolutionary force organized and led by our Party; but it is an armed mass organization. Thus, it has not only the general characteristics of a revolutionary organization and a mass force of the Party,

but also the particular characteristics and nature of an armed force. These characteristics and nature are reflected by the mission of our Army which is our Party's tool for enforcing revolutionary violence; by its main task which is to struggle to destroy and disintegrate the enemy's counterrevolutionary violence, safeguard our administration, and preserve the revolutionary achievements; by the direct target of its struggle, which is the armed enemy; by its fighting place which is the battlefield; by the characteristics of its activities, which are to struggle urgently, continuously, fiercely, and flexibly; and by its organizational structure which consists of associating men having deep revolutionary enlightenment and a wide knowledge of military science and techniques with close organization, strict discipline, and utmost concentration and unity and with a large and complex material basis, thus creating a combined strength for combat and the fulfillment of all tasks.

These characteristics and this nature have brought forward the necessity of making our Army stable and strong comprehensively--politically, ideologically, and organizationally. It is necessary to build both men and the community; help our Army's officers and soldiers heighten their political enlightenment level, acquire good revolutionary virtues, and improve their ability and their military scientific and technical knowledge; and help our Army organizations build a nature which is stable politically, strong ideologically, and tight organizationally, heighten their military scientific and technical level, improve their work and combat methods, and reinforce their material and technical bases so that they can continually develop their great power and satisfactorily fulfill all Army's tasks.

These characteristics and nature have also required the political task to correctly settle all relations between ideology and organization, between politics and techniques, between men and weapons, and between the development of the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the heightening of the organizational ability of men and the development of the power of the material and technical bases in our Army.

Therefore, the political task in our Army must not only comply with the Party's general principle of revolutionary motivational task, but also apply it in accordance with the army's characteristics and activity rules. Not being thoroughly aware of the general principle, we will easily fall into errors of line and principle; however, not being thoroughly aware of the characteristics, nature, and particular rules of armed struggle and armed-force building, we will move away from the army's realities and the armed forces' concrete duties and will not have adequate and substantial procedures for action. Consequently, our Army's political task will not have particular contents, forms, methods, and activities different from that of the Party's revolutionary motivational task in the mass organs' political struggle, production, and so forth and will find it difficult to fulfill the task of implementing the Party's leadership in the armed forces.

Our Army is a revolutionary army which has been organized and led by our Party, the working class' party. This is a class army, but also a people's army. Therefore, our Army's birth and development have their own historical circumstances and conditions and characteristics. Our Army was born in the national salvation struggle movement led by our knowing Party, cadres, and soldiers, excellent men in regard to revolutionary classes and strata who have voluntarily joined the armed forces. Our Army's building and maturation process is a continuous process which, inheriting our nation's armed struggle experience and unyielding tradition, aims at realizing the people's democratic and national revolution advancing toward socialist revolution under our country's historical conditions.

Therefore, our Army is the working class new type of army which makes the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary reasoning its ideological foundation, the working class revolutionary enterprise its fighting goal, and the working class revolutionary nature its own. Moreover, our Army has the characteristics, tradition, and experience of a Vietnamese people's army and of the Vietnamese people. Therefore, the political task must originate from this characteristic to clearly understand and apply the Marxist-Leninist reasoning and viewpoint, to be

thoroughly aware of our Party's political and military lines, to implement our Party's leadership in the Army, and to politically and ideologically build the Army in accordance with the real conditions and circumstances of our country's history. Also, the political task must take this characteristic into consideration in order to build adequate organizational principles and forms and political-task regulations and methods and to satisfactorily develop the political-task tradition and experience in our Army.

Along with developing armed forces, a rigorous political task system has been installed in main force, regional, militia, and self-defense units, in branches, services, in national-defense organs, schools, factories, and so forth. In units from regiment upward we have assigned political commissars and organs, in battalions and companies we have assigned political cadres, and in specialized branches' organs, etc., according to necessity, we have assigned political organs, commissars, or cadres.

The political task has the following concrete goals:

- To teach Marxism-Leninism; to build the ideological view and stand and the reasoning method of the working class; to heighten patriotism and communist awareness; to develop the cadres' and soldiers' revolutionary quality and ethics and organizational and discipline consciousness.

- To thoroughly understand the Party's line, stand, and policies and the army's fighting and building goals; to advance cadres and soldiers under the Party's leading banner.

- To thoroughly understand the Party's military lines and goals, stands toward building the people's armed forces, the carrying out of the people's war, strategic and tactical ideology, military art, and building and applying science, techniques, and specialties; to motivate cadres and soldiers to actively study and learn in order to heighten tactical, technical, and professional levels; to satisfactorily use and manage material and technical bases in order to fully increase their power of providing the army with sufficient strength to fulfill any tasks and to defeat any enemies.

- To implement the Party's stand toward building politically, ideologically, and organizationally steadfast Party organs in order to lead units throughout the Army; to build and develop all mass organs' functions and activities; to successfully build a contingent of virtuous and talented cadres able to fulfill any tasks and to be the nucleus of the armed forces' building and fighting tasks.

- To build and strengthen internal, people-armed force, and international solidarity so that our army can highly develop its strength in order to wholeheartedly unite with our people and our fraternal country's peoples to fight the common enemy, to gain glorious successes, and to fulfill our national and international tasks.

- To carry on the safeguarding task; to smash all the enemy's sabotage maneuvers; to disintegrate the enemy's units; to nurture and develop revolutionary forces.

To achieve great results, the political task in our armed forces must associate the improvement of knowledge and ideological building with leadership over activities; the ideological task with the organizational task; the leadership of Party echelons and chi bo with the organization of the carrying out of the political task by commanders and political organs of various echelons and the mobilization of all armymen to carry out the political task; the building of men with the building of organizations, and so forth.

The political task must keep a firm hold on these tasks--propaganda and training, organization, cadres, protection, civilian proselyting, and military proselyting--and know how to carry them out flexibly and creatively, in accordance with the characteristics, nature, and goals of all the three forces, on all battlefields, under all combat and building circumstances of all military services and branches, in all scientific, technical, and other fields. Only then can the political task develop its power to a high degree, thus making positive contributions to improving our army's qualities and developing its combativity in order to defeat the enemy.

The entire political task of our Army is aimed at implementing Party leadership, building our Army's revolutionary nature, and developing our Army's combativity in order to achieve the party's revolutionary tasks and objectives. Thus, building the system of political tasks and organizing them firmly is the fundamental and permanent requirement of great significance toward the implementation of Party leadership. It is a principle, a tradition, an experiences as well as a responsibility which we must fulfill to help our Army satisfactorily carry out all its combat and building tasks.

VI. Build a Firm, Strong Party Chapter as a Nucleus of Leadership and Unity in the Armed Forces.

Marxist-Leninist theories and the historical experience of the world proletarian revolution have clearly shown that in order to achieve victory, the proletarian revolution must be guided by the scientific, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theories, use the revolutionary classes' forces to carry out revolution, and possess a resolute, clear-sighted headquarters staff in order to lead the revolution. The headquarters staff, that is, the firm, strong vanguard party of the leading working class, is the most basic condition, because only by possessing such a party can revolutionary theories be applied to practical conditions, can lines be formulated, and can forces be built in order to lead the struggle to victory. Reviewing the proletariat's revolutionary movement over the past decade or more, the Marxist parties have asserted that the building of the proletariat's party into a firm, strong one is a universal rule and the most basic condition for the proletariat to fulfill its glorious, historical duty. Marx said: "The organization of the proletariat into a political party is a sine qua non for insuring that the social revolution achieves victory and its ultimate goal, that of annihilating classes." (18) In 1927, President Ho said: "... revolutionary strength must be concentrated. To concentrate revolutionary strength, there must be a revolutionary party." He also said: "There must

---

(18) Marx-Engles, Selected Works, Vol. 1, Su That Publishing House, 1962, p. 618.

primarily be a revolutionary party in order that, domestically, we mobilize and organize the masses and, externally, we communicate with the oppressed peoples and the proletariats everywhere. Only when the Party is firm can the revolution triumph. Likewise, only when the steersman is in firm control can the boat move." (19)

To exert party leadership over the armed forces, the very basic, very important requirement is to build a proletarian stand and a proletarian ideological viewpoint and to set forth construction and combat tasks for the army. The Army must also possess leadership, command, and mass organizations in order to translate party lines and policies into the army's action, successfully achieve revolutionary objectives, and fulfill revolutionary tasks. Of these organizations, the Party's leadership organization plays the decisive role, because only when the leadership organization exists can the command and mass organizations have a direction orientating their action and have objectives for which they strive to achieve. The realities emerging over the past decades have proved that only by having a firm, strong Party chapter possessing a numerous, firm cadre and Party member corps and firm Party branches and Party committees from higher to lower echelons can all our armed forces and every army unit constantly adopt correct policies, take correct action, and thoroughly understand party lines, guidelines, and policies in construction and combat and in the performance of military, political, and logistic tasks. Thereby, our Army's personnel and organizations constantly remain firm and strong, firmly maintain the working class' stand, possess an outstanding combat comportment and work performance and a great combat strength, and are capable of defeating every enemy and fulfilling every task.

For this reason, our Party regulations clearly stipulate: "The Party organization in the Vietnamese People's Army is a component of the Party organization under the Central Committee's leadership." To absolutely obey the Party Central Committee,

---

(19) The Revolutionary Path.

to resolutely implement Central Committee represent matters of principle. They also represent our Army's political responsibility, duty, and extremely fine traditions.

The Party chapter in the Army is the nucleus of leadership in the Party's armed forces. Every victory of the Army is inseparable from the construction and leadership achievements of the Party organization in the Army. Only when the Party organization is firm and strong can the Army be firm and strong. This is a profound experience drawn from the realities emerging from our Army's performance of combat and construction tasks.

Over the past decades, under the Party Central Committee's leadership, the Party chapter in our Army has matured steadfastly and comprehensively. Trained in the practical conditions of the revolutionary struggle and of our Army's performance of construction and combat tasks, our Party members and cadres in the Army have improved their stand, ideology, and leadership capability, satisfactorily developing their vanguard role in every field of mass activity. Party branches have constantly admitted into the Party the advanced elite from among the masses, thus insuring the high quality and increasing the numerical strength of the Party member and cadre corps. The Party organization has been increasingly and comprehensively consolidated, has become firm politically and ideologically, large and strong organizationally, and outstanding in leadership, and has strictly adhered to principles. The Party leadership system has constantly and successfully developed its strength in order to lead the armed forces in fulfilling every task.

This represents a success of highly important significance in exerting Party leadership over the Army. This also represents a success for the Army's Party chapter in firmly grasping and correctly applying the party-building principles to the practical combat and construction conditions of our armed forces.

In building and firmly strengthening the Party organization so that it can fulfill its leadership task, the key problem is to constantly strive to firmly maintain and enhance the class and vanguard character of the Party.

To enhance the Party's class and vanguard character, it is necessary to build and comprehensively and firmly strengthen the Party politically, ideologically, and organizationally. It is necessary to constantly improve the Party members' understanding of Marxist-Leninist theories, educate them regarding the Party's revolutionary line and policies, and enable them to build a working-class stand and ideology and to overcome non-proletarian thoughts. It is also necessary to attach the greatest importance to building the Party organizationally, developing Party members, improving and perfecting the Party committee and party branch organizations, strictly implementing the principle of centralized democratic organization, and satisfactorily implementing the Party's activity system, in order to achieve unity of thoughts, organization, and action, develop the party members' intellect and capabilities, and increase the leadership strength of party organizations.

Enhancing the Party's class and vanguard character represents the steering ideology which has thoroughly permeated the content of the tasks of building the Party, man, and the organization. This ideology must be primarily reflected by the formation of a large, strong, and outstanding Party member corps for Party's chapters.

Party members contribute toward formulating Party lines, guidelines, and policies. They directly implement every Party directive and resolution, closely associated themselves with the masses, and constitute a source from which prospective members are picked for Party committees and for the Party member corps. They also provide a basis for building and firmly strengthening Party organizations. The Party members' ideology, ethics, and capabilities represent a basic factor determining the militant strength of party organizations. It is for this reason that in building the Army Party chapter, we have constantly regarded building the Party member corps as a highly important task.

Our Party, which represents an organized vanguard corps, is the working class' highest organization. Therefore, our Party members must truly represent the working class' ethics and skills.

Though the formation of the Party member corps must be comprehensive, qualitatively and quantitatively, quality is always an important problem. The improvement of the Party members' ethics and capabilities must be regarded as the main content. The Party cannot lead the revolution without an adequate number of Party members. Therefore, we have hitherto advocated positively and constantly developing the Party and enabling it to acquire widespread bases in all units and in every field of activity, in conformity with the fulfilling every task. Requirement that Party members must serve as nuclei of leadership wherever the masses exist, and that Party leadership organizations must exist wherever command organizations exist. Faced with our Army's rapid development, especially under combat circumstances, the quantitative requirement for Party members has substantially increased. But realities have shown that if the Party only possesses a numerous, yet qualitatively inferior, membership, it does not possess real strength.

The Party's strength is that of leadership, of the class' vanguard unit, and of the staff of the revolution. Therefore, right in the task of developing the Party, regardless of circumstances, we must firmly grasp class and vanguard character, class direction, political criteria, and the motto of "Actively, steadily, and permanently insuring quantity and quality--attaching more importance to quality--and developing along with consolidating."

The Party member's quality must reflect the Communist Party member's fundamental criteria. He must be able to fulfill his duties in the organ, the realm, and the technical branch where he works.

The more steadfastly developed the Army and the more considerable the fighting task, the more we need to strengthen the raising of the Party member's quality so that the Party member constantly has enough talents and virtues to fulfill the task of a vanguard soldier. The Party member must have the working class' stand, viewpoint, and thinking method, understand the Marxist-Leninist reasoning, clearly understand the Party program and by-laws, grasp the Party's military ideology and line and its viewpoints toward building and developing military

art, build and apply military science and technology, and have deep and broad knowledge about the specialties and business of the branch where he serves. It is necessary to be progressive in thinking and exemplary in behaving, to responsibly and efficiently contribute to common leadership, to satisfactorily fulfill one's task, and to successfully educate, convince, and mobilize the masses to unite to successfully carry out the decisions of Party committees of various levels and units' tasks.

To steadfastly build basic organs and Party committees of the various levels, we must actively provide provisional Party members with favorable conditions for becoming official Party members and help every Party member to know how to satisfactorily carry out the leading task, activities among the people, and the tasks of Party committees of various levels; a Party member who is a cadre must, especially, know how to skillfully carry out the tasks of a Party committee. To build a numerous contingent of Party members of high and appropriate quality, it is also necessary to successfully build and nurture mass forces in order to have a source for developing the Party. It is necessary to educate the masses to clearly understand the Party's fighting goals and ideals and the Party member's duties so that they will voluntarily and consciously fight under the Party's banner, satisfactorily carry out the tasks entrusted by the Party, responsibly and constructively criticize the party member, support and assist the Party member to fulfill his tasks, contribute ideas to the Party's leading task, and actively train themselves in accordance with advanced examples set by Party members.

By building a sound body of Party members of high quality and advanced in every aspect, having a strength fitting the requirements, tasks and organization of the units, playing a leading role in various fields and under all circumstances, having the support of the masses to carry out the Party leadership and to serve as a reserve source of Party members, will be able to have a basis for building sound Party chapters, and to have conditions to successfully carry out all tasks.

The requirements of heightening the class and vanguard character of the Party is determined not only in the building of man, but also the building of the party organization. The Party chapters, from chi bos to Party committees, must be sound, strong and advanced. Only in such condition will our entire Party become a well-organized vanguard body and the highest organization of the workers' class. Each Party organization must fulfill the leadership task within its scope of activities. Only in such a condition will the Army's Party committee be able to fulfill its leadership task. Only with a strong organization we will be able to develop the morale and capabilities of each man into a strength of the collective, a combined strength. But this strength must be reflected by a clear-cut distribution of manpower, the close cooperation of all organs and all men, the unity and unanimity of view and action, by the self-enlightenment and voluntary spirit to fulfill all tasks of the revolution and to carry out the common objective and ideal. The strength of the organization also resides on the building and improvement of good men, revolutionary men and the reform of backward people. Therefore, along with the building of man, the building of the party organization is also of great importance.

The requirements of the heightening of the class and vanguard character of the Party in the organizational field require that great efforts must be exerted to strengthen and improve the leadership of the Party organization, and primarily to heighten the leadership strength of the chi bos, the basic Party organization in our army. The Party basic organization is a meeting place for all Party members, the leadership and unity core in the unit, and an education and training center for all Party members. The Party basic organization unites the Party with the masses. It is a place where the masses are directly mobilized, organized and guided to carry out all lines and policies of the Party, a testing ground for all policies and leadership of the various echelons. The strength of the Party's combativity and leadership, and the relations between the party and the masses primarily depend on the basic organization of the Party. Therefore, the building of sound Party basic organizations and the strengthening of the chi bos' leadership capability is a most practical and effective task to heighten the class and vanguard character of the party, a problem of great

importance in the entire task of building sound Army's Party chapters. President Ho taught:

"To lead the revolution, the Party must be powerful. The Party is powerful when the Party branches are good." (20) Therefore, we constantly consider the building of Party branches an important goal of the task of building the Party and we assert that "only when Party branches are powerful, can companies be powerful, and only when Party branches are good in leadership, can units be successful in building and combat." Therefore, we consider this a principle for building the Army's basic units and assert that all echelons and Party members must be responsible for building Party branches.

In order to heighten the class character, the vanguard character, it is necessary to thoroughly grasp the Party's organizational principle and system of activity and leadership. The Party by-laws have clearly determined that the Party's organizational principle, activity, and leadership are ruled by democratic centralization. Lenin indicated that "The unification in the problems of principles and strategies constitutes an essential but insufficient condition for insuring the Party's unification and task centralization... [Nhan Dan ellipsis]. In order to achieve these objectives, it is also necessary to achieve unification in the organizational task." (21) It is with the aim of achieving this unification in the organizational task that our Party considers the principle of democratic centralization as its own basic organizational principle. This principle determines the relationship between individuals and organizations, between minority and majority, between low and high echelons, and between components and an entire apparatus. It succeeds in insuring high unification with regard to will and action, thus making the entire Party form a steady bloc. It succeeds in developing the positive and creative character among the majority of Party members and in fully concentrating the intel-

---

(20) President Ho's Talk at the New Party Members Training Course Organized by the Hanoi Municipal People's Council, May 1966.

(21) Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 1, Part I, p. 591.

ligence of the Party members and the masses on determining accurate lines and policies and on managing to successfully implement them. Moreover, the satisfactory implementation of the principle of democratic centralization is also aimed at insuring widespread democracy and strict discipline inside the Party, at making, the Party ranks steady, united, and single-minded, and at invigorating the Party's leadership strength.

The Party chapter in the Army is a Party organization to assume leadership over the armed forces. The armed forces, which are closely organized, which observe a strict discipline, which operate intensively, which conduct a difficult, fierce fight against the enemy in order to win victories, must, therefore, ever more satisfactorily observe the principle of democratic centralization in order to strengthen unity and singlemindedness and to fully develop the talent and intelligence of the entire Party chapter so as to fulfill the Party's leadership task. Thoroughly understanding and correctly applying this principle, our Army's Party chapter has regularly carried out the Party's political and ideological tasks, satisfactorily implemented the system of criticism and self-criticism, strengthened discipline and control inside the Party ranks, heightened Party members' level, and encouraged the masses to contribute views concerning the Party building task. That is why, so far, our Party chapter has achieved unity of thought and actions, turned itself into a solid bloc, achieved solidarity and unity of mind at all levels, and continually developed the strength of its leadership over the Army so that the latter can fulfill all its tasks.

To enforce the Party's principle of democratic centralization, it is necessary to satisfactorily carry out the system of Party committees: the CHI BO exerts collective leadership while its head assigns tasks and is responsible for organizing the carrying out of these tasks. This system is aimed at centralizing leadership on the community, centralizing the intelligence of all its members, making this leadership comprehensive and realistic, and developing to a high degree the initiative spirit, creativeness, and sense of responsibility of all its members; and at closely coordinating various aspects of the Party's tasks in the Army, thus insuring a unity of mind

and actions. This system insures correct and thorough implementation of the command's orders and instructions. It enables those with scientific, technical, and professional tasks to have constructive views and ideas and apply them correctly. This system is fully consistent with our armed forces' urgent work and combat conditions and all the scales and forms of their activities.

While building its organizations, the new-style Party of the working class must fulfill the very important task of strengthening unity and singlemindedness. Due to the fact that our Party is a bloc with a common will and uniform actions, any division or dissension inside the Party weakens it and creates gaps which the enemy utilizes to undermine our Party and revolution. Unity of mind and actions inside Party organizations is a most concentrated manifestation of our Party's internal relations. Thus, President Ho--the founder, trainer, and leader of our Party--taught us: "Unity is our strength. Closely united, we are surely able to overcome all difficulties, develop all advantages, and fulfill all tasks entrusted us by the people." (22) Just before leaving us forever, he still advised us: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the cell, must preserve the union and unity of mind in the Party as the apple of their eyes." (23) Abiding by President Ho's teachings, so far we have paid great attention to preserving and strengthening the Party's internal unity. As a result, our cells, Party committees, and Army cells have constantly fulfilled their duty as nucleus in achieving unity in each unit and in the entire Army, turning it into a bloc having unity of mind and actions and being strong enough to fulfill its tasks.

The most basic foundation for our Party's solidarity and unity is our Party members' revolutionary awareness of the objectives and ideals of struggle and of the historic mission of

---

(22) Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works, p. 505.

(23) From President Ho's Testament.

the proletariat. Thus, our Party's solidarity is just a revolutionary solidarity based on the love for the class and on comradeship. Moreover, only by heightening our political awareness, improving the Party's revolutionary nature, acquiring profound class sentiments, and resolutely eradicating individualism can we create good bases for strengthening our solidarity and singlemindedness.

Moreover, Party solidarity must be manifested through an organizational unification. In every revolutionary phase, our Party has set forth a program and rules as objectives and struggle tasks as principles for organizing the actions of all the Party and members. For this reason, every Party member must implement the Party's program and rules to insure rigorous unity of mind and action.

Our Party has resorted to criticism and self-criticism as a basic method to strengthen and maintain its internal solidarity and unity. President Ho advised us that "The best way to consolidate and develop the Party's solidarity and unity is to broadly implement democracy and to permanently and seriously carry out self-criticism and criticism." (24)

At the same time, Party members and Party organizations must voluntarily and seriously carry out the principles and systems regarding activities and leadership, strive to implement the Party's policies and resolutions, and observe its organizations' discipline in order to transform our Party into a bloc having a unity of mind and action, a nucleus to unite and lead the masses, and a source of strength with which to fulfill all tasks.

To heighten our Party's class nature and vanguard nature, we must constantly consolidate and strengthen the relations between the Party and the masses. To consolidate and strengthen its close relations with the masses is a political task and a rule of existence and development of the Party of the working

---

(24) Ibid.

class. The duty of our Party--the vanguard team of our class and the headquarters staff of the revolution--is to constantly lead, educate, unite, and organize the masses into steadfast, strong revolutionary forces to achieve the great struggle objectives of the proletariat: national liberation, class liberation, and socialist and communist construction.

To fulfill these requirements and tasks, all Party committees and branches in our armed forces have striven to take care of the education of cadres and fighters, especially youths in every respect in order to unceasingly heighten their political enlightenment, knowledge, and power of action and to enable the masses in the Army to reach a high level of political enlightenment and understand that the Party has led the revolution to success and has organized, guided, and educated our armed forces to become mature and victorious so that they maintain their confidence in the Party's line, policy, and leadership and unite closely around the Party with a determination to realize Party leadership, thus making the youths in our armed forces worthy of being effective arms of the Party and continuators of the revolutionary work of the Party and people. At the same time, the masses can realize that their duty is to contribute views on the leadership of Party organizations and on the training and improvement of cadres and Party members. As a result of that the level of Party organizations, Party members, and the masses can be raised and the relations between the Party and masses can become closer. Moreover, to consolidate and strengthen the relations between the Party and masses, it is necessary to educate Party members and cadres to acquire a correct mass viewpoint and love, assist, and learn from the masses in order to make progress and fulfill all tasks.

Our Army strength is that of a community--the combination of strength in various fields. It is duty-bound to fulfill combat and building tasks. Therefore, the Party organizations in the Army must, together with the masses, form a cemented bloc, and must succeed in fully developing the masses' talents and intelligence and in leading the masses in satisfactorily fulfilling every task. Our Army is a revolutionary organization--an armed combat organization possessing a strict discipline

and enjoying the leadership, command, a democratic system in the political, military, and economic fields, and the managerial and educational principles of a revolutionary Army. This is necessary and very important. Because when this system and these principles are constantly implemented correctly, the relationship within the internal ranks of our Army is very good, and the Party and the masses achieve very close coordination.

However, failure in possessing adequate political enlightenment and steady mass viewpoints may easily lead toward replacing leadership with command and replacing convincing education with orders, thus adversely influencing the relationship between the Party and the masses. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to educating cadres and Party members and to helping them acquire a high sense of political responsibility and a correct viewpoint regarding the love for the masses in order to fulfill the Party's leadership task.

Steadily building the working class Party is a law disseminated in proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Vigorously building and developing the Army's Party chapter is a task and principle for implementing the Party's leadership over our Army. Our Party's strength is comprehensive. Our Party is powerful in terms of lines and policies and in their implementation. Our Party is powerful politically, ideologically, and organizationally. When Party members are powerful, the entire organization of the Party is powerful and all Party chapters are steady. Our Vietnamese working class and people now have our Party as the brave, resourceful vanguard force of the class and the talented staff of the revolution. Our Party possesses this great power because our Party is a new-type Party of the working class--the foremost class of the era--because our Army has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological base, because our Party has correct lines and policies as combat objectives, because our Party possesses a body of heroic, staunch members, because our Party possesses steady, forged-in-struggle, and well-experienced-in-leadership Party organizations, and because our Party possesses the powerful mass forces which are closely united around the Party. Under the leadership of the Party Central Executive Committee, the Army's Party chapters have steadily built and have constantly led our Army

in satisfactorily fulfilling every task and in defeating every enemy.

We are living in the most glorious and greatest era of our people, "The Ho Chi Minh era, the most brilliant era in the glorious history of our people. This is the era of independence and freedom of the fatherland, the socialist era in our country." (25)

Under the glorious banner of the Party and beloved President Ho, our Army has become a heroic Army of a heroic people.

Our Army has unceasingly achieved resounding feats-of-arms and together with all our people, defeated the French colonialists and Japanese fascists, achieved the glorious August Revolution, led the first sacred resistance to a brilliant victory and is gloriously defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors to defend the North, liberate the South, and reunify the Fatherland and contribute to the defense of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

Our Army has a history of long and continuous struggle. It has been forged through the revolutionary flames, has progressed from have-not to have, and from initial small forces into a powerful Army having three categories of troops, with ever stronger Army branches and services, having a sound leadership and commanding system, a body of cadres, Party members and combatants of great virtues, talents and military skills, and a sound rear, and is capable of defeating all enemies.

Our Army, which was born of and has been fighting for the people, is a revolutionary Army which truly belongs to the people. Possessing extremely valuable traditions, it is unflaggingly loyal to the Party, wholeheartedly serves the people, is indissolubly united internally, is united with the people like fish and water, and wholeheartedly maintains international solidarity.

---

(25) Lao Dong Party Central Committee's Eulogy at President Ho's Funeral.

Our Army's victories represent victories for Marxism-Leninism and for our Party's correct, highly creative political and military lines.

Our Army's victories represent victories for the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the working class' revolutionary offensive spirit, which have been closely associated with the courageous, indomitable spirit of our people, a heroic, stalwart people who have never been subdued by any enemy through thousands of years of national defense and nation-building struggle.

Our Army's victories have been closely associated with the protection and care provided by our entire Party and people, with the development of our fine social system, and with the increasingly great sympathy and support of the socialist camp and the world revolutionary movement.

These are victories for our entire Party, people, and nation. Our Party's and people's victories also represent victories for the socialist camp and for all progressive mankind. These victories have lucidly demonstrated the truth that in the present world situation, a people whose territory is not large and whose population is not numerous, but who are led by a genuine, stalwart, and courageous Marxist-Leninist Party, certainly can defeat any imperialist power in order to regain independence and freedom and protect their country and their interests. Our Party has organized and led our people's revolutionary Army in carrying out armed struggle. Our Army must therefore be thoroughly imbued with Party leadership in order to constantly prove itself worthy of being the new-type Army of the proletariat, an invincible Army, and a revolutionary Army of the new era, that of victory for socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

The U.S. imperialists, the arch-imperialists, hoped that by using bombs, shells, and bullets they could reverse the rules governing the development of history and oppose our people's aspirations. But they can in no way avoid defeat and doom. The undertaking of our Party, our people, our Army, and our great, boundlessly respected and beloved President

Ho Chi Minh has been recorded in the glaring, golden pages of history of the 20th century.

Looking back at our Army's glorious history, we appreciate even more deeply the immeasurable merits of our Party and our respected and beloved President Ho. We feel even prouder of our heroic Party, our heroic people, and our heroic Army.

The historical route traversed by our Army has been full of hardships and dangerous obstacles. But it has been shining with armed exploits. The route traversed by our Army is only one section of the path leading toward our Party's goal, that of eradicating classes, eliminating war, and building a beautiful, plentiful, and happy society--a socialist and communist society.

Though obviously defeated, the U.S. imperialists have remained very stubborn and perfidious, refusing to renounce their evil aggressive designs vis-a-vis our country and scheming to occupy the southern part of our country and turn it into a neocolony, to prolong the partition of our country, and to undermine peace in Southeast Asia and the world. Our people have won great victories and will certainly win total victory.

As the assault force of all our people in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, our Army vows, together with all the people, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, protect the North, liberate the South, and proceed toward reunifying the country.