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Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 3, MARCH 1986

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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A POLITICAL EVENT OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] An important political event has just taken place in the beautiful and heroic Soviet Union: the 27th CPSU Congress was held from 25 February to 6 March 1986 with nearly 5,000 delegates attending, representing 19 million party members throughout the Soviet Union. At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, some 152 delegations of the communist and worker parties, the national democratic and socialist parties, and the progressive movements from many countries throughout the world also attended the congress.

The participants in the congress discussed the Party Central Committee's report, approved the party's political program (new one), supplemented the party rules, and decided on the basic guidelines for socio-economic development in the Soviet Union for the period of 1986-90 and until the year 2000. They also elected a Party Central Committee headed by General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev.

The 27th CPSU Congress was an important event in the political life of the Soviet working class and people and an event of great significance to the international communist and worker movements. Communists and progressives on the five continents welcomed this event with elation and enthusiasm. The documents approved at the congress not only are of great significance to the Soviet Union--the mainstay of the socialist community and peace--but also strongly influence the revolutionary cause of the working class and people in all countries in the world.

The 27th CPSU Congress was held at a time when the Soviet working class and people under the party's leadership have achieved great successes in all areas of social life. Loyal to great Lenin's behests and implementing the strategic lines set by the previous congresses, the Soviet Union has reached the pinnacles of socio-economic progress and is steadily advancing on the path toward socialist perfection in a planned and comprehensive manner. The Soviet Union now has a powerful and comprehensively developed economy and a force of highly skilled workers, experts, and scientists. It is taking the lead in the world in several respects such as production development, science, and technology. From the social viewpoint, the Soviet Union is undergoing

profound changes. Workers have actually become their country's masters. The people's material and cultural lives have constantly improved. The socialist lifestyle has been perfected. The right to equality, human relations of cooperation and mutual assistance, and true democracy have been established and are improving every day. Human dignity and privacy have been respected.

Implementing the 26th Congress resolutions during the years from 1981 to 1985, the Soviet Union has achieved new progress in socio-economic development, increasing the people's social welfare. National income increased by 17 percent over 1980. Positive action was taken to step up scientific and technical innovations aimed at improving production by providing it with new technical equipment. The in-depth development of production has scored fine results. More than 90 percent of the increase in national income resulted from the increase in social labor productivity. More than 1,000 modern new industrial factories were built and put into operation. The atomic energy sector has developed quickly, accounting for 10 percent of the total energy supply in the country. The Soviet Union, which previously took the lead in mineral oil exploitation, has now taken the same position in exploiting natural gas. Soviet industrial products now account for 20 percent of the gross industrial output of the world. In 1984, the Soviet Union produced 1.493 billion kilowatts/hours of electricity, 154 million metric tons of steel, 130 million metric tons of cement, and 613 metric tons of mineral oil. The socio-economic situation in the Soviet Union has developed all the more vigorously in the last years of the eleventh 5-year plan (1981-85). It's 1985 industrial production volume increased by approximately 4 percent over that of 1984. In agriculture, it scored good results in the grain and food product program. Its agricultural production volume has increased annually by an average of 6 percent. Pork has increased by 10 percent and eggs by 18 percent as compared to the tenth 5-year plan (1976-80). With respect to communications and transportation, the volume of shipments has increased by 15 percent. The Baikal-Amur Railway, with a length of 3,200 km, has technically been completed. The building of this railway is of great significance to the development of production forces in Siberia and the Far East areas. The Soviet Union has also completed the construction of the huge 48,000 km long pipeline system for natural gas distribution.

The Soviet Union has never ceased its struggle to score new scientific achievements even in conquering outer space. In October 1985, the Soviet Union for the first time carried out a campaign to "vivify" the space project of the orbiting station "Salyut." Only a few days prior to the 27th Party Congress, the Soviet Union successfully orbited a scientific research station called "Peace," a new generation space station and a marvelous scientific achievement.

The standards of the people's material and cultural lives have quickly increased on the basis of developing and increasing economic results. In 1985, the average monthly pay of workers and civil servants was 190 rubles and the monthly labor remuneration of farmers was 150 rubles. The housing problem has been resolved very positively. More than 2 million houses have been built each year in the Soviet Union. In the past 5 years, more than 550 million square meters of housing have been put into use to improve the lodging of more

than 50 million people. The public health, educational, cultural, and literary tasks have all progressed considerably.

In the field of foreign affairs, with its tireless effort, the Soviet Union has made important contributions to changing the face of today's world. It has made very important contributions to the growth, solidarity, and unity of the socialist community. It has wholeheartedly supported the world people's revolutionary struggle and has simultaneously put forth many initiatives to safeguard peace, prevent the danger of a nuclear war, oppose the militarization of outer space, and promote detente and international cooperation for the sake of happiness for mankind. Particularly, in November 1985, owing to its persistence and initiative in the struggle for peace, the U.S.-SOVIET summit was possible. Assessing the results of this summit in Geneva, a resolution of the Supreme Soviet clearly specified: "Although the summit could not settle the very important issues related to ending the arms race and consolidating peace and although there still are great differences of view between the Soviet Union and the United States on the issues of a principled nature, the results of the summit have created the possibility of shifting from the present state of dangerous confrontation to a constructive move to seek procedures for normalizing Soviet-U.S. relations and making the international situation generally healthy." Since the Soviet-U.S. summit, the international situation has in general been less tense than it was before.

On the basis of the achievements scored by the Soviet Union, the participants in the 27th CPSU Congress discussed the advance to communism and the basic tasks and guidelines in the Soviet foreign and domestic policies in the new stage. An especially important document was unanimously approved at the congress. Its implementation will open the way for the development of Soviet society by leaps and bounds. It is the new political program of the CPSU. As stipulated in the prelude of the program, the party's third program that has been amended this time is a perfected, planned, and thoroughly socialist program. It will advance the Soviet Union further toward communism on the basis of accelerating the socio-economic development of the country. This is a program for the struggle for peace and social progress.

By reviewing thoroughly and adequately the real achievements of socialism on Soviet territory since the October revolution and by analyzing objectively and scientifically the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction in today's world, the CPSU's political program has resolved a series of theoretical and practical problems in the course of the transition from socialism to communism. The program has pointed out the basic objectives and guidelines of communist construction, which serve as the basis on which to orient the party's general lines and socio-economic strategy and to formulate the methods and measures of action to deal with the tasks set for the party's advance.

The political program clearly states that in the present domestic and international situation it is necessary to insure the comprehensive development of Soviet society and to make efforts to advance it toward communism by rapidly accelerating socio-economic development. This is the CPSU's strategic line aimed at reforming the quality of Soviet society's life in all aspects; basically improving the material and technical bases of the

society on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; perfecting social relations, especially economic relations; creating profound changes in the scope and nature of labor and in the people's material and spiritual lives; and creating dynamism for the whole system of political, social, and ideological organizations. According to the political program, in the next 15 years the Soviet economic target is set at establishing an economic potential with a scale equal to what has been accumulated by the Soviet administration during the past years; a 2-fold increase in national income and gross industrial output, and a 2.3 to 2.5-fold increase in labor productivity. In the social domain, various basic tasks have been designed to improve consistently living and working conditions of the Soviet people; implement fully the principle of social justice in all basic aspects of social relations; narrow the gaps between social classes, circles, and strata; eliminate basic differences between intellectual and manual laborers and between cities and the rural areas; and perfect relations between nationalities in the Soviet Union and strengthen their fraternal relations. The political program also sets forth key objectives and orientations of the party's foreign policy, affirming the party standpoints to strengthen firm protection on interests of the Soviet people and resolutely oppose the aggressive policy of imperialism while standing ready to hold talks--in a constructive manner--to solve various international problems through negotiations. The political program points out: at present no other missions are more important and lofty than those of defending and consolidating peace, stopping the aggressive forces and militarism, and insuring the vitality of this and future generations. A world with no war and weapons is the ideal of socialism.

The political program affirms that the continued development and consolidation of Soviet relations with other socialist countries is the foremost important task. It states that the Soviet Union will consistently consolidate relations with liberated countries and unswervingly and resolutely defend the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems.

On the orientations of the party building task, after affirming the necessity of increasing the leadership role of the CPSU in Soviet society, the political program stresses: implementing its leadership role in society, the CPSU will unswervingly apply various tested Leninist principles, establish a communist style in the party building task and in all state managerial and economic branches, enhance the scientific nature of party policy, continue to rely on the collective intelligence and experience of the masses, and develop their dynamism in society. The party highly treasures the uniform activities relating to the theoretical, ideological, political, educational, organizational, and economic domains to struggle resolutely against all sluggish and conservative phenomena and to seek by all means a creative solution to various socio-economic, scientific and technological, and ideological educational problems.

The significance of problems discussed, the adoption of the (new) political program and other important resolution, the splendid success of the election of the Party Central Committee and the Inspection Committee--all these made the 27th CPSU Congress not only an event marking the progress of the Soviet

Union but also an important event for the cause of revolution and peace of the people of the world. The documents adopted by the congress have not only illuminated the path toward communism of the great Soviet Union but also the great contribution to the world revolutionary theoretical treasure, thereby profoundly resolving many revolutionary problems of prime concern to many countries.

Together with communists and progressives in the world, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people warmly welcome the 27th CPSU Congress. For several months now, looking to great Lenin's country with confidence and profound enthusiasm, we have followed the preparations of the fraternal Soviet communists and people for the congress. Our party delegation, led by General Secretary Le Duan, has brought to the congress the warm sentiments of cordiality and militant solidarity of our communists and people for the Soviet communist party and people, which nothing can affect. The congress' glorious success has all the more strongly delighted and encouraged us to advance continually and vigorously on the path of the Great October Revolution.

From the bottom of their hearts, all the Vietnamese people profoundly understand that throughout the decades of anti-imperialist struggle as well as in the current socialist construction and national defense, they have always received strong, great, and comprehensive support and assistance from the communist party, government and people of the Soviet Union in the spirit of socialist internationalism. With profound gratitude and confidence, all the CPV members, the working class and people of Vietnam consider the Soviet victories as their own. We all understand that each success of the Soviet Union and each step forward of the revolution in the Soviet Union will further strengthen the mainstay of the revolution and peace in the world and will consolidate the greatest fulcrum of the Vietnamese nation. We are elated at the new steps of development in the fraternal friendship and the relations of militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between the two parties, governments, and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The SRV-USSR treaty of friendship and cooperation concluded in November 1978 was an important event in the political life of the peoples of the two countries. The official visit to the Soviet Union of our party-government delegation led by Comrade Le Duan (from 26 June to 1 July 1985) was a fresh symbol of Vietnamese-Soviet fraternal friendship and a very important landmark for a stage of higher, deeper and broader development in the relations of comprehensive cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union. The joint statement on the visit once again asserted the unanimity of views between the two parties and states of Vietnam and the Soviet Union with respect to the important problems concerning bilateral relations and international issues. We resolve to do our utmost to cultivate the pure and bright relations of loyalty between the two parties and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union, making them everlasting. From generation to generation, the Vietnamese people pledge to side with the CPSU and the fraternal Soviet people in the struggle for the total victory of socialist and communist ideals.

Full of enthusiasm in these memorable days, we convey our best greetings to the CPSU and the fraternal Soviet people over the glorious results of the 27th CPSU Congress. May the working class and fraternal people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU headed by respected and beloved General

Secretary M.S. Gorbachev victoriously implement the congress' resolutions, turn the party's political program into reality, advance the Soviet Union to communism quickly and vigorously, and make the worthiest contributions to firmly defending and consolidating peace for the sake of the life and happiness of the present and future generations on earth.

CSO: 4210/8

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM TO THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 7, 8

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam, on behalf of the working class and people of Vietnam we extend to the 27th Congress of the glorious CPSU and, through the congress, to the communists, the working class and all the people of the fraternal Soviet Union our heartiest congratulations.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU is a momentous political event in the life of the Soviet working class and people, marking a new, great milestone in the development of the Soviet Union, and is an event of very great international significance.

Over the past 68 years, the CPSU, the party of the great Lenin, has led the Soviet working class and people to obtain exploits and achievements unprecedented in the history of mankind in successfully building a new and beautiful society, translating the ideals of scientific socialism into vivid realities and making the Soviet Union a great socialist power, the strong citadel of peace and social progress in the world.

The newly revised program of the CPSU, which is to be approved at the congress, is of special importance not only for the Soviet Union but also for the socialist community as a whole, for the communist and international workers' movement, and for the struggle of the nations in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

This is a program for the planned and all-round perfection of socialism with a view to continuously taking the Soviet Union to new heights of socio-economic progress and further advancing toward communism, and enabling it to intensively develop production on the basis of rapidly developing science and technology, transforming production structure, perfecting the managerial system, enriching the socialist democracy, comprehensively developing the Soviet type of man, and bringing into full play the sense of collective

mastery and the immense creativeness of hundreds of millions of the Soviet people in national construction and state management.

It is also the program of the struggle for world peace and security against the arms race of imperialism and in support of nations' independence and social progress. The overall three-phase program for totally eliminating nuclear arms put forth in the January 15th statement of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev is a great peace initiative which meets the burning aspiration of all nations.

More than ever, mankind has now seen the realistic possibility for escaping the threat of the mass destruction weapons and the prospect of life in a war-free world. The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people absolutely support the new Soviet initiative and will, together with the progressive and peace forces, strive for that noble goal.

During decades of their struggle against successive wars of aggression as well as in their present socialist construction and defense, the Vietnamese people have always enjoyed the wholehearted support and effective assistance in the spirit of pure socialist internationalism from the Communist Party, government and people of the Soviet Union.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese working class and people, we would like to express our sincere and profound gratitude to the Communist party, the government and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union for their precious support and assistance.

To constantly develop and upgrade the quality and effectiveness of the Vietnam-USSR comprehensive cooperation is the principled stance of our party and state. We greatly rejoice to note that the Vietnam-USSR treaty of friendship and cooperation and the agreements reached at the talks between the general secretaries of the two parties have been carried out and are bringing about very fine results.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU and the newly revised program of your party greatly encourages us to move forward.

May the 27th Congress of the CPSU win glorious success.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizer of all victories of the Soviet people, the great vanguard of the international communist movement.

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the strong citadel of world peace and revolution.

Long live the great friendship, militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between the parties and people of Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism.

CSO: 4210/8

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE DELIVERED BY GENERAL SECRETARY LE DUAN AT THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 9-12

[Address by Le Duan]

[Text] Distinguished members of the Presidium, Comrade delegates, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam would like to extend its warmest greetings to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of the working class and the entire people of the Soviet Union and the greatest vanguard of the international communist and worker movement.

This congress has a great historical significance:

--It opens a new stage of glorious development of the Soviet Union, that of perfecting socialism and vigorously advancing to communism.

--It marks the all-round enhancement of the leading role of the party in the life of the Soviet society and insures strict observance of the Leninist standards in the party's activities.

--It demonstrates the international solidarity of the communists across the world in their struggle for peace, national independence and socialism.

Having fought under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and having gone through three popular revolutions, especially the Great October Revolution, and having become the leader of a big socialist power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always proved itself to be the outstanding organizer of all the victories of the Soviet people. The historic achievements of the Soviet Union in building a new society, its triumph in the great patriotic war, its firm advance to new heights in socio-economic development as well as its growing influence on the world's development have all been closely associated with the activities of the party.

The newly revised program and the political report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered by Comrade General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev thoroughly summarize the practical activities, the great achievements and diversified experience of the CPSU and shed more light on the theoretical and practical questions of building communism from the lower to higher stages. They are

documents of special importance not only for the Soviet Union but also for the socialist community, the international communist and worker movement and the struggle of nations the world over in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Vietnamese communists deeply understand what has been written in the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The socialist society is a society which holds high the banner "all for the human beings, all for the happiness of man... The socialist society is a society where all intentions and actions in the international arena are aimed at supporting the aspiration of nations for independence and social progress and serving the main task which is to defend and consolidate peace." We value highly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's strategy aimed at perfecting socialism in a planned and comprehensive way, vigorously and intensively developing production on the basis of accelerating scientific and technical progress, transforming the structure of production and perfecting the managerial mechanism with the matured socialist relations of production and a dynamic managerial mechanism.

The objective up to the year 2000 is to double the production force through a radical qualitative renovation, thus laying a firm foundation for the rapid increase of the people's welfare, for the all-round development of man and for the consolidation of the economic and defense might of the Soviet Union.

The raising of the might in all fields of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community will surely bring about a vigorous change in the world situation, and stimulate the struggle of nations for peace, independence, democracy and socialism. Today, more than ever before, mankind has realized its responsibility to preserve peace on earth. Nations have realized their right to be masters of their destinies. Advancing toward socialism is the trend of our times. The offensive impetus of the three revolutionary currents is irresistible.

We do not underestimate the schemes and moves of the imperialist forces led by U.S. imperialism. They are scheming to push mankind to a nuclear holocaust. However, their frenzied counter-attacks are only the desperate struggle of a socio-economic regime which is condemned by history and is in the process of disintegration. The most bellicose shock forces of imperialism have been defeated one after another in their wars of aggression against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and many other nations in the world. Today, ever mightier forces have emerged to stay their criminal hands. With the implementation of the newly revised program, the Soviet Union will be even more capable to fulfill its role as the bastion of peace, national independence and socialism. The Communist Party and the entire people of Vietnam unreservedly support the comprehensive program aimed at eliminating step by step and completely nuclear weapons, a great peace initiative presented by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in his famous statement on January 15th of this year.

By striving for the realization of that realistic program, mankind will embark on the 21st century in the hope of living a world without the threat of extermination weapons, a world where war will no longer be a means to settle problems in the relations among states.

The world must have peace. All regions in each continent and ocean also must have peace. In Asia and the Pacific as well as in the Indian Ocean, the Soviet Union and Vietnam together with other forces of peace and progress, if united, will certainly be able to foil the imperialist forces' scheme of provoking military confrontations, to establish peace and security in these regions, and insure the real possibility for the nations therein to master their destinies. In Southeast Asia, it is time for the two groups of Indochinese and ASEAN countries to increase their dialogue to solve problems in the relations among the various sides.

In close unity with Laos and Cambodia, Vietnam will persistently work in that sense. Southeast Asia must be built into a region of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

Comrades, following the path of the October Revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam founded and trained by President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people have gone through a stage of very hard struggle but full of glorious victories. Over the past 40 years, our people have continuously fought against and defeated one war of aggression after another launched by the imperialist and expansionist forces. The great victory of the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation has not only restored independence and unity to Vietnam, but also contributed to accelerating the struggle of nations for peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

Over the past 10 years and more, we have been building socialism in the whole of the country. We have had to overcome a great deal of difficulties and complexities. The long wars have left behind heavy sequels.

Our enemies have not left a stone unturned to sabotage our revolution. But we have answered them with deeds, constantly standing vigilant and ready to defeat all their schemes. We have the necessary moral and physical power to successfully implement our two strategic tasks, which are to build socialism and defend the fatherland.

The newly revised program of the CPSU and this congress have greatly encouraged us to march forward. To constantly develop and upgrade the quality and effectiveness of the comprehensive Vietnam-USSR cooperation is the principled stance of our party and state. To fully carry out the Vietnam-USSR treaty of friendship and cooperation and the agreements reached at the June 1985 talks between the general secretaries of the two parties, and to coordinate our actions in implementing the overall program for scientific and technological progress of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are actually to serve the immediate and long-term interests of our two countries and the socialist community as a whole.

The coming 6th Congress of our party will set the socio-economic tasks and targets for the 1986-90 period and the orientation for taking our country to a new stage of development on the path to socialism. From now to the end of this century, we will step up the three revolutions simultaneously, regarding the scientific and technical revolution as the kingpin, take one step further in building the regime of socialist collective mastery, a new economy and a new type of men and insure a plentiful and happy life for the people.

Together with the other delegates, we would like to take this opportunity to express the profound gratitude of the Communist Party and people of Vietnam to the Soviet Union for its assistance in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

--Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

--Long live the fraternal friendship, militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between the two parties and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

--Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

--Long live peace and socialism!

CSO: 42108

A CREATIVE THEORETICAL DOCUMENT IMPREGNATED WITH THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR EPOCH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 13-21, 30

[Article by Hoang Tung]

[Text] The CPSU's platform (new version) adopted at the 27th Congress is a perfectly planned and thoroughly socialist platform that is aimed at advancing the Soviet Union to communism on the basis of accelerating socio-economic development. At the same time, it is also a great platform of the struggle for peace and social progress the world over.

In the history of its development, the CPSU has, to date, had three platforms:

The first platform, adopted at the 6th Congress in 1903, was a platform for the struggle to gain state administration and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat;

The second platform, adopted at the 8th Congress in 1919, was a platform for building socialism; and the third platform, adopted at the 22nd Congress in 1961, was a platform for building communism.

This year, the 27th Congress adopted the new version of the third platform with the aim of advancing Soviet society further along the communist road on the basis of national socio-economic development.

The CPSU platform (new version) is a scientific recapitulation of the successes recorded in all aspects of the practice of socialism in the Soviet Union, and it resolves the fundamental problems concerning theory and practice of the transition period from the first to the second stage of communism. This platform inherits the theoretical and political views that form the foundation of the CPSU and were presented in the old version adopted at the 22nd Congress in 1961. Nevertheless, compared with the 1961 version, the new version is developed to a high level as it reflects the successes recorded by the Soviet Union over the past quarter century and also the extraordinary development in logical thinking achieved recently by the CPSU. On the other hand, the new version enriches the theoretical treasure of Marxism-Leninism concerning a series of universal problems of scientific socialism, methodology, political economics and especially the theoretical and practical problems of the transition period between two historic stages of communism.

It is truly a new height of creative development, in both theory and practice, of scientific socialism. The principles laid out in the platform (new version) have a profound historical significance as well as broad epochal meaning.

The scientific interpretation of scientific socialism is related to the theoretical issues and the most important practical tasks of the undertaking to perfect socialism. Marx, Engels and Lenin offered important definitions of the nature of socialism and communism. Nevertheless, it is totally logical and easily understandable that theoreticians could not fully foresee the viewpoints and realistic forms of socialism in the latter part of the 20th century--the period when the struggle between the two opposing socio-economic systems and the second scientific and technological revolution are taking place under conditions far different from those in the past. We are now living under new historical conditions that are both diverse and very complex; and this requires that we evaluate and review in a scientific manner all objective phenomena and facts. "The communists' theoretical viewpoints are definitely not based on the concepts and principles invented or discovered by any world reformer. These principles are simple general manifestations of realistic conditions."(1)

The correlation between revolutionary theory and social reality is a fundamental law of the Marxist-Leninist process of development. The duty of all communists is to constantly and firmly grasp this correlation, always staying close to reality and proceeding from reality. This is the main source for creatively developing theory under the effect of revolutionary reality, making Marxism-Leninism become truly a science and an art of the multifaceted life. This is the strength and inexhaustible vitality of Marxism-Leninism. The CPSU platform (new version) defines socialism as society with the banner: "Everything for mankind, for the happiness of mankind." The platform points to nine characteristic points of the nature of socialism. This definition allows people to understand that socialist society involves a relatively independent socio-economic scope, possesses its own quality, and has matured in the stage of socialist construction. At the same time, it bears the characteristics of a new society that has not really matured with respect to the second stage of the communist socio-economic structure.

This is a complete and general review of what real socialism has achieved in the Soviet Union since the October Revolution. These achievements have brought the Soviet Union to new historic pinnacles and have opened the period of developed socialism. Seven decades are only a short period of time in the long history of development of human society. Although having to cope with and defeat the greatest aggressive forces of all eras, the Soviet Union has become a giant force in the true sense of the word in terms of material, political, and moral forces, and the strength of a new society, a new culture, new men, and a new lifestyle. This is the strength that transforms the old world, builds a new world, and protects the Soviet Union and the whole of mankind. This is the strength of creative labor, the strength of the liberated and constantly developed intelligence of hundreds of millions of people, the strength of lifestyle, qualities and ethics, and human behavior; the ideological strength of the working class with which the entire great country has armed itself; the strength of solidarity and unity among a

community of many nationalities; the strength of lofty ideals and a good willed stand of peace; and the strength of the most shining example for all nations.

Some 140 years ago, the communist party's declaration presented the outline of a future society and indicated the path of liberation for the working class and progressive mankind. This was the first such genuine discovery in human history. The declaration has developed the great strength and gathered the revolutionary forces of the working class in all countries. Today, the CPSU platform has resolved all the practical problems that were previously only foreseen by doctrinaires. The platform further supplements and develops a series of theoretical issues of socialist and communist construction which could not be mentioned in the declaration.

As clearly indicated in the platform, the process of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union has evolved through many periods. Between the lower and higher stages of communism, there must be essential steps of transition. Such an orientation of the line for development, on the one hand, has outstandingly contributed to further enriching the theoretical treasure of Marxism-Leninism and, on the other, has created the scientific bases on which to continually advance society. The CPSU has asserted the line to perfect socialism politically, ideologically, culturally, and socially, the line to reach the highest goal--communism. The evolution and development of developed socialism depends on the objective law and not on the subjective desire of man.

The scientific concepts related to a developed socialist society will be materialized and further enriched depending on the extent of advance and the material and moral maturity of the society and on the extent to which socialism can develop most adequately the role of its superiority, potentials, motive force and ideals. The assertion that developed socialism--the stage of transition to communism--involves a long period of history, is a great discovery. However, in action, all forces must concentrate on dealing with the issues that have ripened. This guiding thought is of very great significance to practical activities. Manifesting this thought, the CPSU has pointed out the historic duties and socio-economic objectives for the next 5 years and until the year 2000. This is the unprecedentedly colossal revolutionary program that involves the major reform of economic structures and management mechanisms; the scientific, technical, ideological, and ethical revolutions; and the lifestyle.

Socio-economic development is the most vital premise to perfect socialism. The party's economic strategy calls for the highest efforts to create a turning point in the economy and to double the economic potential by the end of this century. To attain this objective, the Soviet Union is carrying out economic reforms and developing the economy in depth by broadly applying the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution that has already entered the second stage. This reform is influencing and promoting all activities in Soviet society and covering all the economic, ideological, organizational, cultural, and lifestyle domains, thus creating a stance just as Lenin said: The revolution is a festival of the masses. The scientific and technical revolution, economic reform, and the new lifestyle and new

behavior are promoting one another to advance toward one direction and one goal. Economic strength serves as a base. The new economic strategy considers the establishment of a new dynamic economic system the most urgent demand. The new system based on the planning principle as a center will at the same time positively use all the economic leverages to mobilize to the highest extent the initiative and creativity of workers and primary units.

The CPSU has placed the social task and the economic task on the same strategic par. According to a Marxist viewpoint, economic development is a means of reaching the social and production goals that constitute man. Scientific, technical, and economic progress are all aimed at serving the demands of the laboring people. A correct social policy will reverse its role to serve as the most effective tool to promote economic development vigorously. Just as Lenin said: "Distribution is a tool and a means to increase production. By satisfactorily fulfilling its social function, the state will enhance the labor positivity and the sense of political awareness of the masses. This is an important factor and the inexhaustible source of latent potential to accelerate economic development, insure social stability, form new men, and establish a socialist lifestyle.

In the social domain, the objectives are to improve constantly the people's living and working conditions; insure better social justice every day; draw closer to one another all the social classes, groups, and strata and all nationalities; and eliminate differences between intellectual and manual labor and between cities and rural areas. Consequently, social policy is meant not only to increase the standard of living but also to resolve a series of problems related to man, ranging from working conditions and material and cultural benefits to relations in society, among classes and nationalities, and in the family.

Socialism has gained complete victory in the Soviet Union and a totally new economic and social structure has been established. Here, the working class, peasantry, mental and manual workers, and cities and rural areas have drawn closer to one another than in any other country. Soviet society is establishing a unified social and political system and the laboring people of all strata are switching to the ideological system of the working class. Based on this precondition, the platform stipulates that a classless society will basically be established under the framework of developed socialism, meaning in the present society. Although this is a long historical period, the task of basically eliminating classes is a realistic task. Under this condition, to consider its class nature and ideological system, the CPSU still remains the working class' party. This determines the revolutionary continuity and class nature in its internal and external policies and the entire process of revolutionary activities. Meanwhile, as pointed out in the party statute, the CPSU is the vanguard fighting unit which has been tested by the Soviet people. It has, on the basis of voluntariness, rallied the most progressive and most conscious workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals. Thus, the entire people's conception of the party is that its class nature should not be taken lightly and denied. This is in line with the nature of the present social structure and the tendency to long-term development of the Soviet society. In that society, the essential thing is the establishment of a classless social structure, with the working class playing a decisive role,

so as to pave the way for advancing to a communist society and completely eliminating classes. Faced with this colossal task and at a time when the world situation is extremely complicated due to the reaction of imperialism and the new problems in the communist movement, the platform maintains that the leading role of the communist party will be increasingly intensified with more requirements and new quality. The party is actually facing totally new tests.

Proletarian dictatorship has played a decisive role in shaping a new society--an equitable society--to eradicate forever the system of private ownership, which is the foundation of the system of exploitation of man by man and the cause of devastating war in the history of mankind that has killed hundreds of millions of people and hampered evolution, as well as the cause of all the misfortunes and depravities in man. Socialism has ushered in a new era of freedom, in which man masters nature, masters society, and masters himself. The development of each person is the condition for the development of all persons. That is the first, genuine, and full liberation of society and the greatest step of development and the most profound revolution in history. The Soviet Union has now become such a society.

After fulfilling this historic mission, proletarian dictatorship switched from the main function of suppressing the opposition of the toppled classes to the main function of construction and creativity. Proletarian dictatorship has become the political system of all laborers and the entire people. The communist party is the nucleus of that system. Under the party's leadership, all organizations in the political system--including the Soviet state, trade union, youth union, and other social organizations--operate and reflect the unity and characteristics concerning the interests of the people of all strata and nationalities in the entire country. Consolidating and strengthening the Soviet state is the key task. With regard to internal affairs, the state is the major tool in perfecting socialism. With regard to external affairs, the state is the tool for safeguarding the people's revolutionary gains, consolidating the position of world socialism, opposing aggression, maintaining the balance of strategic forces between socialism and capitalism, and expanding international cooperation with various nations.

Due to the movement and change in the Soviet social structure, the nature of the Soviet party and state is also changing. This is a long process and an inevitable tendency to progress and development. In the new historical stage, that process should be accelerated along with the task of constantly strengthening the role of leadership of the party over society and the internal and external functions of the soviet state.

The CPSU asserts that realistic economic strategies, effective social policies, and goal-oriented ideological education constitute a perfect whole and a unified strategy. All this is designed to bring into play the human factor. The human factor is the condition deciding the success or failure of all the tasks set forth in the platform. The most important requirement is to make all the laboring people realize their responsibility in creating a turning point in the Soviet society's economic development. The party places ideological work on an offensive footing with the aim of eliminating all negative and sluggish factors and changing all obsolete ways of thinking that

hinder the progress of the new. Acting upon Lenin's teachings, the party upholds the effectiveness of criticism and self-criticism throughout society, struggles against all erroneous manifestations, and promotes revolutionary ideology and conduct. The Soviet Union has been entrusted by history with the glorious mission of acting as the vanguard and the pathfinder of communism. A series of heavy but very glorious tasks are facing all Soviet citizens and the Soviet communists. The party needs people who want to and can change the situation, and who dare to reach the new requirements of our times. The party evaluates everyone in a new spirit, taking into account the results of their work, the level of their devotion, and their capability to fulfill tasks. The entire political and ideological education work is aimed at building a new type of men who are well developed both physically and spiritually; who display a zeal for work and optimistic, pure and healthy feelings; and who have a high sense of discipline and responsibility. The objective of ideological work is to establish for everyone a scientific outlook toward the world; communist ethics that include a sense of collectivity, humanitarianism, positiveness, and enthusiasm; patriotism and internationalism; atheism; and aversion to the bourgeois ideology and lifestyle. All this is aimed at defining the orientations for a socialist and communist lifestyle.

Nothing can replace scientific dialectical methods. The platform examines phenomena and forces in the international arena as well as their changes according to dialectical methods and the class viewpoint, basing on the objective law of development and the trends of our times. Proceeding from this, it points out the inherent nature of things and correctly assesses their role without attributing to them what is not theirs. More important still, it points out the evolutionary course of things--either development or extinction--and defines the inevitable and most important law that socialism will definitely replace capitalism and imperialism. The communists bear in their hearts the inherent nature of revolutionary optimism. When analyzing hostile forces--namely imperialism and hegemonism--they do not simply see in them only the declining trend. Similarly, when examining the world socialist system, we should not mention only things that are favorable and fail to notice temporary difficulties and detours. More than that, the world must be understood in an overall relationship. When talking about the inevitable victory of one force, we mean the unavoidable defeat of another. When talking about the causes of war, we must inevitably see the need to struggle for the elimination of those causes. The platform not only gives general definitions of things, but even more important, it also points to the direction for advancement. In this sense, the platform offers strategies and tactics for domestic as well as external affairs.

The platform explains in a new spirit the development of the international situation, capitalism, and imperialism; the characteristics of our times; the driving forces of the world revolution; the general laws governing the development of socialism; the roles of socialism and the CPSU; and the issue of war and peace.

The socialist revolution has set in motion an irreversible process, namely the inevitable replacement of capitalism by a new form of socio-economic development: socialism. Socialism has created a turning point in the history of all the world and has determined the general direction and the principal

trend of the world's evolution. From a reality in one country, socialism has now become a world system. The shaping of the world socialist system and the strengthening and consolidation of the socialist community have fundamentally tilted the balance of forces in the international area in favor of the peoples struggling for national independence, social progress, and peace. The socialist community is the most prestigious force of our time. In this community, a totally new kind of relationship plays a decisive role.

The international communist movement is the vanguard of the workers movement and all revolutionary forces throughout the world. The international communist movement is the most influential political and ideological force of our time.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the countries which have recently overthrown the yoke of colonialist rule to consolidate their independence and to promote social progress is an important integral part of the world's revolutionary process. The emergence of the countries which have recently wrested back independence has greatly influenced the global balance of forces. An inevitable trend is that the interests of the newly independent countries are certainly contradictory to those of imperialism, whereas these countries themselves are the natural allies of socialism. In fact, a series of newly liberated countries have chosen the socialist road and an increasing number of nations have lost their confidence in capitalism and now want to develop along the line of socialism. This phenomenon has a very great historical significance since it conforms to the evolutionary trend of mankind.

Modern capitalism is vastly different from what it was in the early and the middle parts of the 20th century. It is still strong and dangerous but its heyday is over. Economically, capitalist exploitation has become increasingly sophisticated and complex, seriously threatening the interests of laborers in Vietnam and other countries. Politically, capitalism has become more and more reactionary in all respects, refusing to accept political realities of the modern world and hoping to regain lost positions. It has frenziedly opposed socialism and all revolutionary and national liberation movements. The rampart of international reactionary forces is U.S. imperialism. From past to present all dangers of war have originated from the United States, the ringleader of the old world.

However, imperialism is decayed capitalism in its death throes, the eve of the socialist revolution. No cunning trick of modern capitalism can change the law governing its development or eliminate the deeply antagonistic contradictions between labor and capital, all society and monopoly capital. The internal contradictions of capitalist society have become increasingly acute and no schemes can help the capitalist system avoid extermination. The sphere of domination of capitalism has been ceaselessly narrowed. Historically, the certainty of the extermination of capitalism has become increasingly obvious. The CPSU platform is a platform of political and ideological struggle against imperialism and for the elimination of imperialism and capitalism, the source of all injustice and catastrophes. The general analysis of the international situation in the new platform enables revolutionaries in various countries to develop a correct point of view on the general situation.

The CPSU's platform holds that the hottest problem at present is that of war and peace, and that peaceful coexistence among countries having different social systems is the only rational way out. This is truly a platform of peace. It is closely related to a domestic line that is aimed at developing the social economy to perfect socialism and prepare the conditions for advancing toward a high stage of communism. "The deepest roots of our state's domestic and foreign policies are determined by the economic interests and economic position of the ruling classes in our country." (2) Perfecting socialism is the highest and most important interest of the Soviet Union in the current historic period. Devising policies in general, including foreign policy, is both a science and an art. We must have a realistic foreign policy to achieve our goals through peaceful coexistence and by peace, not war. Modern war not only hinders but also destroys labor and all the fruits of labor. It is necessary to adopt a realistic viewpoint toward this issue--the issue of war and peace. Preserving peace and terminating the arms race and the stockpiling of destructive weapons constitutes the most important condition for civilization to go forward and for mankind to concentrate its intelligence and wealth on peaceful labor. We must make all nations believe absolutely that socialism means peace and opposition to war. Peace is an attribute of socialism. War is the product of a society with classes, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism. Until the advent of capitalism, the history of mankind had alternated between war and peace, with each peaceful period being used to prepare for war. War is not the product of all stages of history and of all societies. War cannot be destiny. Socialism is "a new society whose international principle will be peace; for the same principle--that of peace--will influence every nation." (3) The history of socialism must be a history of peace--peace followed by peace. Peace is a product of a society that exists on the basis of labor. Peace is the symbol of labor. Peace, labor, and socialism are inseparable from one another, and they define one another. Naturally, the mission of defending peace and maintaining detente belongs to socialism and all progressive and peace-loving forces the world over.

Pursuing an activist foreign policy, the Soviet Union has put forward a plan for eliminating nuclear arms and weapons of mass destruction that is enthusiastically welcomed and supported by all progressive mankind. That foreign policy is very active, and it is rallying broad forces all over the world in the struggle to turn back the danger of war and defend world peace.

Imperialism refuses to accept the realistic political situation of the modern world, and it attacks fiercely on a global scale to seek revenge. The fortress of international reactionary forces is U.S. imperialism. The danger of war comes first of all from U.S. imperialism. In the face of the stubbornness and bellicosity of imperialism, we must struggle instead of waiting for peace. First of all, we must grow stronger by concentrating our efforts to a high degree on socio-economic development. On the other hand, we must have principled and wise foreign strategies and tactics and must coordinate the forces of all peace-loving nations.

Due to the nature of imperialism, the struggle for the preservation of peace always takes on an anti-imperialist character, and peace and revolution always go hand in glove, never negating each other. Peace and detente are favorable

objective conditions for the struggle for independence, freedom, and social progress, and for the building of socialism. The peace viewpoint is inseparable from the class viewpoint. The working class is the dominant class of our time and the most qualified to hold aloft the banner of peace. This is a good opportunity which we must seize to advance. In the environment of peace and detente and in the relaxing international situation, we should nurture no illusions and should not slacken vigilance, since the enemy is ceaselessly carrying out sabotage activities against us in all fields. The enemies of peace have made one step backward, but their nature has not changed. Peaceful coexistence is a new form of revolutionary struggle. The Soviet Union's platform of peace is the sharpest weapon to check the arms race and to disarm imperialism. The peace strategy spelled out in the platform does not only proceed from the good will and humanitarian nature of socialism and from the lofty sense of responsibility of the CPSU and the Soviet state for the destiny of mankind, but is also built on a realistic basis. This basis is the balance of strategic military forces between socialism and imperialism. The platform has gone even further to expand this balance into the economic, scientific, and technological fields. This is a solid premise for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The development of the first and greatest socialist country, the firm pillar of the new world, the builder of the road to socialism and communism, is closely related to the destiny of all nations, first of all the entire socialist system and even our revolutionary doctrine.

The platform adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress (4) is a new height of realistic generalization and ideological creativity, an outstanding accomplishment of sociological thought, a most important contribution to the theoretical wealth of Marxism-Leninism. It has infused scientific socialism with a new vitality and a new capability. The strategy of perfecting socialism and advancing to communism and the peace strategy stated in the platform are totally realistic and built on scientific theoretical and practical bases. The profound contents of the platform encompass the entire political and ideological struggle of our time. The principles contained in the platform are of theoretical and practical significance not only for the CPSU and the Soviet people but also for all other socialist countries, all other communist and worker parties and all progressive mankind. This is a creative theoretical document impregnated with profound epochal significance.

The world people welcome the CPSU platform as a fresh, pure, and healthy breeze which dissipates the dark clouds of the anti-communist, anti-Soviet doctrine originating from imperialism, reactionaries, and expansionist-hegemonists.

The formerly oppressed nations welcome the platform with confidence in and admiration for the brilliant achievements of realistic socialism in the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace and social progress, the embodiment of a new fine society--the dream of progressive mankind--and the Mecca of colossal programs designed to take man to the apogee of human civilization.

All communist and worker parties throughout the world are extremely elated and treasure the creative values of the platform, which is illuminating the road of struggle for the most beautiful society and for a peaceful world.

The Vietnamese people welcome the CPSU platform with an optimistic spirit and boundless confidence. This is not only because the Soviet Union has given the greatest assistance and encouragement to our revolutionary cause but also because the platform has pointed out for us a series of theoretical and practical issues of socialism and communism and has provided us with invaluable experience and lessons. We should deeply study this platform and use it as a basis for our reflections on the problems being raised in the cause of socialist construction in our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "The Communist Manifesto," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 67.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publisher's, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 404.
3. K. Marx: "The 1871 Civil War in France," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 35.
4. The 3rd CPSU platform was adopted in 1961. The 26th CPSU Congress in 1981 decided to revise that platform. The platform adopted by the 27th Congress is still the 3rd, but was rewritten and raised to a new height.

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LET US CONTINUE TO CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTION OF THE 8TH CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese, No 3, Mar 86 pp 22-26

[Article attributed to TAP CHI CONG SAN]

[Text] On 17 June 1985, the 5th Party Central Committee's 8th Plenum passed the resolution on prices, wages and money, and put forth the major objectives, guidelines, and measures to get rid of the system of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and carry out socialist economic accounting and business transactions of which the settlement of price, wage, and money problems is considered a breakthrough.

The dissemination of this resolution has rapidly created singlemindedness, confidence, and enthusiasm among all party members, people and troops, motivating all of them to strenuously struggle and surge forward and score new achievements in production and business. The authorities in many localities and primary units have shifted price subsidies to wages, and improved organization and management in accordance with the procedures for socialist economic accounting and business which allow state-run trade and marketing cooperatives to surge forward and control goods and money and to master the market. The development of production is thereby promoted, the circulation of goods becomes better, and the living conditions of wage earners are stabilized and somewhat improved.

Primary production installations struggle to increase labor productivity, reduce production costs, and enhance the quality of products. Many negative aspects of production and distribution and circulation have been limited. These initial results have attested to the correctness of the 8th Plenum Resolution Number 28 of the Political Bureau. If these resolutions are thoroughly understood and correctly organized and implemented, the socio-economic activities in our country will certainly undergo vigorous changes and new steps of development.

However, as a result of shortcomings in leadership over the implementation of these resolutions, the socio-economic situation in our country has developed in a complicated fashion since the end of 1985: prices have soared; money has lost its purchasing power; and the wages of cadres, workers, civil servants, and armed forces members have also decreased in value. Saboteurs,

speculators, and smugglers have intensively plied their trades, further disrupting the market. The socio-economic situation in our country has developed in a complex manner because we have failed to properly implement these two resolutions of the party, especially in the money exchange and the adjustment of prices and wages at excessive levels. We should make a correct assessment and take resolute and proper action to quickly change the situation and advance the socio-economic activities in our country along the lines set by the Party Central Committee in its 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Plenum resolutions.

In order to quickly overcome the current abnormal socio-economic situation and continue to victoriously implement the Party Central Committee's 8th Plenum resolution and Resolution Number 28 of the Political Bureau, we should resolutely correct mistakes and shortcomings and develop the initially achieved results. We should immediately take urgent, special, and resolute yet consistent and effective measures to control the market and prices, stabilize finance, currency, and the livelihood of the people, workers, civil servants, and armed forces members, and normalize and develop well the socio-economic activities.

Shortcomings must be remedied and the socio-economic situation stabilized on the basis of firmly grasping and resolutely and correctly implementing the Party Central Committee's 8th Plenum resolution and Resolution Number 28 of the Political Bureau, and of taking steady steps to form a new management mechanism along the line of socialist economic accounting and business. We should not return to the old management mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies just because of difficulties ahead.

We should first of all rearrange and accelerate agricultural, industrial, handicraft, and artisan industry production. This task must be carried out simultaneously with renovating the economic management mechanism, accelerating socialist transformation, and implementing the 1986 state plan successfully. We should mobilize all the work forces and raw and other materials to support agricultural, industrial, handicraft and artisan industry production. We should step up the production of grain and other staple commodities essential to the people's life.

We should encourage all sectors and localities to develop the production of consumer and export goods, and create conditions for them to do so. We must revamp the organization of material supply in order to properly fulfill contracts and insure rapid shipments of materials to primary production installations as planned and in accordance with the prescribed quantity, quality, time, location, and state-directed prices without having to go through several intermediaries and complex procedures. We must take severe punitive action against theft, corruption, authoritarianism, and other negative manifestations in the supply of materials. We should renovate the management mechanism, insure the right to self-government of primary installations in production and business, clearly distinguish the function of state administrative management from the function of production and business management, rearrange the organization of machinery, and abolish unnecessary intermediary organizations.

An extremely important task is to strengthen and consolidate socialist trade, expand the delivery and circulation of goods, step up the transformation of private trade, and closely manage the market prices. We must struggle to quickly master the market and successfully control the prices of important commodities on the social market in key areas in particular. It is necessary to expand the delivery and circulation of goods, strictly prohibit the setting up of check-points at will that could obstruct circulation and the daily activities of the people, and stop dividing the market in accordance with administrative boundaries. As an immediate step, the state must acquire the unified management of and possess monopoly over the sale and purchase of paddy, rice, and strategic materials. It is necessary to define policies and have a good organizational system to help the state exclusively manage and monopolize the buying and selling of all essentially commodities.

The state-operated trade sector and marketing cooperatives must surge forward to control all the wholesale and most of the retail transactions of important consumer and service goods on the social market. It is necessary to stop various enterprises from using their products as rewards or gifts among themselves. Efforts should be made to insure that large quantities of industrial goods are amassed for the state-operated trade sector and that other products are turned out quickly for consumption or distribution to consumers. We must intensively educate and closely supervise cadres and workers in all state organs, especially those in various trade sectors (including the home and foreign trade and supply sectors), as well as in the banking, finance, and transportation sectors.

It is necessary to resolutely eliminate deviant and degenerate elements in all state organs; strictly and promptly deal with such negative manifestations as stealing, fraud, and illegal contacts with speculators and smugglers; and immediately stop all the business and trading activities of those organs and mass organizations whose functions have nothing to do with these activities. As for those cadres and party members who have engaged in trade and speculative activities and violated the law, we must resolutely deal with them according to the law. In establishing economic integration, the units and localities concerned should formulate plans and discuss with one another to avoid competition in buying and selling and the establishment of illegal contacts. It is necessary to constantly carry out the socialist transformation of private industry and trade.

Private traders are not allowed to trade in commodities that are under the state's unified management and monopoly. We must resolutely punish speculators, smugglers, and professional wheelers-dealers; immediately eliminate the black market trading in commodities that are under state monopoly; and rearrange the number of small merchants by using them in trade activities under various suitable forms or switching them to production and other services, or creating conditions for them to undertake jobs. Efforts must be made to rearrange various markets and goods delivery and circulation centers; expand the network of stores buying and selling old goods and non-commercial import items; and rigorously control export and import activities and the selling and purchase prices of export and import goods among various sectors and localities.

We must apply socialist business methods to place the export of important goods under the unified management of an export center at the central level or in each region to put an end to competition in buying in the country and competition in selling abroad. Export corporations are not allowed to adopt an authoritative attitude toward producers to lower the prices of goods. They must inform producers of world prices and insure the right to use foreign producers of world prices and insure the right to use foreign currency for those selling export goods.

It is necessary to stop and severely deal with the practice of competing in buying export goods, thus causing the prices of these goods to go up, and rigorously control gold and foreign currency in accordance with the procedures enforced by the state. It is also necessary to put an end to the buying and selling of goods in the country with foreign currency among various sectors, localities, and establishments. The concession of the right to use foreign currency must be made through the bank.

An important task is the struggle to stabilize prices, control prices in the social market, check the soaring increase in prices, and not to chase after free market prices. On the strength of prescribed prices, we must re-examine all kinds of prices and correctly resolve all problems and difficulties in prices in order to enable all primary production, business and state-run trade installations and cooperatives to vigorously accelerate production and circulation, strongly shift to socialist business, and create conditions for stabilizing the market and price situation. We must maintain the published prices of staple materials, intensify economic accountability, practice thrift, and reduce losses of materials and production costs.

The rates of exchange between agricultural and industrial products must be determined rationally by closely guiding the purchasing prices of agricultural products and the selling prices of industrial products for peasants. All casual increases in prices of materials must be strictly forbidden. We must struggle to stabilize prices, especially the prices of staple commodities. Generally speaking, we must strive to implement the one-price system in accordance with the 8th Plenum resolution and Resolution Number 28 of the Political Bureau. The one-price system must be continually implemented in those localities where the conditions of commodity funds and market are favorable. In those localities where the supply and demand situation is still tense and the market and price situation is changing extensively, the two-price system can be temporarily applied to some staple commodities to sell rationed items at stabilized prices to workers, civil servants, armed forces members, and people associated with economic contracts with the state.

As regards other recipients, items will be sold at commercial business prices to them. Non-staple commodities and high grade goods are sold at flexible business prices and as directed with the purpose of those commodities placed under the unified state management and monopolistic control so that the people can be well aware of the state prices and be at ease; the state-run trade and marketing cooperatives can sell at the posted prices; and private traders cannot push the prices up.

The systems of material supply, retail sales, procurement, transportation, and credit must be quickly deployed to the grassroots level. These systems must function alertly and coordinate closely with one another to support production and the people's life well. Action must be taken to carry out labor division, decentralize the management of prices, scrupulously observe the pricing discipline, and refrain from abusing invested authority to fix prices. The administration at all levels must coordinate with the mass organizations to control prices scrupulously and continuously.

At present, the most important measures to guarantee wages in a practical way for workers, civil servants, and armed forces members is to strive to stabilize the social market prices. In those localities where staple commodities are sold at one price, the price subsidies to wages will be properly applied to workers and civil servants.

The sales of commodities either at one price or two different prices must always be closely guided by the state to insure an adequate supply of grain, food products, and other essential consumer goods to workers, civil servants, armed forces members and their dependents. Cost of living allowances will be given to workers, civil servants, and armed forces members depending on the local living costs.

The system of contractual pay and product-based wages should be expanded to stimulate increases in labor productivity, effectiveness of production, and income for workers. Wage funds should be allocated to primary installations on contracts in order to encourage them to use excess capacities to expand production and to use rewards, incentive and welfare funds to care for the life of workers and civil servants. As the new pay system has been published, we should scrupulously implement it and should not at will establish more allowances and pensions in various sectors and localities.

It is important and urgent to stabilize national finances and maintain the purchasing power of money. We must strive to balance budgetary revenues and expenditures according to the principle of spending within the limit of revenues, of increasing revenues to cover expenses, and of considering income in spending because we can spend only if we have income. We must positively create sources of income for both central and local budgets and in the domains of state-run, collective, individual, and private economies.

Strict measures must be adopted to reduce budgetary expenses, rearrange and streamline the state management machinery from the central to local levels, and strongly reduce and transfer part of the administrative staff to production, business, and other necessary service sectors. All ostentatious, formalist, and wasteful expenses must be eliminated. The financial control and inspection of all sectors, localities, and primary installations must be intensified to deal severely with all violations of the state finance system such as incurring expenses against the principles and rules, establishing illegal funds, and casually creating illicit sources of income against state law. The system of state subsidies must be abandoned gradually. Purchasing prices and wage funds must be closely administered. The procedures for depositing and withdrawing savings should be improved so as to motivate the people to deposit their extra money into banks. The procedures for payment at

banks should be renovated to encourage payment through transfers of funds or by checks so as not to keep too much cash on hand while maintaining strict cash management discipline.

Along with organizing the supply of rations to wage earners, we should use the form of payment by checks to reduce the amount of cash used. We should expand economic contracts with peasants and craftsmen and advance production means and essential consumer goods in the procurement operations without having to use too much cash. The production and sales of consumer goods must be accelerated and service operations be expanded to recover cash. The operations system of banks must be renovated.

In the immediate future, state-run and collective production and business installations having legitimate demands for funds that banks have not fully met may mobilize the assets of cadres, workers, and cooperative members provided that satisfactory interest is paid and convenient methods of payment are applied. This is only a temporary measure and will be no longer necessary when banks can actually deal in currency, absorb all sources of idle funds, and insure the supply of necessary capital to production and business operations.

With a view to continually and correctly implementing the Party Central Committee's 8th Plenum resolution, we should firmly grasp these urgent policies and measures to normalize and develop socio-economic activities well. All party members and the public should be well aware of the current real situation, correctly understand the party-state lines and policies, struggle hard to overcome difficulties, implement the 1986 state plan well, and practically prepare for the 6th Party Congress.

We must sternly observe party discipline and state law, implement the party resolutions, and insure high singlemindedness and unity of mind and action in the entire party, the state machinery, and production and business organizations from the central down to grassroots levels.

The tradition of our party and people is that the more difficulties we meet, the more effort we make to strengthen solidarity, struggle to overcome difficulties, and advance the revolution in our country to new and even greater victories. Developing this fine tradition, let's bravely criticize and criticize ourselves, remedy mistakes and shortcomings, develop the initial results achieved in the implementation of the 8th Plenum resolution, struggle together to implement scrupulously all the party resolutions, and create fine changes in the socio-economic activities of our country.

CSO: 4210/8

TRULY CONSIDERING THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION TO BE THE KEY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 27-30

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Turning science into a direct production force, the scientific-technological revolution in the world is developing at a very rapid rate and penetrating each field of production and life more deeply with each passing day.

Our party considers science to be a moving force behind the revolution. Since the 3rd Congress, it has stressed the important role played by science and technology in building and defending the fatherland. In setting the line on the socialist revolution in our country, the 4th Congress asserted that we must "...simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution."

In 1981, the Political Bureau issued Resolution 37/NQ-TU on the science and technology policy. The resolution sets the main guidelines for the support of economic, cultural and social development by science and technology in the immediate future and over the long range. It points out that we must build and develop domestic scientific and technological potentials and increase our international cooperation, most importantly with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with the aim of making maximum use of each scientific and technological achievement of the world. The resolution states that we must improve the management of science and technology with a view toward effectively implementing the science and technology policy, making optimum use of scientific and technological potentials and increasing the economic returns from scientific and technical activities.

The 5th Congress of the Party once again confirmed the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution within the three revolutions in our country today and considered the acceleration of scientific and technical activities to be one of the 10 major policies for achieving our four general economic and social goals in the initial stage of the period of transition.

The resolutions of the party, which provide us with an important foundation for setting the direction of scientific and technical activities, confirm that the more difficult economic conditions are and the lower the level of technical development of production is, the more we must attach importance to investing in scientific and technical activities, considering this to be the path by which economic difficulties and the difficulties being encountered with living conditions can be thoroughly resolved.

During the past 5 years, in keeping with the spirit of "bringing to an end the period of spontaneous, disorganized and inefficient scientific and technological development," as stated in Resolution 37/NQ-TU, we have implemented more than 70 programs on scientific and technical advances. More than 700 research projects have been evaluated, tested and accepted. We have been able to apply more than 300 achievements in production, included among which are some very important projects supporting efforts to raise crop and livestock yields in agriculture and improve the products and the technology in use in industry, supporting the building industry, communications-transportation, the information-liaison sector, basic investigations, etc.

A look at any production sector shows encouraging results produced by scientific and technical activities of our state: more new varieties of rice are appearing in fields with each passing day; crossbred commercial hogs, buffalo and cattle are becoming increasingly numerous; scores of new products and technologies have been created and successfully applied by our scientific and technical cadres. Each year, thousands of technical advances are applied in the localities. The economic returns from the application of scientific and technical achievements during the years from 1981 to 1985 have truly been considerable.

We have also established a system of research agencies and centers for the application of science and technology and trained a relatively large corps of scientific and technical cadres who are fully capable of undertaking scientific research, managing technology and guiding economic and social activities within all sectors of the national economy. This corps is a precious asset, is a strength of ours.

However, we are still not quickly introducing scientific and technical achievements in production quickly and scientific and technical activities have yet to bring about strong changes in production. In practical terms, we are not truly considering the scientific-technological revolution to be the key. Science and technology have yet to become a moving force in building the new life, molding the new man and carrying out economic, cultural and social development in our country. It is impossible not to acknowledge one situation that exists today: in many sectors, the technical level of production is low, product quality, generally speaking, does not meet requirements, labor productivity is steadily declining and the efficiency of production is so low as to be deserving of concern.

Due to the failure to clearly recognize the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution, due to the assertion that "because the economy is underdeveloped, we must perform economic work first and only turn our hands to scientific work when the economy has improved" and due to the constraints

imposed by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, numerous obstacles have arisen and continue to stand in the way of the application of scientific and technical achievements in production and efforts to accelerate the scientific-technological revolution.

From the standpoint of planning, the various management levels are generally only concerned, in every area from the formulation of plans to the evaluation of the completion of plans, with the quantitative aspect of the plan and attach little importance to quality. Many management levels even maintain that when sufficient quantities are not being produced, producing an adequate output is what must be achieved first. As a result, poor product quality stimulates an artificial demand for quantity, creates a large waste of raw materials, energy, labor, etc. The costs incurred in the production of poor quality products--products that are quickly discarded--are a factor that subverts production and impedes the application of scientific and technical advances.

Economic-technical quotas are utilized in a haphazard way when formulating plans and tend to be of increasingly poor quality. This is also an important reason why there is no need in production to try to raise product quality and improve the technology in use.

The price and profit policies as well as the policies on wages, bonuses and so forth have, to some extent, unconsciously encouraged increases in the size of staffs, higher material consumption ceilings, growth of fixed assets and so forth, that is, they keep production at a low level of technological development. Some policies that encourage technological improvements, the rationalization of production, the improvement of products and the reduction of production costs are still policies in form only, are not strong enough to stimulate the development of production in the direction of technical advances and are frequently used in ways that are negative.

In scientific research, although many improvements and much progress have been made, such as recognizing the right of scientific agencies to participate in economic activities (signing economic contracts, establishing funds with capital acquired on their own, opening accounts and borrowing money from the bank as production units do and so forth), many policies are, generally speaking, still not strong enough to provide incentive for scientific agencies or scientific and technical cadres to conduct research and creative activities.

We have also failed to organize and utilize the existing corps of scientific and technical cadres in the best manner possible with the aim of tapping and developing each scientific and technical potential. There is still much confusion concerning remuneration: should remuneration be based on one's degree or position in the field of science (Ph.D., M.S., level I or level II professor, institute scientist and so forth) or should it be based on the scientific project being carried out (with payment made under a contract for the complete project, bonuses paid for completed projects and bonuses offered in advance for projects that are commissioned as a result of production needs or needs of the national economy, etc.).

In order for "the scientific-technological is the key" to become a living, everyday reality, we must remove all the above mentioned obstacles in production as well as in scientific research so that science and technology truly become "not only the base, the foundation of socio-economic activities, but also an internal requirement of these activities."(1)

First and most importantly, we must create a need for technical advances within production in two ways:

From the standpoint of strategy, planning agencies must establish the task of gradually improving the level of technological development of production in order to create a system of production whose strongpoint is its special position in terms of products that occupy a strong position in the international division of labor. That is, this system of production must create products that attract customers and can secure and consolidate a preferential position on the international market. This is a guideline that can be directly applied in production.

Besides this, it is necessary to establish indirect economic levers that stimulate the need to improve products, to improve production technology, that is, that stimulate the application of technical advances in production. This measure is of decisive significance. As Engels said: when society has a technical need, society stimulates the development of science more than 10 universities do. When production does not have a need for technical advances, it is impossible for the "scientific-technological revolution" to be the "key."

Secondly, scientific research must become an abundant source of scientific and technical achievements. This is mainly the responsibility of the various economic management levels, of economic planning agencies, which must take the initiative in coordinating with scientific and technical management agencies in the following tasks:

--Setting and supervising the implementation of increasingly progressive economic-technical norms and ceilings aimed at constantly raising product quality and the level of technological development of production;

--Setting scientific research guidelines that are designed to support the strategic tasks of revamping production and improving products and focusing investments on the implementation of these guidelines while establishing plans for applying scientific-technical achievements in production; not allowing the situation to persist in which scientific research is spontaneous and disorganized and there is nowhere to apply the results of research.

Thirdly, we must fully utilize and tap the abilities of the existing corps of scientific and technical cadres while building a corps that is consistent with the needs of economic, scientific and technical development. Existing scientific and technical cadres must be utilized in the sector for which they were trained and their specialized skills must be correctly utilized. Scientific and technical cadres must be attracted to basic production units with the aim of accelerating the application of scientific and technical advances in production. Importance must be attached to training leading

cadres and highly specialized cadres and to training and boldly assigning responsibilities to young cadres.

We demand that scientific and technical cadres be militants, be revolutionaries and scientists who possess good qualities and skills, wholeheartedly serve the people, are loyal and united, are enthusiastic and steadfast in their work, their studies and their research and contribute as much as possible to the revolution. At the same time, appropriate mechanisms and policies must be established that provide incentive for the corps of scientific and technical cadres to conduct research and be creative. Experience has clearly shown that no method of "assigning" or "remunerating" cadres that is based on bureaucratic centralism or uniformly based on egalitarianism leads to successful results. In addition to special policies concerning persons who are highly skilled, persons who possess special aptitudes and so forth, it is necessary to strictly implement the Leninist principle of distribution in accordance with labor within the field of science and technology. Persons who create and apply scientific and technical projects that yield economic returns must, from the standpoint of the distribution of profits, have the same right as producers do. We should not subscribe to the "theory" that "the state provided you with an education and you now have the obligation of producing scientific products without demanding any compensation, commendation or bonus other than those received by a production worker."

All the above can only be implemented well in the process of revamping the economic management mechanism, revamping the science and technology management mechanism.

The revolution, including the scientific-technological revolution, is always the undertaking of the masses. The task of the various leadership levels is to take ideological educational measures, take organizational and management measures with a view toward unleashing forces that inspire the masses to engage in revolutionary activities and truly turn the revolution into a festival of the masses.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Nam vuong quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te"[Firmly Adhering to Laws, Changing and Improving Our Economic Management], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 9-1984, p 21.

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QUICKLY INTRODUCING SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ADVANCES IN PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 31-36, 70

[Article by Dang Huu]

[Text] In recent years, through the implementation of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and Political Bureau Resolution 37, many significant changes have occurred in scientific-technical activities.

Scientific and technical potentials have begun to be organized and oriented toward supporting the most important and pressing tasks of the national economy. Under the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and with the participation of more than 15,000 scientific-technical cadres at many research institutes, colleges, enterprises and agencies, a system of key state programs in scientific-technical advances has been actively carried out and produced many gratifying results. To date, about 700 research projects have been successfully concluded, more than 300 of which have been tested in production and been certified as technical advances that can be widely applied in production. In addition to the system of key state programs, thousands of research projects of sectors, localities and basic units have also been implemented with a view toward solving urgent production problems and have yielded practical results. Many projects have been carried out through contracts signed between basic production units and scientific research agencies.

The innovations and technical improvements movement is on the momentum of development. Many innovations of value have significantly increased the productivity, quality and efficiency of production.

Recently, the various levels and sectors have been giving much attention to scientific and technical work, especially to the introduction of technical advances in production. Instead of remaining in their laboratories or not going beyond the sites of production trials, scientific and technical cadres have gone into factories and fields and worked with workers and farmers to apply research results. At present, mass movements are emerging in all localities to apply science and technology in production and everyday life. Each year, thousands of technical advances are applied in the localities. This important change is closely related to the initial revamping of the management mechanism with the aim of dismantling bureaucratic centralism and

state subsidies and closely tying the interests of the producer to the quality and efficiency of production.

It is in agriculture that the most technical advances have been applied in production. Here, the impact of the final product contracts with production sections, production units and individual laborers is evident. New varieties of rice are in rather widespread use in all areas of the country, thereby bringing about a significant change in grain production within our country and making an important contribution in raising the output of grain by an average 1 million tons per year under unfavorable weather conditions. It can be said that the green revolution is beginning in the rural areas of our country. Together with new varieties of crops and breeds of livestock, soil improvement methods, fertilization techniques, crop protection methods and the use of growth stimulants and regulators have made significant contributions to the development of agricultural production.

In industry, technical advances have also helped to resolve many difficulties being encountered with raw materials, building materials, spare parts, fuel and energy. Technical advances have contributed to the production of many new products and the improvement of product quality while developing additional sectors and trades, increasing the utilization of machine capacity, creating additional exports and jobs... Many technical advances have been applied in basic investigations, in the effort to make rational use of natural resources and in environmental protection.

Generally speaking, the application of technical advances has yielded significant returns and helped to stimulate the development of production.

However, the application of scientific achievements and technical advances is, generally speaking, still proceeding slowly. Many results of research that have been evaluated, tested and accepted and can yield high economic returns still must wait a rather long time to be applied or have not been applied yet. Many technical advances that have been successfully applied at a number of places have not been promptly applied on a broad scale. The attitude of fearing technological changes and changes to products is still rather prevalent. Scientific potentials, therefore, are still being rather seriously wasted. Science is not promptly meeting the large and pressing requirements involved in building and defending the socialist fatherland. This situation stems from the fact that the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies does not encourage the producer to give attention to productivity, quality and efficiency, consequently, there is no need to apply technical advances. It is also the result of our failure to establish a well coordinated system of measures that encourage and provide incentive for everyone to participate in the process of developing and applying creative solutions in production.

Our party has adopted a correct line on the development of science and technology, one that establishes the scientific-technological revolution as playing the key role in the process of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions to build the new economy, establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man and woman. One very important requirement in implementing this line is the need to quickly introduce scientific achievements and

technical advances in production and everyday life with a view toward raising the productivity, quality and efficiency of productive labor and improving the standard of living. Technical advances within the national economy must be the foremost concern in economic management.

Experience has shown that in order to quickly introduce technical advances in production, it is necessary to take a series of well coordinated measures to improve the management of the economy and the management of science and technology, measures that range from planning and the enactment of specific economic policies and incentives to educational, propaganda, organizational and administrative measures.

To begin with, let us discuss the improvement of economic management. The economic management mechanism must create internal forces within production that stimulate the development of science and technology and cause enterprises to have a need to conduct research and apply science and technology. Enterprises must possess true autonomy in their production and business and be responsible for the quality and efficiency of production. The management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has caused many enterprises to turn their backs on technical advances. Many scientific and technical solutions that could assist the enterprise in reducing production costs, improving product quality, developing new products, expanding production and so forth have not been applied. This is due to the lack of incentive policies, to the lack of organizational measures and to the many constraints that are faced when making changes. If the policy of calculating profits as a percentage of production costs is not abandoned, we will continue to encourage enterprises to raise their production costs. Including all costs in production costs is very necessary when enterprises adopt economic accounting and socialist business practices. However, if we do not set a rational production cost for each type product of a stipulated level of quality and do not make the enterprise responsible for profit and loss, we will fail to encourage the enterprise to concern itself with the efficiency of production. A mechanism must be put in place whereby the enterprise establishes direct relations with the consumer, is truly responsible to and meets the demands of the consumer, thus avoiding the practice of the enterprise producing the same old products on the basis of figures "imposed" from above without ever receiving feedback from consumers. Facts have shown that when the enterprise does not concern itself with the consumer from the standpoint of the quantity, quality and type of product it produces, it has no need to improve its quality or upgrade its products, that is, no need for technological improvements.

Making improvements generally demands investment capital, changes in equipment, raw materials, building materials and so forth which, in many cases, the enterprise cannot take the initiative in obtaining or making. If incentives are not provided and favorable conditions are not created, the enterprise cannot bring about improvements. In this case, the impact of direct planning is required: allotments of the materials needed to meet norms should be appended to production plan norms.

Recently, through the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th and 8th Plenums of the Party Central Committee, the new economic management mechanism

has been forming, a mechanism in which the production and business activities of society are measured on the basis of productivity, quality and efficiency. Such a mechanism will surely open the way for science to become part of life.

Numerous economic policies need to be re-examined, adjusted and augmented with the aim of achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency throughout the national economy. An export-import policy which provides incentive for the development of domestic production and increases our exports, a policy on practicing frugality in production and consumption on the basis of applying scientific and technical measures and progressive quotas, policies on product quality, industrial technology, natural resources and the environment, on labor and so forth must be formulated on the basis of scientific-technical achievements that have been recorded and must be oriented toward stimulating economic development by means of science and technology.

For example, with regard to exports and imports, if we do not adopt a policy that imposes a very high tax on import goods that have been researched and can be produced domestically, the results of research will remain in laboratories or test-manufacture shops and the state will continue to spend foreign currency to buy goods from foreign countries. In addition to imposing a high tax on imports, we must also prohibit the importation of some products in order to protect the development of domestic production. Many types of building materials produced from domestic raw materials and many types of machinery and parts that can take the place of imports were researched and successfully test-manufactured by us long ago. If suitable policies are adopted, if we adopt plans for organizing the domestic production of these products and if, at the same time, we restrict or eliminate the importation of these products, millions of rubles and dollars can be saved each year. Substitutes for many types of supplies now being imported can be produced domestically by importing only a few raw materials. These supplies might be somewhat inferior in quality to foreign goods but if they meet the most basic qualitative standards, we absolutely should not import these goods any longer. It is necessary to cultivate the habit of using domestic goods.

Appropriate policies must be adopted to encourage persons to make improvements and organize their successful application. For a number of years after technical advances are applied, enterprises must be allowed to use the major portion of the profits resulting from the application of these advances, with an appropriate percentage of these profits being earmarked as bonuses for those persons who developed and organized the application of these advances. Specific regulations and instructions must be issued on how to calculate and share profits. These regulations and instructions must insure that the interests of the state, the enterprise, the scientific research facility and the persons who researched and organized the application of a technical advance are upheld. We must encourage the broader use of economic contracts and the expansion of economic ties and joint businesses between scientific agencies and basic production units with a view toward quickly applying scientific and technical achievements in production.

Planning is the center of the economic management system. If technical advances are not one of the basic elements of planning, it is difficult to stimulate the advancement of technology within the national economy. If plan

norms continue to place heavy emphasis upon quantity while giving light attention to quality, heavy emphasis upon the volume of work that must be carried out while giving light attention to the result of work (for example, if plan norms only state how much land is to be cleared, how much land is to be planted with forests, how much land is to be planted with industrial crops and so forth but do not set targets on the survival rate of newly planted forests, yield, output and so forth), we will easily encourage a way of working that does not give attention to efficiency and wastes manpower and money. One rather serious situation we see today is that the ceilings on the consumption of materials, energy, fuel and labor in industry are continuing to rise and are much higher than advanced standards in the world.

The formulation of plans must be based on scientific achievements and technological advances that have been recorded, on mandatory advanced ceilings on the consumption of materials and on productivity, quality and efficiency standards that must be met. The plan must compel each person, each basic unit and each sector to work on the basis of advanced ceilings and strictly observe established standards, that is, must require a scientific method of working and the application of technical advances.

One very important element of the plan is to improve the technology in use and the products being produced so that we can discontinue the use of backward technologies that consume very large amounts of materials and replace products that have become outmoded. The restructuring of production must have this objective. We cannot tolerate the existence of enterprises that utilize exbackward

technologies that consume very large amounts of materials and replace products that have become outmoded. The restructuring of production must have this objective. We cannot tolerate the existence of enterprises that utilize exceedingly backward technologies that consume very large amounts of materials and produce products that do not meet qualitative standards.

Thus, the plan must have scientific-technical advances as its basis, as its basic component. Scientific and technical work must focus on supporting the formulation and implementation of the plan. Therefore, there must be close coordination between plan management agencies and scientific-technical management agencies. The technical advances that are proposed for consideration in the formulation of economic development plans must be results of scientific research that have been tested in trial production on the necessary scale and certified by the authorized science-technology councils. These technical advances within the plan must be expressed as norms on the quantity and quality of products to be produced, norms on the materials, energy and raw materials, including exported and imported materials, to be provided...

Efforts to revamp the management of science--which is an integral part of revamping the management of the economy--must be directed toward eliminating the delays that stem from the system of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, vigorously tapping the creativity of scientific agencies and the mass of scientific cadres and rapidly introducing scientific and technical advances in production.

Scientific and technical activities are unique in certain respects and unlike production activities: the results that will be achieved cannot be predicted fully or with any degree of certainty, efficiency is difficult to calculate, the amount of research work involved cannot be estimated... However, this is no reason to continue to maintain a policy of sweeping funding for practically all research and development tasks, including research on technological improvements and the application of new technologies by basic production units. For many years, the key programs and projects of the state as well as programs and projects of the sectors and localities have focused on problems related to socio-economic development. However, very many projects have not been commissioned by a specific agency and the scope of their application has not been defined. As a result, once these projects are concluded in the laboratory, they encounter many difficulties in test production. If test production is successful, difficulties are then encountered in organizing the application of these projects in production. On some projects, there is a reluctance to quickly bring the project to a conclusion because of a desire to continue to receive funding. There have also been many cases of registering for test production in order to receive supplemental investments that need not be repaid, etc. Some enterprises or federations of enterprises that have hundreds of millions of dong in production capital but are unwilling to make expenditures on the research and application of science and technology request tens of thousands of dong in funding from the state budget for each project!

Efforts to revamp the science management mechanism must be designed to correct this situation and encourage creative activities in support of production and everyday life, activities that yield high returns. The key programs of the state in scientific and technical advances must be more sharply focused, must focus on the key problems of the national economy and have the objective of laying the scientific basis for important decisions concerning the economy, for changes and improvements that are important to the entire national economy. These programs must be given priority from the standpoint of finances and materials. Persons participating in the implementation of programs must be appropriately remunerated. When formulating programs, it is necessary to determine in advance where the results of programs will be applied and mobilize basic production units to participate in research, especially in test production, in order to prepare the conditions for application after successful test production and certification. Attention must be given first to the final results of each project and to adopting a plan at the very outset for introducing them in production. In many cases, it is necessary to provide the required funding and materials to the agency in charge of the project under a contract and create the conditions for it to complete the project quickly.

Research and development projects that are designed to introduce new advances at each basic production unit are to be carried out mainly through economic contracts between scientific agencies and basic production units. Specialized research and development agencies will eventually operate primarily in this manner. Science funds from the state budget should only be spent on those programs and projects that are of greatest importance to the national economy and on basic research designed to create new technologies, rationally develop natural resources... Even within the system of key state programs there are many projects that can be carried out under economic contracts.

A suitable mechanism must be established to attract strong investor interest in science on the part of producers, a mechanism that is based on practical results in production that stem from science.

The process of evaluating and reaching conclusions concerning scientific research projects must be put on a regular basis. The science councils and science management agencies must possess a high sense of responsibility regarding their conclusions.

The registration of projects and the registration of the results of research as well as the registration, evaluation and recognition of innovations and inventions must be well organized. More attention must be given to protecting the rights of inventors and persons who make innovations. When advances are applied by enterprises, the person responsible for the advance must receive a percentage of the resulting profits. The phenomenon of scientific agencies and scientific cadres keeping their secrets and research results "in the closet" for their own gains must be corrected.

The measures described above are aimed at unleashing the internal forces of production while stimulating creative efforts on the part of scientific-technical cadres to solve production problems. These measures will have a full impact if they are closely led and guided by the organizations of the party and the administrations on the various levels and create a direct link between science and production.

Stimulating the application of technical advances within the national economy must be viewed as the primary requirement of the party in its leadership of the economy. Party committees must closely inspect the technical standards, productivity, quality and efficiency of production and especially concern themselves with guiding the application of scientific and technical achievements in order to improve production. They must have a deeper appreciation of the impact of science upon economic development. Economic development in depth essentially means applying scientific-technical advances. Economic development in breadth also can only be effectively achieved when it is fully based in science.

The establishment of a direct link between science and production will shorten the "science-technology-production-consumption" cycle. This link is established primarily as a result of enterprise directors gaining a deep understanding of production technology, learning the language of modern science and being sensitive to the need for change and improvement. On the other hand, scientific cadres who are well versed in the economy and keep abreast of production practices easily establish a close and natural relationship between the enterprise and scientific agencies. Those organizations that serve as "links," such as the science-technology service centers, the technology transfer centers, design and testing offices, test production shops and so forth, must always learn from experience and improve their methods of operation with the aim of shortening the process of introducing science in production. The "science-production federation," a form of organization that is consistent with the requirement that science be applied directly in production, that science produce products--must be studied for use within a number of sectors that have the necessary conditions.

Rapidly introducing scientific-technical advances in production is a requirement of life, is an objective in revamping the economic management and science management mechanisms, is the key task in socialist industrialization. It demands the full concern and close leadership of the various party committee echelons, demands that we vigorously tap the spirit of collective ownership of the laboring people and strongly develop the assault role of the corps of scientific-technical cadres.

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BUILDING THE CULTURAL DEFENSE LINE ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 37-42

[Article by Nguyen Van Hieu]

[Text] Following the tragic defeat they suffered in February 1979, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles began to wage a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country. Besides military and economic activities, they have also been waging an intense psychological war through various forms of cultural and informational activities. There has been a continuous flow of leaflets and reactionary cultural products from China into the areas along Vietnam's border. They have set up hundreds of border markets with the aim of getting information from our people, winning them over and buying their allegiance. Hundreds of sets of powerful loudspeakers, 400 to 600w, are pointed toward the territory of our country all along the border from Lai Chau to Quang Ninh. These loudspeakers are in operation virtually around-the-clock broadcasting provocative counter-propaganda designed to foment unrest and undermine our ethnic solidarity. In particular, the Beijing reactionaries are also using the family ties and cultural relations among the ethnic groups on either side of the border to divide the people from our party and administration. Numerous corrupt customs and superstitions have been rekindled by the reactionaries.

The above situation faces us with the pressing task of taking urgent and positive steps to build a cultural defense line that is strong enough to make an effective contribution to the total defeat of the schemes of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and the firm defense of the border while meeting the large needs in the cultural and spiritual lives of our armed forces and people on the frontline of the fatherland.

The six border provinces of Lai Chau, Hoang Lien Son, Ha Tuyen, Cao Bang, Lang Son and Quang Ninh have wholeheartedly responded to the policy on building a cultural defense line along the northern border. All six of these provinces have established a Committee To Build the Border Cultural Defense Line, which is headed by the deputy director of the Culture and Information Service.

Of importance is the fact that this policy quickly became the specific policy of the party committees and people's committees of the border provinces. Many provincial party committees and people's committees have taken another look at

their planning and resolved specific problems concerning the budget and policies, the staff and equipment...of the culture-information sector in the building of the cultural defense line. The people's committee of Cao Bang Province has been funding the effort to build the cultural defense line along the border at the rate of more than 1 million dong per year. The people's committee of Lang Son Province decided to establish a semi-professional information unit consisting of three to four persons in each of the villages along the border. Each cadre of these information units receives 60 dong per month for expenses and has the same retirement benefits as a village cadre. Many provinces have enacted a policy of free admission to films for persons living in highland areas and areas along the border and armed forces stationed within border districts (except in the cities).

The party committees and people's committees of the border districts have also actively responded to the policy on building the border cultural defense line. Many district party committee secretaries and district people's committee chairmen have personally reviewed the selection of cadres for the culture-information unit of the district; provided on-the-spot guidance of efforts to build cultural facilities; and personally made arrangements for the cultural entertainment troops and information units coming from the provinces and districts in the rear to work along the border.

Many sectors on the central level related to work along the border have also responded to this policy. The first and most active response came from the armed forces, followed by the education sector.

The policy on building the border cultural defense line has also been supported by all localities of the country. Many provinces and districts in the rear have sent books to border provinces to establish provincial and district libraries. They have also sent cultural entertainment troops or professional information units to work along the border, such as the Ho Chi Minh City Song and Dance Troupe, the Tay Ninh Province Modern Theater Troupe, the Vinh Phu Province Mobile Information Unit, etc.

The cultural defense line that we have established encompasses the territory of 32 border districts and cities, including 165 villages that lie along the border. Living within the scope of the defense line are 29 fraternal ethnic minorities, the most populace being the Tay, Nung and H'mong. There are also many units of the armed forces, 1,618 basic general schools, 91 middle schools, 219 central and local enterprises, 18 forestry sites and state farms and a number of hospitals.

Building the border cultural defense line entails building the cultural life at the basic units (villages, units of the armed forces, schools, hospitals, enterprises, state farms, forestry sites...) in the 32 border districts and cities mentioned above. Therefore, the specifics and requirements involved in building cultural life at basic units are also the specifics and requirements toward which efforts to build the cultural defense line must be oriented. Specifically, in building the border cultural defense line, attention must be given to promoting the following six major activities: first, informational and motivational activities; secondly, mass literature and art activities; thirdly, the movement to read and work in accordance with revolutionary books

and newspapers; fourthly, the movement to establish the socialist way of life and eradicate corrupt customs and superstitious beliefs and practices; fifthly, teaching tradition; and sixthly, insuring the normal operation of such cultural facilities as cultural centers, clubs, bookstores, photography shops and so forth.

All the cultural activities described above must meet the requirement of giving our cadres, soldiers and compatriots in the areas along the northern border a clear understanding of the exceedingly cunning schemes of the enemy and, on this basis, heighten their spirit of revolutionary vigilance and develop strong confidence in the party, in the state and in the socialist system that we are building. These cultural activities must also build pride among our compatriots and soldiers in our party, in our nation and in the civilized culture of the great family of nationalities within Vietnam, in general, and of each fraternal ethnic group living in Vietnam, in particular. By doing this, we will succeed in a "combat line in the hearts of the people"--an inviolable line with a high degree of immunity to counter-revolutionary propaganda arguments.

However, the basic units along the northern border have certain special characteristics. To be effective and yield high returns, efforts to build the cultural life at the basic units here must be firmly based on these special features.

During the past several years, three relatively distinct zones have formed along our country's northern border.

The frontline zone consists of those villages and mountain villages along the border inhabited only by armed forces and forces that directly support combat operations. The local civilian population has been moved to the rear. Here, efforts to build cultural life must focus first and primarily on the following areas: arranging for the cadres and soldiers of units of the armed forces to regularly read newspapers, listen to the radio, view films and attend small literary and art shows. In this frontline zone, fighting is frequently heavy and our cadres and soldiers stand face to face with the enemy every hour of every day. Consequently, cultural, literary-art and informational activities must be very concise and highly mobile. These activities must be highly practical in content and all activities that are activities in form only are to be avoided. In this zone, actual circumstances do not permit us to organize large shows that require much modern equipment and a large number of performers. It is also impossible to show films which require a large screen, projector and a cumbersome generator.

To meet the cultural needs of the cadres and soldiers in the frontline zone, it is necessary to organize strong information and literary-art units within the armed forces themselves. At the same time, mobile, shock information and literary-art units of the district, the province or the central level, units which are streamlined in terms of their personnel and whose programs are very concise, should be sent to support our cadres and soldiers.

The middle zone consists of the villages and mountain villages adjacent to the frontline. This is the staging area for combat ready armed forces, is the

location of the rear area facilities that directly support the frontline; therefore, it is a zone in which there is a rather large number of combat support forces. Within this zone, civilians continue to work their fields and schools, state farms and forestry sites are still operating normally.

Efforts to build cultural life on this middle line must focus on the following several themes of primary importance: informational and motivational activities; mass literature and art; the reading of revolutionary books and newspapers; and establishing the new way of life. In this zone, cultural and informational work must be based entirely upon the units of the armed forces, schools, medical aid stations, forestry sites and state farms. An effort must be made to successfully establish strong culture and information units in order to exert a good influence upon other units. At each basic unit, especially within each village, it is necessary to establish an information unit that consists of three to four persons and is subsidized in keeping with the spirit of Council of Ministers' Resolution 159/HDBT on culture and information work.

The rear base zone consists of the villages in the rear, the district seats and the cities. In this zone, attention should be given to all six of the following areas of cultural and informational activities: informational and motivational activities; mass literature and art; reading and working in accordance with revolutionary books and newspapers; establishing the new way of life; teaching tradition; the regular activities of cultural centers, clubs... Activities should be organized entirely on the basis of schools, enterprises, state farms, worksites and hospitals. Efforts should be made to develop these basic units into strong culture and information bases.

In the rear base zone, it is very necessary that markets, district seats and cities be developed into cultural centers.

The markets in the border districts, especially the district markets, are usually held once each week. These are places where members of the ethnic minorities, cadres, soldiers and manual workers and civil servants of the state come together in large numbers from throughout the entire zone. Therefore, the market must become a cultural center with such facilities as a wired radio station, a book store, an outdoor movie theater and a cluster of motivational signboards.

The district seat is the site of the district market. Each week, very large numbers of civilians and soldiers attend the market. The district seat is also the rear base, the place to which our soldiers come to relax, receive new information and enjoy culture following a tense period spent in combat or the maintenance of combat readiness. As a result, the requirements involved in building culture and information facilities here are the same as those involved in building the district level, in general. However, the stages in which and the scale on which these requirements are met must be suited to the conditions of a mountain district at war. Most importantly, it is necessary to build a wired radio station, a movie house or permanent outdoor movie theater, a bookstore, an information-exhibit hall and a cluster of

motivational signboards. Depending upon conditions, additional projects can be constructed, such as an outdoor theater for the theatrical arts, a cultural center, a library and a photography shop.

The cities along the border occupy a position of special importance. They are the center of a large area, are an important communications hub. Our policy is to develop each city into the cultural center of a large area encompassing a few border provinces, a center that has a full array of cultural facilities, especially a cultural center.

Over the past several years, as a result of taking positive steps to implement the policy on building the border cultural defense line, all six northern border provinces have begun to achieve gratifying results.

All units of the armed forces on the frontline have an information and literary-art unit, many schools are conducting highly effective cultural and informational activities. Most prominent among these are the Hoang Dong Basic General School in Lang Son City, the Highland Ethnic Minority Cultural School in Bat Xat, Hoang Lien Son Province, and the Mountain Teachers School in Ha Tuyen Province. Practically all villages that lie on the border have organized culture and information committees. Many villages have established mobile information units and literary-art units. In many villages, committees to guide the establishment of the new, socialist way of life have also been established. Consisting of representatives of the administration, the mass organizations and a number of clan heads, these committees are conducting activities that are quite practical: establishing a regimented way of life and teaching the spirit of vigilance in coordination with establishing a civilized way of life, maintaining village sanitation and order, establishing the new way of life with regard to wedding and funeral practices and combating opium addiction. Practically all markets within the scope of the defense line, especially the district markets, have been developed into culture and information centers. Some district markets, such as the Bac Ha Market in Hoang Lien Son Province have achieved very good results. Many district seats have become strong cultural centers, centers that have all the forces and equipment needed for regular activities. The culture-information organizations on the district level have been strengthened and assigned additional competent cadres who possess good qualities. It can be said that a rather complete culture-information network has been established within the scope of the defense line. Besides these results that have been achieved in organizing forces, we have also achieved gratifying returns from the standpoint of awareness and ideology. The ethnic minorities of the border areas have a very clear sense of national sovereignty and are determined to retaliate against each scheme and act of encroachment and occupation of the enemy. Practically all villages on the border have launched movements not to listen to Chinese radio, not to look at Chinese pictorial magazines, not to read the reactionary leaflets of the Chinese, not to attend Chinese markets, not to use the psychological warfare products of China and not to use Chinese medicine. In the movement to establish the new way of life, many places have enacted very specific regulations, such as not smoking opium; not offering the Ti Kha cloth, "faithful" blankets and boat sandals of China as dowry; not offering sacrifices to the chicken spirit or the spirit of the house corners; not holding funerals that last for 5 or 6 days; practicing frugality in

wedding and funeral ceremonies... Gratifying is the fact that such regulations have the sympathy and support of large numbers of the people. In their cultural and literary-art activities, the ethnic minorities always give attention to maintaining the beauty and color that are unique to their ethnic group. Folk song styles, such as the "Sli" of the Nung, "Luong" of the Tay, "Pao Rung" of the Dao, "Quan Khap" of the Thai, "Gau Plen" of the H'mong... and such musical instruments as the "Tinh" zither, cymbals, pan flute, drums and so forth have helped to make the culture of Vietnam richer, more diverse and much more colorful and have been preserved and constantly developed by the ethnic minorities.

At first, the psychological warfare and reactionary cultural items of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists adversely influenced a small number of persons. Since then, however, this influence has been gradually reduced.

In summary, as of the end of 1985, we had virtually set up the cultural defense line along the northern border (in terms of organization, movements and results).

Despite these initial results, efforts to build the border cultural defense line are still marked by weaknesses and shortcomings that must be quickly corrected:

The overall movement is not uniformly strong in all localities. At some places far from towns and roads, our compatriots and soldiers still rarely read newspapers, listen to the radio, view films or attend art performances.

Although the supply of technical equipment for cultural-informational activities within the scope of the defense line has increased rather significantly, it still only represents the minimum amount of equipment needed for these activities. Some common, very necessary items continue to be in very short supply or are not compatible with the characteristics of highland border areas (there are shortages of film projectors, lamps and lamp mantles, makeup and dry cell batteries for radios and generators are exceedingly cumbersome).

The culture-information sector on the provincial level plays a direct and decisive role in building the border cultural defense line. However, this sector has not been strengthened so that it can bring its full strength to this work.

Mobilizing the localities throughout the country to participate in building the border cultural defense line is an effort that was only launched recently and has not yet to be planned in detail in order to achieve a combined strength to help build the border cultural defense line more quickly.

The cadres who perform cultural and informational work play the decisive role in building the border cultural defense line. However, there is still a shortage of these cadres and their skills are poorly developed, especially with regard to the various types of professional cadres. In particular, there is a very serious shortage of editors.

The policies and systems that apply to cultural and informational activities within the border cultural defense line are either inadequate, are not being promptly amended to suit the situation or are implemented very slowly once promulgated.

The resolution of the 7th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee pointed out: "In the immediate future, the efforts of the entire country must be combined with the display of a high spirit of self-reliance on the part of the various localities in order to urgently build the districts in the six northern border provinces, especially the 31 border districts and cities (currently 32 districts and cities because, in July 1985, the Council of Ministers defined Ha Giang City as a border city--N.V.H.) and adjacent districts so that they are strong enough in every respect to join main force troops in staunchly defending border areas in every situation."

In the coming period, in order to contribute to the successful performance of the task described above, the work of building the border cultural defense line must be accelerated. Specifically:

--Every provincial culture and information service along the border must carefully reassess the status of the culture and information network on the cultural defense line and very accurately determine the number and qualifications of the cadres and the quantity and quality of equipment of each unit. They must work closely with military and public security forces to zone specific areas and line sections (clearly stating which villages make up each area). They must determine where to focus their efforts first and where investments in equipment must be concentrated.

--Culture-information projects of appropriate size and form must be rapidly constructed in the district seats and the cities along the border.

--As regards the mode of activity, there must be closer coordination with the armed forces, with schools and basic economic units in cultural and informational activities. Positive steps must be taken to expand these activities at the border markets and insure that cultural and informational activities are conducted each time a market is held. Information communicated verbally and through direct observation (picture and photograph exhibits, films and slides) must be combined with small-scale literary and art activities. Particular importance must be attached to the publication of various types of picture and photograph books and small exhibition books for the border.

--Appropriate benefit policies must be enacted for culture and information cadres who work in the mountains, in general, and in highland areas along the border, in particular. Systems and policies that are no longer suitable must be promptly augmented or changed.

With the concern and support of the entire country, the work of building the border cultural defense line has reached new stages of development in both breadth and depth, thus helping to effectively resist the enemy's border war

of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage. This work must be intensified and improved even more in order to meet the requirements of the fatherland's frontline very well.

7809

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THE HO CHI MINH COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION: 55 YEARS OF FIGHTING AND GROWING

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[Article by Vu Mao, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union]

[Text] This year, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the communist youth organization founded, led and trained by the party and the esteemed Uncle Ho, will be 55 years old.

In the more than one-half century that they have been following the party in the revolution, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the young generation of the entire country have overcome countless difficulties and challenges, recorded outstanding, glorious feats of arms and quickly grown and matured.

Although the various areas of the Youth Union's work and the youth movement are still marked by shortcomings and weaknesses, the contributions and growth of the Youth Union and the generations of Vietnamese youth in the fight that we have been waging under the glorious revolutionary banner of the party for more than one-half century still reflect an objective reality: the Youth Union is the shock unit of the revolution, is the militant reserve unit of the party, is the school of communism and the representative of the interests and right of collective ownership of youths.

Political Bureau Resolution 26 on "strengthening the party's leadership of youth work" states: "The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has made efforts to organize, educate and mobilize youths to enthusiastically emulate one another in the performance of the two strategic tasks. The forms of organization and methods employed in the mobilization of youths have improved. The party has a high assessment of and praises the contributions and achievements of youths and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union." The Youth Union had the honor of being awarded by the party and state the Order of the Gold Star, our country's highest order, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its founding.

In its 55 years of fighting and growing under the glorious banner of the party, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has gained much valuable experience. Below are some basic lessons it has learned from this experience:

1. The correct revolutionary line of the party is the decisive and most direct factor in the creation of the ideals and confidence of the young generation, in the success of the Youth Union's work.

As we know, in the early years of the 20th century, when the flame of the Can Vuong movement was extinguished, our country was plunged into the shadows of slavery and the situation "seemed hopeless." However, the leader Nguyen Ai Quoc and the first communists of Vietnam promptly discovered Marxism-Leninism, spread Marxism-Leninism to our country and combined this progressive thinking and theory with the worker movement and the patriotic movement in order to establish the vanguard party, thereby opening bright prospects for our country's revolution.

As soon as it was founded, our party, in its Political Platform, set a correct and creative revolutionary line: carrying out the people's national democratic revolution and toppling the imperialists and feudalists in order to liberate the country from the yoke of slavery and exploitation, bypassing the stage of capitalist development and advancing directly to socialism. With the adoption of the party's correct line, the patriotic movement entered a new sphere. The strength of our people was combined with the strength of the working class and revolutionary people of the world. As soon as it was formulated, the political line of the party reflected the greatest truth of our times: national independence closely tied to socialism. This line, therefore, was highly convincing and satisfied the deeply held aspirations of tens of millions of laboring people. In particular, it quickly became the ideal and the source of firm confidence of youths, persons who thirst for noble ideals and are always interested in the new.

In addition to a correct line, our party also had a corps of loyal and staunch cadres and party members who lived their lives for the country, for the people. The examples of fighting and dying for the cause set by Tran Phu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Ngo Gia Tu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and tens of thousands of other communist militants moved and inspired wave after wave of our country's youths to arise and take part, despite the swords and guns, the prisons and stocks of the enemy, in the life or death struggle against them. The examples of revolutionary virtues set by cadres and party members in the struggle, in production and everyday life, the essence of which were found in Uncle Ho, stirred the emotions and won the respect of countless young persons.

Born in the seething revolutionary movement of 1930 and 1931, our country's Youth Union used the revolutionary line of the party to propagandize and enlighten young workers and peasants, young intellectuals and the other strata of youths and mobilize them to arise in struggle. In the various stages of the revolution, the Youth Union has constantly brandished the two banners of national independence and socialism and set bright examples of communists to inspire the young generation.

Following the call of the party, of the Youth Union, successive generations of youths in our country have written glorious and brilliant pages in the history of our struggle. The first generation of youths participated in founding the party and leading the struggles that took place during the period of clandestine activities. The second generation of youths participated in

seizing political power in the August Revolution and waging the victorious, sacred war of resistance against the French colonialists. The third generation "cut across the Trung Son Mountain Range to save the country" and, together with the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people, brought the war of resistance against the United States to a victorious conclusion, brought unity and territorial integrity back to the fatherland and began the advance by the entire country to socialism.

The correct and creative general line on socialist construction set by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party quickly became the appeal, the compass being followed by the 15 million Youth Union members and youths of our country--the fourth generation--to the bright horizon that lies ahead.

As a result of the line adopted by the party, the Youth Union has always been able to adopt a correct agenda. This correct agenda has enabled the Youth Union to always maintain unity within the union and the youth movement and mold the ideals and firm confidence of youths.

The correct line of the party is the origin, the factor of foremost, most decisive significance in our success in the mobilization of youths. Whenever and wherever we have made a mistake in implementing the line, whenever and wherever cadres and party members have failed to set an example, the confidence of youths has been harmed and difficulties have been encountered in Youth Union work. This reminds our cadres and party members of the need to always concern themselves with teaching the political line of the party to youths. At the same time, they must give attention to setting bright examples in their implementation of the lines and positions of the party and the policies and laws of the state.

2. Building a solid and strong Youth Union, actively improving the forms and methods employed to unite and bring youths together and launching strong revolutionary action movements among youths.

As the shock unit of the revolution, the Youth Union must not only give its attention to propagandizing the lines and policies of the party, but must also pay special attention to building a solid and strong Youth Union, one that is strong enough to serve as the nucleus that unites and rallies youths, that launches strong revolutionary movements among youths with the aim of making the party's correct line a living part of social life.

Over the past several decades, under the party's direct leadership, the Youth Union has been continuously strengthened and consolidated politically, ideologically and organizationally. From the "few very exceptional youths" who were personally trained and educated by Uncle Ho, the Youth Union now has a membership of more than 4.5 million and has assembled around itself nearly 10 million youths from all different strata. The Youth Union's organization has been built and developed in practically all populated areas, at all administrative agencies, economic, cultural and national defense units and in all service sectors. The Youth Union's corps of cadres, which originally consisted of only several persons, today numbers nearly 30,000. The

specialized apparatus of the Youth Union extends from the central level to the provinces, municipalities, wards, districts and equivalent levels and is rather complete.

In its work, the Youth Union has always closely adhered to the political task of the party during each period and quickly responded to new situations. As a result of basing its forms of organization, measures, slogans and movements on the special characteristics of the thinking and aspirations of the young, the Youth Union has been able to bring millions of youths together in shock forces, shock forces that participated in the fight filled with hardships and sacrifices and made excellent contributions to the defeat of two imperialist powers, France and the United States; shock forces that are participating in the three revolutions in socialist construction; shock forces that are currently firmly standing their ground in the spearhead of the effort to defend the fatherland.

The movements that have been launched by the Youth Union, such as the "volunteer to exceed the quotas of the first 5-year state plan" movement, the "three readies" movement and the "five assaults" movement during the resistance against the United States for national salvation and the "three assaults of collective ownership" movement of today, together with the "assault youth units," "communist youth projects" and so forth have truly been schools in which the youths of Vietnam have struggled, trained, contributed and grown. These movements produced and are producing high results in combat, production, work and studies. From within these very typical revolutionary movements, millions of activist youths have been accepted into the Youth Union and tens of thousands of outstanding Youth Union members have been accepted into the party, many of whom have become outstanding cadres of the Youth Union, the party, the state and the revolutionary mass organizations.

Building a solid and strong Youth Union, constantly improving the forms and methods employed to organize and rally youths, launching strong revolutionary movements among youths and then selecting new Youth Union members and cadres from within these movements and building the strength of the Youth Union's organization so that we can continue to advance the overall movement...are a universal law that the Youth Union has applied in its activities, are a successful experience that the Youth Union has applied over the past several decades.

However, compared to the requirements of the tasks of the revolution, efforts to build the Youth Union and unite and rally youths are still limited in many ways and marked by many shortcomings. As Political Bureau Resolution 26 observed: the Youth Union organization on the basic level is still weak at many places. The number of Youth Union members is still small compared to the total number of youths and the quality of Youth Union members is not high. Many youths have not been drawn into the organizations of the Youth Federation. The Youth Union's corps of cadres is inadequate and weak and has not been selected or trained well. At many places, the themes, forms and methods of Youth Union work have not been improved. Bureaucracy and administrative management are still widespread. While it is said that the cadre issue is the factor of most decisive significance, it is also here that

we find our greatest shortcomings and weaknesses in the efforts to build the Youth Union and unite and rally youths.

Following several decades of activity, the corps of cadres of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union possesses some very basic strengths. It is politically reliable and unquestionably loyal, has confidence in the line and leadership of the party and possesses the experience gained in mobilizing youths in the national, democratic revolution. However, it has little knowledge of matters concerning the three revolutions, especially economic management. Despite their very high turnover rate, the average age of Youth Union cadres from the district level upward is still high compared to requirements. To correct these weaknesses, Political Bureau Resolution 26 points out: "The organization departments on the various levels must plan the selection, training and rotation of Youth Union cadres in order to successfully build the apparatus of the Youth Union and provide more young cadres to the party and state." To implement Political Bureau Resolution 26, some localities and party committees have begun to help build the Youth Union organization by training cadres who are well suited to the new stage, replacing key cadres who are incompetent or do not inspire sufficient confidence and setting up a rational cycle of rotation that meets the requirement of reducing the average age of the corps of cadres while providing for succession. Conversely, at those places where the party committee has not given appropriate attention to this matter, more than a few difficulties are encountered in the training of Youth Union cadres and some key cadres of the Youth Union are even transferred and dislocated unnecessarily. This is a situation that must be quickly corrected.

3. Taking the initiative in coordinating with the various sectors, levels and social organizations in order to conduct youth work in accordance with the party's view on achieving a combined strength.

During the first 14 of its 55 years of building and developing its organization, the Youth Union agitated among youths through clandestine activities. During that period, the only forces engaged in youth work were the party and the Youth Union. However, following the successful August Revolution and the establishment of the people's administration, the administration began to directly participate in educating and training youths in accordance with the views of the party. As the new system has grown in strength, the impact of the functional agencies of the administration upon the young generation in the fields of education, culture, public health, physical education and sports...has become increasingly large. In the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, the Youth Union was quick to recognize the need to coordinate its work with the agencies, departments and sectors of the state. During those years, this coordination produced certain results but these results were very limited. Following the great victory in the spring of 1975, when our party truly seized political power nationwide, the coordination between the Youth Union and the agencies of the administration and social organizations reached a new level of development and has expanded ever since.

In recent years, applying the party's view on achieving a combined strength to Youth Union work and drawing upon the experience gained in its many years of

activity, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has, on its own initiative, proposed ways to link and coordinate its work with the various sectors and levels in many different fields. The grain program initiated by the Central Committee of the Youth Union in coordination with the Ministry of Agriculture has been responded to by large numbers of Youth Union members and youths in the country and begun to produce good results. The campaign to establish a cultured way of life among youths that was launched by the Central Committee of the Youth Union in coordination with the Ministry of Culture has begun to yield a number of results. The coordinated efforts of the Central Committee of the Youth Union and the Ministry of Interior to launch the movement to have youths participate in maintaining order and security and combating negative phenomena are also a good form of coordination and have yielded large returns. In recent years, the Youth Union has also coordinated with the Ministry of Labor, the Trade Training General Department, the Physical Culture-Sports General Department, the Musicians Association, the Cinematographers Association and so forth to provide jobs to youths and meet the physical conditioning, relaxation and entertainment needs of youths. These efforts have been welcomed by these sectors and by youths.

To prepare its forces to take their place in the great formation that will carry out the 1986 state plan and the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, the Youth Union will broaden its ties with the State Planning Commission and bring youth work under the plan, considering this work to be an important part of socio-economic strategy. In keeping with the spirit of Political Bureau Resolution 26, the Youth Union will coordinate with the electric power, coal, rubber and other sectors to mobilize and make good use of young labor in developing arable land and natural resources in order to produce wealth for the fatherland.

Our efforts to coordinate with the other sectors, which began on the central level, have now been responded to by provinces, municipalities and many wards and districts. This proves that when our party holds political power and the training of the young generation has become the common cause of all society, it is an objective necessity for the Youth Union to take the initiative in establishing ties and coordination with the various sectors in order to perform youth work well. This can also be considered a major lesson concerning the success of the Youth Union in its work.

However, there are still places at which appropriate importance is not being attached to this matter. At these places, party committees have not given their attention to leading these sectors in coordinating with the Youth Union in order to perform youth work in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress (the section on youths) and Political Bureau Resolution 26. There is still the practice of leaving youth work entirely up to the Youth Union. Meanwhile, the various levels of the Youth Union do not know how to take the initiative with the sectors of the state and the mass organizations within the Front. The returns from our efforts to mobilize youths have, therefore, markedly declined in all three areas: teaching politics and ideology; organizing economic, cultural, social and national defense activities; and building the Youth Union and uniting and rallying youths.

To increase the effectiveness of the Youth Union's work and the youth movement throughout the country, insuring that the entire party and all society has a thorough understanding of and successfully implements Political Bureau Resolution 26 on youth work this year and in the next several years is extremely necessary. It is necessary to make everyone fully aware of the objective of youth work: building a stratum of new persons who possess socialist awareness; possess high cultural and scientific-technical standards; lead a beautiful way of life that is consistent with the development of the economy and the ethical tradition of the nation; are in good physical condition and can meet the requirements of production, of the industrialization of the country and the requirements of national defense, thus insuring the successful construction of socialism and the firm defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Youth work that is performed well in accordance with this objective will result in the successful completion of the most important aspect of the task of educating and molding the new socialist man and woman set forth by our party. To accomplish this, we must mobilize the combined strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system, must utilize the highest and largest achievements of science in the education, culture, mass information, public health and physical culture-sports sectors, even the enthusiasm of earlier generations, veteran revolutionaries, political and social activists, specialists...for the young generation.

As for itself, the Central Committee of the Youth Union is determined to mobilize the cadres, Youth Union members and youths of the entire country to take the lead in implementing the directives and resolutions of the party. In the immediate future, the Youth Union will make every effort to launch truly spirited and strong revolutionary action movements among the mass of youths in all three areas of working to build and develop the economy, maintaining security and national defense and establishing the way of life of the new culture in order to join the rest of the people in successfully carrying out the 1986 state plan and the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan. At the same time, the Youth Union will give special attention to the need for jobs and the other legitimate interests of youths, such as furthering their education, participating in cultural activities and sports, visiting other places...

In the years ahead, under the light of Political Bureau Resolution 26 and with the concern and leadership of the various party committee echelons and the coordination and active support of the administration and all society, the Youth Union and the youth movement will surely take new strides forward and be worthy of the party's trust, of the distinguished Order of the Gold Star recently awarded by the party and state.

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SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION IN VIETNAM AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY DURING THIS PERIOD (*)

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[Text] Tran Van Phac:

(...)The resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party pointed out: "In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, we must further strengthen the political and moral consensus among the people, reduce and overcome the difficulties being faced, stabilize and improve the standard of living, stop and eradicate negative phenomena, record important advances in each field and bring a new balance to the economy while preparing for strong and steady strides forward in the next stage."

To perform these very important tasks, we must simultaneously carry out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Therefore, cultural strategy cannot be separated from socio-economic strategy. It is a component of our overall socio-economic strategy. The tasks and goals defined under our cultural strategy in the initial stage of the period of transition must capably support the tasks and goals defined under our overall socio-economic strategy for this stage. Specifically, they must contribute to advancing the cause of building the new system, building the new economy, establishing the new culture and molding the new, socialist man and woman.

In order for culture to fulfill this glorious mission, we must define its specific tasks in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. In our opinion, these tasks are:

--Constantly raising the socialist awareness of the people and bringing Marxism-Leninism to the position of absolute dominance within the political and ideological lives of our people; promptly propagandizing and publicizing the lines and policies of the party among cadres, party members and the masses so that each person has a deeper and more thorough understanding of what national independence and socialism mean under the new conditions that exist; and continuing to heighten the spirit of socialist patriotism, the sense of national pride and the spirit of revolutionary vigilance in an effort to complete the reunification of the country politically, economically,

culturally and socially in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses. On this basis, we must struggle against each tactic employed by the imperialists, by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to sabotage us ideologically and culturally; combat the evil influence of neo-colonialist thinking and culture; combat bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking; eradicate the influences of feudal thinking and the corrupt customs of the old society; combat the liberalism, lack of organization and localism of small-scale production; combat exploitation, speculation and parasitic behavior; and combat embezzlement, theft and the other negative phenomena.

--Raising the overall standard of knowledge of the people, beginning with cadres and party members, in order to gradually insure that everyone is well developed, is capable of achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency in each field of social activity and leads a civilized life.

--Molding the socialist character and establishing the socialist way of life, the underlying principle of which is "one for all, all for one" and within which the individual is respected and everyone possesses the sense of collective ownership, fulfills obligations and responsibilities and knows how to combine personal interests and common interests.

The process of molding the socialist character and establishing the new way of life is the process of transforming old customs and habits and establishing new customs and habits, is the process of teaching the revolutionary world view and philosophy of life, is the process of the struggle between socialist culture and capitalist culture.

--Building the socialist system of culture and art, a system that reflects the character of the nation, the party and the people, is imbued with communist humanitarianism and employs the very best creative method, socialist realism.

Together with creating the conditions for the display of creativity, full importance must be attached to work in the areas of theory and criticism with a view toward achieving a high standard of artistic criticism that is closely linked to the ideological work and leadership of the party.

--Establishing the right of the people to be the collective masters of culture in the following two areas: enjoying cultural values and creating cultural values. To accomplish this, we must raise the aesthetic standards of the people, make culture a part of the everyday life of the people and take positive steps to build cultural life at basic units, with special importance attached to ethnic areas, border areas and former resistance war base areas; carry out cultural development within the district and bring about the formation of an entity consisting of the district cultural center and basic population units; and build cultural life in the large municipalities, in the form of cultural centers that typify the new culture, especially in the capital Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

To successfully complete the important tasks described above, practical and well coordinated measures must be taken. To begin with, we must make a

constant effort to give everyone, especially cadres and party members, a deeper appreciation of the importance of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country, which is something that is currently being given very light attention. In the process of building and developing culture, the policy of the state and the people working together is an entirely correct and creative policy; however, it is still necessary to attach importance to appropriate investments by the state in the construction of material and technical bases of the cultural sector and in creating favorable conditions for artists to be as effective as possible in their creative efforts. And, it is even more necessary to urgently intensify the training of a corps of culture and art cadres who possess good qualities and all the necessary skills in order to actively contribute to the task of building the new culture and molding the new man and woman in the period of transition to socialism in our country.

Pham Minh Hac:

Over the past 40 years, our education system has recorded large and brilliant achievements and made worthy contributions to the training of new laborers, to building and defending the fatherland, to the struggle to reunify the country.

Today, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, our education system faces many pressing problems that must be solved. One obvious problem is the serious imbalance between the educational needs of the people and available material conditions. The population exerts very heavy pressure upon the education system. Our educational development is not, generally speaking, coordinated with socio-economic development. In many respects, our methods of education are not consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the national economy. Generally speaking, the major imbalances we see are the following:

First, there is the lack of balance between economic development and educational development, between the desire to develop education very rapidly and the material conditions needed to support this development and between the quantitative requirements of development and the ability to provide a well rounded education of high quality.

Secondly, there is the imbalance between the socio-economic structure and the structure of the education system, between labor needs and training priorities and between training plans and plans for the utilization of persons who have been trained.

Thirdly, there are the imbalances between general education and trade training, between trade training and vocational middle school education, between vocational middle school education and college and post-graduate education...

Fourthly, there is imbalance among the different aspects of a well-rounded education: between academic education and the teaching of ethics, between spiritual and physical development and between scientific knowledge and work skills.

The major imbalances described above have adversely affected the quality of education and caused it to decline. How can we gradually correct these imbalances? How can we take strides forward in the development of education that are consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the local economy and the national economy? Clearly, the plan for the development of education must be made an integral part of the socio-economic development plan on the national level as well as within each locality. Without a consensus that embraces the entire party and all the people, without the assistance of the various levels and sectors, the education sector, regardless of how hard it tries, will find it difficult to extricate itself from its current situation. "Without education, without cadres, it is impossible to even talk about the economy and culture." (1) Recognition of this important role played by education must be given concrete expression when formulating socio-economic plans. Education is a component of the three revolutions; one that has a direct impact upon production and everyday life and must be dealt with appropriately. We should not consider investments in education to merely be an investment in a welfare service. This is not to mention the need to plan the investments to be made in the more distant future, in the first decades of the next century.

One pressing job confronting us today is to quickly correct the imbalances that exist between academic education and the teaching of ethics, between spiritual and physical development, between scientific knowledge and the dialectical world view, between general academic education and practical skills. It is necessary, in the immediate future, to intensify the teaching of politics, ideology and ethics to students and establish the proper motive for studying. We must discourage the practice of "engrossing oneself in study" to obtain a diploma, a practice that separates learning from practice, theory from application. The school must be closely tied to the socio-economic goals of the entire country and each locality. Steps must be taken to quickly turn the general school, with its purely academic program of education, into a school that provides a general academic education, an education in labor, a general technical education, occupational counselling and trade training. This school must operate on the basis of the following principles of education: "Learning combined with practical application, education combined with productive labor and the school being closely linked to society." In this way, we will be able to achieve the goals of education: molding every aspect of the socialist character and training persons who possess patriotism and socialist ideals, are in good health, possess good qualities and possess the knowledge and skill needed to perform well in an occupation, an occupation that is consistent with the division of labor within the locality and nationwide and compatible with the level of socio-economic development in the initial stage and throughout the period of transition to socialism in our country.

Quickly resolving the problems faced by education today is the best way for us to economize on manpower and save money and will create forces that will allow the nation to flourish in the next stage of the revolution.

Tran Hong Quan:

One of the tasks in the initial stage of the period of transition is to prepare the conditions for strong stages of development through the scientific-technological revolution. One of these important conditions is to meet the requirements concerning the corps of scientific-technical cadres and management cadres. Our country is advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In the space of one period, we must simultaneously carry out both the first and second scientific-technological revolutions. Without having a few million specialized cadres, it is impossible to even talk about the scientific-technological revolution, impossible to even talk about large socio-economic goals. Somewhere near the year 2000, the world will reach a major turning point. Practically every country will have virtually replaced its current scientific and technical knowledge with new knowledge of science and technology.

During the past 40 years, we have recorded achievements worthy of pride in education and training. However, in the 1970's, development stagnated. In the 1980's, instead of developing, the scale and rate of training have declined. During the 1960's, our country was a leader among the developing countries in education and training. Today, we are among the backward countries. The number of specialized cadres per 10,000 persons of population and the number of college students per 10,000 persons of population in our country are much lower than in many other developing countries. We lag behind in terms of the scale of training, the quality of training, training equipment, the types of training... And, we usually only compare where we are today to where we were yesterday and do little by way of comparing our country to surrounding countries so that useful assessments can be made.

Some persons maintain that we need not and others maintain that we cannot train many college and vocational middle school educated cadres. These persons say that we do not need many because they fail to foresee the large needs we will face in future stages of development and fail to realize that man, under socialism, in addition to his role as the labor force of society, is also the master of society. This demands that we constantly raise man's level of knowledge. The educational needs of laborers, especially youths, are very large. Our colleges are only able to accept one-tenth of middle school graduates each year. Yet, we also have only a very small number of trade training schools. Each year, the number of students graduating from general schools causes the social labor force to grow by 4 percent. In terms of an occupation, however, these students are not, generally speaking, prepared. As a result, millions of youths do not have a stable job at a time when the country is experiencing a very dire shortage of technically skilled labor. As regards the assertion that we cannot train many more cadres because we do not have adequate funding, we must take other approaches, must employ many different types and methods of training and mobilize funds from many different sources. New approaches will provide new capabilities. The impossible becomes the possible. But we must be determined to achieve development and not waver. The development of college and vocational middle school education must precede development elsewhere if we are to have any hope of meeting the requirement that the scientific-technological revolution be the "key revolution" among the three revolutions. We should not view college and

vocational middle school education as a non-production sector that only consumes wealth of society. It is a sector that produces the corps of scientific and technical cadres, a corps that is a very important production force. Investing in college and vocational middle school education is a basic investment in socio-economic development. In 1984, according to UNESCO, the annual per capita investment in education and training was 181 dollars worldwide, 40 dollars in the developing countries and 39 dollars in Africa. The investment in education and training in our country is exceedingly low. If we knew the specific figure, it would surely shock us very much from the standpoint of comparing our country to others. We can endeavor, without difficulty, to reduce the waste in investments, in production and in consumption in order to increase the education and training budget two or three-fold. Then, the direct and indirect returns from education and training will make important contributions to economic growth and social development. Even if viewed solely from the perspective of economic returns, this is one of the most profitable types of investments we can make. From an overall perspective, this is still one of the most important types of investments we can make. The slogan "everything for man, everything by man" must be expressed in the investment policy.

The education and training sector itself, of course, must make every effort to achieve partial self-sufficiency in funding. At the same time, it must correct many shortcomings and weaknesses in order to increase the effectiveness of training and more closely associate itself with and support the socio-economic goals set by the party. The potentials are very large. Man is the basis on which we move forward.

Pham Nhu Cuong:

On the basis of the general line and the line on economic construction adopted at the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party and the broad experience of the past 10 years, the social science sectors must focus their efforts on projects in the basic sciences concerning the period of transition to socialism in our country, especially the initial stage of this period, and eventually make proposals to the party regarding issues of major importance in the socialist revolution within our country.

The social sciences must help to uncover and resolve the problems faced in implementing the policies on building the class-social structure, the nationalities policy, the population policy and so forth in the initial stage of the period of transition. Recent experience has shown that if we do not take the initiative in resolving these problems in a scientifically based, planned manner, we very frequently face social consequences that are contrary to policy, contrary to the projections of leadership.

Not only must the social sciences make contributions in the formulation, concretization and refinement of lines, they must also actively participate in setting socio-economic strategy and management strategy. In conjunction with basic investigations into natural resources and the natural environment, basic socio-economic investigations and basic investigations into the human factor--to which we have long failed to attach appropriate importance--are a very important basis for deciding strategy and plans.

Today, with the social factor having become a factor in raising labor productivity, the role of many social sciences, such as psychology, sociology, aesthetics, epics, jurisprudence and so forth, in creating an optimum socio-psychological environment at each basic production unit has assumed important significance. Modern thinking holds that the economic manager, the production manager must not only be equipped with knowledge of the economy, of economic management, but must also possess knowledge in the fields of psychology, sociology, jurisprudence, ethics and so forth because management is not only the management of things, but also the management of persons and the relations among persons in the production process. Only in this way can the views of the party on simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions and on the unity between economic policy and social policy in leadership and management become a living reality in everyday socio-economic life on the basic level, in efforts to complete plan tasks and in the work of molding the new man and woman and establishing the new way of life.

At present, the primary task of the social sciences is to make, on the basis of research and debate, proposals of true scientific and practical value to the 6th National Congress of Delegates of the Party.

The research tasks mentioned above demand that we revise our concepts and understanding of the tasks and functions of the social sciences and, on this basis, strongly improve the organization and management of these activities so that the social sciences truly become the tool of leadership and management, truly hold enormous potentials for improving leadership and management skills, thereby insuring that leadership and management are always fully revolutionary and scientific.

Our social sciences must strongly shift their focus to supporting life today, with attention given first to the most pressing socio-economic issues. However, this does not mean that we should give light attention to historical research or basic research in the social sciences. Researching and summarizing history in a thorough manner are indispensable in gaining a clearer and more correct understanding of the present and the future. Basic research, which sheds light on matters pertaining to views, methodology and methods, is an important foundation for resolving practical problems in a scientifically based manner.

To be able to make contributions of high scientific value, especially in helping to resolve problems related to socio-economic strategy, the social sciences must more vigorously shift the focus of their efforts to joint-sector research among the specialized fields of the social sciences and among the social sciences, the natural sciences and the technical sciences.

In the final analysis, as is the case in other fields of activity, the scale on which and the quality with which tasks are performed and requirements are met depend upon conditions and upon leadership and management.

Consequently, to advance our research in the social sciences to a new level of development, it is necessary to solve the problems that we face with regard to organization, management and guidance and in the field of building and developing our country's potentials in the social sciences.

We must establish a system of integrated research programs in the social sciences that are reviewed, approved and assigned by the central level to research and teaching facilities, projects which these facilities are responsible for carrying out by mobilizing the most highly skilled specialists for these programs. We must enact regulations which insure that research collectives are supplied with the necessary information and regulations on the utilization of research results.

We must formulate an integrated, long-term plan (possibly up until the year 2000) that encompasses the entire party system and state system on the central and local levels for building the organizational structure of the social sciences and the structure of the corps of social science cadres. It is necessary to clearly determine which specialized sectors must have facilities at many different places and which must be housed within a common center for the entire country. We must determine which fields of science are leading fields and which facilities are of key importance so that efforts can be focused on their development. The building of the organization of the social sciences must strictly comply with the principle of preparing the necessary minimum conditions in advance, especially from the standpoint of cadres. The latest experiences in organizing scientific agencies that can be applied are: combining relative organizational stability by specialized field with flexibility in the organizing of programs and projects; establishing relatively large organizations of an integrated nature that encompass many different fields rather than establishing many small, isolated and self-contained organizations; and utilizing a form of organization which insures that basic research and methodology are combined in an optimum way with applied research, trials and experimentation before scientific conclusions are reached and proposals are made. The organization and the force of cadres must be re-examined, adjusted and restructured in the immediate future.

In conjunction with planning how to build the organization of the social sciences, it is also necessary to plan the development of the corps of cadres. This planning must provide for balance among the three types of cadres that make up this corps: management cadres, scientific specialists and professional-technical cadres. It must establish a rational structure in terms of the number of cadres within each specialized field of the social sciences and in terms of level of education (college graduates, M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s). The matters of decisive significance at this time with regard to building the corps of social science cadres are: to train cadres who are fully capable of assisting the central level in organizing and managing the social science front well at a number of staff agencies and important research facilities; to train a number of leading specialists within each specialized field; to provide advanced training to the corps of persons who currently make up the main force of activists; to train young forces for subsequent stages of development; and to enact appropriate systems and policies that will attract youths who possess good political qualities, learn well and possess an aptitude for the social sciences, thus creating a pool of gifted persons to be trained in the social sciences.

We must also solve many problems regarding the mechanisms by which the party leads and the state manages the research agencies within the party system and the state system as well as problems concerning participation by the mass

organizations in social science research in order to establish a unified, common nationwide front.

Hoang Dinh Phu:

We are building socialism in a country that was ravaged by 30 years of war and is advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. These very important features profoundly control the path to socialism in our country. Therefore, we must have a thorough understanding of these special features when conducting research and investigations for the purpose of concretizing the party's revolutionary line with a view toward correctly establishing guidelines, methods and stages of economic development and scientific-technical development that are well suited to each stage and to the entire period of transition to socialism. In view of the current state of socio-economic life and the valuable lessons and experiences we have learned and gained in the 10 years of building socialism nationwide, it is necessary to define the specific targets of the initial stage even more clearly on the basis of the general target set in the resolution of the 5th Congress with the aim of orienting economic activities and scientific-technical activities in the correct direction.

The main targets of the initial stage are to stabilize production and stabilize the standard of living. Every effort must be made to develop a diversified agriculture in order to provide a stable supply of grain that meets needs, supply raw materials to industry and increase the sources of export goods within the context of our country's specific circumstances, namely, that we are carrying out development on the basis of our arable land and labor. We must restructure production and improve the structure of the economy with a view toward successfully correcting the imbalance that exists between the needs of the basic units in agriculture, industry and the services and the ability to supply energy and materials as well as the ability to provide communications-transportation and information-liaison support. Only in this way can we stabilize production and increase the efficiency of production. One extremely important target of the initial stage is to improve the management of the economy, from production to distribution-circulation, in the direction charted by the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and the other resolutions of the Central Committee, that is, by gradually dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, truly instituting economic accounting and socialist business practices on the basis of planning, and widely applied scientific and technical advances and stimulating the strong development of production in order to truly operate at a profit and accumulate capital from within the economy. Through this process, we must forge and train a corps of talented management cadres from the strategic level to the localities and basic units. We must expand our overseas economic relations and establish a rational and stable international division of labor based on tapping the strengths that lie in the natural resources and people of Vietnam.

By meeting the specific targets described above, even though the production norms of the various economic-technical sectors might not be high and national income per capita might still be modest, we will succeed in creating the position and forces needed to more steadily and strongly develop the national

economy and create the conditions for the economy to "take off" into the next stage.

To achieve the general targets and the primary specific targets of the initial stage of the period of transition, scientific and technical activities during the initial stage must focus on the following main tasks:

First, the social sciences, natural sciences and technical sciences must make important contributions to improving the skills and effectiveness of management on the basis of the party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy as well as on the basis of the achievements of modern science and technology.

A new management mechanism and procedures must be established with the aim of achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency in production and distribution-circulation. We must improve our planning and combine planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices. We must perfect the system of economic levers so that we can broaden the autonomy of basic production units and tap the creative skills of the laboring people. Technical management must be strengthened. There must be strict compliance with standards, ceilings and codes, with regulations on weights and measures and quality control.

Together with the management mechanism, we must research and establish a rational economic structure, one that is based on our reserves of natural resources, our scientific, technical and industrial potentials and the international division of labor. Every effort must be made to build a complete economic information system that extends from the upper to the lower levels in conjunction with a reliable and high quality information-liaison network. We must apply mathematics and modern computing tools to help raise the effectiveness of management.

We must closely combine the economy with national defense and strongly develop the economy while firmly maintaining our national defense and security in accordance with our views on people's war and a national defense system in which all the people take part.

Secondly, we must widely apply scientific achievements and technical advances that have been introduced or will be introduced in the future in order to make important contributions to developing production and improving the standard of living.

Within agriculture, forestry and fishing, the technical advances that have been recorded in crop varieties, water conservancy and the techniques of intensive cultivation, in livestock production and veterinary science must be applied in a well coordinated manner combined with taking various organizational measures in production and enacting incentive policies in order to raise the yield and quality of crops and livestock, develop high yield rice growing areas and areas specializing in subsidiary food crops, fruit crops and annual and perennial industrial crops, develop livestock and poultry

production and develop the cultivation of marine products with the aims of providing a full and stable supply of grain and food, supplying raw materials to industry and increasing the sources of export goods.

Within the industrial and communications-transportation sectors, the application of scientific and technical advances must have the purposes of bringing about the fullest possible utilization of existing machine and equipment capacity; increasing our capacity to recondition and manufacture parts; and increasing our machine manufacturing capacity, from individual machines and pieces of equipment to synchronized medium and small-scale production lines in order to process domestic raw materials, provide an increasingly large supply of needed materials to the various sectors of the national economy and reduce our imports, such as fertilizer, pesticides, ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, alloys, basic chemicals and so forth. Special attention must be paid to technical advances within the various energy sectors in order to increase the efficiency with which coal, petroleum and natural gas are extracted and processed, quickly develop the various power networks and reduce the consumption of coal, electricity, gasoline and diesel fuel in industrial production and communications-transportation. We must intensify the application of technical advances in the manufacture of means of transportation, expand the communications network and improve the organization and management of transportation.

As regards the standard of living, technical advances must be widely applied to improve our ability to prevent diseases and provide medical treatment, provide for the safety of labor, improve the diet and develop the production of medicine and housing construction.

Thirdly, basic investigations and scientific research must be stepped up in order to support immediate socio-economic requirements and prepare for stronger development of the national economy in the next stage.

We must continue to conduct combined basic investigations into the natural conditions, socio-economic conditions and natural resources of the important territories in our country to lay the groundwork for further improving our planning and plans for socio-economic development within each of these territories and throughout the country. Proposals must be made on how to make rational use of resources and protect the environment. Special importance must be attached to combined investigations into the resources of the sea, which includes the seacoast, the islands, the continental shelf and the waters far off shore, with a view toward gradually building and developing our country's very promising ocean economy.

Scientific research must be accelerated. We must delve deeply into questions concerning the theory behind the period of transition in order to incorporate in life the unique and creative arguments advanced in the revolutionary line of the party. Efforts must be focused on thoroughly researching scientific and technical problems raised by the realities of production and everyday life. An appropriate scientific and technical force must be devoted to the study of a number of leading areas of science and technology that are necessary to us with a view toward opening for the national economy new fields of production and new strengths that are consistent with the natural resources

and natural conditions of our country. We must continue to research long-term scientific and technical forecasts, forecasts for each sector and combined forecasts, in order to lay the scientific base for planning.

To insure that the above mentioned guidelines and tasks are implemented and performed, we must make good use of existing scientific and technical potentials. We must bring together large numbers of scientific and technical cadres in scientific research programs and goal oriented programs in the application of scientific and technical advances on the state level as well as the sector and local levels. We must restructure and strengthen the system of research and development agencies. At the same time, our work in the field of scientific and technical information must be stepped up and international cooperation must be strengthened. We must strongly improve the management of science and technology to achieve higher economic efficiency and gradually dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in scientific and technical activities. We must promote the mass movement to apply technical advances and make technological improvements so that the scientific-technological revolution truly becomes the undertaking of the laboring people exercising collective ownership.

Le Thi:

Many matters that are part of the socio-economic strategy in the period of transition have been addressed in many resolutions of the party and speeches by leaders of our party. Therefore, it is first of all necessary to systematically review the thinking of our party and the conclusions it reached in previous years. On this basis, we can gain experience. To establish a socio-economic strategy, we must employ methods of thinking and conducting research that enable us to avoid the mistakes and shortcomings of the past.

It must be recognized that, at present, the basic investigations being conducted in practically every field are not supplying us with enough accurate information to lay the basis for deciding our socio-economic strategy for the next 5 to 10 years. Therefore, our methods of thinking, our methods of investigation, our methods of observation and our methods of proposing solutions must be flexible (and we must be prepared to make adjustments when additional scientific information is available) and we must avoid being rigidly subjective.

We are formulating socio-economic strategy at a time when we have yet to conduct a systematic review of economic work over the past several decades, especially the past 10 years (1975-1985) and have only made preliminary assessments and reached preliminary conclusions. At the same time, the knowledge that large numbers of cadres have of political economics is old in many respects and has not kept pace with changes in the situation, and there are still many different and many fundamental aspects of socialist construction in our country, for example, socialist industrialization, the production relations revolution and the law of value under socialism, are still being understood in many different ways. Therefore, serious scientific research must be organized.

We are formulating socio-economic strategy at a time when our country's economy is still in a state of abnormal development. Our country's current socio-economic situation must be correctly assessed. During the past 10 years (1975-1985), our country's economy, a weak economy marked by serious imbalances, has not undergone fundamental change, production has still not fully met consumer needs and practically no capital has been formed. Therefore, special measures must be taken to stabilize the economy before we can implement a long-term economic strategy.

The formulation of socio-economic strategy cannot be haphazard, rather, it must be based on understanding objective laws.

With Marxism-Leninism as our compass, we must delve into researching Vietnam's socio-economic life and, on this basis, discover the objective economic laws that are having an impact in practice. Only when we have recognized and can explain these laws can we take the initiative in applying them in the way that is most beneficial to socialism.

We can discover and gain an understanding of laws in two different ways: by reviewing the implementation of our party's resolutions in practical work and by conducting scientific research and theoretical research. Combining these two activities will permit us to gradually deepen our understanding of the objective laws that are having an impact in our country's social life. Both of these activities are necessary, neither can be lacking. Each is the prerequisite to the other, each augments the other.

The resolutions of the party present those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country. However, the lines and policies of the party must be applied in practice, must be supplemented and refined as they are tested in practice. Therefore, reviewing practical work, reviewing the implementation of the party's resolution are indispensable prerequisites. At the same time, the lines and policies of the party are formulated on the basis of the results of scientific research. They are not formulated in a haphazard manner. Scientific research has the responsibility of discovering the laws of things; in a certain sense, scientific research attempts to learn about things or parts that are not yet known (things that are known are no longer the object of scientific research, but only the objective of information and propaganda work). As a result, in the process of conducting research, it is also normal for opinions to arise that are not accurate or fully developed, even opinions that are wrong. The process through which scientific thinking is formed is the process of conducting research, proposing opinions, engaging in debate, making comparisons, supplementing what has been achieved, practicing criticism and self-criticism and gradually proceeding from the shallow to the deep, from the part to the whole.

To be able to stimulate economic development, in general, and formulate socio-economic strategy, in particular, it is necessary for us to revise our economic thinking. Economic thinking consists of the system of economic views (knowledge) and the methods of thinking employed (methodology).

For a long time, our economic thinking has not promptly reflected new theoretical conclusions that have been reached or the latest experiences of the fraternal socialist countries. In addition, it is not closely tied to the realities of our people's economic activities and has not solved the problems being faced in our country's life. Revamping and supplementing the system of economic views are efforts that will give us a better grasp of those matters that are in the nature of laws governing the process of economic construction in the period of transition, in general, and in the initial stage of this period in Vietnam, in particular. Studying and taking into consideration the new ideas, the new conclusions concerning the theory of political economics that have been drawn by the fraternal countries from the realities of their economic activities throughout the period of transition to socialism and drawn by us from our successes and failures in the transformation and construction of our country's economy in past years, we can increasingly achieve new understandings of important economic views.

Understanding and accepting new views are closely linked to revising our methods of thinking or, more correctly stated, to returning to the material dialectic of Marxism-Leninism. It demands that we analyze specific matters in detail and reach conclusions on the basis of scientific investigation and research into the realities of our country. At the same time, it also demands that we, on the basis of practice, revise or abandon concepts that are incorrect, that we adjust or amend these concepts with new conclusions. The experience of the past 10 years has taught us that it is exceedingly difficult to learn and grasp the laws governing the movement of our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and that this is not a process that can be carried out without some groping and setbacks. Therefore, we must be flexible, alert and sensitive to the new in our thinking. At the same time, we must firmly adhere to the economic principles of socialism, adopt the concept of revolutionary criticism, practice criticism and self-criticism and promptly abandon ideas that are wrong, backward and outmoded while continuing to enhance and develop upon those factors that make up the essence, the rational corps of our existing body of knowledge.

Over the past several years, many agencies have organized scientific seminars on the economy. One of the noteworthy results of these seminars has been the raising of problems that must be solved from the standpoint of theory and the preliminary proposal of different ways to solve these problems. This, in turn, has stimulated thinking. If we generalize the positive results of these seminars and combine them with the experiences that have been summarized in recent years (although only to a limited degree), we will find ourselves fully capable of accelerating change in our economic thinking in support of economic development and the formulation of our country's socio-economic strategy.

Le Quang Thanh:

The realities of the past 10 years have helped us to clearly recognize the unique form that the class struggle in our country during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism has assumed. This struggle is the very complex intertwining of the struggle between socialism and capitalism and the

struggle between the enemy and ourselves. Negative phenomena, counter-revolutionary phenomena and other crimes of many different forms are closely interrelated.

This unique state has its origin in the following basic situation:

1. Our country is in the period of transition to socialism and is socialist in some respect but not socialist in others, "that is, the current system consists of segments, components and pieces of both capitalism and socialism." (2)

Moreover, we are building a socialist economy on the basis of widespread, small-scale production. Therefore, the development of this unique state is made even more complex. We faced many large difficulties as soon as our entire country began the advance to socialism. The war left behind tremendous social upheaval. We have also had to wage wars to defend the socialist fatherland and have not enjoyed the true peace that would have enabled us to focus our efforts on building the country. In addition, the national economy is still seriously imbalanced. We have had to meet three very large and urgent requirements at the same time: supporting the daily lives of the people following the war, gradually building the material-technical bases of socialism and meeting security and national defense needs. All these difficulties have combined to create a set of harsh circumstances found in few other countries of the world. This has given rise to more than a few negative phenomena. Even the forms of activities employed by collectives, agencies and enterprises to increase the real income of cadres, manual workers and civil servants embody not only positive, dynamic factors, but also negative factors and violations of the law. Negative phenomena are intertwined with positive phenomena in a manner that is complex. The enemy attaches very much importance to using this situation to their advantage and making it difficult for us to distinguish between acts of sabotage by them and negative phenomena within our society.

2. The existence of many different economic segments during the initial stage in our country is an historic inevitability. The basic approach of using the non-socialist segments of the economy in combination with the socialist segments of the economy is designed to develop our country's economy within the sphere of socialism. This is a process of complex struggle waged by means of suitable measures designed to utilize while gradually transforming the non-socialist segments of the economy in conjunction with establishing, consolidating and expanding the socialist segments of the economy. This process gives birth to transitional economic forms, transitional measures, "small bridges" and "round about" approaches. These "transitional" economic forms possess the ability to move in one direction or another and the persons that implement these forms can also place their emphasis in one direction or another. During the past 10 years, a number of transitional economic forms have emerged within our country. Besides the positive and creative aspects of these forms, there are also negative aspects (including forms that are socialist "on the outside" but are, in essence, capitalist business and private exploitation).

3. While building socialism, we must also resist the very fierce border war of encroachment and occupation and the insidious wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, we must be ready to deal with the possibility of the enemy launching a large-scale war of aggression. The enemy seeks to sabotage us internally in many different ways, by means of psychological warfare operations, by buying the allegiance of persons, by inserting persons in our organization, by taking advantage of weaknesses and shortcomings on our part, thus making the struggle between ourselves and the enemy increasingly complex and, at times, making the struggle between the two paths and the struggle between ourselves and the enemy one and the same.

4. The attacks by the enemy, by the bourgeoisie and by the "spontaneous" powers of small-scale production combined with shortcomings and weaknesses of ours in economic management and other areas have given rise to negative phenomena within our organization. These negative phenomena have made the negative phenomena in society more serious and acute. Simply the lack of knowledge of economic and social management has opened many loopholes and created the conditions for former bourgeoisie to re-establish themselves, for spontaneous capitalist forces to operate, for social ills to develop.

Being clearly aware of the special features and the impact of objective and subjective conditions in the class struggle within our country today is an important requirement in adopting a correct view concerning the nature of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between the two paths in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country and, on this basis, adopting suitable policies and measures.

Trinh Nguyen:

The special characteristics of our country today are such that difficult and complex problems are being encountered with the organization and operation of the state management apparatus. The organizational system of state management agencies is defined by the objectives that are managed in the fields of the economy, culture and society. The process of the formation of the organizational system of the state management apparatus is the process of carrying out the political tasks of the leading party. Therefore, the state management apparatus must be compatible with the specific conditions that exist during each period in the country's history. This leads to differences in the scale of organization of the system of agencies within the state management apparatus of each country.

On the basis of the realities of our country's revolution today, the party has called for the establishment of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages." Within this mechanism, it is necessary to understand and establish the correct relationship between leadership and management in order to effectively perform socio-economic management tasks. Although leadership and management are separate in terms of their position and role, they are closely interrelated and have an impact upon each other. The boundary between leadership and management in the operations of the state apparatus is sometimes difficult to clearly discern and the two combine as a single entity. If not skillfully combined, leadership very

easily overtakes everything and becomes bureaucracy in the management of the state.

The important requirement in insuring the proper operation of the state management apparatus is the need to learn the science of how to organize management and correctly solve the theoretical and practical problems that are encountered in building the organizational system of the management apparatus, regulating management operations and the mode of management, deploying the corps of cadres and enacting management and cadre policies that are well suited to the actual situation. The socialist state is not only an administrative apparatus, but also an economic management apparatus. Thus, in the period of transition to socialism, the socialist state, of course, has the central task of managing the economy and has become an economic management organization that plans the national economy and manages socialist production. Therefore, it is impossible to conceive of state management agencies as organizations that are above or beside the organizational system of the economic management apparatus. Only when our concept of these agencies is correct can we correctly establish the structure, scale, tasks, authority and mode of operation of the economic management agencies of the socialist state.

On the basis of the country's situation and its tasks, our state manages economic activities in accordance with a plan and a uniform system of law. The state management apparatus, therefore, is an administrative-economic management apparatus and a production-business management apparatus. These two aspects of economic management are tied to each other. However, from the standpoint of organizing implementation, the state coordinates the operations of these two separate types of agencies in its management: administrative-economic management agencies and production-business management agencies. It combines management by sector with management by locality and territory. Clearly defining the nature and function of administrative-economic management and production-business management is of very important significance in the organization and operation of the state management apparatus. Of course, the formation and development of the organizational system of the state management apparatus and its structure must comply with the economic laws of socialism and even the laws of socialist state management.

The two fields of democratic elections and administrative appointments in the organization and operations of our state apparatus, although clearly distinguishable from the standpoint of the law, combine as one in practice and create the effectiveness of socio-economic management. In the process of performing its tasks, the socialist state applies the principles of management by administrative level, management by territory, management by locality and territory...all on the basis of the fundamental principle of the management organization: democratic centralism. Here, we see coordination and balance within a single organizational system of the management apparatus, coordination and balance that are of very important practical significance. If this coordination and balance are violated, the effectiveness of the entire management system declines and departmentalism, localism and ungoverned spontaneity arise. The law is not fully respected. And, when this situation occurs, management cadres, regardless of how talented they might be, become ineffective. Therefore, the purpose of clearly defining the function and tasks of each organization as well as the division of management labor and

responsibilities is to achieve close, smooth coordination from the standpoint of organization and operations and insure that the management principles of the state apparatus are implemented. In state management, a division of labor that is not clearly defined and a division of responsibilities that is incorrect will cause bureaucratic centralism, departmentalism and decentralization and reduce the force of state law.

As regards the state management system, the Constitution establishes four levels with appropriate degrees of independence and power. The function and tasks of each level are defined in Article 115 of the Constitution. However, the function and tasks of the district level must be thoroughly discussed because, as a state management level, it cannot take over the work of basic organizations, which are under their own management, that is, it cannot be both a manager and the object of management. Therefore, the current concept that the district has both an administrative management function and an economic management function does not mean that it has come time to consider the district level an agency of state administrative management as well as an agency that manages production-business (or a production-business federation). On the other hand, we must realize the importance of the village level and the subward level within the district and ward. These are the basic level of the state management system, are the place where the force of the law is most clearly evident within society. The situations of the villages and subwards within each area of our country vary very widely. Therefore, it is necessary to realistically define the functions and tasks of this level in socio-economic management on the basis of calculating the highest possible returns that can be expected. From the standpoint of the organization and operation of the state management apparatus, implementing the principle "combining management by sector with management by locality and territory" means properly combining the strengthening of centralized, unified management by the Council of Ministers with increasing the responsibility and authority and tapping the initiative and creativity of the sectors and localities while respecting and upholding the autonomy and responsibility to themselves of the basic units. This approach implements socio-economic management by means of state law on the basis of vigorously upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and closely combining the management provided by the state with the widespread revolutionary movements of the masses. And, only by taking this approach can we implement the guidelines "the central level and the locality working together," "the state and the people working together" and bring a combined strength to the building of the socialist economy in our country.

Binh Minh:

In view of the current realities of our country in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism and in order to seriously implement the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Party Plenums, it is absolutely necessary that we resolve the following number of urgent problems concerning the law.

To begin with, there is one basic argument with which I think everyone is now in agreement, namely, that the state must provide management (including

economic management) by means of the law. This has been confirmed in resolutions of the party and in the new Constitution of our country.

However, one important question that needs to be discussed is which laws do we need now and how should they be drafted? I will restrict my remarks to a number of matters that I consider to be of urgent importance.

Laws on the New Management Mechanism

To dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, we must do more than simply resolve the problems of prices, wages and money, even though these areas are considered where our breakthroughs are to be made. The basic and most important issue is the need to revamp the management mechanism. If we maintain the old mechanism, we will continue to do everything in the old way, do everything within the framework of the old apparatus and we will not be able to improve anything.

The resolution of the 9th Party Plenum very clearly states: "On the basis of summarizing existing experiences, the Political Bureau must urgently guide a research effort with the purpose of quickly issuing a resolution on revamping the economic management mechanism. In 1986, the new management mechanism must be established in two areas: insuring the autonomy of basic units in their production and business and defining and strengthening the administrative-economic management function of the state apparatus on the various levels, thereby creating favorable conditions for basic production-business units to implement economic accounting and socialist business practices."

The makeup of this new management mechanism must be researched by economic managers and state managers and determined by authorized agencies. However, it must be codified in the form of laws. A cautious approach would be to conduct pilot projects at a number of places first, such as Haiphong and Ho Chi Minh City, in order to gain experience. Nevertheless, I think that because this is a mechanism, it must extend fully from the top to the bottom and cannot be established only within a few elements.

Within the new management mechanism, in my opinion, are the following several matters of primary importance that must be acted upon in a well coordinated manner:

--Revamping planning is the starting point. The socialist state must firmly maintain centralized management, consciously apply laws and not allow the economy to develop spontaneously as is the case under capitalism. However, we must centralize those things that should be centralized. The most complex problem we face today is determining what should be centralized in order to maintain centralization while tapping the initiative and creativity of the basic units. Once this has been determined, these things must take the form of clear state regulations that everyone must obey.

Revamping planning is the starting point in revamping the management mechanism. It establishes, in the most rational and scientific manner possible, the goals that must be met, the important norms that must be controlled by the state, the rights and obligations of the agencies on the

central level and the rights and obligations of the localities and basic units. The practice of the upper level only having rights and the lower levels and basic units only having obligations must be brought to an end.

--Regulations must be enacted that clearly define the production-business autonomy of the basic unit. There are three main elements that must be regulated: production autonomy, business autonomy (including both exports and imports, the extent of which must be regulated) and financial autonomy (allocated capital, borrowed capital and capital formed by the basic unit itself and the right to use these various types of capital). Without financial autonomy, the conditions do not exist for implementing the other two types of autonomy.

Regulations must be adopted that define the relations between the sectors and levels. This is a matter that must be addressed for all forty provinces and municipalities and all 40 to 50 sectors on the central level. If not clearly defined in regulations, the authority of the sectors might pose an obstacle to the various levels or vice versa. For example, a province that wants to be the master of its production, distribution and circulation--truly be the master so that it can tap the strengths of the locality in order to develop each of its potentials--surely must have some authority over the basic units of the sectors within the locality. The sector must also have some authority, otherwise, how can it establish a uniform technical policy and introduce new technology in production?

Similar questions exist, although on a more narrow scale, concerning the districts and wards (which are more numerous, more than 400). However, the wards and districts are a large force today, a force that combines agriculture, industry and many other fields, a force that has an administrative management function as well as social management and economic management functions. Thus, there is an even greater need for regulations.

The three matters addressed above are the essential elements of democratic centralism, which is an exceedingly complex entity but one that definitely must be established.

--We must revamp the apparatus and its operations. In order for the management mechanism to be changed, the apparatus must be reorganized and its operations must be different. In conjunction with this, managers must be reassigned in accordance with their abilities, personal qualities and the different types of work. Conservatism in this field also poses an obstacle to the establishment of the new management mechanism.

One problem of no less pressing importance is the need to re-examine the current management regulations of the state. We must maintain correct regulations and bring about thorough compliance with these regulations or amend them where necessary. We must rescind a number of regulations that have been shown to be not consistent or compatible with the new management mechanism. We must avoid the situation wherein some persons use the fact that a number of regulations are outmoded and can no longer be implemented as an excuse to conveniently "tear down fences," thus affecting the implementation of correct regulations.

Laws on Economic Accounting and Socialist Business

Production under socialism is commodity production. Commodities must be circulated, bought and sold, must be redistributed from places where many are produced and there is a surplus to places where there is a shortage and a need for these commodities.

Under economic accounting, it is necessary to compute profit and loss. There cannot be continuous compensation for losses. Socialist business practices must provide for the convenient circulation of commodities. Prohibiting markets from being held on rivers by setting up inspection stations and tax stations that paralyze traffic along rivers, by taxing goods at any rate and arbitrarily keeping goods out of circulation is no different than returning to the days of the feudal lord.

Thus, economic accounting means that profits and losses must be calculated. However, what rights do units have? Under socialist business practices, what are their rights and what are their obligations to the state? All these rights and obligations must be defined in the form of regulations. Otherwise, how are we to know who it is that must incur a loss? What is the difference between work that is good and work that is poor?

How are commodities to be circulated among the provinces and districts? Who has the authority to set up inspection stations along rivers and roads, who has the authority to collect taxes and what should tax rates be? All these matters must be governed by regulations. All illegal stations must be immediately dismantled. Anyone who remains in violation must be prosecuted.

Another serious problem at this time is that many basic production units and state stores have a virtual monopoly in production and business, which has led them to be authoritarian and to gouge their customers. They are not concerned with reducing production costs or improving the quality of products. They even ignore the opinions of customers and continue to market the same products. Those products that need to be exclusively produced and managed by the state must be monopolized by the state. But basic production units and stores should be allowed to freely "emulate" one another. People will buy products where they are less expensive and frequent places that provide good service. Other places must be allowed to incur "losses" and go "bankrupt." This is the law of selection.

Socialist business practices must go hand in hand with a number of different types of authority: the authority to organize production, the authority to hire workers, the authority to reduce the number of workers employed, the authority to set prices and the authority to market products. If the hands and feet of units are tied in one or many of these areas, socialist business practices are nothing more than a matter of form. This does not mean, however, that basic production units do not have any obligations to the state, such as turning over profits to the state, turning over state-operated revenues to the state or delivering a number of products to the state, etc. If agencies on the upper level intervene in the management operations of basic

units simply because they want to meet these targets, they impose very many difficulties upon basic units and socialist business practices become nothing more than an empty slogan.

Laws on Price Setting Authority

Here, I would prefer not to discuss which prices are correct. This is the function and task of price management agencies.

Instead, allow me to address the legal aspect of this issue, that is, which agencies have the authority to set prices?

The current state of price regulations is very chaotic. Every agency sets prices and even every store sets prices. There is a profusion of price theories. Some persons have been saying that the prices of agricultural products are too low and do not provide incentive to farmers. So, agricultural product prices were raised. Then it was said by some that the prices of industrial goods are too low and not in line with the prices of agricultural products. As a result, the prices of industrial goods were also raised. Then, comparisons began to be made between the price of one agricultural product and another, the price of one industrial product and another. Thus, prices have been raised as a result of vying with one another. But they have not been raised in accordance with any specific law or principle. State agencies and state stores raised prices first, followed quickly by private merchants. Overjoyed, black marketers have been fighting one another for profits.

We cannot manage the market if we maintain the current mechanism by which prices are determined.

There is also very much that needs to be discussed concerning the relationship between prices and wages, prices and other matters and concerning the material standard of living.

If we continue to take this approach, the new management mechanism will be ineffective. Therefore, the state must clearly stipulate:

--Which types of products are to be priced by the state (specifically, the Council of Ministers)?

--Which types of products are to be priced by the ministries?

--Which types of products are to be priced by the localities?

--Which types of products are to be priced by the basic units?

--Which types of products are to be priced by the market, by supply and demand?

Every level and agency that has the authority to set prices must identify itself, affix its seal to and publicly post prices in order to gain the people's compliance while enabling them to supervise the sale of products at

posted prices. Disciplinary action must be taken against anyone who violates this regulation.

Therefore, in my opinion, we must quickly hold truly thorough and sound discussions on how prices should be set (this is the task of economic managers and price managers) and quickly establish a mechanism by which state production costs are determined.

Restoring Order With Regard to the Authority To Issue Regulations

An organized state must clearly stipulate which agencies have the authority to issue regulations and to what extent these regulations are binding. This is the field of administrative law.

At present, any agency in our country has the authority to issue regulations that are binding upon other persons.

Are you trying to obtain some supplies? If so, you must knock on countless doors, obtain countless signatures and then wait for many days. Once you have satisfied all the requirements of agencies and your supplies arrive at the warehouse, the warehouse custodian tells you that you still do not have this or that paper, still lack this or that signature, etc.

In every field of life, the situation is the same: in production, circulation, transportation, posts-telecommunications, education, public health, housing, grain stores, etc.

Everyone is perplexed, everyone is asking: who establishes all these bothersome procedures? But it is still necessary to comply with these procedures first or else nothing gets done.

The first thing one sees when entering an agency is a copy of its "internal regulations" posted on the wall. However, these internal regulations not only apply to persons inside the agency, but to persons outside it as well.

I think that it has come time for the state to have documents that restore order with regard to the authority to issue regulations and for the Supreme People's Organ of Control to have the responsibility of inspecting and supervising compliance with the law. Improper regulations must be cancelled. Disciplinary action must be taken against unauthorized persons who issue regulations.

The Forms of Documents That Should Be Used

In view of the fact that the new management mechanism is still in the process of formation, the most appropriate forms of documents to be used are those that lie below the level of a law (that is, documents of the Council of Ministers and organizations below the Council of Ministers). Such documents can be issued without cumbersome procedures, promptly meet the needs of management and can be quickly amended or revised if necessary.

However, at some point in time or in the case of some matters that are in the nature of major principles, it will be necessary to have laws (promulgated by the National Assembly) or regulations (promulgated by the Council of State). This approach will truly develop the ownership role of the people (through the representative agencies elected by the people), thus giving management stability and establishing strict injunctions against serious violations.

Hong Chuong:

All countries will advance to socialism and communism but every country starts from a different level of socio-economic development. Vietnam's starting point in the transition to socialism is that of a colonial, backward agricultural country in which small-scale production is widespread. Uncle Ho pointed out: "Our most important characteristic in the period of transition is that we are advancing from a backward agricultural country directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development." (3)

Practically all fraternal countries experienced capitalism before advancing to socialism. They inherited the large-scale production that was created during the period of capitalist development. In these countries, primitive accumulation, the concentration and centralization of capital, the technological revolution to create large-scale production...were all carried out under capitalism. These countries embarked on the period of transition with a system of large-scale production already in place; therefore, the only thing that these countries had to do to achieve socialism was to socialize the primary means of production.

Vietnam has not experienced the stage of capitalist development. In Vietnam, to achieve socialism, we must build new production forces and new production relations, build the new economic base as well as the new superstructure from the beginning. We must build virtually the entire material-technical base, economic base and superstructure of socialist society.

Because our country has not experienced the stage of capitalist development, we must, during the period of transition to socialism, perform tasks that the other socialist countries have not had to perform. These tasks were performed in the majority of the fraternal socialist countries before the revolution, which they were still under the capitalist system.

The period of transition to socialism in Vietnam differs from the period of transition in the majority of the fraternal socialist countries in that we have additional time to perform the tasks that should have been performed by capitalism. We call this period of time the "initial stage of the period of transition."

In the "initial stage," we must solve the following problems: establishing a new division of social labor, carrying out primitive accumulation, carrying out the first technology revolution, carrying out industrialization, creating large-scale mechanized production... In the Western countries, solving these problems was part of the "historic mission" of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. In Vietnam, this "historic mission" rests on the shoulders of the working class and laboring people led by the communist party. Only by solving these

problems can Vietnam reach a level of socio-economic development that corresponds to the level at which the majority of the fraternal socialist countries stood when they embarked on the period of transition to socialism.

The concept of the "initial stage" was first advanced by General Secretary Le Duan in his work "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Part To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism," which was written on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party. In this especially important work, on the basis of summarizing the experiences of Vietnam's revolution, Le Duan mapped out the "economic development line in the initial stage." He defined the basic economic tasks in the initial stage as accumulating capital for industrialization and improving the standard of living. To perform these tasks, it is necessary to build a rational economic structure and establish a new division of labor based on the exercise of collective ownership by the laboring people with the aims of stepping up production and raising labor productivity. He also stated that in the initial stage of the period of transition in our country, the first steps of key importance are to quickly turn private agriculture and monoculture into a collective, diversified agriculture and redistribute social labor on the basis of raising labor productivity in accordance with new production guidelines that shift a portion of the agricultural labor force to the development of industry, gradually reduce the amount of necessary labor required and increase the amount of surplus labor, which is the only source of capital. He mapped out the process of the birth and development of large-scale, socialist production in our country.

In the Political Report at the 5th Party Congress, General Secretary Le Duan said: "The present stage, which encompasses the 5-year period from 1981 to 1985 and will last until 1990, is a period of special importance." He said that the present stage is the stage of continuing to carry out socialist construction and socialist transformation, further strengthening the political and moral consensus among the people, reducing and overcoming difficulties, stabilizing and improving the standard of living, stopping and eradicating negative phenomena, making important advances in each field and bringing a new balance to the economy while preparing for steadier and stronger strides forward in the next stage.

When did the initial stage of the period of transition in our country begin and when will it conclude? Following 2 days of debate, you have unanimously agreed that the "initial stage" began in July 1954 in the North and April 1975 in the South. However, there are many different opinions about when the "initial stage" will conclude. Some persons maintain that we will conclude the "initial stage" at the end of 1985. Some persons maintain that it will not conclude until 1990. One person thinks that it will conclude in 1995, another in the year 2000 and still another in year 2005. This difference of opinion concerning when the initial stage will conclude is due to differing opinions concerning the socio-economic goals that must be met in this stage.

Thus, what are the goals that we must endeavor to meet in the initial stage? To answer this question, we must clearly understand what the special features of our country are in the initial stage. They are the following: the economy is still a small-scale production economy, the level of production is low and

agriculture still accounts for a very large portion of and occupies a very important position within the economy. Industry is still very weak. Domestically produced national income per capita is very low. The economy is still seriously imbalanced, especially with regard to grain, energy, raw materials, and communications-transportation. The market and prices are undergoing strong change. We are experiencing a very serious shortage of foreign currency and have yet to accumulate capital from domestically produced national income. Distribution-circulation and the standard of living are unstable. There are still many different economic segments and although the socialist segment predominates, the struggle between socialism and capitalism is still a sharp, complex struggle. There are still many negative phenomena within the economy and in social life. Among the different areas of the country, socio-economic development is not uniform and relatively large differences still exist. Our people have many fine traditions but, at the same time, small-scale production has made deep imprints upon the thinking and style of work of each person. Our knowledge and experience in building a transforming the economy do not meet the requirements of socialist construction. Generally speaking, international circumstances afford us many advantages, especially with regard to the division of labor and cooperation within CEMA. However, international reactionary powers are continuing to maintain their embargo against and sabotage our country's economy. Our country must also constantly resist the wide-ranging war of sabotage and the border war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the enemy and be on guard against a large-scale war of aggression.

In the remaining years of the initial stage (which we estimate will last until the early years of the 1990's), in view of the above mentioned characteristics of the situation and on the basis of the strategic line and views of the party, we must endeavor to meet the following primary goals: stabilizing every aspect of the socio-economic situation; building a rational agro-industrial economic structure; continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism; strengthening and perfecting socialist production relations and virtually completing the establishment of the new management mechanism; and continuing to build and strengthen our national defense and security so that they are strong in every situation.

Performing the jobs described above will give us the position and forces needed to achieve strong socio-economic development in the next stage, the main theme of which will be carrying out socialist industrialization on a large scale, the central task in which will be building an industrial system based on a solid foundation, heavy industry, while carrying out the intensive development of large-scale, socialist agriculture within an increasingly developed industrial-agricultural structure that is closely tied to the characteristics of our country and consistent with the common trend of our times so that we can successfully meet the socio-economic strategic goals of the entire period of transition.

It has been estimated that, if there are no major changes in the domestic and world situations and with the efforts of all our people under the leadership of the party and guidance of the state, we can meet the goals described above in the early years of the 1990's in order to shift our efforts to large-scale industrialization.

Because our country's situation is not the same as the fraternal countries, the stages into which the period of transition to socialism is divided in our country are not the same as in the fraternal countries. The establishment of the "initial stage of the period of transition to socialism" in our country represents the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory on the period of transition to the specific circumstances of our country. This is a new contribution by our party to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory. The practical significance of the adoption of the argument on the "initial stage" is that it reflects recognition of objective laws and a firm grasp of the steps that will be taken to socialism, taken without "skipping stages," without being impetuous or subjective but also without being conservative or slow, steps that will steadily advance us to socialism. Only by grasping the party's argument on the "initial stage" can we avoid mistakes in evaluating the situation, selecting goals and determining the structure of the economy and the management mechanism.

Therefore, researching the subject of the initial stage of the period of transition in our country and our socio-economic strategy during this stage is a task of profound theoretical and practical significance.

FOOTNOTES

* See: TAP CHI CONG SAN, beginning with issue No 1-1986.

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ban ve cong tac giao duc"[On Education], Su That Publishing Hanoi, 1972, p 57.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 362.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 772.

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CONCERNING A SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY NECESSARY FOR US

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 71-77

[Article by Le Thanh]

[Text] Since the reunification of the fatherland, our country's science and technology have reached new stages of development. Scientific and technical activities have contributed to the effort to meet the socio-economic goals set by the party. The corps of scientific and technical cadres has steadily grown. The cultural standards and scientific and technical knowledge of the people have steadily risen. There are now many more important bases and many very basic, favorable conditions for the development of science and technology. However, due to the failure to fully recognize the importance and essence of the scientific-technological revolution, due to poor organization and management and because the contributions made by science and technology have not been commensurate with existing potentials, the scientific-technological revolution has not, in practical terms, become the key revolution among the three revolutions.

"Science and technology are not only the base, the foundation of economic and social activities, but are also internal requirements of these activities."(1) A strategy for the development of science and technology between now and the year 2000 that is based on our socio-economic goals in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, on the characteristics of the domestic and world situations regarding science and technology, on increasingly reliable scientific and technical forecasts and which takes into consideration participation by us in general science and technology programs of CEMA and so forth is very necessary in the formulation of our plans for economic and social development, for the development of science and technology.

This science and technology strategy has the task of effectively supporting immediate and long-range economic and social, security and national defense goals, thereby making important contributions to advancing our country's economy to large-scale, socialist production with an increasingly modern industrial-agricultural structure and meeting the material and cultural needs of the laboring people better with each passing day.

The aim of this science and technology strategy is to gradually succeed in building the system of advanced science and technology of the Socialist

Republic of Vietnam by simultaneously developing the natural sciences, the technical sciences and the social sciences, closely combining goal-oriented basic research with applied and developmental research and keeping abreast of the modern trends of world science and technology. We must endeavor to raise the scientific and technical capabilities of our country to a new level of development in order to resolve immediate, pressing problems and, over the long range, be able to resolve the basic socio-economic problems of the country.

Our country's science and technology strategy is mainly based on the strength of the creativity of the new Vietnamese exercising collective ownership and the most rational and effective use possible of the material-technical bases that exist now and will be available in the future. The superior nature of socialism insures that the development of the activist role played by the corps of scientific and technical cadres is combined with the enormous creativity of the laboring people. This accelerates the introduction of scientific and technical advances in production, everyday life, management and national defense, thus creating economic growth and developing national scientific and technical capabilities. By firmly adhering to the view of taking a comprehensive approach while determining the key directions to be taken, selecting optimum methods and focusing on the leading fields of science during each period, we are determined to quickly move forward and become the masters of increasingly modern scientific achievements and technical advances. By closely coordinating immediate and long-range goals; by closely combining small and medium scale with large scale, with special importance attached to medium and small-scale projects that utilize modern technology and industrial processes; by appropriately combining orderly development with leaps forward; and by combining the scientific and technical activities of the central and local levels, of the sectors and territories, we will build an increasingly large combined strength, one that will yield the desired socio-economic results. Displaying the spirit of independence and autonomy, developing the very best of our nation's culture, technology and industry and tapping the creativity of our country's corps of scientific-technical cadres and laboring people while fully availing ourselves of the enormous capabilities that lie in international cooperation, most importantly with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, especially with Laos and Cambodia, are also guidelines in our country's science and technology strategy.

In order for science and technology to truly be "the base, the foundation" and "internal requirements" of economic and social activities, it must be emphasized that this strategy must set guidelines for resolving the general problems of economic and social development and help to bring about revolutionary changes in the structure of the economy and society while contributing to the management of production, the management of the economy and society and the refinement of socialist production relations.

First among the many general problems related to the development of the economy and society, the development of science and technology in our country today is the need to concretize the party's line that we "firmly adhere to and correctly apply economic laws and those factors that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution." (2) This demands that we research the laws of the period of transition, research the various stages of development and the

elements that make up each stage, especially the initial stage, in order to effectively support socialist industrialization, build material-technical bases, fundamentally revamp production forces, strengthen and perfect socialist production relations, build the system of collective ownership, build the new economy, establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man and woman.

Due to the course our history has followed and many other reasons, the current structure of the economy and society within our country reflects a serious lack of balance among industry, agriculture, the infrastructure and services and among the different segments of the economy. The first task of science and technology is to deeply analyze this situation and make specific proposals designed to help reorganize production, bring about changes in the structure of the economy and society, from the districts, enterprises and economic-technical sectors to the provinces, municipalities and special zone and insure expanded reproduction and the implementation of economic accounting and socialist business practices. The structure of the economy and society is the main factor determining the rate of development and efficiency of the national economy, determining the stability of society and social progress. Only by establishing the scientific argumentation for a policy on a rational socio-economic structure, a policy which includes the form of development of this structure as well, is it possible to lay the groundwork for formulating the one investment policy that is most effective.

The labor force is "the greatest production force" (Marx). At present, the technical labor force in our country only accounts for 10.9 percent of the social labor force. The division and distribution of labor are irrational. Science and technology must focus on researching a strategic labor force forecast and urgently establish a very rational structure of labor, one that encompasses the structure of all existing and future sectors and trades in each field of the economy, each segment of the economy and society, each district, each territory, each economic-technical sector and nationwide. This rational structure of the labor force not only encompasses the division of social labor, which is the measurement of the development of a society, and the distribution of labor within each territory, which is the primary method employed to combine labor with natural resources, but also encompasses the requirements that exist concerning the quality of each laborer. Therefore, science and technology, together with the science of education, must research and apply the system of laws on the molding of the new man and woman and set forth a strategy for training a labor force of increasingly high quality that meets the requirements of the division and distribution of labor today and in the next stage. By focusing attention on the size and quality of the population, science and technology can contribute to implementing family planning, improving the race and caring for the physical and spiritual health of the Vietnamese.

Science and technology must also provide sound argumentation for a national policy on the use of natural resources and the protection of the environment; for a national technical and industrial policy; for combining the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy; for expanding our economic and scientific-technical international relations; and for socio-economic development in the different areas of the country.

Finally, because management is our most important problem, we must build and develop the science of management and thereby help to perfect the socio-economic and scientific-technical management systems in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism and implement economic accounting and socialist business practices in keeping with the spirit of party resolutions. This task requires that we firmly adhere to the view on collective ownership and, on this basis, research scientific argumentation for the establishment of a structure for organizing and a mechanism for managing and controlling economic and social processes in a rational and effective manner.

The science and technology strategy for the period between now and the year 2000 must establish the guidelines for the application of scientific and technical advances within the important sectors of the national economy.

The scientific-technological revolution is closely tied to our central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, namely, socialist industrialization. In recent years, the process of socialist industrialization has taken place, to varying degrees, within the different sectors of the national economy and noteworthy achievements have been recorded. However, mechanized labor still only accounts for 10-15 percent of the labor force. On the average, only 50 percent or less of machine and equipment capacity is in use. Labor productivity is 5 to 10 times lower than that of the developed industrial countries and even lower in some sectors. The imbalance between production capacity and the ability to supply energy, raw materials and parts is rather serious. Some 80 percent of primary raw materials must be imported.

This situation demands that science and technology conduct thorough research to help further concretize the party's industrialization strategy, with the immediate aim being to overcome the difficulties and correct the imbalances being faced and the long-range aim being to forecast the direction of development of a relatively complete industrial system in our country. Science and technology must provide the scientific argumentation for continuing to reorganize and restructure the industrial sectors with a view toward increasing the utilization of machine and equipment capacity to 70-80 percent so that we can raise the total value of industrial output by 50 to 100 percent. They must establish the order of priority in which the various sectors of the national economy must be equipped with new technology and establish the optimum rate of mechanization within each sector. They must focus on solving the problem of supplying work tools, from rudimentary, improved and semi-modern tools to modern machines, with the aim of developing the strength that lies in our labor and helping to insure that every person has a job, that every sector and trade develops. They must contribute to the creation of stable sources of raw materials and supplies for industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, which includes making full use of the enormous potentials that lie in renewable resources, especially those raw materials that possess the unique properties of tropical natural resources, making rational and economical use of non-renewable resources and attaching importance to domestic sources and, over the long-range, to researching the production of new building materials that possess special properties. They

must research ways to combine large, medium and small-scales, modernize the technology and industrial processes of the traditional small industry and handicraft sectors, etc.

Science and technology must accelerate the research and application of scientific-technical advances within heavy industry, light industry and capital construction.

Agriculture is the front of foremost importance in the initial stage of the period of transition. In recent years, large victories have been won in agriculture, especially in grain and food production and the building of the district level. Science and technology must focus on researching the building of a tropical agriculture that develops in a diversified manner as an ecosystem and within a rational industrial-agricultural structure and advances to increasingly modern large-scale, socialist production.

Agricultural science must widely apply the achievements of the modern biological revolution, including the processes of industrial biology. The strategic requirements here are to make rational, combined and efficient use of limited land resources (which include the forests, water and the sea) and our most important production force, our country's abundant, diligent labor; utilize, in a rational manner, in conjunction with protecting and developing the diverse sources of vegetative and animal resources of our tropical environment; and make full use of the material bases that exist now and will exist in the future. On this basis, we must continue to build and perfect the structure of agricultural production and the agro-industrial "or agro-forestry-industrial, agro-fishing-industrial..." economic structure that is best suited to each district and basic unit with a view toward achieving all three targets: grain, raw materials and export goods.

The number one problem is to successfully implement the grain-food safety strategy and raise per capita grain consumption to more than 400 kilograms by the start of 1990 and 470-550 kilograms by the year 2000 in the face of constant population growth. To accomplish this, vigorous efforts must be focused on raising crop yields through intensive cultivation and expanding high yield growing areas in conjunction with expanding the amount of area under cultivation, primarily by means of multicropping and by improving the seasonal schedule; improving the diet; practicing strict frugality, etc. To upgrade livestock production to a main sector, to an important component of the grain-food safety strategy and meet export requirements, science and technology must contribute to the successful solution of the feed problem and help to create stable sources of high quality feed.

Science and technology must play an important role in developing our country, in the next 10 to 15 years, into a country that has a strong position in the production of the annual and perennial tropical industrial crops of Southeast Asia by thoroughly researching each crop, developing technical advances in crop varieties and high yield intensive cultivation standards, determining the main crops for each ecological area, establishing large-scale, specialized farming production areas for rubber, tea, coffee, coconut, palm oil, T'ung trees, peanuts, beans, sugarcane, tobacco, jute, cotton and so forth and developing the production of the special product crops of cinnamon, anise,

pharmaceutical crops and fragrance crops. Here, it is necessary to more strongly emphasize the strategic importance of expanding the green revolution into the hills and mountains, which account for two-thirds of our country's land, 13 million hectares of which lies in barren hills and mountains, and establishing in these areas new, prosperous and civilized economic zones.

Science and technology must research and successfully build the new, socialist countryside in each region of the country and do so in a manner that is consistent with the natural and ecological-human conditions within each area, with rationally planned population centers and the necessary infrastructure and cultural, social and service facilities in order to gradually reduce the gap in development between one rural area and another and between the countryside and the cities.

The sea is an enormous strength of our country. We have 3,600 kilometers of coastline and territorial waters and an exclusive economic zone that measure 1 million square kilometers, three times more than the mainland. At present, however, we are only exploiting the seacoast, along which only a little more than 1 million people live, only one-fourth of whom are direct laborers. Developing marine science and technology and the ocean economy must be a major strategic guideline of our country. In the immediate future, marine science and technology must help to build the structure of the ocean economy and apply scientific and technical advances to strongly develop the coastal region and constantly increase the size of the coastal population in order to establish the base for extending our reach into the waters near shore and then into the waters far off shore. There are numerous problems concerning the ocean economy that must be researched and solved: fishing and the cultivation of marine products; exploring for, extracting, refining...petroleum, natural gas and other minerals, salt production and high grade building materials from ocean sand; ocean transportation and the ship industry; services and tourism in the coastal provinces and districts and at sea, etc.

To increase the effectiveness of economic and social activities, and create the general conditions needed for the balanced development of production, needed to support everyday life and national defense, domestic economic circulation and the expansion of international trade, it is necessary to develop the infrastructure and the services. The task facing science and technology in this field is to provide scientific argumentation for the establishment during each period of the optimum rate of development and the rational structure of the production and social infrastructure (a rational national communications network and transportation structure, the posts-telecommunications system, networks for accumulating, transporting and supplying energy, fuel, electricity, water and so forth) and the well coordinated development of service activities nationwide and within each territory, most importantly within key areas, etc.

The science and technology strategy for the period between now and the year 2000 is a strategy for comprehensive development. However, the focal points and priorities under this strategy differ during each period. In view of present conditions, these priorities should perhaps be:

1. Management science.
2. The science of education, with the aim of helping to mold the new, socialist man and woman.
3. Biology and the biology industry supporting agriculture, public health, the food products industry and environmental protection.
4. The technical sciences and industrial processes in the manufacture and use of raw materials and building materials derived mainly from domestic raw materials.
5. The science, technology and industrial processes of machine manufacturing.
6. Electronics and information science.

To meet the above mentioned goals of the science and technology strategy, it is first of all necessary to reorganize our scientific and technical forces; fully comply with the principles of combining scientific and technical activities with specific socio-economic goals, combining "science-technology-production" at the scientific and technical agencies on the various levels and combining "education-science-technology-production" at colleges and middle schools; and reduce the length of the research-application-development-production cycle by as much as possible.

Secondly, we must be determined to assign scientific and technical cadres in exact accordance with the sector or trade for which they were trained and their specialized skills, especially high ranking cadres, with particular importance attached to young cadres. An appropriate mechanism and policy must be established for actively sending cadres who are skilled in application to the localities, to districts, state farms, enterprises and cooperatives. We must gain the participation of large numbers of qualified cadres in preparing the scientific argumentation for important decisions made on all levels. Scientific labor collectives must be established within the institutes, sectors and localities. We must expand the forms of activity of the provisional scientific-technical collectives with a view toward solving a number of specific problems of pressing importance. Special policies must be adopted concerning persons who possess highly developed scientific and technical skills, persons who possess special talents, skilled artists in a number of traditional fields, good physicians who possess experience handed down over the generations and highly skilled manual workers. Full importance must be attached to tapping the ability of overseas Vietnamese specialists and intellectuals to make contributions.

Balanced and well coordinated elementary and advanced training of scientific and technical forces and the corps of skilled manual workers must be accelerated in directions that are consistent with our general development strategy and with scientific and technical priorities.

Thirdly, we must increase the investments being made in scientific and technical activities through many different sources of capital: the state budget, the centralized funds of the sectors and localities and the funds

acquired by basic units on their own. Investments must focus on key programs and projects. In keeping with general laws, and particularly with a system of science that is in the stage of development that our country's is, special attention must be given to building the infrastructure needed for science and technology.

Fourthly, we must urgently strengthen the national scientific, technical and economic information system and link it to the international information system. We must modernize the material base of the scientific-technical information system and closely combine this system with the mass media.

Fifthly, we must further expand and increase the effectiveness of international scientific and technical cooperation and exchanges. We must actively participate in the general scientific and technical programs of CEMA, considering this to be a very important part of our science and technology strategy.

Sixthly, we must continue to strengthen and revamp the management of science and technology along lines that both demand and encourage the application of scientific achievements and technical advances in production and everyday life. While improving planning on the basis of goal-oriented programs, it is necessary to increase the independence of scientific-technical agencies and collectives, widely implement and establish economic contracts, joint businesses and economic ties between them and basic production units and gradually implement economic accounting within technical application and development agencies at those places where this is possible. The principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor" must be properly applied to scientific and technical cadres. Economic levers must be applied in the establishment and implementation of a well coordinated mechanism for accelerating the application of scientific and technical advances in production and everyday life.

We must improve the management of ceilings and quotas, weights-measures, standards and quality control and strengthen the scientific and technical management agencies on the various levels in a way that is well coordinated.

Seventhly, we must launch a strong and widespread movement among the masses to become involved in science and technology, the main theme of which must be to apply scientific and technical advances in production and everyday life. This movement must become a key part of the socialist emulation movement.

The decisive factor in the success of the science and technology strategy is to strengthen the leadership provided by the party and the management of the state and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people. This demands that all levels of the party and administration truly consider science and technology to be one of the main subjects of their leadership. Every cadre, party member, Youth Union member and youth, every laborer and soldier must have a full and deep awareness of the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution, must possess knowledge of and consciously carry out the scientific-technological revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Nam vuong quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te"[Firmly Adhering to Laws, Changing and Improving Our Economic Management], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 9-1984, p 21.
2. Ibid., p 7.

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LOCAL AUTONOMY?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 78-79

[Reprint of article written under the pen name Tan Trao by Truong Chinh for the "Self-criticism" column of the December 1948 issue of TAP CHI SINH HOAT NOI BO (INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES REVIEW)]

[Text] On 4 September 1948, the Interzone I Party Committee directly asked the party committees of Interzones III to devise methods for undermining the puppet administration. Again, on 1 October 1948, Interzone III Party Committee proposed directly to the other interzones a conference to discuss coordinated activities in all areas during the fall-winter campaign.

Thus, for some time now, some interzones have directly consulted one another about crucial matters without the knowledge of the central level. What do such acts of these interzone party committees prove? They prove one of these three points:

Contact between the central level and the local party organizations has been either interrupted or broken, or the localities do not trust the central level, or the localities' work methods are irresponsible and unprincipled.

Has contact between the central level and the various interzones been interrupted or broken? No, because radio sets are still working and communications are still smooth.

Has the central level lost the confidence of the localities? Again no. Proof of this is that upon receiving a direct proposal from one interzone, another--seeing that the matter is important--has cabled the central level for its opinion.

Why, then, such a haphazard work method as mentioned above? Nationally, this work method is irresponsible and unprincipled. I suddenly recall an incident that also smacks of local autonomy. This incident involved a locality that discovered a total of five cases of espionage within a 3-month period, but not a word was reported to the central level. It was not until the central level heard rumors and sent people to investigate that the interzone party committee concerned made its report.

The incidents mentioned above show that the tendency toward local autonomy is developing within the party. Unless we promptly check it, the system of democratic centralism as practiced by the party will go away. Our country is long, and the war often causes difficult situations. The organization of various zones and interzones, having their own executive committees with fairly broad power and authority, has made it easy for many local comrades to regard their own zone as a small country within a larger country.

Saying this does not mean that the localities must wait for and seek opinions from the central level on every matter, be it large or small. Such a practice would breed dependency and passivity and weaken the initiative and the sense of responsibility of our comrades. No, we oppose dependency and passivity. We only hope that our comrades will realize clearly the proper relationship between the central level and the localities and will be able to decide when a matter should be referred to the central level for an opinion, when a matter should not and does not require an opinion from the central level, when to await orders from the higher echelons, and when (for instance, in the case of interrupted communications) to act on their own and bravely accept the responsibility so as not to let things go wrong.

We must always bear in mind that democracy goes together with centralism, but initiative does not mean autonomy.

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FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE NEW, SOCIALIST MAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 80-84, 89

[Article by Phong Chau]

[Text] When conversation turns to molding the new man, some persons say: "That's the work of political and cultural activists!" When their house is on fire, they are the kind of persons who shout: "My neighbor's house is on fire!" However, the major portion of the life that each individual, each family and our society is living is related to the issue of the new man. Whether your life is happy or unhappy, whether your soul is at peace or in torment, whether your health is good or poor...these things depend, to a very large degree, even depend primarily, upon yourself, upon your way of life. To be sure, there are objective causes of things, but subjective causes are generally the ones that predominate. Therefore, the new man is always a burning contemporary issue. But what is the new, what is the old? How are we to forge ourselves to be new persons? These questions are not at all simple ones!

I. The New Man, Aesthetic Man

Under communism, the model of man is the aesthetic man (*Homo estheticus*), that is, a person who creates in accordance with the laws of beauty. K. Marx once denounced the corruption of labor in societies based on classes as "alienating man from his own body, from nature as well as from his spiritual nature, his human nature." (1) And, K. Marx asserted: "If you assume that man is human in nature and that man's relations to the world are human relations, you can then only return love with love, trust with trust, etc. If you wish to enjoy art, you must be a person who is educated in art. If you wish to influence others, you must be a person who truly inspires and stimulates others." (2)

K. Marx wanted everyone to struggle to acquire, preserve and constantly enhance the humanity of man. Man must be human, man must be forged through practice.

Historical and social conditions have gradually changed natural and biological conditions, changed the feelings of man. Man's senses are closely tied to social practice, to the activities that he undertakes to adapt to circumstances. "Only when the richness of man's nature has been developed in

material form can the richness of the subjective sensitivity of man develop and, to some extent, even be born for the first time: the ears hear music, the eyes see the beauty of form..."(3)

Paraphrasing K. Marx, our new man must be totally liberated from exploitation and oppression in order to be forged and educated, to live truly as a human being, live a full emotional life. It is this person who transforms nature, transforms society, beautifies this planet and, in the process, improves himself.

Aesthetic man is a person who knows, feels and acts in a manner consistent with the beauty of nature, of developing society and helps to create, in accordance with the laws of beauty, the free development of the "Raphael within himself."

This is a person who develops beauty in a full and balanced way: beauty of the soul and thinking, beauty of intellect and emotions, the beauty of good physical conditioning and beauty in his relations with others.

Under socialism and especially under communism, the category "beauty" gathers in all the aesthetic radiance of that which is noble, is unequalled, heroic and good because only then is each of man's actions impregnated with the essence of man's humanity, with love and respect for man, with confidence in man, in life. Scientific projects have increasingly confirmed the fact that man has an extremely sophisticated, well balanced and complex body with a marvelous mind and nervous system to which no electronic machine can compare. Therefore, man is fully capable of creating infinite beauty and mankind will create countless wonders on this planet.

The new man is also a person who possesses the noble qualities mentioned in the Political Report of our party at the 4th Congress: the new man is a person whose thinking is correct, whose sentiments are beautiful, who possesses the intelligence and ability to be the master of society, the master of nature, the master of himself.

The new man must be a fully developed and well balanced person. Some understand "fully developed" to mean possessing encyclopedic knowledge, being well versed in both the modern and the ancient and possessing knowledge of both the East and the West and view the "fully developed" man as someone who is skilled in every trade and talented in whatever field he is active. This is truly an illusion and not at all consistent with the prospects for the development of the individual in the new society.

Some persons view "fully developed" and "well balanced" as synonymous. This is incorrect from the standpoint of both the substantive and qualitative aspects of the meanings of these terms. A person cannot develop fully if he is not well balanced but he can be well balanced and not necessarily be fully developed. In fact, to fully develop his character, man must be well balanced in the major areas of his psychological life, such as his intelligence, sentiments and will. However, once man has achieved the well balanced development of his intellect, sentiments and will, it is still a long time before he becomes fully developed.

The process of becoming aesthetic man is the process of forging full and well balanced development. This is the very long path that one must follow to reach the beauty of ideals, socio-aesthetic ideals: communism. With each step that is taken, the light of ideals fills the horizon and reveals the steps that lie ahead. Man's development must be the balanced development of his physical strength, psychology, ethics, spirit, aesthetics and so forth so that he has the ability to transform the world, to produce material and spiritual wealth and to apply these values. While molding the new man, we also hope to achieve balance between the individual and society, between the public and the private, between the subjective and the objective, between man and nature, between rights and obligations, between the individual and the collective, etc. Many relations no longer stand as vague concepts but have become reality at many places, at many times and among many persons. Tens of thousands of persons "cut across the Truong Son Range" to fight the Americans and tens of thousands of others are transversing passes, fording streams and sleeping outside along the border to defend each bit of soil of the fatherland. Did they or do they lack balance between the individual and society, between rights and obligations? Millions of youths have gone to build new economic zones, build the Da River hydroelectric power project, plant forests and cover barren hills with vegetation. Do they lack a sense of balance between the subjective and objective, between the private and the public? No, they did and do possess balance in these areas. They cannot live differently. They volunteered. They want to overcome difficulties and complete tasks. Each of their interests, each of their aspirations is in line with the interests and aspirations of the fatherland. Their ideals are the same as the ideals of the country. Personal and private interests and aspirations are things that everyone has. But these persons know how to arrange theirs to achieve balance between the public and the private, between the individual and society.

II. To Become Aesthetic Man...

M. Gorki wrote: I conceive of life as the movement toward spiritual perfection. However, I also realize that ever since a certain period in his history, man's development has been following a crooked path: our intellect has developed but our emotions have been given light attention. I think that this has truly been detrimental to us. We must combine the intellect and our instincts as one in perfect balance, and then everything around us will become brighter, fresher and happier.

I do not like persons who are intelligent but never feel emotions. They are always being cruel to others, cruel in a way that is ignoble.

To "move toward spiritual perfection," man must be fully developed and well balanced, must become aesthetic man. Here, the teaching of aesthetics plays a large role.

The beauty of the new man is closely tied to life, so closely that it can be seen every moment of every day, can be seen right before our very eyes, seen in ourselves and in those with whom we live. Helping an old person to cross the street, giving one's seat to a woman on a train, not throwing trash into the street, not shoving one another when standing in line to buy something,

turning in lost articles to the public security station, notifying census registration officials when there is a guest in the house...all these actions have a quality that is aesthetic. Beauty is not found only in "fashionable" clothing, a spacious house, a "fancy" automobile... Beauty is not only reflected in the characters portrayed in films, plays and novels, in the strokes and shapes in pictures and statues, but also in persons engaged in labor, in struggle, in the profusion of color at dawn or sunset. Which book, photograph, piece of music, painting or statue can fully depict the noble and beautiful life of President Ho! The vast and grand fatherland of Vietnam is awaiting the efforts of many generations of writers and artists. Therefore, the teaching of aesthetics must be closely linked to the teaching of politics, the teaching of ethics, the teaching of labor... Ours should not be the shallow view that the teaching of aesthetics is the teaching of art. It was not without reason that Gorki called aesthetics the ethics of the future when he predicted that the entirety of the spiritual life of each person will be "aestheticized" under communism.

Man is the product and the embodiment of each social relation. Therefore, the world of man's soul is created on the basis of political, legal, production, ethical, aesthetic and other relations. The new aesthetic relations are an integral part of all other relations. They are the relations through which the aesthetic experiences and feelings of the nation and the times are selected and incorporated. Aesthetic feelings give direction to our diverse and infinite number of relations with the world. If the realm of feelings is not broadened, we cannot create such qualities as tastes, imagination, dreams, intuition, thinking, association of ideas... If man does not possess aesthetic feelings, society will not know what to do. Mankind will no longer pursue social struggle, no longer pursue revolutionary activities. The surest and most effective way to mold the new man, to mold an aesthetic man who is fully developed and well balanced is to cultivate man's ability to feel and respond to aesthetic feelings. Aesthetic feelings are the dialectical unity between emotions and awareness, between man's relations to the world and the evaluation of these relations. The reality that surrounds us is not always beautiful. There are more than a few negative phenomena, phenomena that reflect irresponsibility, the lack of education, the lack of culture. We are living in a period of transition and face countless difficulties and complex problems. A sharp struggle between two cultures, two ideologies is taking place. There is no third path to follow. There is not and cannot be any general, non-class related or metaphysical concept of beauty, humanity or national magnanimity. Therefore, we see things that are bad and feel pain, sadness and indignation. But life still holds countless things that are beautiful. If we give them some small amount of thought, if we engage in some small degree of analysis and comparison, these things of beauty will give us a feeling of pride and inspire us. Doing such will give us an opportunity to cultivate those feelings that we lack.

It is never possible to separate being moved by something from how one evaluates this thing. When he saw the potbellied, emaciated children coming to visit the delegates to the Tan Trao Conference, President Ho did not forget to remind these delegates of the need to struggle for independence so that our children would no longer have to be in such misery. Aesthetic feelings that

are not related to a class provide concealment for naivete, indifference, bigotry, shallowness and the malady of "all form and no substance."

The potential for aesthetic feelings to change is very large. Were each of us to possess noble feelings created by beauty, the entire world around us would be brighter and more beautiful. Man would love life, love his fellow man more, would immerse himself in work with greater enthusiasm and joy and defy every danger. Prior to the August Revolution, thousands of communist militants, although they knew in advance that revolution would mean "imprisonment, a knife at their throat, a gun to their head" (To Huu poem), still stood ready to give their lives for their ideals. In the wars of resistance against France and the United States, many persons put "knapsacks" on their backs and felt a sense of relief. They were persons who struck fear in the hearts of the enemy and forced them to flee from this "S" shaped land. Many of those persons died and many returned to live with us, doing so simply and normally without headstones or brass statues. Today's generation is also following in the footsteps of its fathers and older brothers in order to fulfill the obligation of a true Vietnamese. Viewed from this perspective, what we see here is a *raison d'etre* in life, one devoid of seeking fame or being deceived by the clever, ignorant reasoning of opportunists.

A continuous supply of aesthetic information is extremely necessary in the realm of feelings. It is like the successive deposits of alluvial soil that steadily make fields more fertile. The beauty of art, the law, ethics, politics and so forth in each of its forms is an effective weapon in the ideological struggle.

The process of the socialization of man is occurring through the spread of beauty. However, the rate at which this process occurs depends upon each social system. Our socialist social system denounces corrupt ethical behavior, barbarous actions, selfish desires, individualism and absurd, crude tastes. Therefore, socialist realist literature and art are not permitted to "aesthetically" render that which is bad, that which harms the people or the country, but must inspire man to undertake noble causes and help man to be optimistic and confident in his strength and the strength of his nation. Bourgeois literature and art are not being created on the basis of the principle of "reversing" spiritual, ethical and aesthetic values. "Gangsters," smugglers and rapists are becoming the main characters in many works. The loyal and pure love of couples is being cheapened and cynically replaced by money. Pornographic books, newspaper, pictures and films flood the streets. They are making every effort to make persons think that they must return to an animal state, to a life of purely biological needs.

We generally view aesthetic tastes as a form of "immunity" against everything that is base, ordinary and crude. Ironically, however, that which is base is concealed behind a very aesthetically pleasing shell. More than a few boys and girls appear bright and interesting but as soon as they say a few sentences, their tragic lack of education becomes fully apparent. Many pieces of music are very melodious but their lyrics are actually very shallow. Wholesome winds and noxious winds often swirl together in cultural intercourse today. Therefore, when supplying aesthetic information, we cannot forget to cultivate aesthetic resistance by clearly analyzing the precious spiritual

values of the nation, of the fraternal socialist countries, of progressive mankind.

But it is not enough to simply supply aesthetic information and expand the realm of aesthetic feelings. We must also teach and develop skills with a view toward helping man to create much more beauty and many more aesthetic values. Aesthetic creativity is one of the primary and most valuable abilities of man. It is of special significance in the entire process of building socialism and communism because communist society is a society that is perfect in every respect, a society filled with pure beauty and harmony.

This aesthetic creativity is occurring in each specialized field, in the labor within the sectors, in social activities, in relaxation. Therefore, aesthetic creativity has become very broad and is not limited to the field of thinking, to the cultural and art sectors, but is found in every other field of the economy as well.

The famous Soviet educator V.A. Sukhomlinski said: "Beauty is an effective means by which to teach sensitivity of the soul. It is the pinnacle from which we can see things that we have never seen before. Without understanding and being moved by beauty, there can be no passion or inspiration. Beauty is a bright light shining on the world. Under this light, we can discover truth, reason and goodness(...), recognize evil and struggle against it."(4) Living a life that is beautiful in one's relations with others and thus making both man and life beautiful, these are the new attributes of the new man. All of us possess these new attributes to some extent. But we must do much more, must grow into aesthetic man, a man who creates in accordance with the laws of beauty and struggles to repress and abolish the bad, old and backward things in man and within our society.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 121.
2. Ibid., p 136.
3. K. Marx: "Draft of Political Economics, 1844," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, p 137.
4. V.A. Sukhomlinski: "How Do We Teach Persons To Be Genuine?," Education Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 466.

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THE HEROIC COLLECTIVES AND INDIVIDUALS ON OUR EDUCATION FRONT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 85-89

[Article by Vu Ngoc Lan]

[Text] Among the 218 units and 126 individuals who were awarded the titles Labor Hero or Hero of the Armed Forces by our party and state in September 1985 were dozens of units and individuals that are active in each field of education: child care centers, kindergartens, general school education, college and vocational middle school education, trade training and supplementary education. These education heroes, "although they have not dealt with unforeseen dangers," "have not done anything glorious, have fulfilled the task of a hero, of an heroic collective." (1) They are collectives and individuals who typify the thousands of progressive schools and socialist labor teams and tens of thousands of emulation warriors on the education front in recent years. They are the representatives of the more than one-half million educators who are contributing day and night to the cause of cultivating human development.

Some heroic collectives are schools, some are the education sector of a village and some are a department. Some of these heroes have spent several decades at rostrums, and experienced the two long wars of resistance of the nation and some are only in their twenties. Some are professors and Ph.D.'s but some have only completed fifth grade or only graduated from middle school. Some are educator-soldiers, some are educator-doctors, some are educator-engineers, some are educator-child care governesses... There was even one educator, a person who struggled and sacrificed throughout his life for the cause of education, who passed away shortly after being awarded the title Hero. However, be they collectives or individuals, be they party members or not yet in the ranks of the party and regardless of their age, qualifications or job position, regardless of whether they are still alive or have since died...all these heroes very clearly express a correct revolutionary philosophy of life and a spirit of constantly struggling and making sacrifices for the cause of educating and training future revolutionary generations. Not one of them ever had thoughts of becoming a hero. All have struggled for one goal, for man, for the future happiness of the people.

1. They are collectives and individuals who have always steadfastly struggled to correctly and creatively implement the education line and guidelines of the party.

During the past 40 years, under the education goals and guidelines of the party, namely, training new laborers by combining learning with practical application, combining education with productive labor and closely linking the school to society, education has recorded enormous achievements deserving of pride. However, due to historical circumstances, due to many objective and subjective reasons, these education goals and guidelines have not been fully or correctly met or implemented. Our country is in very dire need of skilled labor in occupations that directly produce wealth for society. However, the question "for what should I study to be" is still a problem that we must continue to resolve because the prevailing attitude at this time is to study because one wants to become a "cadre," wants to leave the countryside, wants to avoid manual labor, etc.

Instilled with the line of the party, the heroic collectives and individuals have not only avoided the pitfalls mentioned above, but have also concretized the education goals and guidelines of the party in a manner well suited to each area and each field of education during each stage of the revolution. The heroic units and individuals have truly displayed initiative and creativity, have always been new factors that have played a positive role within localities and at basic units. For the past quarter century, the Bac Ly Basic General School in Ly Nhan District, Ha Nam Ninh Province, has retained its title as "leader" in the effort to achieve the party's education goals. It was the first general school in the country to concretize the goals of education in the rural lowlands. In every stage of the revolution, Bac Ly has learned lessons and gained experiences of value to the entire cause of education, in general. Cam Binh Village in Cam Xuyen District, Nghe Tinh Province, partially fulfilling the "ultimate desire" of the esteemed Uncle Ho that all our fellow countrymen be educated, popularized level I education in 1966 and level II education in 1975. Today, practically all youths and key cadres of the village have completed or are in the process of completing their level III education. Cam Binh has trained a stratum of new laborers who feel a close attachment to the village in which they were born, to production, who respond quickly to scientific and technical advances and are actively working to build the new countryside. Cam Binh is a truly worthy recipient of the banner of the "Two Goods" emulation movement and the Krupskaya Award. In the highlands, although it is a region inhabited by many ethnic minorities, Ngo Luong Village in Tan Lac District, Ha Son Binh Province, is the first mountain village in the country to provide all its citizens with a level II education. Here, educational work has truly become a force stimulating economic, cultural and social development, having resulted in the training of a corps of young ethnic cadres who possess revolutionary zeal, are well educated, are the masters of the highlands. Within the space of only a few years after liberation, Cat Hanh Village in Phu Cat District, Nghia Binh Province, wiped out the widespread illiteracy left behind by the Americans and the puppets. Today, all three education sectors in Cat Hanh have developed, thus establishing a force of educated cadres and laborers.

All heroic collectives and individuals have correctly and creatively implemented the guidelines of combining learning with practical application, combining education with productive labor. Since 1958, the teachers and students of the Hoa Binh Socialist Labor Youth School have been steadfastly maintaining their experiment in the work-study approach to education. This has been a major contribution to our country's system of socialist education. Upon their graduation from this school, nearly 7,000 students (primarily ethnic minorities) have become good cadres, good soldiers and good citizens. Today, the work-study system patterned after the Hoa Binh School has spread to many other places in the country. The Tan Lam Work-Study Middle School in Binh Tri Thien Province is a new model that has done a good job of closely tying the training and utilization of students to a state farm. The Dac To Work-Study Ethnic Youth School in Gia Lai-Kontum Province has truly become the cultural, scientific and technical center of the locality. The Roads and Municipal Streets Department of the College of Construction, the Electrical Equipment Department of the Hanoi Polytechnic College, the Posts-Telecommunications Workers School of the Posts-Telecommunications General Department, Professor Hoang Dinh Cau, Major General Do Xuan Hop, Ph.D. Vo Tong Xuong, Engineer Tran Tuan Khanh, teacher Le Hong Thuy and others are collectives and individuals that have many years of experience in combining instruction, learning, scientific research and productive labor, have achieved many good results and made significant contributions to concretizing the education goals and guidelines of the party within each field. Some heroic collectives and individuals experimented with this work-study approach to education throughout the nation's two wars of resistance, thus helping to train experienced cadres to serve the cause of building and defending the fatherland.

2. These collectives and individuals are living examples of love of one's fellow man, love of one's occupation, living examples of "the more I love my fellow man, the more I love my occupation."

"Teaching is a very important, very glorious profession." Because, "without teachers to instruct or people's children, how can we build socialism?"(2) However, because our country's current socio-economic situation is such that teaching is done only with blackboard and chalk, the profession has not been attracting many persons. For many years, the persons entering teacher training have not been good students or have done so reluctantly. In society and even among teachers, there are still many misconceptions about this profession. Above everything else, the teaching profession requires teachers who truly love their fellow man, love their occupation. Only such persons possess the enthusiasm needed to find those methods of education and training that are the most effective. Once true enthusiasm exists, it is not easily shaken. The heroic collectives and individuals on this front, therefore, usually have worked several decades in their profession. This provides sufficient time to test their loyalty to this very important, very glorious but also very demanding occupation.

Our education heroes are such bright examples. Acting out of love for her fellow man, love of her profession, the teacher Phi Van Khanh (the Chim Non Kindergarten, Ha Ba Trung Ward, Hanoi) developed the principle of learning through play and has truly been a mother to her kindergarten students

throughout the past 23 years. Perhaps because she herself lacked a mother's affection from very early in her childhood, the child care governess Tran Thi Ngoc Anh (the Hoa Child Care Center, Subward 14B, Binh Thanh District, Ho Chi Minh City) has boundless love for children. Although not a mother herself, she understands the feelings and psychology of innocent children. How great her love for children, her love of her occupation must be to lead her to search for effective methods of instructing children and overcome each difficulty and hardship, to remain at the child care center day and night week after week to care for children recently weaned from their mothers. She is truly deserving of being called a good and kind mother herself, a skilled teacher, a good physician. Without understanding the love that Pham The Bong (a teacher at the Ha Ba Trung Middle School in Hanoi) has for his fellow man and for his profession, it is impossible to explain why, after spending 1 year working as an education management cadre, he insisted on being transferred back to his rightful position in the laboratory and at his beloved rostrum. He did this even though things would have been much easier for him, both from the standpoint of his work and standard of living, had he remained a management cadre. For more than 20 years, also without anyone forcing him to do so, 85 percent of his lessons have included experiments, even during the period of the evacuation. His is professional conscience, his are the qualities of a teacher. The people of the highland village of Pu Nhi (Quan Hoa District, Thanh Hoa Province) proudly call the teacher Nguyen Xuan Trac a citizen of Pu Nhi, a "H'mong" because, for the past 23 years, he and the other teachers have been going to each house, to each village encouraging the people to open schools, set up classes and attend school. His efforts have helped to make Pu Nhi, which has a 99 percent literacy rate, a village that has undergone major economic and cultural changes. Once a nursery school teacher, but one whose driving spirit is "everything for the future of our children," teacher Nguyen Duc Thin (the Dinh Bang Basic General School, Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province) studied constantly, raised his level of education and became a level II teacher. He was also the originator of the "do a thousand good deeds" movement. Displaying the revolutionary-offensive spirit and although ill himself, he has helped to put the operations of the Quynh Lap Leprosarium on a regular basis from the standpoint of food, shelter and daily activities and set up the "compassion school" there. And, it would certainly not be the least bit difficult for Vo Tong Xuan, a doctor of agricultural science, to live a happy and full life overseas. However, because of his sense of national pride, his respect and love for the laborer and his deep interest in his profession, he has declined every invitation from one country or another and remained here toiling among farmers and working with the teachers and students of the Can Tho College to develop new varieties of rice and find ways to combat pests and diseases so that less sweat is required to produce each grain of rice.

There are very many other examples of dedication and sacrifice for the cause of education. Clearly, without such collectives and individuals who wholeheartedly love their fellow man, wholeheartedly love their profession, there would be no heroic units or individuals on the education front today.

3. These are collectives and individuals who "continue to emulate to teach and learn well" "regardless of the difficulties."

Words of advice from the esteemed Uncle Ho, which were contained in the last letter he sent to the education sector before he passed away, have been remembered and put into practice by educators. In particular, the heroic collectives and individuals have understood and put these words into practice better than anyone else. With our country's socio-economic conditions being what they are today, very many difficulties are being encountered in every field and every sector. In the field of education, these difficulties are even greater because of the urgent need to correct the "serious decline in the quality of education." Educators (that is, persons who are educators in the true meaning of the word) never have a "third plan" to "improve living conditions" and cannot "earn extra money" from their occupation. Conversely, society still does not attach true importance to the teaching profession. The staff of more than one-half million teachers is frequently called a heavy burden on society by one person or another. As a result, some persons have taken it upon themselves to reduce the grain and food ration standards of teachers or substitute one item for another, thus creating additional difficulties in the daily lives of teachers. Teachers' wages are frequently paid late. There are even times and places when educators are viewed with disdain, are treated rudely... More than a few teachers have left the profession, work fewer hours as teachers or work outside class hours on jobs that are not appropriate for educators in order to support themselves. Yet, for the past several decades, teachers have, generally speaking, steadfastly remained on their jobs. As for the heroic collectives and individuals, they are worthy of being viewed as bright examples, as "good educators" in the full noble meaning of the term. To see the full extent of the painstaking effort, difficulty and hard work involved in "cultivating human development," one must look all the way back to the time when an infant first learns to turn over, then to crawl, then to dance and sing, then to read and write and finally becomes a good worker, a good citizen.

The staff of the child care center at the 8 March Textile Mill (Hanoi) has provided an outstanding model of how to organize "child care during the shift that mothers are working" in order to support production needs well under all circumstances. Located next to the bustling Hang Da Market with its complex milieu and living under very hard conditions, the collective of teachers and students of the Thang Long Basic General School have had to surmount countless difficulties and hardships to gain the valuable experiences that they have in maintaining the school's tradition and become worthy of being the cradle of the "clean books, beautiful words" movement, worthy of being a collective of teachers and students in the capital Hanoi that is excellent in every respect. To maintain an "agricultural school," not a "state farm" as advised by Uncle Ho, the Hoa Binh Socialist Labor Youth School has experienced many ups and downs in its effort to provide the living and learning conditions needed by the more than 500 students who attend the school each term. Many departments, many colleges, vocational middle schools, trade training schools and so forth that have encountered difficulties with material bases, with the conditions needed for learning, for scientific research and so forth have still managed to carry out efficient production, thus helping to produce material wealth, improving the living conditions of teachers and students and supporting the cause of building and defending the fatherland.

Every field of education and training has its own particular difficulties. If the attitude is to rely upon others, to wait for others to act, if there is no energy, no will to move forward, difficulties cannot be overcome. The difficulties of Professor Vo Tong Xuan, Ph.D., cannot be compared to the difficulties experienced by the young woman teacher Tran Thi Ngoc Anh in her work as an instructor. It is also difficult to say how the work of Miss Hoang Thi Loan, head of the Phu Thuan Child Care Center (the Tay Hieu State Farm, Nghe Tinh Province) is easier than the task of Tran Tuan Khanh, the deputy director of project 52-01. Without the energy to overcome difficulties, without love for her profession, how could the teacher Hoang Thi Thanh Mai (principal of the Hong Linh Kindergarten in Hung Ha District, Thai Binh Province), whose hands are disabled as a result of burns caused by a napalm bomb of the French invaders, teach dance and drawing, give injections, make toys and so forth for her kindergarten students for more than 20 years? But these disabled hands are so much more valuable, so much more beautiful than a whole pair of hands with fingernails covered with polish that are busy doing things dishonest. What could be more difficult, more agonizing than being stricken with leprosy and thinking that one could never return to the rostrum again? But after spending 4 years at the Quynh Lop Leprosarium, teacher Nguyen Duc Thin not only triumphed over his illness, but also restored the love of life to countless other patients there. Teacher Nguyen Xuan Trac who has experienced hardships and worked closely with the inhabitants of the Pu Nhi mountain highland area for 23 years, teacher Le Hong Thuy who, with his bare hands, has made education at the Tran Hung Dao School the success that it is and others, all are examples of persons overcoming every difficulty they face in order to teach well and insure that students learn well. The heroic collectives and individuals on the education front are truly new factors. They have been the leaders in the emulation movement in recent years and have helped to make Vietnamese revolutionary heroism what it is.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ban ve cong tac giao duc"[On Education], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 58.
2. Ibid., p 89.

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LESSONS OF HISTORY OF BURNING CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 90-95

[Article by Pham Xuan Nam]

[Text] The Paris Commune came into existence on 18 March 1871, 115 years ago. Ever since then, the bourgeoisie and reactionary powers in the world have sought by every means possible to distort the Paris Commune with a view toward diminishing or nullifying its tremendous international role and significance. However, the working class and progressive mankind annually commemorate this great historic event with pride and a sense of profound admiration.

In the late 1860's and early 1870's, French and world capitalism had reached the final period of laissez faire competition and were developing, only to subsequently enter the period of imperialism, that is, the period of monopolistic, parasitic, corrupt and dying capitalism. Against this background, the Second Empire of Louis Bonaparte (or Napoleon III)--which was essentially a military dictatorship that served the bankers, financial speculators and powerful bourgeois capitalists of France--enacted increasingly reactionary domestic and foreign policies. At home, the working class and peasants were being very severely exploited. Their dissatisfaction with the empire was steadily mounting. Overseas, in mid-July 1870, following the wars of aggression in Mexico, Vietnam, China...Napoleon III declared war on Prussia, whose government at that time was headed by Chancellor Bismarck. Napoleon III hoped that if he could win victory in the war, his prestige at home would be consolidated and France could take occupation of additional rich lands in western Germany.

However, due to weak forces and very poor command, the French army lost one battle after another. In early September, Napoleon III and his army, tightly surrounded by Prussian forces in the Sedan, raised the white flag of surrender.

When news of this tragic defeat reached them, the workers and laborers of Paris arose in coordinated uprisings, demanding the restoration of the republic. Because they lacked sufficient awareness and organizational skills, they allowed the bourgeoisie to take power from the recently collapsed Second

Empire. The provisional government set up by the bourgeoisie called itself the Government of "National Defense." Shortly thereafter, it showed itself to be a traitorous government.

Because it feared the revolutionary working class more than the enemies of the nation, the Government of "National Defense" signed an armistice treaty with Prussia on 28 July 1871. Then, the French National Assembly, as assembly elected under the bayonets of Prussian forces, accepted humiliating terms: it ceded to Bismarck the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and paid 5 billion francs in war reparations.

After the bourgeoisie who were in power actually surrendered, some 200 battalions of National Guard troops in Paris, the majority of whom were workers and artisans—who voluntarily pooled their money to buy weapons and arose to defend the fatherland—decided to continue the fight to restore France. They were not deterred by their hunger or the fact that they were poorly dressed for the cold weather nor did they fear the hundreds of Prussian cannons that were aimed directly at the capital.

During the night of 17 March and the morning of 18 March 1871, Thiers—a cruel, greedy and cunning man who was prime minister of France at the time—ordered a unit of standing forces to march on Montmartre Hill in a vain attempt to disarm the National Guard forces, that is, disarm the working class. However, some 300,000 National Guard troops, together with the laboring people of Paris, arose and thwarted this sinister scheme of Thiers. Along with their army, important persons within bourgeois ruling circles hastily fled to Versailles.

On the afternoon of 18 March, National Guard forces occupied all administrative agencies in the capital Paris and red flags fluttered in the sky above city hall and other public offices. For the first time in history, the ruling apparatus of the bourgeoisie had been toppled and political power in Paris shifted to the Central Committee of the National Guard, a committee elected by armed workers and artisans.

On 26 March, the Paris Commune Council, which consisted of representatives of the laboring people, with workers playing the key role, was officially established.

In only a short amount of time, the commune carried out a host of activities that reflected the nature of the working class as the makers of history. It abolished the old police apparatus. Armed workers undertook the maintenance of order and security. The commune council promulgated many new decrees and set up 10 committees to enforce these decrees. Everyone holding public positions in the fields of administration, the law, education and so forth was selected through elections and could be removed from office at any time if they showed themselves to be incompetent or lacking good personal qualities. The commune decided to abolish all forms of ruthless exploitation of the laborer, issued a decree to take inventory of the enterprises of capitalists and gave workers the authority to manage these enterprises in the form of a cooperative organization. Besieged, the commune used balloons to convey its appeal to the peasants in the provinces: "Our victory is your only hope."

The commune considered its flag to be "the flag of the world republic" and took a number of measures aimed at showing itself as supporting a line of peace and friendship among nations.

All the activities of the commune proved that it was a new style state of the working class, was the first experience in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, due to many objective and subjective reasons, the Paris Commune only lasted for 72 days (from 18 March to 25 May). Nevertheless, the heroic character of the commune's militants--those persons who dared to "charge forth and seize the horizon" as observed by K. Marx--will forever be a bright example to future revolutionary generations, and the lessons and experiences left behind by their glorious undertaking have constantly been supplemented, improved upon and made richer as the entire process of the world revolution has developed.

The first lesson contributed by the Paris Commune to the world revolution was the lesson in closely combining the national liberation struggle of the working class and the various strata of laboring people against national enemies with the struggle for social liberation waged by the working class against class enemies.

When it took up arms and arose to seize political power within the city under siege by the Prussian aggressors, the Parisian proletariat also undertook two important tasks: struggling to liberate the country from foreign aggression and to liberate itself from the rule of capitalists. For the first time in the history of the world revolution, the task of liberating the nation and the task of liberating society were placed upon the shoulders of the proletariat as a result of objective developments.

Some 46 years after the Paris Commune, as the general crisis of capitalism and World War I were breaking out, the Russian proletariat, aligned with the mass of laboring peasants and the oppressed nationalities within imperial Russia, arose and carried out the great October Socialist Revolution, thereby severing the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism, smashing the "prison of nations" that was the vast Russian empire and establishing the first strong worker-peasant state in the history of mankind on one-sixth of the land mass of our planet. The unique combination of the struggle by the proletariat to liberate itself with the uprisings by the peoples of the oppressed countries within the Russian empire to press their demand for the right of national self-determination gave the offensive of the October Revolution an unprecedented strength.

Following the path of the October Revolution and as part of the overall offensive position of the three revolutionary currents that spread throughout the world following World War II, a host of national liberation revolutions won victory in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Increasingly, many of the independent countries have chosen the path of socialism in order to lead their country to the full completion of national liberation, not only from a political standpoint, but an economic standpoint as well, in coordination with liberating the basic forces of every nation, the mass of workers and peasants.

As Lenin predicted, from within the tempest of national liberation revolutions based on the line of the working class, socialism will surely emerge at the entrance to every road of contemporary capitalism. Thus, combining the national liberation struggle and the struggle to liberate the class as one, which the militants of the Paris Commune proposed more than one century ago, has now become one of the powerful forces in the development of history. And, stimulated by this force, a major truth of our times has been proven: genuine national independence must go hand in hand with and be closely tied to socialism.

The second and the primary lesson handed down by the Paris Commune to the world proletarian revolution is the need for the proletariat and oppressed laboring masses to resolutely employ violent revolutionary force to crush the ruling apparatus of the enemy, seize political power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the new style state of the working class, in order to transform the old society and build the new, socialist society.

In addition to the tasks of suppressing each counter-attack by internal and external reactionary powers, suppressing each of their attempts to re-establish themselves and keeping political power in the hands of the working class, the Paris Commune reflected the essence of a proletarian dictatorship even in its initial decisions to build a new society, a society in which the working class and laboring people, whose fate was once that of hired slaves, became the masters of society and every form of oppression and exploitation of them was abolished. As K. Marx pointed out, the commune was truly "a government of the working class...the last political form to be discovered whereby they can achieve the economic liberation of labor."(1)

The cause in which the Paris Commune began to experiment was subsequently made a living reality by the Soviet state, a new and creative form of proletarian dictatorship, a reality that has been becoming more evident with each passing day for nearly 70 years in the Soviet Union. Even during the early years of the Soviet administration, the nationalization of the cropland, factories and banks of the exploiting classes created the premises needed to establish socialist ownership and organize a planned economy. Then, the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture combined with the victory of the cultural revolution turned the Soviet Union into a country that possesses a powerful industry, a diversified and developed agriculture and a progressive culture and science and brought about a turning point in the material and cultural lives of the laboring people. The Soviet Union, however, not satisfied with what it has achieved, plans to double the economic potentials of the country that were created during the past 70 years and constantly improve the standard of living of the laboring people under its socio-economic development strategy for the next 15 years. Along with the standard of living being raised, the full and free development of the body, mind and character of the Soviet citizen will also be guaranteed.

Playing the decisive role in this entire process of remarkable development of the Soviet Union is the glorious CPSU--a vanguard unit of the international

communist and worker movement, a party with nearly one-half century of experience in revolutionary struggle, a party that became the party leading the state administration more than two-thirds of a century ago.

At the time of the Paris Commune, the working class lacked all the conditions needed to establish a true revolutionary party. Two months after the fall of the Paris Commune, the 1st International, founded and led by Marx and Engels, pointed out that the proletariat could win victory in the struggle to liberate itself by organizing its own independent political party.

At the start of the 20th century, against the background of the new historical circumstances, Lenin developed the original thinking of Marx and Engels into a complete theory on building the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard unit of the working class throughout the course of the revolution, from the stage of struggle to seize political power and during the stage in which the working class is recognized as having been "organized into the ruling class," as predicted by Marx and Engels when writing the "Communist Manifesto." This is also the stage in which the party of the working class becomes the nucleus leading the proletarian dictatorship system, becomes the party in power.

Following a long period of struggling, of being tempered and maturing as the party leading the first socialist state in the world and facing the new and very important tasks of the period of bringing socialism to perfection, a period on which the Soviet Union has embarked in order to eventually achieve communism, the CPSU has devoted painstaking efforts to researching and analyzing every aspect of the experience gained in the development of the world revolution, the building of the new society in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the dialectic of production forces and production relations, the material and spiritual fields under the conditions of socialism, the laws that govern the formation of the high stage of communism and the path and measures to be taken to gradually reach this stage. On the basis of being profoundly aware of the special characteristics of the current situation of the Soviet Union and discovering the objective antagonisms of socialist society in the course of its development, the CPSU has developed scientifically based plans for resolving these antagonisms, plans that include reliable socio-economic forecasts. In the platform (revised version) adopted at its 27th Congress, the party calls for accelerating the development of the country's economy on the basis of applying scientific and technical advances, improving the structure and management mechanism of the economy, raising labor productivity, accelerating the effort to solve pressing social problems and continuing to develop the political system of society on the basis of perfecting the Soviet system of democracy with the participation of socialist self-management by the people.

The CPSU attaches utmost importance to perfecting every aspect of the operations of the Soviet state apparatus. The party has called for determined efforts to eradicate bureaucracy, departmentalism, localism, disloyalty, abuse of authority, lust for fame and the practice of covering things up within the state apparatus and for prompt action to be taken against cadres who lose their prestige or are no longer dynamic. Positive steps should be taken to stimulate an increase in the power of the people in people's control work,

with the activities of the laboring masses within the people's organs of control being considered an important way to raise the political standards and consciousness of the people with regard to protecting public interests. The party is constantly concerned with strengthening the legal base of the state apparatus and society and teaching the people to fully comply with the Constitution and socialist law. The party requires that state agencies do everything necessary to protect the right of socialist ownership and protect the personal property, honor and dignity of the citizen while resolutely fighting crime and strictly prosecuting every violation of the law, regardless of who commits the violation or the reason for it.

In view of the continuing danger of a war being launched by imperialism, the CPSU considers defending the socialist fatherland, strengthening the country's national defense system and maintaining the common security of the entire world socialist system to be one of the most important functions of the Soviet state at this time.

In keeping with the Leninist foreign line of the party and while constantly heightening its vigilance and being ready to deliver thundering retaliatory blows against each action taken to provoke war and each act of aggression of imperialism, the Soviet state has, in the more than two-thirds of a century of its existence and development, constantly brandished the banner of peace and friendship among nations. From Decree Number 1 on Peace, which was drafted and issued by Lenin immediately after the victory of the armed uprising to put political power into the hands of the Soviets in Petrograd to the General Program for the Elimination of All Nuclear Weapons and Chemical Weapons on the Planet by the end of this century that was proposed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on 15 January 1986--these are the most graphic and typical expressions of the consistent peace-loving line of the first worker-peasant state in the world. This proves that the ideal that was the goal of the militants of the Paris Commune more than one-half century ago--"a new society, the international principle of which will be Peace"(2)--continues to be the foremost goal of socialism and the most important progressive forces of our times.

For more than one-half century, as an inseparable part of the tides of revolution in the world and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard unit of the Vietnamese working class founded and trained by President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese revolution has been constantly developing and winning victory in the light of the dawn of the new age, an age that began with the great October Socialist Revolution, the "precursor" of which was the Paris Commune in 1871.

The Vietnamese revolution has learned from and creatively applied to its specific circumstances the valuable lessons of the Paris Commune and the October Revolution with regard to closely combining the cause of national liberation and the cause of social liberation. On this basis, it has adopted as its line brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism; employing the violent revolutionary force of the masses to seize and retain political power for the people; maintaining and continuously strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat; upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people; constantly heightening the leadership role of the

vanguard party; closely combining genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism; and pursuing a correct foreign policy, thereby making worthy contributions to the causes of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress of all mankind.

If history is, as we say, a good teacher, then reviewing the historical lessons of the Paris Commune and the course of the revolution in the world during the past one-half century and more will help us gain additional energy, experience and confidence in order to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland, thereby giving the shining ideals of the militants of the Paris Commune and the other forefathers of the revolution perpetual life in the revolutionary cause of our people as well as the people of the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx-F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 1, p 631.
2. Ibid., p 591.

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WOMEN IN THE PARIS COMMUNE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 96-98

[Article by Nguyen Thi Thanh Huong]

[Text] The history of the Paris Commune is the heroic history of persons who "charge forth and seize the horizon." The commune was a festival of the masses. It abolished injustice and oppression. It upheld the noble traditions of free men. It made the dreams of man a reality. However, the Versailles reactionaries drowned the Paris Commune in a sea of blood. Despite this, the Paris Commune lives forever in the hearts of the working class and progressive mankind. History still vividly records the immortal names of and the perfect examples set by the women of the commune as heroines of "ancient times."

The Attitude of Women in the Face of the Betrayal and Cowardice of the Second Empire

On 3 September 1870, in protest of the Second Empire, the women of Paris joined the demonstrators who marched along Montmartre Boulevard to the square shouting "down with the Second Empire," "Napoleon, abdicate," "long live France" and "long live the republic." The laboring women of Paris, suppressed for so many years, arose and eagerly followed their husbands and sons into revolutionary struggle in defiance of the police, in defiance of the guns aimed at them, in resistance to the empire's tyrannical rule. Dressed in their best clothes, they swarmed into the streets, parks and squares. They staged a peaceful demonstration of mass force. In the face of the strength displayed on the historic day of 4 September 1870, the emperor and empress fled. But the gains made by the revolution then fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie. However, all the people of Paris, women included, were determined not to back down. On 4 September, a bitter battle broke out between the laboring people of Paris, who were intent on keeping their life of freedom, and the reactionary bourgeoisie, who wanted to maintain their rule. In the face of the invasion by Prussian troops and the popular uprising, the bourgeoisie did not hesitate to choose the course of betraying the country and collaborating with the Prussians with the aim of extinguishing the revolution. When they "came to terms," all laboring Paris seethed with indignation. When Prussian troops marched on Paris, the women of Paris, along with everyone else, shouted: "let's arm ourselves!" Everyone marched on the armories and,

together with the National Guard troops, carried ammunition and pulled cannons back to the center of Paris for storage. When they learned that Prussian forces were about to march into Paris, women and some 100,000 National Guard troops poured into the Giang Do Ac-me [Vietnamese phonetics] to fight them.

Women During the "72 Days of the Commune"

In political and social work:

At dawn on the morning of 18 March 1871, when they heard the bell of the National Guard pealing the alarm, the women of Paris tightly encircled and climbed upon the cannons, determined not to allow the troops of the government to drag them away. Parisian women were the ones who mobilized their husbands and sons when the enemy was about to steal the guns. At the same time, it was they who appealed to and prevented government forces from shooting and killing the people there.

On the morning of 18 March, Paris was awakened by shouts of "long live the commune." It was the day that a new world was born. The women of Paris made worthy contributions to the arrival of that historic day.

Beginning on 18 March, clubs stepped up their activities in pace with the continuous advance of the revolution. Housewives, too, joined the various propaganda groups. Very many heroic women of the commune were tempered within these clubs. In addition to young women, such as Louise Michel, who were eloquent orators, we also find the seamstress Vich-to-rin Goay-e [Vietnamese phonetics], the hatmaker Blang-so Lo-phe-vro [Vietnamese phonetics] and others, all of whom became brave militants of the heroic Paris Commune. Mac-xen Ti-nai-ro [Vietnamese phonetics] was appointed inspector of the city's schools. Parisian women "joined the ward communes and helped to requisition housing and abandoned factories, raise money, receive requests for assistance, distribute money and survey the thinking of women." (2) Countless bright examples, countless talents emerged in the political and social fields during the glorious days of the commune.

Organizing Everyday Life

With the birth of the commune, the women of Paris did much to organize the life of the people. They regularly submitted legitimate petitions and proposals to the commune council. They were concerned about children who had no one to care for them during work hours. They suggested that child care centers be organized in the city's wards. They also gave their attention to vocational training. A woman worker named Maniere submitted to the commune a plan to replace religious clergy in education. The women of the Montmartre section of the city protested the presence of nuns in the hospitals and prisons "because we have enough loyal and brave mothers to do these jobs better." (3) Women demanded the freedom to marry without interference by the mayor or the church. When "these clergy took advantage of the starvation and cold in Paris to engage in counter-revolutionary propaganda on the pretext of raising money and distributing clothing and bread to children" (4), the women of Paris immediately prevented these spies masquerading as religious clergy from "having their way." Women undertook every job that had to be done. They

confidently declared: "We are fully capable of performing these jobs." (5) The women of Paris were an integral part of the life of the ward and were very effective in organizing everyday life.

The first days of the commune were days of extreme difficulty and shortages. But, through the hands and hearts of its women, life within the commune was always wholesome and happy. These women did everything that they could to make life comfortable for their husbands and sons so that they could take up arms and defend the gains of the revolution free from worry.

Fighting to Defend the Commune

When the commune came into being, the Versailles reactionaries frantically looked for ways to oppose and attack it. They tried to provoke hostilities to weaken the forces of the revolution. On 3 April, they put up posters appealing to women to come to Versailles to negotiate. On the very next day, in "response to this appeal," a delegation of women marched on city hall to report to them that 10,000 women workers of Paris would be going to Versailles. They were going there to demand that the government no open fire on their beloved Paris. But the shells of the government suppressed them even before they reached Versailles. They never again formed a delegation to go to Versailles. Instead, they stood shoulder to shoulder with the men of the commune in the fight to wipe out the enemy.

The "Union of Women To Defend Paris and Rescue the Wounded" was established, which lent assistance to the various committees of the commune. Many women served their beloved commune with complete dedication. While banished to New Caledonia, Louise Michel enlightened her fellow prisoners and the local populace. She wrote books, newspaper articles and revolutionary propaganda. While in jail in Paris, she composed poems denouncing the murderers and appealing to the people to arise and fight. Her poems awakened persons whose "heads were still hung in sorrow" under capitalism. They urged everyone to maintain their resolve and continue the struggle. Women took part in receiving and pinning medals on persons who contributed money for the manufacture of guns. Many Parisian women were artists as well as nurses. Miss Aga was in charge of a public health station. She was a famous singer, a staunch revolutionary militant and also a woman who took devoted care of the wounded. The woman artist Bernard singlehandedly ran a medical aid station with nearly 30 beds. Many women whose husbands had been killed suppressed their grief and took their husbands' places carrying guns to the front. They fought bravely at Place Blanche and stubbornly defended fortifications. Some women were in charge of mobile public health stations. Many nurses saved the lives of countless wounded, even in the flames of battle. Many women were unknown soldiers of the commune.

The contributions made by women within the Paris Commune were truly diverse. "Not only did they set up military hospitals, buy kerosene, sew sandbags to build fortifications and obstacles...but they also played a direct role in the fight to defend the Place Blanche during "Bloody Week." Women not only participated in military activities, but also in state management and the political struggle." (6) As a result, Marx praised them thusly: "Such an example of enormous bravery is unprecedented in history."

Today, in the stirring sounds of the "Internationale" that was born in the tempest of revolution that was the Paris Commune, it is as though we can feel the heroes of the immortal Paris Commune being brought back to life, heroes who included the commune's women. Those persons will live forever in history. They are reminding the women of today: "Maintain your role in history." And, they are also counselling mankind: "To talk about women is to talk about one-half of society. If women are not liberated, one-half of society is not liberated."(7)

FOOTNOTES

1. The words of Karl Marx.
2. Hoang Vi Nam: "Cong xa Par-ri"[The Paris Commune], Science Publishing House, Hanoi, 1966, p 103.
3. Ibid., p 100.
4. Do Duc Hieu: "Van hoc Cong xa Par-ri"[The Literature of the Paris Commune], Higher and Vocational Middle School Education Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, pp 79-80.
5. Ibid., p 80.
6. Hoang Vi Nam: "The Paris Commune," p 103.
7. "Ho Chu tich voi van de phu nu," [President Ho and the Issue of Women], Women's Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 15.

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INITIATIVES FOR THE FUTURE OF MANKIND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 99-102, 106

[Article by Xuan Oanh]

[Text] Everyone who is struggling for a future of peace and happiness for mankind will forever be grateful to the Soviet Union for the noble efforts it has made on behalf of the destiny of nations, especially for the initiatives set forth in the peace program announced by M.S. Gorbachev, on behalf of the Communist Party, government and people of the Soviet Union, on 15 January 1986. This program is designed to forever eliminate, between now and the year 2000, the threat that nuclear weapons and other destructive weapons pose to the existence of each person, each living thing and all material wealth on the planet, that is, to everything that man has created in the many centuries of his civilization. The specifics of this program are concretized in proposals regarding steps that must be taken by the Soviet Union, the United States and other important concerned countries in specific stages between now and the year 2000 which can be summarized as follows:

Phase one: within the space of the next 5 to 8 years, the Soviet Union and the United States will reduce by one-half the number of nuclear weapons capable of striking each other's country, retaining no more than 6,000 warheads for the remaining missiles. This reduction will be achieved against the background of the two sides joining each other in abandoning the production, testing and deployment of space based offensive weapons. Also during this stage, the Soviet Union and the United States must reach and implement an agreement on the total elimination of the medium-range missiles of each side in Europe—which will be the first step toward a Europe free of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union and the United States will reach an agreement on ending all nuclear explosions.

Phase two: this stage will begin no later than 1990 and last for 5 to 7 years. Other countries that possess nuclear weapons will participate in nuclear disarmament, beginning by pledging to keep the number of their nuclear weapons at original levels and not deploy these weapons in the territories of other countries. Once the Soviet Union and the United States complete the reduction of their corresponding nuclear weapons by 50 percent, all other countries that possess nuclear weapons will eliminate their tactical nuclear weapons. Soviet-U.S. agreements on banning space based offensive weapons will

become multilateral agreements and all countries that possess nuclear weapons will cease nuclear weapons testing.

Phase three: this phase will begin no later than 1995. In this phase, the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons will be completed. By the end of 1999, there will be no nuclear weapons on earth, and a joint agreement will be signed to insure that these kinds of weapons never reappear.

The above nuclear disarmament program proposed by the Soviet Union establishes a clearly defined process and directions to be taken and sets specific deadlines for reaching these agreements. Through the proposals filled with good will made by the Soviet Union, each person of conscience in the world can see that the Soviet Union desires that 1986 not only be the year of peace, but also the year that creates the conditions for mankind to greet the year 2000 under a sky of peace, in a universe of peace. Mankind will no longer fear the danger of a nuclear war, chemical war or any other form of annihilating war and have increasingly firm confidence in his survival and continued development.

These are initiatives that will lead nations to a world without weapons, without war, as Lenin said more than one-half century ago. These initiatives confirm to everyone on the planet, regardless of the political system under which they live, that socialism, of which the Soviet Union is the symbol, is answering the historic question that tormented Shakespeare's Hamlet: "To be or not to be?"

All nations and all progressive mankind surely must continue to "be," of course, not by sitting and waiting or being indifferent, but by taking action, by struggling. As for the bellicose imperialist powers, they will find it difficult to save themselves from the fate that awaits them no matter how calculating they might be, no matter how much they might writhe because their schemes and actions run entirely counter to the aspirations of nations and have been sternly denounced by history. Sooner or later they, too, must recede into the past.

The achievements of science and technology, while promising to bring to the peoples of all countries countless things that are good and beautiful, are also being used by imperialism to manufacture weapons that can annihilate mankind. This one fact alone is sufficient to show the difference between the two systems in the world today, sufficient to show where humanism lies. What no one can deny is that socialism, because of its nature, has no goal other than the desire to bring back equality and happiness to man, regardless of man's nationality, race or social system. Therefore, in each stage of history, every policy emanating from socialism has, by virtue of its very nature, been a policy of peace and humanism. Moreover, it is impossible to understand the meaning of the principle of coexistence between the different social systems, especially under current world conditions, without fully recognizing the humanism embodied in socialism.

The question facing the people of all countries today is: will we live together in peace or die together in a war that no one can win? Here, of course, we are talking about a nuclear war, a type of war totally different

from any war that has occurred in the history of man. There are two ways that the above question can be answered. Imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the other bellicose reactionary powers, which are based on domination and hegemony and have war as their goal, have still not abandoned their ambition of achieving military superiority in order to launch a surprise strike in a vain attempt to win victory, even though they know that a nuclear war would be suicidal. World socialism, the symbol of which is the Soviet Union, together with progressive and revolutionary forces and all nations on this planet want only to live and work in peace. We maintain that war, including nuclear war, is not predestined, is not totally dependent upon the desires and ambitions of the imperialists and surely can be prevented and eliminated from the life of mankind when nations become aware of the strength that they have in this decisive struggle. Living together in peace is not only a real need, but is also the mandate of our times, the mandate of today and tomorrow, the mandate for all generations.

Due to their great significance and the fact that they truly represent the aspirations and will of nations, the peace initiatives advanced by Gorbachev were immediately considered by the people of all countries to represent the common voice of each nation, each person that ardently desires peace and progress. The people of the world very clearly understand that everyone would gain and no one would lose were these initiatives to be implemented. And, the sooner they are, the safer life on our planet will become. Therefore, these initiatives have become initiatives of all mankind as we stand on the threshold of the third millennium with lofty dreams.

One question that naturally arises is: can such a program that is designed to totally eliminate nuclear weapons on earth between now and the end of the century be implemented and what bases in reality are there for its implementation?

Further proof is not needed to illustrate that socialism has, since its birth and through its actions, given everyone an understanding of what optimism and confidence are. The material and spiritual strengths that have been created by socialism in a relatively short span of history are sufficient to prove that the success of any program or plan that is in the interest of the life and future of man is assured and cannot be impeded by any force. During what has amounted to slightly less than 7 decades, countless obstacles have been posed to the Soviet Union as well as the other socialist countries, obstacles that have included wars of intervention and aggression, by the powers hostile to socialism but the forces representing the future, instead of being pushed back and shrinking, have grown steadily stronger and developed.

The current strategic military balance in the world and the national defense forces, which include nuclear weapons, of the Soviet Union and the socialist community are sufficient to cause the imperialists to give thought to not recklessly starting a life or death conflict between the two world systems. At the same time, the people of all countries clearly understand that unless you are out of your mind and choose Doomsday, there is no other path but the elimination of annihilating weapons. This path demands the immediate end of the current arms race, demands that insane plans to achieve military superiority be stopped, beginning with the plan for the militarization of

space, and demands that disarmament be eventually achieved so that mankind enjoys a peace in which each nation can develop all its good and beautiful qualities.

Only 15 years remain between now and the end of the century. However, the value of the program proposed by the Soviet Union extends to the depth of history since the birth of socialism and into eternity as an initiative related to the destiny of all nations on the planet. All nations choose survival and reject predestination, reject the insane ambitions of the imperialists and bellicose reactionary powers.

The arms race, of course, is the goal and *raison d'etre*, the largest source of profits of capitalism and imperialism. The imperialists are unwilling to abandon the arms race, regardless of what the consequences of the arms race upon other nations are. As a result, the U.S. imperialists are stubbornly going ahead with the "star wars" program, that is, SDI, in the hope that SDI will not only produce huge, unprecedented profits for U.S. capitalist monopolies, but also help the United States to win military superiority in order to achieve hegemony.

As M.S. Gorbachev once observed, "from the standpoint of technical, economic and political concepts, the above program of the United States is an illusion." Illusions are, at all times and places, born of ambitions. Imperialism has always held many ambitions and therefore harbors many illusions. Since the SDI plan was announced, many competent scientists and military experts have proven that this plan is not practical, that it will be very costly and impossible to implement; on the other hand, it is a very dangerous plan because it brings nuclear war one step closer. However, the U.S. administration and a few allies of the United States for the sake of selfish commercial interests, continue to stubbornly pursue the militarization of space. The odd thing here is that the U.S. side proclaims that the SDI program is designed to "eliminate the threat of nuclear weapons!" This clever, "black is white" argument of the United States deceives no one. Everyone knows full well that if the United States harbored good will, it could simply immediately eliminate its land-based nuclear weapons and thus have no need to go into space to achieve this objective. Everyone knows that to reject the militarization of space is to reduce nuclear weapons in depth, that to be unwilling to stop the militarization of space is to not want to bring the arms race on earth to an end. Everyone also understands that every "space shield" can very easily become a "space sword," and that whoever holds this sword in their hands will find it impossible to resist the temptation to put it to use. Therefore, mankind has been and is continuing, through words and deeds, to strenuously oppose SDI. Moreover, there is an antidote for every poison. The implementation of the SDI program will inevitably lead to a program to eliminate SDI and even eliminate the base upon which SDI is implemented, that being nuclear weapons. The program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000 that has been proposed by the Soviet Union is attracting the attention and sympathy of billions of persons and creating a strength capable of thwarting each crazy illusion of the U.S. imperialists.

In politics as well as science, every action has a reaction. Further schemes to start a war create larger anti-war forces. As the threat of war grows, the forces that seek to prevent war develop. This explains why, besides the Soviet Union and the socialist community which, with their combined strength and powerful national defense forces are undertaking the mission of maintaining peace, there is in the world today a widespread, strong movement among billions of persons of all nations determined to struggle for peace.

In view of the eloquent realities described above, we believe that the great program proposed by Gorbachev to eliminate nuclear weapons and all other types of annihilating weapons in this century can be implemented.

Peace-loving by tradition and possessing firsthand knowledge of the suffering and losses caused by war, our people heartily welcome and completely support the peace program of the Soviet Union, considering it to be a major contribution by the Soviet Union to the cause of the peace and security of nations.

Together with progressive mankind, we demand that the United States and other countries that possess nuclear weapons quickly respond to this program of the Soviet Union and take specific steps to effectively participate in the process of implementing this program. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people, with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and friendly countries in the world, we will do everything we can to help make the peace program of the Soviet Union a reality so that the world begins the third millennium not with the "star wars" program, but with large scale, peaceful plans for conquering nature and space through the strength of all mankind.

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY WORK--ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 86 pp 103-106

[Article by Ho Bat Khuat commemorating the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party]

[Text] Founded on 1 March 1921, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is now 65 years old. During the past 65 years, the party has led the people of Mongolia in waging a victorious revolutionary struggle against the feudalists and imperialists, establishing the Mongolian People's Republic and bringing about an important leap forward in the history of the Mongolian nation: from feudalism to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In the process of leading the revolution, the MPRP has excellently completed many large tasks: putting political power in the hands of the people, abolishing feudalism, consolidating the new system and establishing socialist production relations, thereby putting Mongolia, once one of the most backward countries in the world, a country with a nomadic economy, on the developing path of an agro-industrial country. Today, the people of Mongolia are working hard to perfect the material-technical bases of socialism in order to make their country an industrial-agricultural country, continuously improve their material and cultural lives and bring Mongolia abreast of the developed socialist countries in eastern Europe. To meet this goal, the MPRP has been giving its attention to resolving many problems, foremost among which are increasing the efficiency of production and improving the quality of work within the national economy. The 18th Party Congress (May 1981) and all subsequent party plenums have stressed the need to make effective use of the country's economic potentials. At the Extraordinary 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (August 1984), Batmonh, general secretary of the Party, pointed out: "Year after year, enormous funds have been earmarked for economic and cultural development and the establishment of new production units. Using them effectively is an exceedingly important task. The Party Central Committee has been and will continue to give special attention to this task."(1)

During the past 65 years, through their diligent and creative labor combined with the large and highly effective assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, the people of Mongolia have established within their country large material-technical bases: many industrial centers, with more than 300 modern industrial enterprises; scores of precious mineral mines;

255 agricultural federations; 40 federations of cooperatives and more than 60 state farms with tens of millions of hectares of farmland, tens of millions of head of livestock and much modern machinery and technical equipment... The MPRP has adopted many policies and measures aimed at heightening the spirit of responsibility, improving the specialized skills and raising the sense of discipline of the laborer and concentrating the skills and intelligence of each person in order to make increasingly effective use of these large material-technical bases. The successful performance of the tasks described above is directly related to the leadership role of the party and directly dependent upon the fighting skill of the basic organizations of the party and the quality of its corps of party members. Fully realizing that in order to increase the effectiveness of economic work, it is first of all necessary to increase the effectiveness of party work, the MPRP has taken many steps to make party work more effective:

--It has implemented a program for the planned development of the party, a program to steadily increase the number and quality of party members and quickly increase party membership among workers. At the end of 1921, the party has three chapters with 225 members. As of 1985, the party had more than 3,000 basic organizations consisting of 85,000 members. In 1940, workers accounted for 6.4 percent of the party's membership. This percentage was 26.2 percent in 1961 and 32.6 percent in 1985. During the past 2 years, of the persons accepted into the party, 67.5 percent have been workers and 61.2 percent have been youths less than 30 years of age. In 1926, 67.9 percent of party members were illiterate. Today, the majority of party members have a general school education and many persons have a college or post-graduate education. The majority of leadership cadres have received complete training in theory at the Marx-Lenin College and are skilled in their specialty. In the capital Ulan Bator, more than 80 percent of the secretaries of the basic organizations of the party have a college education.

--It has heightened the vanguard role of party members and brought into full play the political activism, initiative, creativity and exemplary role of the party member in labor. The revised statutes of the party adopted at the 18th Congress specifically state: the party member must be a person who takes the lead in researching and applying progressive experiences, a person who makes innovations in his work, actively contributes to the molding of the new man... These things are being done: in 1985, 99 percent of the party members working at basic production units exceeded their socialist emulation pledges and one of every three party members made improvements that resulted in the rationalization of production.

--It has implemented long-term planning of the work of the municipal, provincial, ward, district and other party committees in order to avoid discussing unimportant, irrelevant matters during meetings and provide time to discuss important questions related to the party's economic and cultural leadership, its organizational and ideological leadership.

It has applied the principle of systematically controlling and closely supervising the implementation of resolutions. This step is aimed at establishing close party leadership, heightening the spirit of responsibility, tapping the initiative and creativity of the organizations and members of the

party and discovering and publicizing good experiences while eliminating the maladies of bureaucracy, of doing things in a superficial way, of submitting false reports, etc. As a result, the basic organizations of the party have been strengthened and their fighting skills have been improved.

--It has established a rapid, full and accurate flow of internal information between the upper and lower levels. The executive committees, standing committees and party committee secretaries on the various levels receive periodic information on the situation and the jobs that must be performed. This insures smooth, coordinated activities at all agencies and basic units and on all levels.

--It has trained a corps of cadres who meet high political standards, are skilled in their specialty, are zealous, possess a spirit of responsibility and are responsive to the new and have assigned them to key positions in economic construction and cultural development. Thereby developing the party's leadership role within state agencies and social organizations. At present, in the localities, nearly 70 percent of the leadership cadres of the executive committees of the people's councils, 60 percent of the chairmen of people's councils and the chairmen of Trade Union committees and more than 25 percent of the secretaries who specialize in the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union are party members.

--It has attached special importance to criticism and self-criticism, considering these to be ways to educate cadres, strongly develop the practice of democracy and strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally. Criticism is loving in form, is based on principle and practical in content. Leadership cadres set an example by criticizing themselves and have a serious attitude toward accepting criticism from others. The results of actions taken on the basis of criticism are announced at mass meetings and reported through the mass media. This has had the effects of heightening the activism of party members, building collective experience and producing solutions to problems.

It has strengthened the close ties between the party and the masses and built a solid consensus between the party and the people. The ties between the party and the people have been developed in the process of the everyday activities of party members where they work and live. Party members have the task of surveying the requirements, aspirations and opinions of the masses and assisting the social organizations of the laboring masses. To make these ties closer, the party has developed a wide variety of forms of activity: holding public party meetings, holding joint meetings between organizations of the party and the Revolutionary Youth Union, organizing general political activity days and arranging for regular contacts between party members and the masses. Through these forms of activity, leaders of the Mongolian party and state have had an opportunity to express their views to the laboring people.

Since the 18th Congress, determined to constantly improve the forms of activity and methods employed in organizational, political and ideological work, the MPRP has significantly increased the effectiveness of its party work. The inspection of the fighting strength of the party's basic organizations that was conducted in late 1984 proved this: 95.7 percent of basic organizations were rated as conducting good activities and being highly

skilled and effective. The progress that has been made in party work has also been fully and clearly reflected in economic activities. In recent years, production forces have developed at a rapid rate, the economic potentials of the country have grown and scientific and technical achievements have been rapidly applied in production. The application of advanced industrial standards, mechanization and automation has been carried out widely. Well coordinated measures designed to save energy, raw materials, building materials, labor and money have been drafted and successfully implemented. In 1984 alone, more than 60 million tughriks (Mongolian currency) were saved. The structure of the important sectors of the national economy, such as industry, construction, communications-transportation and posts-telecommunications, has been improved. Agriculture has been supplied with much additional modern equipment and machinery and output has steadily risen. During the first 4 years of the seventh 5-year plan (1981-1985) alone, the gross social product has increased by 33 percent and national income has risen by 30 percent compared to the sixth 5-year plan (1976-1980). Under the seventh 5-year plan, industry has grown at the average annual rate of 9.8 percent and agriculture at the average annual rate of 14.6 percent. In 1984, compared to 1983, total industrial output rose by 8.3 percent, cereal grain output increased by 79,400 tons, etc. These increases have been recorded primarily because economic efficiency has been raised at the majority of basic production units and labor productivity has risen while the consumption of energy, fuel, raw materials and building materials has declined.

The leadership of the MPRP is the decisive factor in the socio-economic development of Mongolia. This has been more clearly proven with each passing day by Mongolia's actual situation. As the work of the party has been improved, economic activities have produced better results. As the efforts of each party member, of the basic organizations of the party, of the entire MPRP have become more effective, the achievements recorded by Mongolia in socialist construction have been increasingly large.

In the process of leading the revolution, the MPRP has considered it important to research, study and creatively apply the valuable experiences of the CPSU and other fraternal parties while contributing its own valuable experiences. Mongolia and Vietnam are two countries that share roughly similar circumstances and conditions: prior to their revolutions, both were semi-feudal, semi-colonial backward countries. After liberation, both began to advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The experiences of the MPRP are very valuable to Vietnam and other countries that struggled and are struggling to win national independence and build a new society while following the non-capitalist path of development.

This year, together with commemorating the 65th anniversary of the founding of their party, the Mongolian people will also celebrate the 65th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution (11 July 1921-11 July 1986) and greet the 19th Congress of the Party, which will be held in May 1986. On the occasion of these days of great joy, the communists and all the people of Vietnam extend to the communists and people of fraternal Mongolia their warm sentiments and heartiest congratulations. We wish the people of Mongolia, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party headed by the

esteemed General Secretary Batmonh, even larger victories, victories that will lead them quickly and strongly down the path of socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. SU THAT Newspaper, 24 August 1984.

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END

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