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SONG HAO: DEVELOP THE ARMY TO DEFEAT U.S.

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[Article by Lt Gen Song Hao: "Develop the proud tradition of our army and unceasingly reinforce the revolutionary quality and determination to defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates]

[Text] The history of the victory and coming-to-age of our people's armed forces is a history of prolonged, arduous, and decisive fighting against the invading armies of wicked and cunning imperialism. Led and educated by the party and the beloved President Ho, our people's armed forces have in the course of this fighting displayed beautiful revolutionary qualities and traditions, completed every task, and defeated every enemy.

Loyal to the revolution, to the people, and to the combat ideals and goals of the party, the cadre and fighters of our armed forces have enlisted all of their enthusiasm, intelligence, and talents and are ever ready to offer their lives in the fight for independence, freedom, unification of the fatherland, and socialism. During the previous resistance against French colonialism, countless outstanding cadre and fighters of the people's armed forces displayed a spirit of "determined-to-die so that the fatherland will live." During the present anti-U.S. national salvation fight the cadre and fighters of the armed forces have clearly revealed their beautiful revolutionary qualities, displayed a spirit of the highest combat bravery, of overcoming difficulties and enduring hardships and, along with the people of the entire country, have skillfully, creatively, and resolutely defeated in total the aggressive U.S. pirates in order to protect the north, liberate the south, and progress toward national unification.

All of these actions clearly express the fact that the cadre and fighters of the people's armed forces possess beautiful revolutionary qualities, know how to wed their lives to the revolution, and are optimistic and confident with a very commandable determination to fight and determination to win. This heroic life and iron-like will to fight is the inheritance and latest development of our people's tradition of resoluteness and indomitance. This revolutionary quality of our people's armed forces is the essence of the working class and it is the result of our party's leadership, education, and training. For this reason, it incorporates extremely beautiful revolutionary ideas and sentiments, the most typical of which is the knowledge of how to offer one's life to the revolution and to correctly resolve the relationship between the individual and the group.

The experience of our armed forces in construction and combat has made clear that irrespective of the environment, the proper resolution of that resolution is a very important element in developing revolutionary thinking and sentiments. In the present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking, thanks chiefly to the correct resolution of that relationship in accordance with the position of the proletarian class, our people's armed forces have been and are now developing with increasing effectiveness, a brave and skillful combat spirit, creating an invincible strength, and scoring glorious military achievements.

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In commemorating the 33rd anniversary of our army the cadres and fighters in the people's armed forces must more vigorously develop the beautiful revolutionary traditions, regularly strengthen the revolutionary philosophy of life, and correctly resolve the relationship between the individual and the group. This is one of the very basic requirements for forging ourselves into iron-like fighters of the heroic army and it is also the most essential thing in creating the great virtue, talent, and power of our army so that in conjunction with all the people, it can fulfill its proud historic mission for the present--to completely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates.

Having the correct viewpoint toward struggle and happiness, sacrifice, and enjoyment:

Since its creation, mankind has had to constantly struggle with nature and to work and produce to create material possessions in order to survive and develop. Since human society was divided into classes, the working people and the oppressed and exploited classes have not only had to struggle with nature, but have also had to engage in a class struggle against oppression and exploitation in order to secure the right to live. The struggle with nature and the class struggle (in societies where there are classes) are a matter of survival and they are the force propelling the development of social history.

It is for this very reason that struggle is an indispensable need of life and the source of the creation of happiness. The working people can only obtain real happiness through a revolutionary struggle to eradicate the exploiting classes, to successfully develop socialism and communism, to master society, and to master nature.

Under the social systems in which the exploiting classes occupied positions of rule, the working people were the producers of material possessions and the creators of the fruits of the spiritual life, but they themselves did not receive these things because they were completely taken away by the exploiting classes. The historical development of human society has proven that the exploiting and ruling classes are always very stubborn and cunning and will not shrink from any tactic in order to maintain their power to rule and exploit the working people. The imperialist elements and the exploiting classes have constantly strengthened their ruling apparatus and used every evil and barbarian tactic to rob the fruits of the people's labor and their happiness. Therefore, the working people must struggle against the yoke of oppression and exploitation and for national liberation and class liberation if they are to be able to secure real and prolonged contentment and happiness.

In order to carry out the aggressive design to rule our people, the French imperialists and Japanese fascists before, and the U.S. imperialists now, along with a coterie of henchmen, have used professional armies with every facility and every extremely cruel tactic to sabotage our people's independence, freedom, and happiness. For this reason, the inevitable road of our people to the independence and freedom necessary for building a life of long term contentment and happiness is the road of resolute revolutionary struggle for national liberation and class liberation. This is the most correct and most glorious road and it is also a road of decisive, arduous, and sacrificial struggle.

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Struggle and happiness and hardship, sacrifice and pleasure are interrelated. Happiness can only be obtained through arduous struggle and pleasure through contributions and sacrifices. In the struggle with nature, production labor has to do hard and burdensome work and to consume strength in order to create the material possessions of society. Revolutionary struggle is all the more decisive and hard and difficult and unable to avoid sacrifices and losses, because it is a life or death struggle between the revolutionary and the counterrevolutionary forces and between the ruling classes and the oppressed classes. The struggle for national liberation and class liberation is a long, arduous, and extremely decisive struggle.

In order to have the fruits of a revolution, happiness and pleasure, one must struggle, endure hardships, and be ready to make sacrifices. The same is true in the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking of our people; in order to obtain happiness they must have a spirit of resolute struggle, of enduring hardships, and of valiantly sacrificing in order to completely defeat the aggressive U.S. imperialists, secure independence and freedom, and develop lasting happiness and contentment.

We must, in a revolutionary struggle, have a spirit of enduring hardships and of readiness to sacrifice in order to resolutely fight and defeat the enemy. Revolutionaries are definitely not as the imperialist elements and exploiting classes ordinarily portray them--fanatic believers or ascetics. This is a completely fabricated and deceitful argument designed to lessen the prestige of the revolutionaries of whom they are extremely terrified. As revolutionaries we passionately love life and want a life of pleasure, contentment, and happiness. But we understand very clearly that there can be no successful revolution, no real happiness, and no genuine pleasure without an arduous and sacrificial struggle. The achievements in every field which our people in North Vietnam have made under the socialist system and the revolutionary accomplishments which our people in South Vietnam have made are chiefly due to struggle and to an unknown expenditure of sweat and blood. Today, in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle our people are valiantly overcoming every hardship and are standing ready to sacrifice so that tomorrow there can be a life of freedom and great happiness.

The revolutionary undertaking is the task of the entire nation and of all our people. The revolution can only succeed if all our people contribute all of their spirit and energies. No matter the extent of the effort, when one person or a number of people are separated from the revolution and separated from the people, they cannot bring the revolution to victory. The victory of the revolution is the most stable basis for creating happiness and for returning to each person the right to genuine happiness. Therefore, in order to obtain happiness and pleasure, each person must first of all struggle for the general happiness of the whole nation and of the entire society, placing the interests of the people and of the revolution uppermost.

Revolutionaries not only understand that there can only be happiness and pleasure through an arduous and sacrificial struggle, but also deeply recognize that the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and class liberation is a great obligation and happiness. With such high ideals and great souls, revolutionaries clearly recognize that a life of working and fighting for the people, the fatherland, and the class is the happiest life; separated from the interests of the people, of the class, and of the fatherland, man's life has no meaning and thus there can be no happiness.

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From the point of view and principles of this life the revolutionaries struggle arduously and sacrifice not just for individual happiness and pleasure, but for the people, the class, and the fatherland. Even if he must sacrifice and contribute his entire life to the revolution, the revolutionary feels honored and proud because this beautiful sacrifice has helped achieve victory for the revolution, has brought happiness back to the people, and has also brought happiness back to his family and himself.

President Ho, the beloved leader of our party and of all our people, has set a dazzling example of revolutionary virtue. Throughout his life he has engaged in a constant revolutionary struggle and has taken as his highest ideal and greatest happiness the struggle for national liberation, class liberation, and the independence, freedom, happiness, and contentment of the people. The example he has given has deeply engraved itself in the hearts of our people and is motivating, stimulating, and guiding us to progress stably and to resolutely fight to completely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates.

Completely contrary to our goals in life and our concept of happiness and pleasure, the exploiting classes believe that the life of greatest happiness is a life of pleasure without work and of robbing the fruits of other's labor. Their bad life is composed of inferior, greedy, selfish individualism, "the big fish swallowing the small fish," "people behaving like wolves with each other," and coveting life and fearing death. With this outlook the exploiting classes think only about how they can seize the fruits of the people's labor, become rich on the poverty and misery of the workers, and become happy through the sweat and tears and blood of other people.

The aggressive U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen in South Vietnam are themselves using every savage and cruel tactic in the hope of placing their yoke of rule on our country, oppressing and exploiting our people. The happiness of our people is sabotaged wherever they are. Wherever they go they sow suffering and sorrow.

Because they pursue a life of decadence, the reactionary and countryselling elements in South Vietnam are living a life of degeneration, disorder, competition, and resentment and are overthrowing and murdering one another and exploiting, oppressing, and massacring the people. To them the fatherland and the people only have meaning in terms of the individual reputation and they have sold the fatherland and people outright to the U.S. imperialists in exchange for a life of the greatest depravity and dishonor. For them father-child relationships and loyalty between husband and wife also must be figured in terms of money and profits. For this reason their life is not only filled with repulsive crimes but is also filled with worry and apprehension. The depraved and criminal country-selling and people-trading group will be forever cursed and condemned in history.

The bourgeois attitude toward struggle and happiness, sacrifice, and pleasure also reflects their concept of life and their idea of "only knowing oneself," their lack of fondness for the life of the working people, and their thirst for the life of the exploiting class. Thus, they do not regard the interests of the revolution and the happiness of the people as the highest principle but instead compute happiness and pleasure in terms of "acquisitions and losses." People who have the petite-bourgeois attitude about happiness and pleasure usually have a narrow political vista or think of the pleasure of the individual and family, separate the happiness of the individual from the happiness of the people and the group, are afraid of hardship and sacrifice, easily waver, sue for peace, and are passive about the revolutionary struggle.

It is clear that our concept of struggle and happiness, sacrifice and pleasure is completely contrary to the concept of the other classes. The other classes take as the highest principle of life individual interests and individual pleasure. We regard a life-long struggle to develop the happiness of the people, of the class, and of the nation as the beautiful ideal and great happiness of our life.

At present, the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle is the only correct path for achieving real and enduring happiness for the people. This is true because contentment and happiness can only come through independence and freedom, and unless we fight against the U.S. imperialists and valiantly sacrifice, we will not be able to have independence and freedom. In the long and arduous revolutionary struggle, our people are absorbing with increasing profundity a simple and great truth: That nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. For this very reason to resolutely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates is the path of happiness for our people as a whole and for each one of us at the present time. Clearly understanding this point, the people of our whole country have been and are now enlisting all of their energies, valiantly fighting and producing, and are ready in a highly voluntary spirit to die in order to completely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates.

With the party and President Ho's leadership and education, the proletarian class's concept of struggle and happiness, sacrifice and pleasure has been and is now deeply penetrating our people's armed forces and becoming a very beautiful tradition. That tradition has been and is now being developed to a high degree in the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking, creating an invincible winning strength for our people's armed forces.

A striking manifestation of the proletarian class's concept of struggle and happiness, sacrifice and pleasure within the people's armed forces is the valiant combat spirit and the readiness to selflessly sacrifice for the revolution as spelled out in the first pledge of honor of the Vietnam People's Army: "Sacrifice everything for the Vietnamese fatherland, struggle for the national, democratic, and socialist cause under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, achieve a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and rich and powerful Vietnam, and help to protect the peace in Southeast Asia and the world."

Our army was born and matured in the revolutionary movement of the people under the leadership of the party. Imbued with the noble revolutionary ideals of our party, developing the revolutionary quality of the working class, clearly understanding the combat goals of the army, and knowing how to live and to fight as communists, our People's Army has for more than 20 years now constantly manifested a very beautiful political quality: incomparable courage, sacrifice in combat, and self-denial for the sake of the revolution.

From the moment it was born our army has, despite its meager forces and very simple and crude equipment, fought directly against cruel invading imperialists, such as the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists. But organized, educated and led by the party and wholeheartedly supported and assisted by the people, our army has been absolutely loyal to the revolutionary cause; has as one person served the people, sacrificed, and fought to the end for the independence and freedom of the fatherland; and had sufficient virtue and talent to help, along with all the people, to defeat the French imperialists and Japanese fascists, to bring the August Revolution to victory, and to establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

During the long and hard resistance against the invading French colonialists, our army exerted its indomitable, brave, and steadfast combat spirit and selflessly sacrificed for the benefit of the revolution; scored brilliant military achievements, typified by the great victory of Dien Bien Phu; and, in conjunction with all the people, defeated the aggressive war of the U.S.-aided French. The proud pages of history of our people have recorded innumerable examples of unparalleled bravery and noble sacrifice by our army.

Today, in the anti-U.S. national salvation task, combat actions of unparalleled bravery and examples of noble sacrifice are developing vigorously, becoming universal, and occurring hour-by-hour and minute-by-minute within the people's armed forces in both parts of our country. The heroic comrades who were decorated at the Congress of Model Heroes and Valiant Fighters of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the heroic groups and heroic comrades in North Vietnam who were decorated at the Anti-U.S. National Salvation Model Heroes and Fighters Congress at the first of the year are extremely beautiful examples. These examples not only typify the people's armed forces' spirit of valiant fighting and selfless sacrifice for the revolution but also are a beautiful and vivid reflection of the indomitable, valiant, and resolute spirit of the 30 million-odd compatriots throughout our country and of their determination to fight and determination to defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates.

Through regular cultivation and education by the party, the spirit of fighting valiantly and sacrificing selflessly for the revolution has deeply engraved itself in the comrades who have had considerable training and in the comrades who have just entered on the path of revolutionary struggle. Some comrades who are still very young in years and limited with respect to experience in life and combat but who have many beautiful dreams and aspirations have displayed a very heroic fighting spirit and many have offered their lives for the revolution. This is because we have lived and fought for the highest and most beautiful ideal, taking as our greatest happiness the survival of the nation and the long-term happiness of the people.

The ideal of a noble and beautiful life which deeply permeates our people's armed forces' concept of struggle and happiness, sacrifice and pleasure is embodied in the spirit of selfless sacrifice for the revolution, of brave combat and of resolutely completing every task, upholding the spirit of aggressively attacking the enemy, living with optimism and confidence, and always maintaining the manner of the victor.

The cadre and fighters of our people's armed forces have constantly revealed in combat a spirit of readiness to accept and to properly and resolutely execute every assignment. Many comrades have not only fought valiantly and completed every task in a group when armed and when conditions were favorable, but have also alone and even unarmed displayed a spirit of resolutely attacking the enemy and of successfully completing their assignments. In the present exceedingly severe fighting which is filled with brilliant military achievements, extremely beautiful examples are appearing among all the units, typifying the spirit of resolutely executing the combat assignments and of aggressively attacking the enemy with a very high revolutionary fervor.

Our cadre and fighters are always searching for ways to fulfill their assignments in a beautiful way not only in combat but also in studies.

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Actual victories have clearly demonstrated that the combat effectiveness of our people's armed forces has been vigorously developed and that the skillful and highly victorious fighting is chiefly due to the fact that our cadre and fighters not only have a high combat determination but also have a spirit of constantly working to improve their combat performance.

The determination to complete the education and training tasks, to unceasingly raise the political level, and to firmly understand military science and technology in order to defeat all enemies is itself a positive manifestation of the permeation of our people's armed forces by the ideal of life and combat. Our cadre and fighters have also constantly and properly executed every work assignment. Brave actions and heroic comrades from among our people's armed forces are found not only in combat but also in the operational fields. This demonstrates that in the revolutionary undertaking, all assignments are proud ones and the greatest honor always belongs to the people who contribute themselves entirely to the revolution, the fatherland, and the people.

With confidence that victory is inevitable, our people's armed forces have only constantly and properly performed every task with a very high spirit of revolutionary attack but have also constantly lived optimistically with the great dream of the revolutionary. All the units of our people's armed forces from those working on remote islands to the units working in the rear area, on the mainland, and in the frontier areas of the fatherland, irrespective of their situation, live, fight, and work with great confidence and optimism, with happiness and wholesomeness. This picture, which portrays a powerful and rebellious vitality and a revolutionary spirit of a brave army of a brave nation, infuses the combat *raison d'être* of the proletarian class.

The proletarian class concept of struggle and happiness, sacrifice and pleasure which has deeply penetrated our people's armed forces, is embodied in the very commendable spirit of enduring hardships and overcoming difficulties.

Our cadres and fighters clearly understand that in a revolutionary struggle, especially in an armed struggle, there are bound to be hardships and difficulties along with the advantages. Therefore, our cadres and fighters never lose heart or give up when they encounter hardships or difficulties on the path of revolutionary struggle or in direct combat with the enemy on the battlefield. Moreover, we are always fully cognizant of the difficulties and take positive action to overcome the difficulties in order to proceed forward to complete the tasks. For this very reason our people's armed forces have overcome every difficulty and created favorable conditions for completing the tasks and for defeating all enemies. We are extremely encouraged and proud to have been praised by President Ho as an army "which completes every assignment, overcomes all difficulties, and defeats all enemies."

There are beautiful manifestations of our army's tradition of enduring hardships and overcoming difficulties. In combat and in work our cadre and fighters have lived up to the iron-like pledge of our army: "Regardless of adversity and asceticism we will not become discouraged" but will be in the vanguard to accept heavy tasks in places of the greatest hardships and will reserve the difficult parts for ourselves and leave the favorable things for comrades in arms and for friendly units.

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In the face of every difficulty and hardship and in keeping with one's operational position everyone has a very high sense of responsibility. As the leaders and as the higher authorities, our cadre are always concerned about resolving difficulties and creating favorable circumstances for lower echelons to complete their tasks. As implementers and as the subordinate echelons our cadre and fighters also strive to develop initiative and aggressiveness and to endure hardships and overcome difficulties in order to make it possible for higher authorities to concentrate their intelligence and strength on larger problems.

The spirit of enduring hardships and overcoming difficulties not only helped us overcome myriad challenges during the previous stage of combat but also created a miraculous power for our people's armed forces to score outstanding military achievements and to win famous victories in the present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking. These very things cause our already united army to acquire an increasingly closer inner unity, to share, more or less with one heart, the sweet and the bitter, and to constantly develop its strength in every way and mature in order to effectively complete every task and defeat every enemy.

This spirit is both a manifestation of reason and an expression of a very profound revolutionary sentiment born from hatred of the enemies of the nation and of the enemies of the class and from love of the fatherland and love of the native village and from the ardent aspirations of the people for a happy life and of the revolutionary and participant in the socialist system for an extremely beautiful life.

It is clear that our noble and beautiful principle of life is to live and fight for the happiness of the people and for the interests of the nation and class, to live heroically and to die proudly. It is only by deeply immersing ourselves in this concept that we can develop the beautiful revolutionary essence and traditions, complete in an outstanding manner every political and military task of the party, and completely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates in order to protect the north, liberate the south, and advance toward the unification of the fatherland.

Correctly understand the relationship between the collective and the private and clearly recognize the unity between individual interests and group interests:

Everyone of our cadre, party members, and fighters has a responsibility to concern himself with the collective business which is the business of the country, the business of the revolution, and the business of the army; at the same time, he has a responsibility for taking care of private business which is the business of the family and the business of the individual. In order that the collective business and the private business will both be handled properly, we must have a correct outlook and correct methods, i.e., we must resolve the relationships between collective and private in accordance with the requirements and laws of development of the revolution.

The viewpoint of the proletarian class affirms that in order to correctly resolve the relationships between collective and private we must have a firm understanding of collectivism, develop the idea of "one for all and all for one," and clearly recognize the requirements and capabilities of the revolution in order to resolve every problem.

People who want to live must perform production labor and production labor always has a social character. For this reason, everyone must, in daily life and in work, rely on and help one another in order to conquer nature and produce material possessions for the survival and development of society. People who live and fight and work must have a group and rely on the social group. Separated from the social group no one can perform production labor and no one can do anything and, thus, cannot survive and develop. In a society where there are classes and class struggles, if the oppressed people want to defeat the enemy, each one of them must stand in the organized ranks of the class and of the people.

Collectivism is linked to the working class and socialism because the working class represents the most advanced methods of production. The working class has been forged in highly socialized production conditions and therefore clearly understands the collective nature of production labor. It is richly endowed with a collective spirit and a social spirit. Therefore, collectivism and the notion of "one for all and all for one" is only possible if there are revolutionaries to follow the line of the working class and to correctly implement the theory of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason, it is possible to correctly resolve the relationship between collective and private only if there are genuine revolutionaries.

Individualism is the antithesis of collectivism. Individualism is the inevitable product of the system of private ownership. It is always at conflict with the collective character in production work and in revolutionary struggle. Sooner or later individualism will somehow be destroyed like the system of private ownership.

Individualism always places the private interests of the individual in opposition to the collective interests of the social group. Individualism only wants "one for one" and does not want "one for all." Individualism places the interests of the individual uppermost. Therefore it is not possible to use individualism as the guiding thought for resolving the relationship between collective and private in the life and activities of the revolutionary and of the member of the socialist system.

Collectivism always joins the interests of the individual with the interests of the group. There are individuals in the group and many individuals constitute a group. For this reason the interests of the individual lie within the interests of the group. The interests of the group and the interests of the individual are virtually identical. "One for all" and "all for one" is really the thought and action of collectivism. Therefore, collectivism and the idea of "one for all and all for one" are the only correct guiding ideas for resolving the relationships between collective and private and for insuring that both the collective business and the private business are handled correctly.

By constantly strengthening their proletarian class character through the leadership and education of the party, our people's armed forces have acquired a very high collective spirit. Collectivism is the ideological basis for the relationships between family and fatherland, between individual and group, between people and organizations, and between the component and the whole.

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We have correctly resolved the relationship between family and fatherland. Each of us lives in a family and, at the same time, lives in a nation, a social group. Everyone has a small family with parents, spouse, and child and, at the same time, has a large family--this is the nation, the fatherland, and the social group. Our families cannot live alone without the large family and there cannot be a fatherland without the large family and there cannot be a fatherland without a social group. We have a very deep affection for the family and, at the same time, we have a very ardent affection for the nation. The family affection lies within the national affection and is inseparable from the national affection. Love for the native village and love for the fatherland is attached to and intermixed with the love between spouses and between parents and children. All those things are expressions of the viewpoints, ideas, and feelings of collectivism in each one of us. These very viewpoints, ideas, and feelings guide us in precisely resolving the relationship between family and fatherland.

Having correctly resolved the relationship between family and fatherland, all of our cadre and fighters always enthusiastically obey the call of the fatherland and resolutely kill the pirates and save the country and save the family. Obedience to the call of the fatherland is also obedience to the aspirations of the family. Only by killing the pirates can we save the nation and only by saving the nation can we preserve the family. The family can only live in peace and happiness if the fatherland is independent and free. Family life can only enjoy contentment and happiness if the country is rich and the people are strong.

At present we are enthusiastically charging forth on the kill-Americans-save-the-nation frontline. This is because the U.S. imperialists are deliberately robbing our country. If our country is ruled by the U.S. imperialists, our families will definitely suffer calamitous results. The experience of 80 years under the yoke of rule of the French imperialists and the barbarian and cruel actions of the U.S. pirates and the country-selling clique in South Vietnam at present have very clearly proved the truth: "When the country is lost the family disintegrates," summarized and handed down by our elders for ages.

The unanimity between the interests of the family and the interests of the fatherland is a well-founded and long-existent unanimity. In taking care of tasks vis-a-vis the family and tasks vis-a-vis the fatherland, it is possible to temporarily encounter difficulties in matters which are not fundamental and immediate. When this happens we resolutely place the interest of the fatherland above the interests of the family. We must profoundly imbue ourselves with and resolve to obey the teachings of Chairman Ho: "The revolutionary chooses the big family because the revolutionary knows that if the big family is oppressed and exploited, the small families will collapse and will be unable to develop." "Unless we carry out the revolution, not only our own parents but the parents of tens of millions of others will be brutally treated by the imperialists and feudalists." "Even if we must sacrifice the small family for the large family we must do it. We definitely and absolutely cannot choose the small family." [Ho Chi Minh: Develop a Spirit of Seeking To Learn and Seeking To Progress, Su That Publishing House, 1960, p 22.]

The dazzling example of the thousands and tens of thousands of model heroes and fighters of our army and people who are fighting for the interests of the nation and of the class have proved that the revolutionary soldiers fighting under the proud flag of the party are the most patriotic people and people of the most profound family affection.

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The declining reactionary classes have no fatherland and cannot have a sense of patriotism. To them, the fatherland means only wealth and fame. They are ready to sell cheaply the nation and their native villages and even their families for money and fame. All of the statements by the reactionary elements concerning the people and the fatherland are only deceitful arguments, designed to cover up their traitorous and shameful countenances.

Our party has taught us how to correctly resolve the relationship between the individual and the group in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and it has clearly demonstrated that the strength of our revolutionary struggle is the collective strength of all our party, people, and army. If, as in the case of the struggle with nature to produce, man must rely on the social group, then in the struggle for class liberation and for national liberation man cannot but rely on the strength of his class and people. Separated from the group, each of us sees himself alone and weak and unable to resist the enemy. When allied with the nation and class we see ourselves as having extraordinary strength and as able to defeat any enemy.

Lenin himself said: "To the extent that the proletarian is still a private individual he has no meaning at all. All the force and all the capability for progress and all the sacrifices and aspirations of the proletarian exist because of the collective organization and activities and because of his methods with his comrades. Whenever a proletarian is a component of a great and powerful apparatus he feels himself great and powerful. To him, the private individual has no meaning at all." [Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese-language edition, Book 7, p 370.]

The stupendous military achievements of our elders and of our people from before until now against foreign invaders are inextricably allied with the close unity of the entire nation. In the present anti-U.S. national salvation task our enemy is an extremely cruel ringleader imperialist but we definitely will win because we have the collective strength of the people and of all our party, army and people.

Each of our cadres and fighters is continually concerned with building and increasing the strength of the group, wholeheartedly honors, admires, and respects the group, and along with the group, struggles for the common cause. Irrespective of the situation, we all solemnly execute the principles of group leadership and group work and rely strongly on the group to complete every task. Moreover, we must always display a sense of responsibility to the group and fully develop its talents and intelligence in order to fulfill the duty of the revolutionary fighter. This is true because only if each individual develops his responsibility to a high degree can the group have great power. Regardless of position, our cadre and fighters must, from the standpoint of the requirement to do everything to defeat the enemy, display a spirit of unity and joint action and actively help one another in order to complete the task.

In building up the strength of the collective, each cadre and all of our party members and fighters are extremely concerned about developing the collective strength of the organs of leadership -- the party branches and the various levels of party committees. This is because these constitute the most important collective apparatus, the brains of each unit of our army.

Everyone in our army, whether in the party or not, must clearly understand that the development of the party is his responsibility and must always actively participate in the development of the party in accordance with his capability and understanding. And especially, the comrades at the various levels of party committees must clearly recognize their great responsibility to the group, concern themselves with streamlining the leadership at the various levels of party committees, constantly consolidate and unify them internally, and unceasingly improve the leadership capability at the various levels of party committee as a nucleus for fully developing the collective strength of the unity.

We have correctly resolved the relationship between the individual and the group. The collective strength is not the figure obtained from the simple addition of the number of individuals in the group. It is the strength of the ideological and action unity of everyone in an organization. This unity is formed among people on the basis of definite concepts, ideas, and principles.

To put it differently, the collective strength is the strength of the organization. There can be no group strength without organization. Society cannot live and produce without organization. The constant increase in the production power and daily activity of society and the ever-greater ability of mankind to conquer nature are reflections of the increasingly tighter and more progressive level of organization of human society in the field of production labor.

The same holds true in the realm of political struggle and armed struggle: The organization of the struggle forces is becoming increasingly tighter and the collective strength is becoming increasingly greater. The party of the proletarian class is the party of the most advanced class, representing the most tightly organized modern production in the history of society. The party has the responsibility to lead the entire revolutionary struggle to overthrow and smash the bourgeois dictatorship and develop socialism and communism. With this great historic responsibility the party absolutely must have a very tight and scientific organization.

Lenin said: "In the struggle for political power the proletarian class has no other weapon than organization." [Lenin: "Selected Works," Volume I, Part I, Vietnamese language edition, p 624.]

An extremely tight and scientific organization has created for the proletarian class--typified by our own party--extremely great power. Our army, organized, educated, and led by the party of the proletarian class, is an extremely important tool of our people in their struggle with the enemy in the realm of armed struggle. Therefore, our army increasingly must have a tight and scientific organization.

Because they have clearly understood the importance of the matter of organization with respect to collective strength, our cadre and fighters have a very highly developed sense of organization and discipline. The group can only become a tightly organized group if each individual has a sense of organization and discipline. If all the rules and regulations have been promulgated but the individuals do not obey the organization, do not honor its provisions, and do not operate within the organization but freely act according to personal desires, then, that group is just a form and will never acquire a powerful combat strength. Our cadre and fighters' spirit of obedience to the organization is primarily embodied in the spirit of solemn execution of every line, policy, and resolution of the party and bylaw, system, and regulation of the army.

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All of our cadre and fighters very profoundly understand and thoroughly execute the pledge of "absolute obedience to the orders of higher echelons and devotedly carry out in a precise and rapid fashion every assignment received." The army's sense of organization and discipline is very strict and extremely tight because it is built on the foundation of the sturdy politics and highly voluntary spirit of revolutionary fighters. Because all our cadre and fighters have a high sense of organization and discipline, with each person determined to fulfill his obligation, when they go into battle "100 as one" they become an extremely great strength.

Having been educated by the party concerning the collective spirit, we know how to correctly resolve the relationship between the component and the whole. The revolutionary undertaking of our party and people is extremely great. In order to attain final victory we must develop the united strength of the whole party and all the army and people. In order to fully develop that consolidated strength with a view to winning great victories and progressing to total victory, we must clearly understand that each locality, each branch, and each unit is only a work-sharing, closely coordinated component in the great, unified fighting apparatus of the entire country. Each immediate victory of a given component must be directed at the overall victory of the revolution.

The strength of each component helps to create the unified strength of the whole and, at the same time, the strength of the component is dependent on the overall strength. The relationship between the victory of the component and the overall victory is based on this foundation. Therefore, we must resolutely implement the principle of the small components obeying the large components and all the components must obey the whole. Each locality, each branch, and each unit must develop its capabilities to a high degree in order to contribute to the overall strength, must resolutely complete every task it is assigned, and must try to secure the greatest victory. But it must also constantly support the task of developing the strength of the large components and of the entirety. If necessary the localities or components must even know how to endure difficulties in order that the entirety can obtain advantages and in order to secure the overall victory. There are very many examples in our army of the embodiment of a very good concept of the entirety. One such example is resolutely discharging the duties of one's unit or component while, always on the basis of the overall requirements, taking positive measures, initiating action, endeavoring to reinforce one another, and closely collaborating. As a result of this, our army is always developing unified and concentrated strength and winning great victories.

Ardent love of country and placing the family interests within the broad interests of the fatherland; the high collective consciousness and placing the collective interests above those of the individual; a strict sense of organization and discipline and the correct concept of the entirety, and so forth, are all expressions of collectivism and have become beautiful traditions in our army.

They are the underlying thoughts guiding us in our resolution of the relationships between the collective and the private. They prove that our army has very lofty ethical qualities and great action capability; they are a profound expression of the revolutionary essence and fighting spirit of the proletarian class within our armed forces.

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It is for this very reason that our army has been able to develop its extremely great collective strength and been able with that strength to overcome every difficulty and to defeat every enemy.

Develop a radically revolutionary spirit and an attack thinking and resolve to eradicate the cold and negative thinking and to develop the new person and the new thinking:

Marxism-Leninism affirms that in a class society the class struggle is the motive force which propels the society forward from a low to a high level in accordance with historical laws of development. In the course of that development the class struggle between the opposing classes on the political, ideological and economic fronts, and so forth, and the struggle between the person and the old ideas, and the revolutionary forces seeking to build the new society, the new person and new ideas, takes place continuously and with extreme ferocity.

The ideal of communism, the great goal of the party, presents each of us communists and revolutionaries the extremely large duty to struggle to eradicate the system of man exploiting man and to develop socialism and communism. This is a process of unbroken revolutionary struggle to thoroughly resolve the class conflicts in society and, at the same time, it is a process of ideological struggle within the revolutionary forces to sweep out every ideological vestige of the reactionary classes and every still-extant negative and backward elements of the old revolutionary qualities fitted to the new society in order to develop every positive and progressive element and successfully complete every task of the revolution in each period of history.

Our party maintains that in order to build the new society, there must be new people, people who have all the special qualities of the new, socialist, and communist society. President Ho has taught: "In order to develop socialism we must have socialists."

The socialist is the person who has all the virtues and talents for annihilating every enemy of the class and the people, for eradicating the system of oppression, exploitation, and private ownership, and for successfully building the new society. The makeup of the socialist person whom the party is trying to develop is: Revolutionary virtue impregnated with the Marxist-Leninist world view and the communist philosophy of life; high technical and scientific competency and the ability to skillfully use every combat and labor tool in order to fight expertly and produce successfully; a beautiful, rich, and wholesome cultural and spiritual life, inheriting and developing the precious traditions of the people in concert with the socialist system; and at the same time, a determined spirit to eradicate the negative factors and backward customs and habits left over by the feudalist and colonial systems and by private production.

Our armed forces are the party's main instrument of force for conducting the class struggle and revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary goals and political tasks of the party are the ideals and combat goals of our armed forces. Revolutionary warfare and revolutionary struggle are the most decisive forms of class struggle and revolutionary struggle.

At present, our armed forces, under the leadership of the party and in concert with all the people, are fighting against the Americans and the clique of henchmen to protect the north, liberate the south, and move forward to the unification of the fatherland. This is the extremely heavy and extremely proud, historical task of our armed forces. For this reason, the makeup of the socialist person must, speaking generally, be expressed in a manner specifically suited to the functions, duties, and special characteristics of the armed forces.

The main content and concentrated expression of revolutionary morality, the morality of the new people, and the morality of the revolutionary fighters in our armed forces is: "Have loyalty to the party and affection for the people, complete every task, overcome every difficulty, and defeat every enemy." This is a profound expression of our armed forces' revolutionary outlook and attitude toward the party, the people, and the enemy. Our army is loyal to the party and therefore the party trusts it; it has affection for the people and therefore the people love and respect it; and it has a revolutionary spirit and therefore overcomes all difficulties, completes every task, and resolutely attacks and defeats every enemy.

Moreover, by virtue of having developed the revolutionary morality, the cadre of our army have acquired all the abilities for successfully completing every military task of the party. These are leadership and command abilities, professional specialty abilities, abilities for organizing the masses to effectively implement every line and policy of the party and every order and directive from higher authorities. We must develop our cadre into enthusiastic, virtuous, and talented cadre. This is the only way we can transform the line and tasks of the party into actual successes. Especially in the present anti-U.S. national salvation fight, in the face of the increasingly greater construction and combat tasks of the armed forces, we must actively work to make our cadre stable and able to thoroughly understand and creatively adapt the military thought of the party in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists and the clique of henchmen. Our army, led and completely educated by the party and nurtured and wholeheartedly assisted by the people, has progressed from nothing to something and from weak to strong, has developed constantly and won proud victories. We defeated the Japanese fascists and the French imperialists and are defeating and definitely will completely defeat the U.S. imperialists, secure independence and freedom, defend socialism, and continue to bring our country's revolution unceasingly forward.

In order to develop the new, virtuous, and talented person--the socialist person--we must fully enlist the radically revolutionary spirit and the attack-thinking of the working class in order to unceasingly develop proletarian class thinking in our army, develop the positive and advanced elements to a high degree, and sweep away every unrevolutionary thought and backward and negative element.

We all know that the inner ideological struggle is a reflection of and an element in the class struggle in society aimed at serving the political tasks of the party. The attitude toward the ideological struggle is really an expression of the attitude toward the duty of class struggle. If, as in the class struggle, the revolutionary must have a radically and unceasingly revolutionary spirit and a spirit of attack-thinking, then, he must have that spirit on the ideological struggle front if he is to be able to make the correct thinking defeat the incorrect thinking.

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We must profoundly understand that the inner ideological struggle to develop proletarian thinking and to block and eliminate nonproletarian thinking takes place before, during, and even after the revolution and even after the reactionary classes have been destroyed, for their traces survive for a very long time.

If we are unconcerned and lack vigilance in the matter of consolidating the ideological position of the proletarian class, then, we will enable nonproletarian ideas to insinuate themselves into the revolutionary ranks. Lenin himself taught that: "There is no 10,000-mile wall between the working class and the old society of the proletarian class. When the revolution blossoms, the situation is not the same as when someone dies and we need only to carry the body away to end the story. When the old society is destroyed, its corpse cannot be taken and shrouded and buried. It still rots and fetidly decays in us and harms us. Lenin: "At the Joint Conference Between the Central Committee of All Russia and the Soviet Representing the Working, Peasants and Red Army of Moscow and the Labor Union."

The inner ideological struggle to firmly maintain the truths and to overcome errors is one of the decisive areas of struggle for bringing about the victory of the revolution. And especially in the case of our armed forces; if they want to secure victory on the battlefield, they must first of all secure a decisive victory on the ideological front. This is true because combat is an all-encompassing challenge for the armed forces, but it is foremost a challenge to their will and ideology.

At present, the exploiting class has been eradicated from the socialist north but its ideological vestiges have not been completely removed. The anti-U.S. national salvation fight is an extremely decisive class struggle and national struggle. The U.S. imperialists are very dangerous and tricky and their coterie of henchmen are consumed with thoughts of avenging their class and are desperately searching for ways to counterattack our ranks politically and ideologically. For this reason, the inner ideological struggle must be conducted resolutely, zealously, and thoroughly in every sector.

Thus far, deeply imbued with the radically revolutionary, unceasingly revolutionary, and attack-thinking spirit of the proletarian class and firmly adhering to the principles of the party concerning the area of ideological struggle, our armed forces have very effectively carried out the internal education and ideological struggle tasks; clearly differentiated between the enemy and ourselves; clearly differentiated between right and wrong, positive and negative; resolved basic problems such as struggle and happiness, sacrifice and pleasure, individual and collective, family and class and nation, and so forth. As a result, our armed forces have become our party's sharp instrument of revolutionary struggle and have become the invincible army of the people.

We have scored many great records and gained numerous rich experiences in education and ideological struggle. These experiences have been developed into a political and ideological way of life for our army.

It is only by always standing firm on the position of the working class, understanding the reasoning of Marxism-Leninism and the thinking, lines, and principles of the party, and viewing them as the basis for considering and resolving every problem in the course of the army's development and combat that we can discriminate between right and wrong, protect the truth, overcome errors, and cause the new factors and positive factors to develop vigorously and the political and ideological strength of our army to always be developed to a high degree.

Ordinarily, our concepts and ideas do not keep pace when there are turning points in the revolution and when the situation and tasks of the revolution and the situation and task of the army undergo new developments; as a result, contradiction with respect to concepts and ideas are unavoidable. The process of ideological development and progress in each of us is a process of positively and continuously resolving these contradictions.

For this very reason, each of us, during each struggle to overcome the contradictions, makes new ideological progress, becomes increasingly imbued with the thinking and line of the party, overcomes backward factors, defeats every ideological enemy, and creates a stable premise for defeating every political enemy in society. Actual experience has clearly indicated that unless we consider and resolve the problems from the standpoint of the position, thinking, line, and principles of the party, we ordinarily will not be able to clearly distinguish between right and wrong, positive and negative, progressiveness and backwardness; the ideological struggle and self-development will not have precise guidelines; and obviously when that happens our people will be unable to make progress.

It is clear that Marxism-Leninism and the ideology and line of our party are the sharpest weapons in transforming our society into a new society and each of us into a new person with all of the revolutionary qualities of the working class. The teaching of the reasoning of Marxism-Leninism and the thinking and line of our Party is the most crucial problem in training ourselves in the reality of the struggle to become people of the highest revolutionary character. And only if we are trained in this way will the decisive conditions exist for defeating all ideological enemies, protecting the truth, and overcoming errors.

In ideological activity we always cling to the principle: Develop the positive factors in order to overcome the negative factors and build up the new and progressive in order to overcome the old and backward and bring our army forward unceasingly. The inexorable law of development of life is that the new and the progressive definitely will defeat the old and the backward and the positive factors definitely will defeat the negative factors.

Our army has a very beautiful revolutionary character and tradition. The thinking of the proletarian class is the guiding thinking in our army and among our cadre and fighters. In the reality of the revolutionary struggle and of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, the positive, progressive, and new factors are being continuously, strongly, and richly strengthened and developed on every battlefield, among all three kinds of troops, and in all branches of activity of the armed forces. We must and definitely can develop every positive factor in order to defeat the negative factors.

The thing determining the success of this struggle is the subjective effort expanded by each of our cadre and fighters. For this reason, we must fully enlist a sense of political responsibility, a fervent revolutionary enthusiasm, and a will of determination to fight and of determination to defeat every enemy and probe deeply into the actual combat, operational, and life activities in order to strengthen ourselves and train everyone. If the revolutionary spirit is weak, revolutionary enthusiasm is not high, the will to fight is not strong, the political responsibility is not adequate, the character is not stable, and there is a lack of resolve to train and struggle, then, it will be impossible to strengthen and develop the correct thinking and the new person and it will be impossible to destroy and defeat the ideology of the enemy and the backward factors.

Moreover, in order to make the proletarian thinking defeat the nonproletarian thinking and the positive factors defeat the negative factors, we must clearly identify and resolutely struggle to overcome nonproletarian ideas and negative factors. This thing embodies the quality of a principle and a radically revolutionary quality in education work and ideological struggle. But the character of an internal ideological struggle is completely different from that of the ideological struggle is completely different from that of the class struggle in society. The main objective of the ideological struggle is for everyone to progress and for the whole army to progress and to successfully complete every revolutionary task of the party and of the army. Therefore, in a spirit of class love and comradesly love, we must aim at strengthening internal solidarity, unity of thought, and unity of action in order to teach, struggle with, and help one another to progress.

It is clear that the development of the new person is chiefly aimed at causing the new society to completely defeat the old society, and the proletarian thinking and positive factors to defeat the nonproletarian thinking and negative factors. The revolutionary line of the party, profoundly infused with the radically revolutionary, unceasingly revolutionary, and attack-thinking spirit of the proletarian class, is the sharpest ideological weapon for the struggle to eradicate the old society, to sweep away the nonproletarian thinking and all the backward and negative factors; for the development of the new person and new society; for the successful completion of all the political and military tasks of the party.

Led and educated by the party, our army has a high revolutionary character, beautiful political qualities, and very proud combat traditions. For the past 23 years, unceasingly and vigorously developing these qualities and traditions, our army has constantly displayed its unlimited loyalty to the party, has enjoyed the trust of the party, has shown its affection for the people, and has enjoyed the love of the people. For this reason our army is properly completing every task, defeating every enemy of the people and class, and causing the enemy to be terrified, measuring up to its role as the party's main instrument of force.

At present our army is performing the extremely proud task of fighting on the anti-U.S. national salvation front line, a great and boiling fight unprecedented in the history of our people. We are winning in this great fight and never before have we been as strong as we are today.

Conversely, the U.S. imperialists are losing heavily and they have never been as defeated, isolated, and deadlocked as they are today. Traditionally the ringleader, cruel, cunning, and ambitious imperialist, U.S. imperialism is stubbornly intensifying the war of aggression in our country. The combat task of our army and people is very heavy, severe, and decisive. But the inevitable direction of development of the anti-U.S. national salvation fight of our people is that our people will definitely win and the U.S. imperialists will definitely lose.

This situation and task demands that more than ever before our army develop its revolutionary essence, political qualities, and proud traditions and that it makes extraordinary efforts and move forward to win greater victories in order to complete the great historic task of our people--to completely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates.

Developing the revolutionary nature, political qualities, and proud traditions is the responsibility of all three kinds of troops, of all branches of service and specialties, on the frontline and in the rear area, and of each cadre and fighter in every field of combat, study, and work. But the cadre, the people who have the managerial responsibility and who have already received much party education and training, who have been able to absorb the revolutionary traditions of the army, and who have already accumulated much combat and construction experience, must especially strive to develop the beautiful qualities and traditions of the army in order to constantly meet the developing requirements of the new situation and task and act as the nucleus in educating and training new cadre and young fighters to become people with both wisdom and courage.

Each cadre and fighter must view the matter of developing the proud traditions of the army and of developing revolutionary virtues as very basic conditions for training and struggling to become "four good" cadre, "four good" party member, "four good" group members, and "determined-to-win" fighters, possessing both a stable viewpoint and thinking and the full ability to complete every task in an outstanding way.

We now have numerous advantages for vigorously developing the revolutionary qualities and traditions of the army. These are: The correct and creative revolutionary line of our party; the strength of the very great solidarity and unanimity, the fact that our army has matured by leaps and bounds, has acquired rich combat and construction experience, has been and is now winning on all the battlefields, and has a constantly growing material and technical base.

The main problem at present is for each of our cadres and fighters to feverishly train, to always have a thorough understanding of the party line, and to endeavor to build the revolutionary virtues and proud traditions of the army into strength of action creating great victories on all battlefields. By acting in this way there is no difficulty which we cannot overcome and no task we cannot complete; our army will certainly move forward constantly and, along with all the people, will completely defeat the aggressive U.S. pirates and bring the anti-U.S. national salvation task to complete victory.

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OFFICIALS ATTEND 4TH LITERACY, ART CONGRESS

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[Text] Hanoi--Literacy and art circles in North Vietnam held their fourth national literacy and art congress here from 22 to 26 January. More than 300 delegates from various branches--literature, poetry, painting, music, sculpture, cinematography, photography, theater, choreography, circus, puppetry--and from all parts of North Vietnam attended the congress.

Reviewing the literacy and art activities since the third congress in November 1962, especially since the U.S. began its war of destruction against North Vietnam, the general report of the executive committee of the Vietnam writers and artists union delivered by literacy researcher Dang Thai Mai pointed out: Never in the history of the revolutionary literature and art of Vietnam has there been such a vigorous and comprehensive development as at present. Never before has Vietnamese literature and art been provided with so steady a basis and reached such high peaks as today. Never before has it exerted so great an influence on the ideological and sentimental life of the Vietnamese people, nor yet have the Vietnamese literacy and art works had so wide and so profound repercussions in the hearts of our friends all over the world. These repercussions stem first of all from the revolutionary heroism in our works. Never before have heroic personages held so prominent a place in all branches of literature and art, and never have there been so many heroic personages who blend so harmoniously the breath of our times with the character of the Vietnamese nation.

An important part of the report was devoted to the resistance literature and art of South Vietnam which has developed allsidely, by leaps and bounds. It faithfully and eloquently reflected the fight of the South Vietnamese people and has produced vivid types of revolutionary heroism and made important contributions to educating and training heroic generations throughout the country.

It graphically portrayed the aggressive features of U.S. imperialism. Reality in South Vietnam makes it possible to affirm that a literature and art which aims at serving the people unconditionally can never be stamped out by bombs and shells nor withheld by chemical poisons.

From the rostrum of the congress, on behalf of the Vietnamese writers and artists, Bang Thai Mai stressed heartfelt gratitude to progressive writers, artists, and intellectuals in all lands for their support and assistance to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

On the tasks now ahead for Vietnamese literature and art, the report discussed the problems of creation, performance, research, criticism, training, and fostering of writers and artists, development of the literacy and art movement among the national minorities, and the mass movement for literacy and artistic creation, with a view to putting into practice the motto "more art works worthy of the great cause of our people."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party, Troung Chinh, Political Bureau member, attended the congress and read a message of greeting from the Party Central Committee. After warmly praising the achievements of the literacy and art workers in both north and south Vietnam, the letter expressed the firm belief that Vietnamese literature and art will reach new heights in the present resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation.