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Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 1, JANUARY; No 2, FEBRUARY 1987

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VIETNAM: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 1, JANUARY; No 2, FEBRUARY 1987

[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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*NOTE: Will be included in a special issue of the JPRS SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT series collecting the proceedings, speeches and documents of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam)

ENDEAVORING TO SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTION OF THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 87 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] The 6th National Congress of Delegates of our party was a fine success.

The congress was an expression of the determination of our party to bring about change and its will to unite and move ahead.

Bringing together the intelligence of the entire party and in the spirit of squarely facing the truth, correctly evaluating the truth, speaking the truth, adopting new thinking, revamping our organization and adopting a new style of work, the congress engaged in frank and democratic debate, correctly assessed each aspect of the country's situation, reviewed recent experiences and defined the tasks and targets of the revolution in the years ahead.

The congress also decided to revise and amend a number of points in the Party Statutes and elected the new Central Committee in exact accordance with the requirements of insuring continuity and revamping the leadership of the party.

Through the results it achieved, the 6th Congress marked an important change in the course of our country's revolution, satisfied the expectations of our entire party and all our people and opened new prospects for the development of the country.

The past 5 years were a stage filled with challenges for our country's revolution. In performing the tasks and pursuing the targets set by the 5th Congress, our people bravely struggled, overcame difficulties, surmounted obstacles, recorded important achievements in socialist construction and won new, large victories in fighting to defend the fatherland, maintaining political security and fulfilling our international obligation. These victories and achievements were closely associated with the correct views of our party, were the results of the spirit of diligent labor and the brave fighting spirit of our people and army and would have been impossible without the valuable assistance and support of our brothers and friends in the world,

especially the Soviet Union, Laos and Cambodia. With these victories and achievements, our country's revolution has acquired better conditions and new factors for continuing its advance.

While confirming the achievements that were recorded, the congress also pointed out the difficulties and deeply analyzed the shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes that our party and people must make every effort to overcome and correct. The overriding shortcoming is that "we have failed to meet the targets set by the 5th Congress of virtually stabilizing the socio-economic situation and stabilizing the standard of living."⁽¹⁾ The congress asserted that the shortcomings and mistakes in the activities of the party and state were serious and prolonged mistakes involving major positions and policies, mistakes involving strategy and the organizing of implementation. The main tendencies behind these mistakes, especially the mistakes in economic policy, were subjectivism and voluntarism, were thinking and acting in a simplistic, impetuous manner on the basis of subjective aspirations instead of grasping and acting in accordance with objective laws. This is petty bourgeois thinking, is both "leftism" and rightism.

In the final analysis, the mistakes and shortcomings in socio-economic leadership stemmed from shortcomings in the ideological activities, organizational activities and cadre work of the party. These were the underlying causes. The Party Central Committee, Political Bureau, Secretariat and Council of Ministers engaged in serious self-criticism concerning these shortcomings of theirs.

On the basis of an objective, scientific analysis of the realities of our country's revolution in recent years, the congress drew the following four major lessons:

First, in all its activities, the party must thoroughly practice the thinking that "the people are the base," establish and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and strengthen the ties between the party and the masses.

Secondly, the party must always be realistic, always respect and act in accordance with objective laws.

Thirdly, the strength of the nation must be combined with the strength of our times under the new conditions that prevail today.

Fourthly, party building must be considered equal in importance to the political task of a party in power leading the people in the socialist revolution.

These are very valuable lessons of important significance in guiding our activities in the years ahead.

In the years ahead, as decided by the 6th Congress, our entire party, all our people and all our armed forces must continue to perform the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland. At the same time, they must actively contribute to the common

struggle of the people of the world. The party and state must continue to concretize and organize the implementation of the general line of the socialist revolution and the economic construction line set by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party, with importance attached to solving a number of significant theoretical and practical problems, amending the party's lines and improving its ability to guide implementation.

The congress pointed out that during the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition, effective measures must be taken to rapidly stabilize the socio-economic situation, achieve normal development in every aspect of our activities and carry out organizational and managerial reforms in order to establish the new structure of production and the new management mechanism. The congress asserted: "The overriding task and general target in the remaining years of the initial stage are to stabilize every aspect of the socio-economic situation and continue to build the bases needed to accelerate socialist industrialization in the next stage."(2)

Stabilizing the socio-economic situation means stabilizing both production and distribution-circulation, stabilizing material life and cultural life, increasing the effectiveness of the management organization, restoring order and discipline and establishing social fairness. Stability cannot be separated from or stand in the way of development but must be closely tied to development in the process of moving ahead. The purpose of stability is to achieve development. Development can only be achieved with stability.

On the basis of this overriding task and general target, the congress set the specific socio-economic targets for the remaining years of the initial stage as:

- Producing enough to eat and carrying out capital formation.
- Beginning to create a rational economic structure with the aim of developing production.
- Establishing and improving the new production relations in a manner consistent with the nature and level of development of production forces.
- Bringing about positive social changes.
- Meeting the needs involved in strengthening our national defense and security.

By meeting the five targets mentioned above, we will bring to a conclusion the initial stage of the period of transition and create the premises needed to carry out industrialization on a large scale in subsequent years.

The positive measure of foremost importance in performing these tasks and meeting these targets is to revamp our economic and social policies with the aims of building upon the ownership role and zeal of the laborer, launch movements among the masses to eagerly perform the tasks of the revolution and "liberate all existing production capacity, develop each potential of the country and make effective use of international assistance in order to

strongly develop production forces in conjunction with building and strengthening socialist production relations."(3)

Specifically, in the years ahead, we must reorganize the structure of production and make major adjustments to the structure of investments. We must build and strengthen socialist production relations; correctly utilize and transform the various segments of the economy; revamp the economic management mechanism; strongly develop the moving force that is science and technology; expand and increase the returns from overseas economic activities; and implement social policy well to insure that the human factor is strongly developed and serve man well. We must truly focus our efforts and resources on successfully carrying out the three major programs: grain-food products, consumer goods and export goods.

While making socialist construction the task of foremost importance, our party and people must constantly concern themselves with strengthening our national defense and security, with defending the fatherland and must be determined to win victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage. At the same time, plans must be adopted so that we are ready to successfully deal with each situation they cause.

In the field of foreign affairs, our party's policy in the years ahead must be to make every effort to combine the strength of the nation with the strength of our times; endeavor to maintain peace in Indochina; actively contribute to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and the world; strengthen the special relations among the three countries of Indochina; strengthen our friendly relations and cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community; and make use of international conditions that are favorable for socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland while actively contributing to the common struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The important decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party represent a further concretization of the general line and the line on building the socialist economy in our country. They are based on a review of the diverse realities of our country's revolution in recent years and are consistent with the basic arguments of Marxism-Leninism concerning the period of transition to socialism in an underdeveloped agricultural country. These decisions represent the first step in the adoption of new thinking by our party and prove that our party has grown and matured in the socialist revolution, in leading socio-economic development.

Endeavoring to successfully implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress with the aim of stabilizing every aspect of the country's situation is the central task of our entire party and all our people in the years ahead. This task demands dynamic, close and effective leadership and guidance by the party. It demands a higher standard of management and increasingly effective management on the part of the state. It demands enormous, extraordinary efforts and a spirit of steadfast and determined labor on the part of our people. This task demands firm adherence to and complete agreement with the views and decisions of the party. The various party committee echelons must organize a widespread political activity drive to study, research and gain a

full understanding of the decisions of the congress and achieve consensus throughout the party and among all the people. At the same time, truly positive measures must be taken to organize the successful implementation of the resolutions of the party congress.

Improving the leadership ability and increasing the fighting strength of the party so that the leadership of the party is equal to the demands of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage are a pressing requirement of decisive significance. The broad scale and complex nature of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage demand that our party constantly grow and mature in terms of the political leadership it provides, develop and concretize its line and advance correct solutions to new problems that arise in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland. The party must increase its fighting strength and improve its practical organizational skills together with increasing the effectiveness of the state's economic and social management. The party must change in many areas. It must adopt new thinking, most importantly economic thinking; revamp its organization and cadre work; and revamp its style of leadership and work methods. Only by building and strengthening itself politically, ideologically and organizationally can our party possess the strength needed to lead our people in performing the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The various party committee echelons and each cadre and party member must fully appreciate the position and importance of party building. They must attach importance to and perform this work well. In particular, it is necessary to maintain the principle of democratic centralism in party activities, restore order and strengthen discipline within the party, strengthen collective leadership, expand democratic activities and intensify the practice of criticism and self-criticism. Every effort must be made to cultivate and improve the revolutionary qualities and ethics of cadres and party members, struggle to overcome negative phenomena within the party and purify the party's ranks. The various party committee echelons must intensify inspections, keep abreast of inspection work and use the results of inspections in guiding the implementation of resolutions. Within the party, the sense of organization and the sense of discipline must be emphasized.

Increasing the effectiveness of state management is the important guideline in and an essential prerequisite to mobilizing the tremendous forces of the people in order to complete each political task set by the party. Our state is the tool of the system of socialist collective ownership. Under the leadership of the party, the state has the responsibilities of codifying by means of law the authority, interests and obligations of the laboring people and managing the economy and society in accordance with the law. The state guarantees the true democratic rights of the laboring people. At the same time, it resolutely punishes those who violate the right of ownership of the people.

To increase the effectiveness of state management, it will be necessary in the years ahead to carry out a major reform of the organization of the apparatus of state agencies to make it a streamlined apparatus of high quality that has a corps of cadres who possess good political qualities and are skilled in

managing the state, managing the economy and managing society. This must be an apparatus that is fully capable of concretizing the lines and positions of the party in the form of specific laws and policies; capable of formulating socio-economic strategy and concretizing this strategy in the form of socio-economic development plans; capable of providing administrative-social and administrative-economic management; capable of managing economic and social activities in accordance with the plan; capable of upholding state law, maintaining state discipline and maintaining social order; capable of strengthening our national defense and security...

On the other hand, we must strengthen the socialist system of law and use the force of socialist law to manage the country, manage society. We must concern ourselves with drafting laws, attach importance to teaching, propagandizing and explaining the law and harshly prosecute violations of the law. We must not permit anyone to use their influence to do something that violates the law. Only with a strict system of law can we organize the implementation of the decisions of the party and state and maintain social order. The various party committee echelons must constantly lead legislative work, assign additional competent cadres who possess good qualities to legislative work and closely inspect the activities of the agencies that perform this work.

Of utmost importance in organizing the successful implementation of the Resolution of the 6th Party Congress is the need to vigorously uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and launch intense revolutionary action movements among the masses. The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. The achievements recorded in the recent past prove that only by tapping the activism and creativity of the masses and launching revolutionary movements among them is it possible to turn the correct policies of the party and state into living reality. There can be no genuine people's revolution without mobilizing the masses. The targets set by the 6th Party Congress can only be achieved through creative revolutionary action movements carried out by tens of millions of masses nationwide.

Therefore, the various party committee echelons and agencies of the administration must take specific and positive measures aimed at mobilizing the revolutionary zeal of the masses, truly attach importance to and uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses and arrange for the masses to actively participate in concretizing the line of the party and endeavoring to successfully implement this line. "The people know, the people discuss, the people perform the work, the people inspect" must be our day to day guidelines in mobilizing the masses. In view of present conditions, special attention must be given to cultivating and raising the socialist awareness and the overall level of knowledge of the masses. At the same time, we must actively look after the material and cultural lives of laborers and combine the interests of the state, the collective and the laborer in a way that is well balanced. The interests of the laborer are one of the important motivating forces in mass movements.

The mass organizations, most importantly the Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Association of Collective Farmers and the Fatherland Front, must adopt new themes and new modes of operation consistent with the new situation and requirements, with the reforms in economic and social

management. They must strongly shift the focus of their activities to the basic level, become deeply involved in educating and mobilizing the various strata of the people so that they widely and regularly participate in economic management, state management, the management of society and party building and actively launch spirited revolutionary movements of the masses.

With its important resolutions that were fully debated and unanimously adopted, the 6th Congress of the Party was a congress that marked an important change by our party in leading the socialist revolution, marked a change of decisive significance in increasing the strength and prestige of our party, building stronger unity and consensus within the party and strengthening the ties between the party and the masses.

Following the advise given by President Ho that "unity is a very precious tradition of our party and people, all comrades from the Central Committee to the party chapters must constantly pay attention to maintaining the unity and consensus of the party"(4), our entire party is determined to build stronger unity and consensus and lead our people in making every effort to successfully perform the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, make the resolutions of the 6th Party Congress reality and record practical achievements in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party, the 45th anniversary of the founding the country, and the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Uncle Ho.

Everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people!

FOOTNOTES

1. "Bao cao chinh tri cua BCHTU DCS Viet nam tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lon thu VI cua Dang," [Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam at the 6th National Congress of Delegates of the Party], p 12.
2. Ibid., p 35.
3. Ibid., p 40.
4. The Testament of President Ho Chi Minh.

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NGUYEN VAN LINH, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 87 pp 7-8

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Nguyen Van Linh, his real name being Nguyen Van Cuc, was born on 1 July 1915 in Hung Yen, present day Hai Hung Province.

He joined the 1929 Student Union led by the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth (the forerunner of the Indochinese Communist Party).

On 1 May 1930, he participated in distributing anti-French imperialist leaflets and was arrested, sentenced to life in prison and banished to Con Dao.

In 1936, as a result of the victory of the French Popular Movement, the French colonial administration was forced to release him from prison. That year, he was accepted into the Indochinese Communist Party and sent by the party to Haiphong to conduct activities. There, he established a revolutionary base among workers and many other strata of the people, built a party base and established the Haiphong Provisional Municipal Party Organization.

In 1939, he was sent by the party to work in Saigon and became a member of the city party organization's executive committee. In late 1939, as a result of the policy of ruthless terror of the French fascist colonialists, many revolutionary bases were destroyed nationwide. Nguyen Van Linh was sent to Trung Ky to establish liaison with the remaining party bases in the provinces there and rebuild the regional party committee.

In early 1941, he was arrested by the enemy and taken to Saigon, where he was sentenced to 5 years in prison and banished to Con Dao for a second time.

Following the victory of the August 1945 general uprising, he returned to Nam Bo and directly participated in leading the resistance in the heart of Saigon-Cho Lon as secretary of the city party committee and secretary of the Special Zone Party Committee. In 1949, he joined the Standing Committee of the Nam Bo Regional Party Committee.

From 1957 to 1960, he served as acting secretary of the Nam Bo Regional Party Committee.

The 3rd National Congress of the Party (1960) elected him to the Party Central Committee.

As its secretary and deputy secretary, he and the Central Office for South Vietnam lead the armed forces and people of the South in waging the sacred war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, from the dark years and months of that war until total victory was won in the historic spring of 1975.

Following the complete liberation of the South and reunification of the Vietnam fatherland (1975), he was again appointed to serve as secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee. At the 4th National Congress of the Party (1976), he was re-elected to the Party Central Committee and appointed to the Political Bureau and the Party Secretariat, holding in succession the posts of chief of the Socialist Transformation Department of the Central Committee, chief of the Proselyting and Front Department of the Central Committee and president of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions. From late 1981 to to mid 1986, he again served as secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee.

At the 5th National Congress of the Party (1982), he was re-elected to the Party Central Committee.

In June 1985, the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee elected him to the Political Bureau.

In June 1986, he was appointed to the Party Secretariat and put in charge of its Standing Committee.

At the 6th National Congress of the Party (December 1986), he was re-elected to the Party Central Committee. The 1st Plenum of the 6th Party Central Committee unanimously elected him general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

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**STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S UNITY AND UNANIMITY AND RESOLVE TO SUCCESSFULLY
IMPLEMENT THE 6TH CPV CONGRESS RESOLUTION**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] Before he died, beloved Uncle Ho repeatedly stressed his golden rules on party building. He particularly specified: "Solidarity is an extremely valuable tradition of our party and people. You, comrades from the Central Committee down to party chapters should preserve the party's unity and unanimity as the apple of your eyes."(1)

Following Uncle Ho's instruction our party has vigorously promoted the tradition of unity and unanimity, which has been crystallized during the long course of revolutionary struggle, to vigorously develop the party and organize and lead our people in gloriously achieving the national democratic revolution. Entering the stage of socialist construction countrywide, our party has endeavored to lead our people to develop the economy and culture and firmly defend the socialist fatherland. For the past 11 years or more, the party has led our people step by step to socialism and, in this process, has gradually matured and acquired many valuable experiences. As a result, the revolution in our country has scored important achievements in socialist construction and other great victories in defending the socialist country as assessed in the 6th Party Congress resolution.

However, as the party congress resolution specified, party development has not been properly emphasized. From the standpoint of political leadership, although our party has correctly determined the general and economic lines for the entire transition period, it has committed serious mistakes concerning the major guidelines and policies, strategic guidance and organization of implementation. In the domain of socio-economic leadership there have also been mistakes and shortcomings stemming from the shortcomings in the party's ideological, organizational and cadre-work activities. This situation has adversely affected the strength of unity and unanimity within the party. Lack of unanimity over many viewpoints, guidelines and policies has emerged and existed for quite a long time and has been slowly dealt with. In work behavior and relations among some leading cadres at all echelons, a lack of coordination has been noted. Violations of the party's operating principles have led to disunity in many party organizations. The violations of quality

standards by cadres and party members--especially the degeneration and deviation of some of them--are conducive to a decline in the quality of party members and a waning of party militancy. With the party, petty bourgeois concepts that are both "leftist" and having rightist leanings have been manifested.

Following Uncle Ho's teaching that "democracy should be practiced broadly by regularly and scrupulously conducting self-criticism and criticism"(2), our party recently prepared and held the 6th Party Congress in the spirit of "looking straight at the truth, correctly evaluating facts and speaking the truth," considering it "the best way to consolidate and develop solidarity and unity within the party"(3) and also through which to enhance party leadership over the political, ideological and organizational fields. Nearly 2 million party members in congresses at different levels and millions of people of all strata held animated discussions and contributed many views to the draft political report to frankly participate in building the party. The self-criticism and criticism drive within the party and the open criticism in the press contributed considerably to the formation of new party committees and the selection of delegates to the national party congress. In the national party congress, the spirit of self-criticism and criticism was brought into full play. Through democratic discussion and debate, the congress participants reached a high level of consensus concerning the assessment of the situation, experience gained, future political tasks and the guidelines and objectives of the 5-year plan, and elected a new Party Central Committee typifying the intelligence, solidarity, unity and will for renovation of the entire party. In his congress closing speech, Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Party Central Committee said: "The 6th Party Congress marks an important turning point in the process of inheriting and renovating party leadership over the political, ideological and organizational fields. The success of the congress is the new strength and an extremely important base on which to further strengthen solidarity and unity within the entire party and among all our people."

The party's strength lies mainly in the party's solidarity and unanimity.

Following the 6th Party Congress, the revolution is posing new tasks and new requirements. The congress resolution clearly pointed out that it is necessary "to truly bring the party up to the level required of it as a ruling party with the heavy responsibility of leading the entire people to implement the two strategic tasks." To do so, we must "enhance political, ideological and organizational unity and singlemindedness on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the party lines and viewpoints. We must devote ourselves to preserving the unity among various organs of party leadership and, on this basis, strengthen unity within the entire party. We must preserve unity and singlemindedness within the party as we do the apple of our own eyes."

The party's unity and singlemindedness must be based first of all on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the party lines and viewpoints. The party lines and viewpoints are precisely the embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist concepts in the particular conditions of our country. The 6th Party Congress once again affirmed the correctness of this line and achieved a unity of views on a series of fundamental issues of the cause of socialist construction in

the initial stage of the transition period and the cause of defending the socialist fatherland. The congress requested that the entire party seriously study and implement this line and viewpoint and, at the same time, continue to concretize them in the course of the revolutionary struggle. Many new problems will crop up while several aspects of the old issues also need further clarification. For this reason, there may be differing opinions. This is normal. The important thing is that we must study [the problems] and hold discussions in a really democratic fashion to achieve singlemindedness. We must absolutely not allow these different opinions to become acute differences in viewpoints which may affect the strength of the party's unity and singlemindedness. We must not propagandize and disseminate viewpoints that run counter to the congress' resolution.

The party's unity and singlemindedness must also be based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of party life, of which the most important is democratic centralism. All important party issues should be discussed in a truly democratic manner. We must oppose bureaucratic centralism, paternalism, arbitrariness, lack of respect for the lower echelon's opinions and failure to bring into play the collective intellect, a failure which may lead to wrong decisions. On the other hand, we must seriously implement the principles of centralism, that is, the minority must submit itself to the majority, the lower echelon to the higher one and the entire party to the Central Committee. We must oppose disorganization, indiscipline, localism, liberalism and arbitrariness which reduce the effectiveness of party leadership and state management. As V.I. Lenin put it, "Socialism cannot succeed if the self-imposed discipline of the proletariat does not prevail over the spontaneous anarchy of the bourgeoisie." (4) Venerated and beloved Uncle Ho also clearly pointed out: "The party's invincible strength lies in the sense of self-imposed discipline and the serious sense of organization of party cadres and members." (5)

To promote the party's unity and singlemindedness, we cannot avoid struggling frankly against and resolutely opposing erroneous viewpoints, deviant concepts and negative phenomena. As a living body, the party needs self-criticism and criticism, as man needs air. The resolution of the 6th Party Congress clearly stated: "We must step up criticism and self-criticism to make it truly become the law that governs the party's development and a yardstick to measure the level of democratic activities within the party and the sense of responsibility of the party toward the people."

To promote unity and singlemindedness within the party, it is also imperative that we enhance education and control work to promote all party members to think and act in the interests of the communist ideal and of the revolution, to oppose opportunism in any form and to oppose individualism, the cause of hundreds of dangerous maladies. There is no place in the party for those party cadres and members who do not care for the people's interests and who seek only to promote their own personal interests.

Finally, the role of the popular masses cannot be excluded from the promotion of the party's unity and singlemindedness. The party's unity and singlemindedness have a decisive impact on the masses' thinking and action. Conversely, the popular masses can make important contributions to promoting

the party's unity and singlemindedness by making constructive suggestions, implementing party lines and policies, criticizing and judging the activities of party chapters, controlling party members' behavior, exposing degenerate and deviant people and, at the same time, recommending outstanding persons for party membership. For this reason, in all their activities, all echelons and sectors must implement the concept of considering the people as the roots and promote and bring into play their right to collective mastery. They must widely implement the system under which party chapters and members are subject to popular criticism. Directive No 2-CT/TU dated 7 January 1987 of the Party Central Committee requires that "every 2 months party committee members and leading cadres go to the grassroots units and directly meet with party members and the masses" to exchange views, concretely settle their proposals and, at the same time, discover new factors in the mass movement so as to encourage and promote the implementation of various party policies and positions. This is precisely a renovation of the work style in the light of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

Promotion of the party's unity and singlemindedness is not an objective in itself. The ultimate objective is the promotion of concrete actions aimed at uniting and unifying the force of the entire party and people and creating a broad movement to resolutely implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

We should formulate a plan to help party cadres and members fully understand the basic concepts, viewpoints and contents of the resolution. This is a process of struggle to renovate the way of thinking, the work style and organizational and cadre work, and to enhance the sense of responsibility and the will for revolutionary struggle.

On the basis of the tasks, objectives, guidelines and policies stipulated in the resolution, all echelons and sectors should examine, readjust and amend their tasks and measures to fulfill the 1987 plan in a positive, active and steady fashion. The central task is to satisfactorily implement the three targeted programs of grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods and export articles. On the basis of the 1987 plan, they should work out a concrete program of action for each period. In the immediate future they should concentrate on guiding the implementation of some practical tasks relating to production and life so as to effect initial changes.

This year we celebrate the party's 57th anniversary, 3 February, amid an enthusiastic and confident atmosphere in light of the success of the 6th Party Congress. The main requirement of this celebration is to educate party cadres and members and enhance their revolutionary qualities and virtues in accordance with President Ho's teaching: "Be industrious, thrifty, honest and impartial," and to make practical preparations for launching in the days ahead the "campaign to purify party organizations and enhance their combativeness; to purify the state apparatus and enhance their managerial effectiveness; to roll back and abolish negative phenomena..."

As Uncle Ho once said, "Carrying out a revolution to transform the old society into a new one is a very glorious cause, but it is also a weighty task and a very complex, protracted and arduous struggle. Only a strong man can carry

heavy weights over a long distance. A revolutionary can fulfill his glorious revolutionary task only if he has revolutionary virtues as the foundation."⁽⁶⁾ Our contingent of party cadres and members is essentially good, but their revolutionary qualities and virtues have not yet met the requirement of the revolution. Over the past 10 years, more than 190,000 party members have been expelled from the party, most of whom were people who had committed errors relating to qualities and virtues, and some have been prosecuted before the law.

For this reason, it is necessary to correctly assess the quality of party cadres and members, clearly point out their strengths and weaknesses and review the rectification of weaknesses pointed out during the self-criticism and criticism drive in accordance with the spirit of Directive Number 79 and Notice Number 74 of the Party Central Committee Secretariat. We must draw experience from the education and management of party members and carry out some practical tasks relating to promotion of virtues and enhancement of quality of party members such as educating party members in the party's fine tradition, commending exemplary party members, dealing with violations of discipline, expelling degenerate and deviant people from the party, admitting into the party outstanding people who have emerged in the revolutionary movement of the masses, and awarding medals to party members who have served the party for 40 or 50 years. During the drive to study and implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, each party cadre and member should review his past thinking, viewpoints and activities so as to bring into play the good and correct ones and absolutely and practically rectify the wrong ones.

Naturally, the promotion and enhancement of the revolutionary qualities and virtues of party cadres and members is a permanent and long-term duty, but if we can achieve the tasks mentioned above, then we will have celebrated the party's anniversary in a practical and worthy fashion.

Let the entire party and people stay united, close their ranks and join their hearts and hands in satisfactorily implementing the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Di chuc," [Testament].
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist Legal System," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 136.
 5. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 211.
 6. Ibid., p 94.
- CSO: 4210/7

SOME PROBLEMS REGARDING THE RENOVATION OF THINKING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese, No 2, Feb 87 pp 6-12, 19

[Article by Dao Duy Tung]

[Text] Thinking is a high-level process of activity of human perception reflecting objective reality. It gives man knowledge about the nature of things and of the principles of evolution of the objective world. Human thinking is a product of history. Through different eras, by the process of labor that transforms nature and society, human thinking has undergone major developments and scored great achievements in the realm of intellect. Rational and scientific thinking in accordance with dialectic materialism has not only enabled man to deeply understand the current social life but also to scientifically forecast the development of future society.

To speak about thinking is to speak about its method, content and result. Thinking is effective and meaningful only when it is linked with man's practical activities. The level of thinking is shown not only in the capability to apply the principles, forms and methods of thinking but also in whether the results of thinking are appropriate or not and whether they deeply reflect objective reality.

During more than half a century of leading the revolution, our party has recorded important achievements in rational and scientific thinking, and this is the root cause of all successes of the revolution in our country. For example, in the national democratic revolution, our party summed up reality and set forth a great truth: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." It also formulated the theory of raising high the twin banners of national independence and socialism, the theory of revolutionary methods, the science of people's war and all-people national defense, the art of strategic and tactical leadership and so forth. In the socialist revolution, our party has also scored achievements in rational thinking which were reflected in the main contents of the general line and economic line laid down by the 4th and 5th Party Congresses.

However, in the current stage of the revolution, our party holds that in order to fulfill its responsibilities, "the party must renovate many aspects: renovate thinking, especially economic thinking; renovate organization; renovate the contingent of cadres; and renovate the style of leadership and

work." Renovation is an urgent requirement, a matter of life and death for the revolution in our country, and a condition insuring that we will be able to overcome all difficulties and strive to successfully implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

Why does our party stress the need to renovate thinking at this time?

First, because we are suffering from backwardness in theoretical knowledge. For a long time now, our knowledge has contained many backward concepts, especially those regarding socialist industrialization, transformation of socialist production relations, economic management mechanisms, distribution and circulation of commodities and so forth. There have been incorrect prejudices against and a reluctance to really recognize the objective existence of the laws of an economy based on goods production, and a failure to correctly apply the objective laws of the period of transition to socialism. We have contracted the maladies of subjectivism, voluntarism and being simultaneously hasty and conservative, left-leaning and right-leaning.

In many specific areas, though the situation has changed and many new factors have emerged, we are still thinking and doing things in the same old way. There still are not a few inappropriate concepts regarding such issues as price, market, individual economy, private economy, interests and motive force in the economy...

Backwardness in thinking is an important cause of the shortcomings and mistakes in assessing the situation, defining targets and steps, arranging economic and investment structures, carrying out socialist transformation, consolidating new production relations, using various economic elements, implementing the new managerial mechanism, organizing distribution and circulation of commodities, realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat... These shortcomings and errors have prevented us from achieving the objective laid down by the 5th Party Congress, namely to stabilize the socio-economic situation and the people's life.

Evidently, the old, incorrect way of thinking has held us back. If we do not break out of this habit, we will not be able to advance.

Second, the renovation of our thinking is closely related to the rapid and complicated development of the world. In recent years, the requirement of renovation, especially the renovation of thinking, has become a burning issue in the political life of many parties and fraternal countries. In today's world, there are many rapidly developing events and many complicated international relationships full of contradictions. Never before have relations between countries evolved in such an organic, swift and sensitive manner, which requires the renovation of thinking and a new way of doing things. The CPSU's 27th Congress asserted: "The very specific politico-economic situation in which we are living and the very special stage of the historical course through which Soviet society and the whole world is going, require that each communist must have creativity and a sense of renovation and must seek all means to escape the boundaries of familiar yet outdated concepts."(1)

Since our country is a component of the world, we must have new thoughts about all changes in the world and must seek to understand many issues emerging in the world. But how are we going to recognize and assess them in order to correctly grasp the nature of the situation and estimate and determine the prospects for development of events? Evidently, we must do it through a new way of thinking and viewing things. Only by renovating our thinking can we accept the new issues in the various domains of world life and have correct and profound ideas about the world.

Third, the scientific and technological revolution has taken place on an unprecedented scale, bringing extremely great achievements to mankind and strongly influencing human thought. Although the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are the results of thought processes, they in turn simultaneously have an effect on thinking activities. Each scientific and technological achievement either brings about new knowledge or enhances knowledge and renovates human thinking, including political, philosophical and economic thinking. We all know that Marxism-Leninism is a product of the recapitulation and enhancement of the intellectual achievements of mankind, among them the achievements of natural science. Technological achievements have a definite impact on the guidelines and policies of the party and state. For example, when deciding on the guidelines and policies for agricultural development, we cannot help but emphasize biological achievements. Today, technological achievements have vigorously influenced the political and economic thinking of leading and management cadres.

Speaking of science, we must also pay attention to the social sciences. The achievements of social science also provide the theoretical premises for the formulation of the lines, guidelines and policies of the party and state.

If we do not correctly recognize the role of science, we will not be able to embrace its achievements.

To sum up, we are facing the urgent requirement of renovating thinking. Only by renovating our thinking can we correctly and profoundly recognize facts, encounter and apply the truth and firmly grasp and correctly apply objective laws, for it is on this basis that we will seek measures to overcome difficulties, change the situation and achieve the objectives set by the 6th Party Congress.

The Party Central Committee's Political Report at the 6th Congress of our Party indicated: "To renovate thinking, our party must firmly grasp the revolutionary and scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, inherit the precious legacy of revolutionary ideology and theory of President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan and other leading comrades of the party; and embrace the theoretical achievements and new fruitful experiences of fraternal parties along with the scientific knowledge of the era. We must step up theoretical research, systematically review the tasks of socialist construction and national defense, draw correct conclusions and overcome erroneous or outdated concepts. Renovating thinking does not mean a denial of theoretical achievements, the general laws of socialist construction, and the correctly established line. On the contrary, it is mainly a supplement to and the development of these achievements."(2)

So stated, the renovation of thinking is not merely the renovation of a method but the renovation of the contents of thinking and of viewpoints not only in a given domain but also in all the activities of the party and state. It is not the rejection of everything but conforms to the viewpoints on successiveness and development. I think the renovation of our thinking should follow the following specific guidelines:

First, we should have correct viewpoints on former phenomena and things. Since phenomena and things have now changed, those viewpoints are no longer suitable and must be changed. For instance, in war there were tasks to be done at any cost according to the motto "everything for the frontline, everything for victory," but in economic building we cannot do the same, and must take economic results into account. In war time, we could mobilize the revolutionary spirit and patriotism of the people as the main motive force. In socialist construction, besides the factors of spirit and love of socialism, we must pay serious attention to material benefits. Correctly handling the question of economic interests will create the motive force for the mass movement. In war time, the system of state subsidies was, to a certain extent, necessary, but in economic building, if the system of state subsidies is not eliminated, it will be impossible to develop the economy.

Second, there are wrong concepts and mistakes to be corrected. For instance, distribution according to labor is a principle of socialist distribution, but in the past we did not view this correctly and we acted improperly. Now, we must correct this and properly apply the principle. There are people among us who not only fail to view correctly but even fail to observe the law saying that production relations must be relevant to the characteristics and standard of production forces—a general law of all societies. It is now imperative that we correctly understand and apply this law to the realities in our country. Renovation here means to renew our erroneous knowledge, not the experimentally tested laws and principles.

Third, there are concepts which remain correct but which, due to the constantly changing and developing realities, must be supplemented and perfected to cope with changes in realities. As an example, in the line of socialist revolution in our country, our party set the policy of simultaneously conducting the three revolutions, of which the technological revolution is the key one. Although the policy is correct, its specific scope for each revolution in each period and at each stage, the position of each revolution, and the relations among these revolutions are matters to be materialized and developed through reviewing facts. If we can do so, we will upgrade our thinking to a new higher level.

According to the aforementioned guidelines, the renovation of thinking is not limited to a specific domain but takes place in all domains of social life, primarily in the economic field. At its 6th Congress, our party arrived at many conclusions and clearly defined the objectives and solutions for the revolution in our country for the remaining years of the initial stage of the transition period. They are the renovation of thinking and the new concepts of our party.

In the economic domain, our party contends that if the objectives set by the 6th Party Congress are to be achieved, the primary point is to correctly define the economic and social policies aimed at bringing into full play the role of mastery and the zeal of workers, creating a seething mass movement to implement the party's policies, liberating the available production capabilities, capitalizing on all latent potentials of the country, expanding the international relations of economic, scientific and technical cooperation and effectively using international aid to vigorously develop production forces along with building and consolidating socialist production relations.

Specifically, we must resolutely overcome the mistakes and shortcomings already committed, make a large-scale readjustment of the investment portfolio, positively rearrange the national economy in accordance with a rational structure, truly consider agriculture as the primary front and realize at all costs the three targeted programs concerning grain and food, consumer goods and goods for export. It is necessary to build and consolidate socialist production relations, correctly utilize and transform the various economic components and consider socialist transformation as a regular and continuous task to be performed throughout the transitional period to socialism with suitable forms and steps so as to make production relations compatible with the characteristics and capacity of the production forces. While concentrating on consolidating and developing the socialist economy so as to enable it to assume a decisive role and seeing to it that the state-run economy truly plays a leading role, we must know how to correctly employ and transform other economic components by doing away with incorrect prejudices and taking positive measures to exploit the massive but scattered potentials of these economic components in order to generate employment and turn out greater quantities of products for society.

Along with rearranging the economic structure, we must renovate the mechanism of economic management, definitely do away with bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, completely shift to developing and applying a mechanism of planning based on economic accounting and socialist business methods, correctly enforce democratic centralism, truly acknowledge and correctly employ the rules of commodity production that objectively exist in the transitional period and pay adequate attention to the commodity-money relations, economic efficiency and the laboring people's economic interests.

In the social field, not a few issues require renovation of thinking. For a period of time, we adopted incorrect concepts about the position of social issues. It is the understanding of many people that social issues only seem to consist of some specific activities concerning the policies on social welfare; and they fail to see that social policies are in fact policies on human beings. They encompass all aspects of human life--working conditions, living conditions, culture, education, family relations, class relations, national relations and so forth. Social policies not only serve the laboring people directly, but also create a driving force for socialist construction. To neglect social policies is to consider lightly the factor of the laboring people who are at the same time the goal as well as the target and driving force for the implementation of socio-economic policies.

When social policies are understood as such, a series of specific issues demand that we renovate our thinking. For instance, we must change our concept about the scale of value attributed to members of society, our concept and attitude toward women who remain unmarried due to war time or working conditions, our views and attitude toward individuals engaging in private business outside the state organization who are turning out plenty of products for society, and so forth.

Regarding the organization of cadres, the renovation of thinking is even more important. Some people have long held that cadre work should be carried out within a very narrow sphere so as to avoid "complications," or that there is now a great scarcity of talented and virtuous cadres for placement where they are needed. Others are bound by narrow-minded and feudalistic concepts in the assessment of cadres, especially female and young ones. Only by renovating these concepts can we properly and effectively carry out the organization of cadres and correctly select virtuous and talented persons for assignment to key positions. It is necessary to adopt correct concepts in the assessment of cadres; and objectively and impartiality must be truly observed. We must democratize cadre work--meaning that we must rely on the masses to assess cadres; arrange for the masses and encourage them to recommend with the party the assignment of qualified persons to positions of leadership; and find those persons which lack quality and skills and need to be replaced.

Regarding ideological work, renovation is also needed in many aspects. We must change ways and means as well as organization and management, train ideological workers and build the material-technical bases in support of ideological work. Otherwise, ideological work cannot contribute to the renovation of thinking--one of its main tasks.

The examples cited above demonstrate that renovation of thinking is an urgent requirement in many aspects of social life. In each aspect, specific consideration must be made to develop what is correct and suitable, change what is erroneous and obsolete and point out what is new.

With the aforementioned orientations and goals, the renovation of thinking is in essence part of the ideological and cultural revolution; and it is closely linked with the revolution of production relations and the scientific and technological revolution. The process of renovating thinking does not take place in an easy and simple manner. To achieve renovation a new thinking must be developed to replace the old one, but it is not easy to do. We all have seen how difficult and troublesome it is to introduce product contracts in agriculture to replace the old contract system. From realizing the need to oppose state subsidies to embarking on the application of socialist economic accounting, we have had to go through a whole process of difficult and hard struggle; and in reality, we have been unable to avoid pitfalls and mistakes which we have had to pay for. Here, we must at the same time overcome the relatively conservative and backward character of thinking, upgrade our low level of awareness and struggle against individualism and the desire to maintain the old. Thus, to renovate thinking we must oppose various forces of resistance--resistance from psychology and customs, resistance of the old mechanism, resistance from the old ideological system and the old world outlook, resistance from individualism and special prerogatives and

privileges, resistance from a scanty education background and poor discipline and so forth. At the same time, we must take the initiative in creating the necessary conditions for the process of renovation.

The first important condition for renovating thinking is that we must step up theoretical study, scientific research and the recapitulation of practical experience so as to differentiate the new thinking from the old. The 6th Party Congress--with the viewpoints agreed upon, with the resolutions adopted and with scientific methods employed in studying and deciding on various political, economic, cultural and social issues--provides a model for the renovation of thinking. The process of studying and implementing the 6th Party Congress resolution is also the process of renovating thinking. It is necessary to accelerate theoretical study, scientific research and the recapitulation of practical experience so that scientific conclusions can be drawn to serve as a firm foundation for overcoming the old thinking and developing a new one. Now is the time for theoretical work not only to disseminate and interpret lines, viewpoints and policies, but also to surge forward in providing a scientific basis for the establishment of lines, viewpoints and policies and positively participate in the building of a superstructure for the social awareness configuration.

To accomplish this it is necessary to firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism with a creative spirit, review our country's practical experience, selectively absorb the experience and theoretical successes of fraternal countries and make use of the achievements in modern science and technology. Our tardiness in this area constitutes a major cause for the backwardness and stagnation of thinking.

We must create a free, democratic and open atmosphere in scientific research and the habit of making discussions, criticism and self-criticism in order to accelerate the process of seeking the truth and developing the new. Only under such conditions can thinking be constantly renovated. At the same time, scientists themselves must renovate their own viewpoints and work methods while conducting scientific research.

The second condition is that it is necessary to "review" our system of knowledge about socialism and about the transition period toward socialism. We must correct our false concepts and erroneous actions, eliminate that which cannot withstand the test of our time, concretize and enrich the abstract and accept and supplement what is new and correct so as to modernize our concepts toward socialism.

We must rapidly realize the renovation of thinking in our country; overcome simplistic, arbitrary, idealistic and illusionary concepts toward socialism; and contribute to criticizing and overcoming petty bourgeois, "leftist," and rightist tendencies.

It is also necessary to "review" our thinking methods. Since our embarkation on the transitional period, we have done many things to broaden the education in scientific thinking--thinking that is based on the laws of dialectical materialism. The majority of our cadres currently holding key positions have gone through different training courses and have matured in the course of

practical work. The contingent of party cadres has, to a certain extent, adopted the scientific thinking methods of Marxism-Leninism, without which our successes would have been impossible. However, why is it that beside the good points, our thinking methods still remain subjective and idealistic? What is the cause of our errors regarding thinking methods? How can we remove this limitation? Why is it that our thinking methods still bear to no small an extent the imprint of the thinking methods based on dogmatism, sentimentalism and empiricism?

The third condition is to study the history of the evolution of thinking of the country. Thousands of years of national construction and defense have helped forge in our people the virtues of diligence, ingenuity, bravery, intelligence, honesty and kind-heartedness. Our ancestors, at an early date, founded a glorious folk literature. Our forefathers drew on many conclusions on human ethics, on lessons of national construction and defense, on work and combat and on culture and art. The experiences gained by our people represent different levels of knowledge. It is obvious, however, that many things we know still remain in the form of experimentation. There are a number of intellectuals who have made in-depth research on the reality of life by gathering historical documents on the country, acquiring knowledge from the outside, analyzing, rounding up and drawing on a number of scientific conclusions and leaving behind for us many works of great value (such as those left behind by Le Quy Don and other personalities). But it should be admitted that natural science, technical science and social science in our country have developed slowly due to restrictions rendered by history. Since the founding of our party, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, our theoretical thinking has developed qualitatively as reflected in our theory on national democratic revolution, on socialist revolution and on the science and art of war. It is mandatory to satisfactorily define the many lessons of experience in these achievements and, at the same time, to point out the reasons for the restriction of and the backwardness in our way of thinking.

Renovating the information system is also an important condition for renovating thinking. This is because only with a reliable information system can we conceive things correctly. Without an information system, we will have nothing to think about. If misinformed (by purposefully false or one-sided news reports created for different reasons), our conceptions about these things can in no way be correct. Maintaining openness and democracy in the information system is a condition for developing our scientific thinking, for guarding against the state of "officialism" in thinking and for quickly detecting a state of sluggishness or "faultiness" in thinking.

In the past, the old-fashioned conceptions and work style found in information work have been one of the causes leading to the backwardness and sluggishness of our thinking on various topics. Now we must renovate our conceptions about information work and must improve the information system, attempting to insure that the dissemination of information is accurate, multidirectional, timely and open if we are to help the people obtain necessary conditions in which they can conceive things correctly and renovate their thinking.

Renovation of thinking should not be confined within the domain of genuine thinking. Thinking, either old-fashioned or contemporary, is closely related

to the interest, position and prestige of an individual or of a collective. There are people who, still heavily preoccupied with individualism, cannot give up their old-fashioned thinking (even if they know it is wrong) once this thinking is associated with those privileges and emoluments they are enjoying. Due to individual or parochial interests, one may oppose the process of renovation under various forms: brazen, sophisticated or wise. Therefore, innovation of thinking is an investigative struggle within the party, within the state apparatus, within various mass organizations, within the people, within each echelon and sector and within each of us.

"Various documents of the 6th CPV Congress have reflected initial changes in the party's thinking. Whatever field of activity we may be in, each of us, from a leader to an ordinary party member, must re-examine our thinking in order to promptly acquire new concepts and to do away with erroneous concepts."(3)

Renovation of thinking is a difficult and complex process which requires us to carry it out in a persistent and step-by-step manner without haste. This should be linked with the process of social reform. New thinking ushers in a social reform and this, in turn, will help develop new thinking and translate it into materials strength.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at its 27th Congress.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at its 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, January 1987.
3. Ibid., p 76.

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**INTENSIFYING CONTROL WORK IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUCCESSFUL
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 13-19

[Article by Tran Huu Dac]

[Text] "Performing control work is one of the primary leadership functions of the party, is an important part of party building."(1) "Leadership not backed by control work is not leadership."(2) Our party has defined the primary elements of its control activities as controlling work and controlling personnel, that is, controlling the implementation of the lines and policies of the party on all levels and within all sectors and controlling efforts to maintain the revolutionary qualities as well as controlling the activities of the cadres, party members and personnel within the apparatus of the party, the state, the mass organizations and the armed forces with the aims of protecting the organization, protecting cadres, quickly detecting new factors, promptly rectifying shortcomings and weaknesses and insuring that the leadership provided by the party is always correct, specific and effective.

Recently, under the light of resolutions and directives of the party, the party's control work has been further intensified. Changes and progress have been made in some areas, thereby actively contributing to the performance of the political task of the party within each locality and unit and to increasing the party's ability to lead and its fighting strength. The party's basic views concerning control work and the guidelines and policies regarding party disciplinary action have been implemented relatively thoroughly on the various party committee echelons and within the different departments, sectors and mass organizations, thus bringing about a change in how the control work of the party is perceived and gradually correcting erroneous views and thinking, such as giving light attention to control work, being indifferent toward control work, considering control work to only be the work of the control sector, to only have the purpose of taking disciplinary action, etc. Many party committees have discussed control work, have issued decisions concerning control work and are utilizing related committees and sectors to support the control work of the party. At many places, the standing committee of the party committee or the secretary directly guides control work.

In keeping with Party Secretariat Directive 34 on intensifying the control of the implementation of party resolutions and directives, the various party

committee echelons have been guiding each element of control work in the spirit of adopting a control program and plan and providing management in accordance with this program and plan whenever a resolution or directive is issued. Every party member must have a personal program and must lead the masses in implementing the resolutions and directives of the party and the laws of the state. Control work has focused on supporting central tasks, matters of vital importance and key elements with a view toward stimulating the full completion of the political tasks that have been set. To date, all provinces and municipalities, 70 percent of the districts, wards and precincts and 50 percent of the basic organizations of the party have implemented this directive. At those places where this resolution has been implemented well, it has helped to implement the resolutions and directives of the party and the positions, policies and laws of the state better, indications of violations by party members and party organizations have been promptly detected, violations have been promptly stopped and corrected, negative phenomena have declined, the exemplary-vanguard role of the party member has been heightened...

However, the change in thinking and the implementation of leadership backed by control work have not been uniform. Not many places have done a good job (only about 20 percent of the districts, wards and precincts and 30 percent of the basic organizations). Results are still low. Deserving of concern is that leadership backed by control work has yet to become a conscious way of doing things or become the everyday style of the leader.

The inspection of party members has been intensified. Changes and progress have been made from the standpoint of perception and responsibility, even from the standpoints of the number of inspections conducted, the quality of inspections and work methods. During the past 5 years (1982-1986), the number of party members inspected was more than twice as high as the number inspected during the previous 5 years (1976-1981). Many disciplinary infractions by cadres and party members have been promptly brought to light and examined, thus helping party members to recognize and correct their mistakes and shortcomings and helping party organizations to take measures to stop and prevent violations. At the same time, disciplinary action has been taken in cases requiring this action. In the inspection of party members, party committees have given their attention to party members who are cadres managed by the party committee. They have closely combined the inspection of party members with the inspection of the implementation of the resolutions and directive of the party, the re-evaluation of cadres and party members and the practice of self-criticism and criticism in party life.

The disciplinary action taken by party organizations has, generally speaking, complied with the guidelines and policies of the party. Efforts have focused on violations of lines, policies and positions of the party and laws of the state, violations of the principles of organization and activity of the party and degenerate and deviant cadres. The problem of taking "lenient action against the upper level, harsh action against the lower" and other incorrect approaches, such as letting things drift, being overly strict or taking harsh action because of a person's style have been partially corrected. Attention has been given to implementing the principles and procedures of party disciplinary action, particularly to conducting good ideological work in cases of persons against whom disciplinary action has been taken, thus reducing the

number of complaints about disciplinary action by more than 30 percent compared to the previous 5 years.

Deserving of attention is that in control work involving party members, the control committees on the various levels have not truly taken the initiative, do not have a deep understanding of control work and the work they have performed has not fully reflected the educational and militant nature of control work. They have not fully assessed the party member situation and not promptly detected violations. They are still unprepared to act upon matters arising from denunciations. The number of party members being inspected is still small. On certain levels and at certain places, the disciplinary action taken has not been fair, accurate or timely. Although the problem of taking "lenient action toward the upper level, harsh action toward the lower" has been partially solved, it continues to be and "ill" within the party. The attitudes of doing things for form's sake or protecting one another are still widespread. Lax discipline is also rather widespread, even in party organizations that have been recognized as pure, solid and strong.

Although our party has adopted a policy and taken many measures to put a stop to them, negative phenomena within the party have still not declined and the trend is not downward either. Moreover, at some places, negative phenomena are worse than before. This is most evident at basic units in the field of circulation and distribution, among party members whose jobs are directly related to materials, money or goods and among party members who hold public positions and authority. The disciplinary action being taken is not as good as it could be, has not stopped party members from making mistakes and has not effectively contributed to the struggle against negative phenomena. The political and ideological education of party members has not been effective, timely or militant. Importance has not been attached to providing an education in basic matters (class awareness, the communist philosophy of life...) in a manner closely related to tasks, to each type of party member (including those who are middle and high-ranking cadres). In particular, we have not taught party members how to successfully implement President Ho Chi Minh's teachings on cultivating revolutionary ethics and ridding themselves of individualism.

The management of party members, particularly of party members who are managed by the various party committee echelons, is lax and inconsistent with the situation surrounding the corps of party members under the current conditions of the revolution. The control work performed by the various party committee echelons, by the departments of the party and by the control committees on the various levels, the control work performed by the administration apparatus on the various levels and the control work performed by the mass organizations and worker collectives have not been carried out in an effective, active or regular manner and the results achieved have been very low.

Deserving of concern is that our party is leading the administration but the various party committee echelons have not yet attached importance to inspecting administration agencies and have not performed this work well. At many places, the relationship between the party committee and the administration organization on the same level is only one of coordinating actions. This is a shortcoming related to principles. Therefore, many

correct resolutions of the party have not been seriously implemented. Many incorrect positions and decisions and shortcomings have not been promptly brought to light, thus causing serious consequences in many areas, particularly creating a lack of confidence among party members and the masses.

The above situation demands that the control work of the party undergo changes through well coordinated and effective measures and have the support and participation of all party members and large numbers of the people.

The 6th Party Congress established the overriding tasks and general targets for the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition as stabilizing every aspect of the socio-economic situation and building the bases necessary to accelerate socialist industrialization in the next stage. The congress set the specific socio-economic targets and established three major, goal-oriented economic programs in grain-food products, consumer goods and export goods. It decided to conduct throughout the party and society a campaign to "purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations; purify and increase the management effectiveness of the state apparatus; to make inroads against and abolish negative phenomena, restore wholesomeness to social relations and achieve social fairness." The 6th Congress marked an important change by our party in its political, ideological and organizational leadership, a change of great significance that will further strengthen the unity and consensus of the party.

Every organization of the party, every sector, every level and every party member has a large responsibility in the performance of the socio-economic tasks and the party building task set by the 6th Congress. Along with the work performed in the other areas, the control work of the party must also be revamped and undergo qualitative change. It must be closely tied to political tasks and support the successful performance of political tasks and party building. In the months ahead, in order to intensify control work, efforts must be concentrated on the following several matters:

First, party committees must truly attach importance to and personally conduct control work. The departments of the party and the various levels and sectors must perform control work well in exact accordance with their stipulated function and task.

Control work is an important political and organizational function, the purpose of which is to insure that the party fulfills its role as the leadership nucleus within the proletarian dictatorship system and throughout society. The control work of the party must be the highest form of control. "Each organization, from the agencies of the party and state to the mass organizations, in each field of activity, from the economic and social fields to the national defense, security and diplomatic fields, must, without exception, be under the control of the party organization that has jurisdiction. The Party Central Committee and the various party committee echelons must keep abreast of control work and use the results of this work in guiding the implementation of resolutions."⁽³⁾ Therefore, the various party committee echelons must direct their control work not only toward the party organization, but also toward administration organizations, the mass organizations and the armed forces. This work must focus not only on the

implementation of decisions, but also decisions themselves. An extremely important part of this work is inspecting the implementation of party resolutions and directives by administration organizations. This is a matter of principle arising from the requirements of tasks, from our organization, from practice, the purpose of which is to implement the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages, the laboring people exercise collective ownership." It is not a matter related only to specific personnel problems. If importance is not attached to control work and if this work is not performed well, resolutions and directives, no matter how correct or urgent they might be, can be rendered ineffective. Incorrect positions, policies and measures and shortcomings cannot be brought to light or promptly rectified.

Secondly, the control committees on the various levels must properly perform their control task in accordance with the provisions of Party Statutes, with importance attached to properly inspecting compliance with Party Statutes and discipline and with state laws by party members and inspecting party member qualifications.

Inspecting compliance with party statutes by party members is a task of the inspection committees on the various levels established by the 6th National Congress of the Party in place of the task of inspecting violations of Party Statutes by party members. Party Statutes state: "The task of the control committees on the various levels is to inspect compliance by party members (including party committee members on the same level) with Party Statutes with a view toward compliance with the principles of party organization and life, compliance with party discipline and the laws of the state, the qualifications of party members..."(previously, it was required to conduct inspections in cases involving party members who violated Party Statutes...). Both inspections of party members who comply with Party Statutes and inspections of party members who violate Party Statutes are inspections of the individual party member. However, the task of inspecting compliance by party members is broader and more involved than this. Inspecting compliance by party members involves inspecting both party members who comply with Party Statutes well and those who do not seriously comply with or violate Party Statutes...(not just inspect party members who are suspected of violating Party Statutes, as was the case previously. It involves conducting routine inspections throughout the course of compliance. Inspecting compliance by party members involves taking the initiative and conducting inspections with the aim of stimulating and building upon positive factors, educating party members who commit infractions, taking appropriate and timely action against party members who commit mistakes and reduce the negative factors of party members. The specifics of inspecting compliance by party members are to inspect compliance with Party Statutes, the discipline of the party and the laws of the state by party members (including party committee members on the same level) and inspect party member qualifications in a manner that is closely tied to and supports the performance of political tasks, the building of the party and the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, particularly the implementation of the three major economic programs and the campaign to purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations. When inspecting compliance with Party Statutes by party members, foremost importance must be attached to those party members who are cadres managed by the party committee on their level and party committee members on the same level.

The different forms and methods of inspections must be applied in a flexible and appropriate manner. Routine and periodic inspections are conducted primarily by party committees, party chapters and party members through preliminary and final reviews of their work, through self-criticism and criticism, through the periodic examination and evaluation of cadres, through arranging for the masses to voice their criticisms concerning party members and cadres... Special or emergency inspections are conducted primarily by the party committee or the control committee on the upper level. Depending upon the specific situation and requirements, the control committees on the various levels can conduct an inspection of one or many party members or all party members within an organization. They can conduct inspections into one or a number of matters. The party committee or the control committee on the next higher level can conduct an inspection independently or in coordination with related departments and sectors on the same level or with the control committee on the lower level. When conducting an inspection, it is necessary to clearly define the requirements, specifics and subjects of the inspection and set a specific time for the inspection. Clear conclusions must be reached concerning strengths and weaknesses and a clear attitude must be displayed regarding each case.

The inspection of compliance by party members must be closely combined with inspecting the implementation of party resolutions and directives (in accordance with Party Secretariat Directive 34CT/TU). These two inspection tasks, although different from the standpoint of subjects, jurisdiction and the responsibility for conducting inspections, are closely interrelated and share the same objectives: taking the initiative in building upon strongpoints, preventing and curbing weaknesses and supporting the successful performance of political tasks and party building.

Thirdly, the basic organizations of the party must conduct good inspections in accordance with the function and task of each basic organization.

The basic organization of the party occupies an especially important position within the organizational system of the party. It is the foundation of the party, is the place that directly manages, educates and trains party members, is the place that implements each line and policy of the party... Therefore, it is exceedingly important that the basic organizations of the party inspect party members directly and regularly in accordance with the function and task of each basic organization. At those places where the chief system is in effect, the basic organizations of the party must correctly fulfill their inspection function, which includes inspecting the chief, to insure that the lines, resolutions and directives of the party and the laws of the state are thoroughly understood and strictly and effectively implemented. At agencies, basic organizations of the party must properly fulfill their responsibility to inspect the agency in its implementation of the policies and resolutions of the party and laws of the state, promptly cite good examples and put a stop to violations of policies and the law within the agency. Basic organizations of the party on the subward level must conduct inspections in accordance with their function and task as defined in Party Secretariat Decision 55 on the work regulations of the subward party committee.

Fourthly, in conjunction with conducting inspections, violations of party discipline must be dealt with in a fair, accurate and timely manner.

In the education and training of party members, our party always attaches importance to raising the level of revolutionary awareness and cultivating the exemplary-vanguard character of the party member. However, it is necessary to uphold the discipline of the party and properly deal with party members who violate this discipline in order to maintain the party's unity of will and actions and increase the party's fighting strength. The purposes of enforcing the discipline of the party are to insure that the party's discipline is strict while educating other party members and cadres and educating the masses. "Inspections must lead to clear conclusions and correct action." (4) Fair, accurate and timely action must be taken in cases involving violations of party discipline and violations of the law. There can be no reason for ignoring these violations. The action taken must comply with the disciplinary guidelines and policies of the party and be aimed at educating party members better. When taking disciplinary action against party members, we must correct the practice of taking "lenient action against the upper level, harsh action against the lower." Harsher disciplinary action must be taken against persons who hold high positions and have large responsibilities when they violate party discipline or the laws of the state. Because, the higher one's position and the greater one's responsibility is, the larger is the harm caused when this person violates party discipline or the laws of the state.

Fifthly, the control work of the party must be successfully combined with inspections by the state and the control work performed by the masses.

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress stated: "Efforts to improve the quality and effectiveness of party control work must be closely tied to increasing the effectiveness of control work by the state and control work of a mass nature performed by the people's control network." (5) With the party in power, party members are active in party organizations and mass organizations, within the state apparatus and in all fields of social life. Therefore, besides inspections by the party, it is also necessary for inspections to be conducted by the state and the mass organizations. On the other hand, the mistakes and shortcomings of cadres and party members are the results of many causes, some objective, some subjective. Therefore, well coordinated measures must be taken to deal with this problem. This is the responsibility of each level, each sector and each organization of the party. In recent years, we have failed to effectively and regularly coordinate the related sectors, coordinate the control systems of the party, the state and the masses, consequently, we have not achieved the combined strength of control work nor high results in this work. In the years ahead, we must attach importance to and perform this work well. "For each period of time, every party committee must have a control program that focuses on major tasks and key units, one that utilizes and builds upon the role of the control committees and departments of the party and closely combines the control work of the party with inspections by the state and the control work of the masses..." (6)

The revolutionary struggle of our people is taking place under exceedingly difficult and complex conditions and demands determination and very large

efforts on the part of our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people. The corps of members and cadres of the party, besides its good points and strengths, which are basic, is also exhibiting many shortcomings and weaknesses. Negative phenomena within the party have still not been stopped or effectively overcome. The campaign to "purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations, purify and increase the management effectiveness of the state apparatus, make inroads against and abolish negative phenomena, make social relations wholesome and achieve social fairness," if conducted well, will create a new strength and help the entire party and all the people to successfully carry out the socio-economic tasks set by the 6th Congress. These weighty tasks demand that we intensify the control work of the party in conjunction with intensifying the education and management of party members. On the basis of gaining a deep understanding of the views, positions and guidelines concerning control work, the various party committee echelons, party organizations and all party members must continue to intensify the control work of the party in the spirit of taking the initiative and displaying activism and creativity to insure that the control work of the party undergoes strong changes in the years ahead, thus contributing to the successful implementation of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Van kien Dai hoi V (Proceedings of the 5th Congress), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, pp 122-123.
2. Ibid.
3. Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987.
4. Ibid., p 82.
5. Van kien Dai hoi V (Proceedings of the 5th Congress)...pp 123.
6. Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG, No 1-1987.

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SUMMARY CHRONOLOGY OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S ACTIVITIES DURING THE PERIOD OF PREPARING TO FOUND THE PARTY--FROM LATE 1924 TO EARLY 1930

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 20-23

[Article compiled by The Tap]

[Text] 12 November 1924--Uncle Ho travels from Moscow to Canton, China (near Vietnam) to accelerate preparations for the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam. There, he writes a letter to Dom Ban, provisional general secretary of the Peasant International Council, stating why he left Moscow and the circumstances surrounding his work: "My decision to leave Moscow was made somewhat suddenly and I was unable to inform you that I was leaving. Please forgive me and convey my apologies to the other members of the council... As regards matters related to my position as a member of the Presidium of the Peasant International, do what you think is best: either suggest that I be replaced, in this case, say that I am ill, not that I have left, because I am living here illegally; or, if you feel that the colonial subject's name Nguyen Ai Quoc will add strength to the statements and appeals of our council, then keep me on the Presidium."

On the same day, Uncle Ho sends a letter to the comrades in charge of WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL Newspaper saying that he will continue to write for the paper and suggesting that they send to him books, newspapers and other materials for use in propagandizing and educating women and teenagers.

19 December 1924-- after arriving in Canton, Uncle Ho contacts patriotic organizations of a number of Vietnamese there. In a report to the Presidium of the Communist International, he highly praises the revolutionary spirit of these organizations. At the same time, he states that the patriotic Vietnamese within these organizations "know nothing about politics and even less about organizing the masses." They had to be taught "the necessity for organization and the futility of actions that lack a basis."

22 December 1924--Uncle Ho sends a letter to the Eastern Bureau of the Communist International concerning the report he sent on the Indochina situation. Displaying a high spirit of responsibility toward the revolution in the East, he suggests: "Could you assign our Soviet comrades here responsibility for some of the work in Indochina? I am unable to perform the many jobs that must be done by myself."

Early 1925—Uncle Ho selects a number of youths within the above mentioned organizations and a number of other youths from Vietnam and opens political training classes to train them as revolutionary cadres. Then, he assigns them the task of spreading Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam.

10 January 1925—Uncle Ho sends a report to the Presidium of the Communist International on the Indochina situation. He asks how many Vietnamese students can be enrolled at the "College of Communism in Moscow" and suggests that the Presidium instruct the representatives of the Communist International in Canton to "also concern themselves with Indochina."

19 February 1925—Uncle Ho sends a report to the Presidium of the Communist International on the Indochina situation and the work he has performed. He reports that he established in Siam (present day Thailand) a clandestine group of nine members, five of whom were probationary members of the communist party and a base station consisting of approximately 50 closely united peasants to facilitate the movement of persons into and from Indochina. The jobs that had to be performed in 1925 were: establishing a base of operations in Canton; establishing a number of communication-liaison bases; sending persons back to Vietnam to collect and report information; and sending Vietnamese students to the College of Communism in Moscow.

He also reports that "there is much to be done" to prepare for the founding of our party and the establishment of parties in other countries... He suggests that the Presidium of the Communist International send him books, newspapers and other materials for propaganda purposes and states: "For a colony such as Indochina, we need at least 10 students for propaganda work. But we can try to get by with 5 or 7 persons. The main thing is that we need to know, the sooner the better, how many persons will be accepted so that we can select them."

February 1925—Uncle Ho writes, in Russian, the article entitled "Lenin and the Colonial Peoples," which is published in RED REVIEW (Soviet Union), Number 2, 1925.

9 April 1925—Uncle Ho writes the letter "Reply to Mr. H." (that is, Thuong Huyen), signed L.T. (Ly Thuy). He criticizes Thuong Huyen's revisionist thinking and views concerning the Vietnamese revolution (+).

2 May 1925—Uncle Ho reports to the Presidium of the Peasant International Council on the results of the first day of the conference of Chinese workers and peasants.

June 1925--in Canton, Uncle Ho founds the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, the forerunner of our party.

21 June 1925--to propagandize the line and objectives of the Association, Uncle Ho founds the weekly newspaper THANH NIEN, an effective weapon for spreading Marxism-Leninism to our working class and people.

13 August 1925—in accordance with a decision reached on 31 July 1925 by the Presidium of the Peasant International Council, Uncle Ho is assigned the task of agitating peasants in China and a number of other countries.

3 December 1925--Uncle Ho sends a letter to the Presidium of the Peasant International Council requesting that he be sent materials, in either French or English, on the international peasant movement.

In 1925:

--Uncle Ho writes the article entitled "The Issues of Asia" under the name Nguyen Ai Quoc, which is printed in INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW, Number 19, 1925.

--To assemble and unite the revolutionary forces in Asia, Uncle Ho participates in founding the Union of Oppressed Peoples in East Asia consisting of patriots from Vietnam, China, Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, India... Uncle Ho is elected secretary of the league.

--Uncle Ho's work "French Colonialization on Trial," in French, is published for the first time by Labor Bookstore in Paris.

21 January 1926--Uncle Ho writes the article entitled "Lenin and the East," in Russian, under the name Nguyen Ai Quoc, which is published in THE BUGLE (Soviet Union).

3 June 1926--Uncle Ho sends reports to the Presidium of the Communist International on the work performed in Indochina: organizing a clandestine cell; organizing the Union of Vietnamese Peasants Living in Siam; organizing a cell of teenagers and children selected from among children of peasants and workers; organizing a revolutionary women's cell consisting of 12 members; organizing a political training school... Attached to his letter is a report on the political situation in Indochina.

22 July 1926--Uncle Ho sends a letter to the Central Committee of the Vanguard Teenagers Unit under the Central Committee of the Lenin Communist Youth Union in the Soviet Union requesting that it accept three or four Vietnamese teenagers and children to study in the Soviet Union.

On the same day, he sends a letter to the representative of the French Communist Youth Union at the Communist Youth International suggesting that he support the above request and intercede in every way possible to obtain a speedy and favorable reply.

December 1926--Uncle Ho founds CONG NONG Newspaper, the propaganda organ of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, which is circulated among Vietnamese workers and peasants.

In 1926--Uncle Ho establishes the first Vietnamese teenager group in Canton to educate and train teenagers, among whom was Ly Tu Trong.

February 1927--Uncle Ho founds LINH CACH MENH Newspaper, which is circulated among Vietnamese soldiers. The paper makes clear the need to employ violent revolutionary force against violent counter-revolutionary force, the need to build a revolutionary army and the need to know how to proselyte enemy soldiers.

April 1927--following the betrayal by Chiang Kai-shek in Canton, Uncle Ho travels to Hong Kong, Shanghai and then leaves China for the Soviet Union.

25 June 27--Uncle Ho sends a letter to the communist party chapter of the Vietnamese studying at the College of the East. He suggests that Ly Quy (that is, Tran Phu) be appointed party chapter secretary.

September 1927--after working for awhile in Moscow, Uncle Ho is sent by the Communist International to Berlin, Germany to assist in the founding of the Anti-Imperialist League in Germany.

In 1927--the texts of lessons taught by Uncle Ho in political training classes are collected by the Propaganda Department of the Union of Oppressed Peoples in East Asia and published in book form under the title "The Revolutionary Road." The contents of the book lay the foundation for the platform of our party and lay out the national liberation line for the Vietnamese revolution.

--Uncle Ho writes the article "The Rule of French Imperialism in Indochina," in French and signed N.K. which is published in INTERNATIONAL NEWS, Number 104, 1927.

3 February 1928--Uncle Ho writes a letter to the Presidium of the Peasant International Council about his having made time to write "Reminiscences of the Chinese Peasant Movement," which dealt mainly with the movement in Hai Luc Phong, where peasant soviets were established.

February 1928--after working for awhile in Berlin, Germany, Uncle Ho travels to Belgium and speaks in Brussels on opposing imperialism and on the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. He attends the Anti-Imperialist International Congress held at the Etmong Palace. Through the knowledge and materials acquired in his journey around Africa, he denounces the barbarous crimes of colonialism in Africa and appeals to everyone to arise and unite in struggle against the common enemy. During his stay in Brussels, Uncle Ho lives and works under difficult conditions at the Ve-gie-ta-rieng Boarding House [Vietnamese phonetics](near the Etmong Palace). There, he writes a book, read by many Belgians, denouncing colonialism in the Congo (according to NHAN DAN Newspaper, 11 December 1969).

After attending the Anti-Imperialist International Congress, Uncle Ho travels through Switzerland, Italy...and secretly returns to France.

Autumn, 1928--Uncle Ho boards a ship bound for Siam and visits many places where overseas Vietnamese are living and working in order to teach them the spirit of patriotism, fraternity, unity and mutual assistance.

He guides the revamping of the contents of the newspaper of our overseas compatriots to make the paper consistent with the objectives and line of the Benevolence Society and changes the paper's name from DONG THANH to THAN AI. THAN AI Newspaper was the organ of revolutionary propaganda among overseas Vietnamese and was secretly sent to Vietnam.

1929--Uncle Ho continues his activities in Siam. To provide propaganda materials and materials for the training of cadres and overseas Vietnamese, Uncle Ho writes the play "De Tham" and a song entitled "Tran Hung Dao," translates "The History of the Evolution of Man," "The ABC's of Communism"... In 1928 and 1929, Uncle Ho gives special attention to building revolutionary bases in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Late 1929--Uncle Ho travels from Siam back to China to make preparations for the conference to merge the communist organizations in Vietnam and found our party.

3 February 1930--in Hong Kong, China, on behalf of the Communist International, Uncle Ho presides over the Conference To Found the Communist Party of Vietnam, the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the Vietnamese working class. The conference discusses and adopts the Summary Platform, the Summary Tactics and the Summary Statutes of the Party. On behalf of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Vietnam, Uncle Ho issues an Appeal on the occasion of the founding of the party.

February 1930--Uncle Ho begins a report to the Presidium of the Communist International with the words: "The Communist Party of Vietnam has been founded." He also reports immediately to the Eastern Bureau of the Communist International on the founding of our party. He suggests that the Communist International attach importance to training Vietnamese communists in theory and work experience.

FOOTNOTES

- + Mr. Thuong Huyen was the grandson of Nguyen Thuong Hien. In 1924, he served as liaison for Phan Boi Chau for awhile in Canton, China. He sent the draft of his work "Revolution" to Uncle Ho, asking him to examine and comment upon it.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR IN SOCIALIST
CONSTRUCTION: MAN—THE MASTER AND PRODUCT OF HISTORY, THE OBJECTIVE OF AND
MOVING FORCE BEHIND THE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 24-28

[Article by Ta Van Thanh]

[Text] Editorial Note: the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress stressed the need to "develop the human factor and make serving man the highest objective of each activity." The report also stated: "It is necessary to fully reflect in practice the view of the party and state concerning the unity between economic policy and social policy and overcome the attitude of giving light attention to social policy, that is, giving light attention to the human factor in the cause of socialist construction."

Beginning with this issue, in order to shed light on this important view of the party, we are introducing an exchange of opinions column "On the Role of the Human Factor in Socialist Construction." We suggest that readers concerned with this matter also actively participate in this exchange.
[conclusion of editorial note]

In socialist construction in our country, our party has creatively applied the argument of Marxism that man is both the master and product of history, both the objective of and the moving force behind the revolution.

Clearly recognizing that man is the product of society, is the product of the conscious, goal-oriented actions he himself takes to transform his circumstances, our party holds that molding the new man is not the work of just the ideological and cultural revolution, but also the work, the achievement of all three revolutions. We highly value the dynamism of consciousness and the positive reciprocal impact it has upon existence. However, the existence of man determines his consciousness, not vice versa. To change consciousness, we must change existence. For man to be more human, we must make man's existence increasingly human.

Humanizing labor, improving working conditions, tapping the activism and creativity of the worker and establishing socialist worker collectives--these are the important factors in achieving humanity in each of its manifestations and also the necessary prerequisite to humanizing the life of man outside the

time he spends at work and developing each form of cultural activity. Conversely, organizing man's free time well has a major effect upon the development of man's character, which has a positive reciprocal influence upon the process of social production. As K. Marx stressed in "Economic Draft 1857-1859," liberating man is an issue that encompasses both fields in the life of man: time at work and free time. The humanization of these two fields is closely interrelated and mutually dependent.

Man is the product of social circumstances. But this does not mean that man sits and waits to change himself until circumstances have changed. Rather, he constantly takes positive steps to change his circumstances and, through this process, change himself.

Social history is not only a string of changes brought about by objective conditions, but also a string of actions carried out by man. As Marx said, man is not only the performer, but also the author of his play.

V.I. Lenin gave us the theory on the role of subjective factors in history. While emphasizing the role of subjective factors, Lenin also opposed subjectivism and voluntarism. He showed that the development of man's history complies with objective laws. This is a natural historical process. The role of subjective factors lies in recognizing objective laws and turning real potentials into reality through practical actions carried out in accordance with the inherent laws of the real world.

In the proceedings of the 4th Congress of our party, man was also referred to as the conscious master of the construction of the new society. The need we face now is to correctly understand and bring into full play the role of subjective factors.

In socialist society, when talking about the role of subjective factors, we are talking about the leadership role of the communist party armed with Marxism-Leninism, which is capable of grasping the objective laws of development of society and applying them in a way that benefits socialist construction; about the role of scientific and planned organization and management by the socialist state; and about the ownership role of the masses, ownership which is exercised primarily through their state under the leadership of the party.

The issue now faced is: as the party and socialist state, most importantly the various leadership levels of the party and state, move ahead to adopt new thinking, particularly economic thinking, adopt a new workstyle and a new approach to organizational and cadre work, they must equip themselves with greater knowledge of science so that they can truly understand and better apply objective social laws, most importantly economic laws, and must do a better job of researching the science of organization and management, of foreseeing and predicting the dominant directions of socio-economic development. The natural sciences play a large role in the development of production forces and contribute to the scientific management of all social life, which is knowledge we need very much in socialist industrialization and the defense of the fatherland. However, in shaping socio-economic and cultural policies, in formulating short-term and long-term socio-economic development

plans, in proposing socio-economic, cultural and human strategies, in scientifically managing socialist construction from every standpoint, economic, political, cultural, ideological and so forth, the social sciences play an exceedingly important and ever growing role. Social scientists must be mobilized to participate more actively and effectively in the formulation of the socio-economic plans of the country and in researching matters related to the science of management, man, etc.

As regards the role of subjective factors, examined from the standpoint of each individual person, the higher a person's position is and the more important his role, the greater his responsibility is. Sometimes, the results of countless enormous efforts by many persons are reduced and these efforts are even rendered ineffective or nullified by mistakes on the part of a number of persons, a few persons. Therefore, adopting a new approach to cadre work and organizational work is extremely important in developing the role of subjective factors in history. Even though we might have good cadres, it is still necessary to have a good organization and an effective apparatus in order to record achievements in work. The masses display activism and initiative and fulfill their role as masters partially through their own capabilities and qualities, but also as a result of scientific leadership and organization.

One other point to which attention must be given is that subjective factors not only involve matters related to revolutionary sentiments, but also encompass a correct appreciation of the laws of the objective world, scientific and technical knowledge, practical organizational skills, etc.

The ideals of Marxist humanism concerning man demand that we recognize man as the most precious asset; eradicate every form of oppression and exploitation of man; recognize the fundamental law of the new socio-economic form, satisfying the material and cultural needs of man more fully with each passing day; create increasingly favorable conditions for the full and well balanced development of the individual; and recognize each person, each member of society not as the means, but the end of all social activities and each person as the conscious master of collective activities.

The efforts of Marx were not directed toward molding a one-sided homo-faber (producing man) or homo-economicus (economic man), even less toward homo-ludens (playing man) as espoused under the "theory of compensation advanced by leading, modern bourgeois ideologues, which holds that the "consumer civilization" and "mass culture" entertain the laborer and compensate him for the losses incurred at work. Rather, the efforts of Marx were directed toward achieving a dialectical combination of homo-faber, homo-politicus (political man), homo-economicus, homo-sapiens (rational man) and homo-ludens. As such, man creatively participates in all levels of human activity from labor through social activities to the fields of science, culture, play, etc. Man displays his activism in production, in social life, in social intercourse with others. As he does, he learns the spiritual heritage of mankind and marvels at and ponders the world and his position in it.

The thinking concerning a fully developed and well balanced man being the objective of the revolution was also very clearly evident in the thinking of

Lenin. In 1902, in the draft of the Party Platform presented by Plakhanov, he ignored the view of Marx concerning the full development of the individual. Lenin opposed this and insisted that the thinking expressed be amended to say that the objective of the struggle of the working class is to organize the process of social production in a planned manner "to guarantee the full well being and the free and complete development of all members of society." (1)

To thoroughly understand and properly apply the above argument of Marxism-Leninism and our party, it is necessary to correct a number of incorrect tendencies and misconceptions.

We must wage a resolute struggle against the thinking of Maoism, which considers man to be nothing more than the means through which rulers compete for power and position.

It is also necessary to correct the narrowminded view of economic pragmatism, which holds that cultural development can only be carried out when favorable conditions exist or explains it as an unnecessary "luxury." Under the conditions of socialism, the development of production is not a goal in and of itself. Economic development is the necessary prerequisite and the real base for humanizing social relations and achieving the well balanced and full development of man. The thinking of only being concerned with production and giving little attention to the producer; the thinking of being concerned with production and instruments of production but showing little concern for the important capital that is "human capital"; the thinking that costs called non-production costs spent on the non-production sector are not worthwhile costs and so forth are incorrect from the perspective of the view that man is the objective of the revolution, is the master of history. Even when examined from the perspective of the view that man is the moving force behind history, these kinds of thinking also manifest themselves as outmoded. In this period in which the scientific-technological revolution is bringing about changes in the nature of principles in the character and structure of production forces, the factors determining the development of production forces are far different than the factors that existed during the period of industrialization. Even the relationships among the basic fields of the economy, between the "production" and "non-production" fields in social life have also changed. In a number of fields of education, the intellectual and spiritual potentials of the worker, knowledge gained through many fields of science and so forth are increasingly becoming direct production forces. The above mentioned fields can be considered not as forms of consumption of accumulated social wealth, but as capital invested in the production which has the effect of accelerating economic development by means of developing the creative forces of man. The development of our country's economy will take this direction. However, even today, as we carry out industrialization in the initial stage of the period of transition and even though our level of scientific and technological development is not as high as the advanced countries, because socialist industrialization is being led by the communist party and as a result of the new production relations, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the right of collective ownership of the people and the socialist humanist thinking that man is the most precious asset, the human factor continues to play a positive and important role and the material as well as the cultural and spiritual life of man must be cared for during his time at work as well as his free time

outside work in a manner, of course, that is consistent with economic conditions.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress pointed out: "It is necessary to fully reflect in practice the view of the party and state concerning the unity between economic policy and social policy and overcome the attitude of giving light attention to social policy, that is, giving light attention to the human factor in the cause of socialist construction."

"The level of economic development is the material prerequisite to the implementation of social policy but social goals are also the aims of economic activities. Even within the framework of economic activities, social policy directly affects labor productivity and product quality and is one of the important factors in developing production." We must gain a thorough understanding of one important argument of our party: "We must develop the human factor and make serving man the highest objective of each activity."(2)

All the matters presented above show that along with formulating socio-economic strategy and our strategy for the development of science and technology, it has come time to urgently promote the formulation of the strategy for human development with a view toward molding the Vietnamese socialist man.

And, can it not be said that the adoption of new thinking, particularly new economic thinking, and the adoption of a new workstyle and a new approach to organizational and cadre work charted by the 6th Congress of the Party are related, either remotely or directly, to either a large or small degree, to the human factor?

And, can it not also be said that every effort to adopt the new begins with taking a new approach toward man, which includes adopting new thinking concerning the human factor.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 6, p 293.
2. Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987.

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CONCERNING THE HUMAN FACTOR IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 29-34

[Article by Professor Dang Thu, Ph.D.]

[Text] 1. There have been periods lasting for several hundred years in which mankind did not take one step forward, even slid backwards, periods during which knowledge eroded and the standard of living was not raised, such as the Middle Ages. However, there have also been periods, which began with the Renaissance and the development of capitalism, in which mankind has made rapid progress.

Up until the 16th and 17th centuries, not including the ancient civilizations of China and India, Asia was still more civilized than Europe. However, because more rapid progress has been made under capitalism than under feudalism, Europe has made more rapid progress than Asia during the past several centuries.

During the past 40 years, as a result of the scientific-technological revolution, the majority of countries, including the countries of Europe, have made especially rapid progress.

2. From the perspective of economic development, the essence of which is increased labor productivity, the expression of which is national income per worker, the industrial countries and the developed capitalist countries still play a very positive role.

The chart on the economic development of countries in recent years (chart 1) shows that from 1965 to 1983, that is, in only 18 years, the national income of many countries increased 3 to 12 times, even 22 times in the case of South Korea (which does not take into consideration the devaluation of the U.S. dollar). Some countries that are skilled in management and need not make large military expenditures, such as Japan, grew at a rate nearly 3 times higher than the United States during that 18 year period.

3. The socialist countries have also achieved a rather high rate of development. However, compared to a few rapidly developing countries, development in the socialist countries has been slower. At present, national income per capita in the socialist countries is only one-half as high as in

the most developed capitalist countries (chart 2). If the rate of development of the socialist countries were 2 times higher, the absolute figure would still be lower.

The philosophy of historical materialism is correct. Socialism must display its superiority over capitalism in every field. The socialist countries can achieve a rate of development higher than that of the capitalist countries if they adopt a new approach at an early date, successfully deal with each challenge and meet the rising needs of the people. Compared to when the Communist Manifesto was issued, the labor productivity of mankind is now 10 to 20 times higher (at some places and in individual fields, labor productivity is even higher). For example, 150 years ago, 1 month of labor was needed to produce 1 quintal of paddy. Today, only 10 minutes are needed at some places. Today, the population is nearly 5 times larger than it was 150 years ago (nearly 5 billion persons compared to slightly more than 1 billion). The material wealth of mankind has increased 50 to 100 times. Therefore, the classical theory of Marxism-Leninism must also be amended and developed to meet the demands of the new age. If they avoid being dogmatic and rigid, the socialist countries can achieve a higher rate of development. Toward this end, a wholesome beginning was made at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which is having a chain reaction effect.

4. Today, each country can make rapid progress if:

--It utilizes the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution;

--It manages the economy skillfully, which includes international cooperation;

--As regards the Third World countries, population growth must be reduced at an early date.

5. If we consider countries to be engaged in a race from the standpoint of labor productivity, that is, national income per worker (or per capita, in general), it is those countries in which the population is growing that are at a disadvantage.

Thirty years ago, the gap in national income per capita between the developed countries (where population growth had virtually ceased) and the backward countries (where the population was growing rapidly) was 2,000 dollars. Today, this gap is 10,000 dollars. In 30 years, it will be 20,000 dollars.

This gap also represents a gap in time. Twenty-five years ago Vietnam only had a population of 30 million. We had hopes of catching up to the developed countries in 40 years. Today, Vietnam's population stands at more than 60 million and we are 60 years behind the developed countries. And, when Vietnam's population reaches 110 million and stops growing in the year 2030, we will be more than 100 years behind!

We must acquire a better understanding of the issues of growth in the population and labor force and reducing this growth.

Chart 1: Indices of Development of Some Countries, 1965-1983

Country	% of Population with a Level II Education (of School Age)	% of Population with a level III Education (of School Age)	Number of Book Titles Published in 1 year (1983)
1. United States		58.0	77,000
2. Japan	92	30.0	42,217
3. Federal Republic of Germany		27.6	56,568
4. France	86	25.5	37,308
5. South Korea	82	17.5	25,747
6. Thailand	34	20.0	4,498
7. Indonesia	41.3	3.3	1,836
8. Algeria	48.0	5.0	275
9. India	72.0	7.5	11,562
10. China	44.0	1.3	26,601
11. Soviet Union	96.0	21.2	83,007
12. Hungary	42.0	13.6	8,836
13. Poland	77.0	16.5	9,814
14. GDR	89.0	30.0	5,976
15. Cuba	78.0	19.5	1,438
16. Vietnam	57.0	15.5	1,887

National Income (Billions of U.S. Dollars)

National Income
Per Capita

(1983--U.S. dollars)

1965		1975		1983		
Absolute	Rate of	Absolute	Rate of	Absolute	Rate of	
	Growth		Growth		Growth	
1. 687.0	4	1526.0	3.1	3263.0	3.3	11,732
2. 89.0	11.2	498.0	4.9	1157.0	3.0	9,704
3. 115.0	4.5	420.0	2.8	657.0	1.0	12,176
4. 86.6	5.6	338.9	3.6	517.0	0.5	11,325
5. 3.4	8.4	19.9	8.5	76.6	9.3	1,716
6. 4.9	7.9	14.7	6.9	40.4	5.8	808
7. 7.5	4	29.1	7.7	79.3	5.0	488
8. 2.5	4.1	13.7	6.4	46.0	0.1	2,266
9. 41.0	3.7	86.0	3.2	185.0	6.5	260
10. 30.0	6.6	142.0	6.8	238.0	10.0	231
11. 193*	7.0	363*	5.0	520*	4.0	4,550
12.		11.0	5.0	21	0.9	4,980
13. 531**	6.1	349**	5.2	5493**	4.5	3,900
14.	4.2					7,180
15. 8.5	2.8	16.4	5.7	28	5.2	2,826
16.						160

Exports-Imports 1983 Billions of Dollars		National Income Spent on Education in 1983 (%)	Agriculture as a Percentage of National Income (%)
1.	200.0	6.9	2.9
2.	145.0	5.8	2.9
3.	169.0	4.7	2.0
4.	95.0	5.5	4.2
5.	6.4	3.4	17.0
6.	6.4	3.6	20.6
7.	21.0	2.2	30.0
8.	13.2	8.3	6.5
9.	8.4	3.0	40.4
10.	22.2		44.6
11.	79.6	7.0	15.3
12.	8.7	4.9	18.0
13.	19.3	7.5	18.4
14.	23.7		
15.	6.4	7.2	14.0
16.	0.43		40.0

* Billions of rubles

** Billions of Zlotys

Chart 2: Ranking by National Income Per Capita in 1983 (1)

Country		Country	
1. Qatar	27,720 U.S. dollars	30. Czechoslovakia	5,820
2. Arab Emirates	24,660	38. Soviet Union	4,550
3. Kuwait	20,900	140. India	260
4. Brunei	17,380	148. China	231
5. Switzerland	15,522	161. Vietnam	101
10. Federal Republic of Germany	12,176	162. Bhutan	96
12. United States	11,732	163. Laos	80
27. GDR	7,180	164. Cambodia	70

1. Data on national income compiled by F. Geze and Y. Lacoste (1984) and the International Labor Organization (1984), calculated by the United Nations method for 164 countries.

--The national income of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia is 50 to 100 percent higher if aid (consumed national income) is included.

The price of oil has dropped two to three times in a little more than a year, consequently, the national income of the petroleum exporting countries has declined.

6. Today, the intellectual and academic standards of mankind are very high. In many countries, the average person in the labor force has 10 to 11 years of education and 1 of every 6 to 10 workers has attended college. In some countries (see chart 3), the average worker has attended college from anywhere from one-half to more than 1 year (see chart 3).

Chart 3: Educational Level of Workers in the World in 1976. Average Number of Years of Education and Years of College Per Worker.

Country	Number of Years in School	Number of Years in College
United States	11.6	1.05
Canada	10.5	0.56
France	9.87	0.56
Japan	10.4	0.44
Federal Republic of Germany	9.3	0.23
Italy	6.9	0.24
Great Britain	10.4	0.29
Vietnam		0.038

Today, socio-economic development demands that the worker be highly educated. However, among countries that have roughly the same level of development, such as the United States, France, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, the level of education varies rather widely: the number of years that the average worker in the Federal Republic of Germany has attended college is only one-fourth as high as in the United States and one-half as high as in Japan and France. Here, the management and organization of labor are also significant factors.

The Soviet Union has very many doctors. There is one doctor for every 250 Soviet citizens. Meanwhile, in the United States, France and Japan, there is only one doctor for every 550, 500 and 770 citizens respectively. However, the most important index of public health and personal health is average lifespan. Here, the Soviet Union ranks lowest among the developed countries. The average lifespan of a Soviet citizen is only 72 years while, in the countries mentioned above, average lifespan is 77.5, 76 and 77 years respectively.

Our country's labor force now numbers 30 million persons, 300,000 of whom have a college education. Simple labor plays an important role in agricultural production when the level of production is still low and technology has not developed. It also plays an important role in combat when weapons are still crude. Today, however, we are in the age of the technical sciences; therefore, a labor force skilled in the technical sciences and in management plays the role of foremost importance in socio-economic strategy.

During our country's most prosperous period, the period from the 15th to the 19th centuries, doctoral examinations were held once every 3 to 4 years and an average of 30 to 40 persons passed these examinations each time. If, after passing the examination, each person worked for 30 years, there were approximately 300 Ph.D.'s (trained mainly in literature and poetry) working at

the same time. If we consider the number of years spent in study in order to pass the doctoral examination the equivalent of the number of years spent in study to graduate from college today and consider a present day college education equal to the doctorate of yesterday, the number of college educated persons is 1,000 times higher today than it was then. Thus, today is the golden age of intellectual and scientific-technical forces of the country.

However, for every 100 workers in our country, only one has a college education. Meanwhile, in the most developed countries, one of every 6 to 10 workers has a college education. But there are also countries in which the number of workers who have a college or middle school education is much lower than in our country, such as Algeria, Indonesia and Thailand, even though their economies, in per capita terms, are many times more highly developed than ours. Therefore, scientific-technical cadres are important and, of no less importance, is the factor of managing cadres well.

We often think that persons born in the old societies are prone to be lazy and want to live an idle life and enjoy themselves. However, in the new society, if subsidized wages are paid and labor is not closely managed, society itself will be lazy.

If we were to rely solely upon the self-consciousness of the individual, hardly any state store personnel, like the crews on merchants ships, would avoid engaging in theft and black marketing.

Is there any way to turn lazy, unskilled and undisciplined workers into serious and efficient workers?

In one country, when a new mine was opened in the countryside, few persons wanted to go down into the ground to work. But when they brought in attractive clothing, brought in pots and pans to sell to a small number of mine workers who had money, many peasants were ready to go into the mine in order to earn the money to buy these products. Thus, there must be incentive to work.

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the British brought textile mills to India. At first, they were concerned that Indian laborers would not be able to meet the technical or discipline demands of the mills. However, as a result of paying high wages (very many persons applied for work) and applying strict hiring standards (only hiring the most capable persons) and strict control standards (excluding undisciplined persons and persons with poor technical aptitude), Indian laborers fully met the requirements of British mills. Here, the management mechanism was more important than the skills and habits of the local populace.

Of primary importance in developing skilled cadres, in developing a diligent labor force, a force of technically skilled, disciplined and highly productive labor, is the need to establish a new and effective management mechanism.

7. Persons who work are always concerned with the wage they receive for the labor they expend.

Twenty years ago, in the Soviet Union, the highest wages being paid were 30 times higher than the lowest being paid. Today, they are 10 times higher. And, there is the thinking in the Soviet Union today that the wages now being paid are far too egalitarian. Persons who are doing poor work are receiving a bonus while persons performing good work are having their wages cut.

In the Soviet Union, laborers receive about 46 percent--65 percent if social welfare is included--of the value they create. In Japan, there was one year during which laborer only received 38 percent of the value they create. In 1960, due to the need to look after the living conditions of cadres, manual workers and civil servants, Vietnam paid each cadre, manual worker and civil servant 130 percent--200 percent if social welfare is included--of the value they produced.

If we were to pay labor on the basis of what the country produces, the minimum monthly wage could only be the equivalent of 30 kilograms of rice. In the 1960's, we paid wages two to three times higher than the level of production permitted. We have been paying these wages because, for the past several decades, the country's consumption and wages have been based partly on aid from foreign countries. Now, "the state apparatus, the apparatus of the party and the apparatus of the mass organizations have grown too large, are counter-productive and decentralized"(the Political Report at the 6th Party Congress). Therefore, we cannot raise wages across the board, only at those basic installations and units that carry out their production and work well.

As regards the distribution of income in other countries, we see that when countries are poor, the gap between the rich and the poor is quite wide. When countries become prosperous, the gap narrows to a difference of only about eight times (see chart 4).

In our country, there is a surplus of simply labor and, as a result, technical labor and skilled scientific and management labor are valuable assets. The difference between low and high wages in our country must be 8 to 10 times in order to provide incentive for valuable labor to work with enthusiasm and creativity.

8. Some persons think that the initial stage of the period of transition can be concluded in 5 to 7 years.

If we attach importance to the foremost standards of stable economic development:

1. Carrying out capital formation from within the national economy at the rate of 5 to 8 percent of national income each year and

2. --increasing this rate of capital formation each year, we see that we have yet to begin to carry out capital formation from within the economy. During the 19th century, the industrial countries carried out the formation of capital at the annual average rate of 8 percent of national income. Today, depending upon the country, this rate is 16 percent, 35 percent or 45 percent of national income. In our country, economic development has been carried out over the past 30 years primarily through aid.

Were this aid cut, the economy would collapse immediately. Therefore, we must not be impetuous. The issue is not one of estimating a time based on subjective desires, but achieving certain socio-economic targets: we can only hope to conclude the initial stage of the period of transition when the two conditions described above have been met.

9. Our people won great victories in the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists. The foremost factor in these victories was the depth of experience of the leadership apparatus of our party and state on the upper level. No matter how difficult the work was, we accomplished it. Today, we will also learn how to win victory in economic construction. "The urgent requirement of the revolution, the matter of survival" today, as pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, is the need to adopt a new approach, adopt new thinking, most importantly economic thinking, adopt a new style of work, adopt a new approach to organizational and cadre work.

Chart 4: Percentage of Income Earned by 10 Population Groups, Each Group Making Up 10 Percent of the Number of Households of a Number of Countries.

Country	Year	Poorest										Richest	Difference Between Highest and Lowest
		(1)											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Sweden	1948	3.2		9.6		16.3		24.3		46.6		14.5 times	
	1979	7.2		12.8		17.4		25.4		37.2		5.1	
Sweden	1979	2.6	4.6	6.1	6.7	7.5	9.9	11.8	13.6	16.0	21.2	8.1	
South Korea	1976	1.8	3.9	5	6.2	7.1	8.3	9.9	12.5	17.8	27.5	15.2	
India	1976	2.5	3.4	4.5	5.8	6.4	7.5	9.0	11.5	15.3	33.6	13.4	
Great Britain	1979	2.8	4.5	5.5	6.9	8.2	9.5	10.9	12.5	15.5	23.8	8.5	
Yugoslavia	1978	2.4	4.2	5.4	6.7	8.2	9.9	11.6	13.4	15.8	22.9	9.5	

(1) Calculated for five population groups, each making up 20 percent of the number of households.

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MAN IS THE MOST VALUABLE CAPITAL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 35-38, 47

[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] To build socialism under the specific historical conditions of our country, it is the policy of our party that we 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.

Every achievement recorded in our country is the combined result of these three revolutions. Vietnamese man is both the subject who is simultaneously carrying out these three revolutions and the product of these revolutions. This is a truth.

However, in our social life today, at many places and in many fields, the approach being taken is not truly consistent with the above mentioned argument. What has formed is a concept, one so deeply held as to become subconscious, become a way of thinking, that is not consistent with this argument. This concept is reflected in the structure of state socio-economic development plans, in the structure of budgets and in all kinds of economic and social calculations. This concept is even more evident in the guidance and management provided by many responsible agencies:

1. Our practice is to divide the economy into the material production sector and the non-material production sector (commonly called the non-production sector). The non-production sector is the sector in which work related to caring for the living conditions of man are performed, such as education, health care, training, the appreciation and creation of literature and art, scientific research, the care of war invalids, the families of war dead, the elderly, etc.

2. As the non-production sector, it is the consumer sector. It only consumes. And, consumption is not the formation of capital and is the opposite of the formation of capital. Without capital formation, there can be no consumption. Without producing material wealth, there is nothing to consume. But who is it that produces material wealth? Everyone knows that it is man. Developed science and technology increase the capabilities of man,

multiply man's capabilities many fold. Man has always been, is and will always be the decisive factor. Man is the active subject in production.

3. This raises the matter of man within the material production sector and man within the "non-production" sector. Man within the production sector is considered "manpower," is a factor, the labor factor of material production. Man within the non-production sector is the man who enjoys welfare and only consumes.

However, man within the material production sector has relationships with man within the non-material production sector that cannot be severed. These are the parents and children of "production manpower" man, and "production manpower" man can only be in the good emotional state and physical health needed to produce when his parents and children are cared for well, are well educated and well trained. Bearing and raising good children are the production workers' function of "reproducing the new generation of labor." The new generation must be more highly developed than the old generation in terms of physical fitness, intellectual ability and other abilities.

To accomplish this, there must be other "non-production" persons to insure that this development takes place. They are teachers, doctors, scientific researchers, writers, artists and many other persons in order to raise labor productivity, improve the quality of child rearing, education, health care and training and improve the spiritual life for "production manpower" persons and all society. The realities of life demand this.

4. Thus, how is production man to be taken into consideration when making calculations within the material production sector? In many cases, when calculating investments in a basic production unit, we generally only concern ourselves with the material base, with technical equipment, with energy, raw material and building material needs. The production man is only considered a "labor factor." The only need we take into consideration is the need to maintain the "labor factor," not all the material and cultural needs of man and his family. A person cannot live without a family. Investments in an industrial enterprise or a new economic zone must take into consideration cultural projects such as a club, library, movie theater, school, child care center and public health station or hospital. These are not unnecessary expenditures on luxuries that should not be made or can be cut while we are poor in order to build other enterprises and so forth, as many persons think.

In the management of production at industrial enterprises, at basic production units in agriculture, the handicraft trades and so forth, situations such as the following are also found:

Some enterprise and cooperative directors only concern themselves with raw materials, products and customers. Issues related to "living conditions" are considered secondary matters and generally assigned to an incompetent deputy director who also lacks authority. On agendas, living conditions are usually considered a matter of secondary importance. They are discussed if there is time, otherwise, they are set aside. Some directors, usually intelligent and dynamic persons who are skilled in all areas of the organization of production and production technology and who handle problems with raw materials,

customers and products well, devote 60 to 70 percent of their efforts to looking after the living conditions of workers, which encompass such matters as housing, dining halls, clothing, medical aid stations, holidays, tents, child care centers, schools, mass literature and art, clubs, outdoor theaters, etc. At the first type of basic unit, production, instead of developing, generally encounters many difficulties. At the second type, the atmosphere is one of excitement and enthusiasm and the results of production are always good. At this type of basic unit, man, from the director to the ordinary worker, plays a markedly positive role as master. At the same time, man is cared for and, to some extent, finds happiness in his labor. Through this process, man is developed in every respect, is improved from the standpoint of his physical fitness, his thinking and his feelings. He is the beautiful product of his own activities. This is very much in line with the law: man, while creating material wealth, also creates himself. Of course, to achieve perfection and become the beautiful product of history, man must also be under the impact of very many other production and non-production activities on a society-wide scale.

In light of the situations described above and examining them from the perspective of society as a whole, we see that it is necessary to correct the attitude of giving light attention to the human factor in the cause of socialist construction.

1. Within the scope of a basic production unit, capital investments must include investments in the living conditions of the producer. Investing in meeting the daily needs of the producer is an urgent and vital requirement that must be considered, if not more important, at least as important as investing in raw materials, supplies, equipment and energy because man is a special source of energy in production. At the same time, our conception of the daily needs of man must include the material needs and the cultural needs of the worker himself and his family. The worker is not a production tool but a person with needs and relationships. Each person, in addition to his needs for food, clothing, shelter, transportation, work, education, health care and so forth, also feels personal joy, sadness and concerns that must be sympathized with and shared. We must abandon the concept that family needs are the needs of dependents, are a heavy burden upon production, are welfare items that must be granted as favors through allowances and subsidies. Of course, specific policies might still have to take the form of allowances and subsidies but our thinking must be changed. We cannot maintain that these "allowances" and "subsidies" are of secondary, minor importance and can be paid if the funds are available or not paid if funds are lacking. Social policies, including social aid, are not a matter of doing persons a favor. They are not policies that can be adopted only when funds are available or adopted but then carried out in any manner seen fit. This matter must be the foremost concern of the production leader and manager because man, with all his needs, is the most important force behind the development of production.

Among the different kinds of capital investments in production, man remains the most valuable. We should not simply appeal for production to be stepped up and wait until production has developed and we have much material wealth before concerning ourselves with man. Concern for man is concern for the most valuable form of capital, for the most important force in the development of

production. Although Stalin might have been speaking in the figurative sense when he said that man is the most valuable capital, when applied specifically to production, the meaning of this phrase is very precise.

2. On a society-wide scale, it is necessary for us to revise our concept of the two sectors: material production and non-material production. Because, in the sector called non-material production, there are very many persons and jobs that have a direct impact upon material production. Expenditures on the non-material production sector are not only expenditures on consumption but also include many items that are truly basic and long-range investments in material production. These are: investments in training, in improving the physical fitness and spiritual well being of man, which, in turn, improve man's ability to produce material wealth. These are the most intelligent investment, are the investment that yields many long-range and large "profits." This view has also been expressed by many scientists in the capitalist world. We should not automatically think that the conditions needed to bring happiness to man can only be established after we acquire material wealth. Rather, our thinking must be: to acquire material wealth, we must first care for the life of man. This is the genuine humanist thinking of socialism. Showing concern for man is putting the goal of socialism into practice at the very outset.

The concept that man is the most valuable capital leads to correct concepts of accumulation and consumption, from the standpoint of the material wealth of society, there is both the accumulation of material wealth, such as money, petroleum products, iron and steel, machinery and building materials, and the consumption of these items. However, from the standpoint of man, consumption is consumption to meet daily needs. But consumption to meet the daily needs of man is human accumulation. It is consumption by the educational systems in the training of man; consumption to safeguard and improve the health, to develop the race and prolong the life of man; consumption to support cultural and spiritual life in order to elevate the sentiments and bring joy to man, etc.

Thus, this consumption is never wasteful spending. Rather, it is the formation of a valuable form of capital of society--man, a person who possesses good health, highly developed work skills and spiritual well being. This is a noble form of capital formation because this consumption produces for society a noble product--better persons. Molding the new man is not merely the task of cultural work or the ideological and cultural revolution. It is the combined task of all three revolutions. Therefore, economic strategy should not be divorced from the strategy for human development, economic policy from social policy. When we talk about the strategy for society-economic development, we must do so on the basis of a correct concept of the role of man, man as the master and the product of society. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress of the Party pointed out: "It is necessary to fully reflect in practice the view of the party and state concerning the unity between economic policy and social policy and correct the attitude of giving light attention to social policy, that is, light attention to the human factor in the cause of socialist construction."

In light of this view, we must re-examine the structure of state plans and the structure of the budget. We should not mechanically separate the material production sector and non-material production sector, separate and view as mutually exclusive the formation of capital and consumption, nor should these be limited to the formation and consumption of material wealth. We must make man—with all his daily needs, his material and cultural needs and those of his family—the nucleus around which socio-economic plans and budgets are formulated. This approach is logical and will certainly yield returns in the implementation of socio-economic plans.

Our party recently established the requirements that we adopt new thinking, especially economic thinking, adopt a new style of leadership and adopt a new approach to organizational and cadre work. A more complete concept of the role of man in society and in the economy is also an important point in the adoption of new thinking, in general, and new economic thinking, in particular. Developing a clearer concept of the role of man as master in society is also related to the adoption of a new style of leadership. If leaders have a clear concept of the status as masters of the persons under them, they might avoid taking over everything themselves, avoid being arrogant and arbitrary, avoid considering subordinates a kind of passive tool that should only serve and praise them.

If every person in every position were to have a deep appreciation of his role and responsibility as master, were to respect himself and respect others in keeping with our values, qualities and responsibilities, we would possess a progressive, effective and constructive style of work and enhance the character of everyone.

The above mentioned requirements regarding style are also the requirements of organizational and cadre work. Our party has frequently said that we must "assign persons according to the job," that the assignment of cadres involves selecting a specific person to do a specific job. Agencies responsible for placing persons in jobs must understand the jobs to which persons must be assigned and place persons in appropriate jobs. We must correct the practices of placing persons in jobs that they do not know how to perform, placing persons in jobs on the basis of personal feelings, placing persons in jobs so that they can easily issue orders, placing persons in jobs on the basis of personal dislikes of cadres on the upper level and placing persons in jobs in order to gain benefits for them. We must distinguish between the benefits received and the job assigned. Persons who perform a service must be given appropriate benefits. But the person assigned to a job must know how to perform that job and only receive benefits commensurate with the results of the work they perform. The purpose of both personal qualities and personal abilities is to insure that work is performed efficiently. Qualities and abilities are not two separate entities. Qualities are not precious things to be admired. Only persons who perform efficient, productive work for society can be considered persons who possess good qualities.

With a precise concept of man, we can turn our thoughts to many other matters, many other fields...

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CSO: 4210/7

CONCERNING THE UNITY BETWEEN ECONOMIC POLICY AND SOCIAL POLICY TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 39-43

[Article by Dang Quang Uan]

[Text] Under socialism, the economy and society are two fields that share a dialectical relationship. A good social program can only be implemented on the basis of a stable and developing economy. The confidence of the masses declines and the social situation becomes complex when we must readjust social goals that are too high and far exceed the capabilities of the economy. Conversely, the economy cannot develop when appropriate concern is not being shown for the interests of the worker. Moreover, in the final analysis, the objective of the economy is to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the laboring people.

Following slightly less than 70 years spent building socialism, the CPSU has reached the conclusion: "The CPSU considers giving constant attention to resolving social problems in labor and cultural life and satisfying the interests and needs of the people to be the laws of operation of all state agencies and economic agencies, of all mass organizations."⁽¹⁾ In our country, to complete the large tasks that lie ahead in the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition, it is most essential that we map out a correct economic strategy. At the same time, we must have positive social policies, must establish unity between economic policy and social policy and must closely tie economic objectives to social goals. Because, economic activities are closely associated with efforts made by man. Only when persons see that their interests lie in economic activities will they work with enthusiasm and stimulate the development of the economy. Implementing positive social policies means knowing how to employ a system of strong levers which will raise the level of activism on the job, raise the level of social and political activism, thus helping to build the new social system, build the new political system, build the new economy, establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man in our country.

Unity between economic policy and social policy encompasses many broad and complex issues and requires that many detailed research projects be conducted in many fields and from many different perspectives. At present, it is first of all necessary for us to begin to resolve current problems of an urgent nature.

1. Making full use of the potentials of the various segments of the economy in order to provide jobs and create many products and goods for society is the foremost socio-economic task in the years ahead.

The transition to socialism necessarily requires that we carry out the socialist transformation of the old economy. However, transforming the non-socialist economy into the socialist economy involves the very difficult and complex transformation of social relations and takes a long time, particularly in underdeveloped countries. Lenin wrote: "The more backward a country is when it must--due to the vagaries of history--begin the socialist revolution, the more difficulties it will encounter in making the transition from the old, capitalist relations to socialist relations."⁽²⁾ The practical experience of recent years shows that wanting to build the socialist economy by the simplistic and impetuous approach of abolishing the non-socialist segments of the economy only serves to harm both the economy and society.

First, although the socialist economy has been established, it is largely a matter of form, is not displaying its superior attributes and is even inferior to the private economy. In the sharp struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between the two paths, whole components of the socialist economy fall apart or become degenerate and deviant.

Secondly, goods in society become scarce and lacking in variety and supply does not meet demand because the production of the socialist economy is stagnated by inefficient operations. At the same time, the private economy cannot produce because it is restricted and curtailed.

Thirdly, the worker has no work. Even persons fully trained in a special field, a profession, a trade and so forth have a very difficult time finding work. By many different avenues, they pour into the socialist economy, mainly into the state-operated economy or the administrative management apparatus of the state, in order to gain a foothold. Those who do not make their way into the state apparatus do anything they can to make a living. The majority go into the field of circulation, thus causing the number of merchants to become excessively large.

The above situation causes the state-operated economy to become increasingly inefficient, the state apparatus to become more cumbersome and society to become more disorderly and complex.

At present, there are millions of unemployed persons in our country, the majority of them in the municipalities. Many persons who have jobs are also not working a full day. In the state sector, about 30 percent of work time is not used. Forecasts for the next several years show that approximately 1 million persons will reach work age and demand a job each year. If not corrected, this situation will exert tremendous pressure upon our country's economy and society.

There is no way to resolve the difficulties described above than by making full use of and fully developing the potentials of the various segments of the economy in order to develop the economy and solve a pressing social problem, namely, creating jobs. Of course, we cannot utilize and develop the

potentials of the different segments of the economy across the board. Rather, the state-operated economy must play an increasingly dominant role, the collective economy must be steadily strengthened, the private economy must develop in the correct direction and these various economic segments must be closely tied to one another, must assist and stimulate one another on the basis of guaranteeing one another's interests. It is necessary to criticize the view that to strengthen the socialist economy, we must do away with the private economy and the view that we should only stress the development of the private economy and allow it to go beyond inventory and control by the state, beyond state regulations.

The above guidelines must be concretized in the form of specific tasks, targets and policies suited to each sector, each locality and the entire country and these tasks must be established as the tasks of the state, of all the people.

The primary solutions are to expand the trade sector locally in order to absorb the majority of new surplus labor and make appropriate investments and adopt correct policies in order to redistribute labor to other places. The focus of the mobilization of labor must be on the agricultural front and take the direction of providing additional labor for intensive cultivation, multicropping and the expansion of the trade sector. At the same time, we must strongly develop small industry, the handicraft trades and the services, particularly in the municipalities, and encourage the household economy in both the cities and the countryside. We must accelerate the production and contract production of export goods for the fraternal socialist countries and other countries in conjunction with expanding our labor cooperation with foreign countries and creating new job sources for youths, particularly youths in the municipalities. We must quickly reduce the amount of labor engaged in administrative management and indirect production within the state economy and shift this displaced labor to production or services necessary for everyday life.

2. Sharply reducing the rate of population growth is a pressing requirement of our country's economic policy and social policy.

The population growth rate in our country remains high. The fact that population growth has outstripped the rate of development of production has exerted a major impact upon efforts to meet the targets of socio-economic tasks as well as upon the income and health of each family. Making an intense effort to reduce the rate of population growth to 1.7 percent so that we can achieve the goal of a population of 66 million in 1990 is a pressing requirement in the next 5 years. The above views and targets must be thoroughly understood by each and every person. The policies and principles of the state must make an effective impact upon each specific person towards whom they are intended. Appropriate investments must be made in order to rapidly expand the birth control technical support network and closely and constantly guide the planned parenthood campaign.

3. Achieving social fairness in the field of distribution is an urgent requirement of economic policy and social policy.

Social fairness is a special attribute of socialism. Social fairness is reflected in many fields of life. At present, however, social fairness in the field of distribution is the burning issue, an issue that has a strong impact upon the economy and society. There are many jokes going around among the masses ridiculing and protesting the unjust distribution taking place in society. There is no miracle cure for negative economic and social phenomena if distribution continues to be carried out incorrectly. Unfair distribution is most evident in violations of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and inequality in product trade relations between the state and farmers.

Distribution in accordance with labor, which is an objective economic law under socialism, and reflects social fairness, is accepted by society as a standard of personal qualities and ethics. Because bureaucratic administrative management and state subsidies have remained in effect far too long, we have maintained a system of distribution that is egalitarian and, to some extent, reflects a class and guild character, thus seriously violating the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. At the same time, due to lax economic management, particularly on the distribution and circulation front, there is a very wide disparity in income among the various strata of the population. This has brought about very harmful economic and social consequences. Persons who earn an honest living have a difficult life while persons who are lazy and dishonest live in comfort and luxury. Therefore, consistently applying the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, closely tying income to the results of labor, waging a determined struggle against kinds of distribution marked by egalitarianism, special rights and privileges and the guild approach, appropriately regulating the income of private merchants and seizing the income of persons who earn their livings illegitimately are urgent requirements of economic policy and social policy in our country. Now, we must recall the advice of President Ho: "We should not fear shortages, only distribution that is unfair. We should not fear poverty, only that the people are not content."

Trade between the state and farmers embodies the relationship between industry and agriculture, between the two classes that exercise ownership together within our society, workers and collective peasants, under the management of the state and the leadership of the party. At present, after paying their agricultural taxes to the state, farmers must also sell various grades of products, most importantly paddy, to the state under obligations at prices much lower than value. After paying taxes, fulfilling their grain obligation and making payments to funds of many different forms, the farmers of many areas only retain 30 to 40 percent of the total quantity of grain they produced with very low labor productivity. Two way economic contracts between the state and farmers are not executed fairly, which is usually the fault of the state and frequently because persons abusing their authority "misappropriate" up to one-half of the state's convertible goods for farmers. The procurement of agricultural products at negotiated prices is usually not carried out at prices that are truly negotiated by farmers because the prices paid are far lower than prices on the outside market. Meanwhile, industrial goods, particularly essential consumer goods for farmers, are very scarce and constantly rising in price. This situation has led to many negative phenomena in production. In a number of rural areas, farmers have asked to give back

some of the land accepted under contracts, have cut down sugarcane, pulled up jute and tobacco plants and so forth and there is an attitude of skepticism, a lack of confidence and a lack of support for a number of policies of the party and state, which have adversely affected the alliance of workers and farmers. Therefore, carrying out commodity trade between the state and farmers on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit; keeping the prices of basic materials stable and establishing reasonable price ratios between agricultural products and materials and industrial goods; fairly executing economic contracts; purchasing goods outside contract at prices that are truly negotiated; rescinding price policies that reduce the enthusiasm of farmers and stagnate production; and guaranteeing that the legitimate interests of farmers are satisfied in economic relations with the state are pressing requirements of economic policy and social policy today.

4. Guaranteeing the real income of the laborer is an urgent requirement of economic policy and social policy.

Constantly improving the material life and the cultural life of the laborer is the target of socialist construction. Under the conditions existing in our country today, due to low labor productivity, production in many fields is inefficient and does not provide the conditions needed to improve the living conditions of the laborer. Consequently, developing and implementing measures that guarantee real income in order to stabilize the living conditions of the laborer is a direct requirement of economic policy and social policy.

Insuring the quality of consumer goods, particularly the quality of grain and food products, and insuring that products for consumers are accurately weighed and counted are positive measures that will keep the real income of the laborer from declining. Toward this end, in conjunction with education, it is necessary to fundamentally reform the state-operated commerce system and the network of marketing cooperatives and other service organizations. An effective struggle must be waged against the purely business approach to business and operations based on the free market mechanism. We must harshly prosecute degenerate and deviant elements within the state-operated commerce system, disband "phantom" cooperatives, stop the flow of fake and defective goods to the market, etc.

Maintaining relatively stable prices is important in maintaining the real income of the laborer. On the distribution-circulation front, particularly in the field of prices, prolonged disorder has caused serious harm to the standard of living of the laborer, particularly among those who live on their wages. Therefore, re-examining the policies that have been promulgated, resolutely rescinding or revising regulations that are a mistake and not allowing positions and policies when promulgated to harm the income of the laborer and serve to the advantage of persons who earn their livings dishonestly are strict requirements of economic policy and social policy in our country.

Housing is an issue that has a direct impact upon replenishing the energies expended in labor and upon many other aspects of social life. At present, in many municipalities, housing is one of the urgent problems that must be solved in a positive manner. Clearly, we must appropriately increase the amount of

capital invested in the construction of new housing; strongly develop the "state and the people working together" mode in the construction and repair of housing; adjust housing allotments that far exceed standards; and gradually dismantle housing subsidies.

Unity between economic policy and social policy is one of the basic elements of correct economic thinking. At the same time, it is a pressing requirement in the adoption of new thinking in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Cuong linh, Dieu le cua Dang cong san Lien xo,"[The Program and Statutes of the CPSU], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi and Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 46.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 6.

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CONCERNING SOCIAL POLICY AND THE CURRENT STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL FAIRNESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 44-47

[Article by Professor Pham Nhu Cuong]

[Text] In the old social systems, resistance to and indignation over social injustice--oppression and exploitation of the class and the nation--were the forces that moved persons to arise against this injustice. Since very long ago, along with struggling against social injustice, people have also desired to achieve social fairness and equality, freedom and dignity. Scientific socialism gave the oppressed and exploited nations and classes a scientific awareness and a correct platform for struggling to completely abolish social injustice and establish social fairness.

In Vietnam, as was the case in the other countries within the socialist community, the victory of the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution virtually abolished the primary sources of social injustice--the exploitation of man by man and inequality in the relationships involving the means of production. Socialist construction is also the establishment, in practical terms, of socialist social fairness. Experience shows that strictly implementing the principle of social fairness and making it a pervasive principle in production and everyday life are an important prerequisite to the unity of society, political stability and dynamism in social development.

We have experienced two 5-year socio-economic development plans since the total liberation of the South, the reunification of the country and the start of the advance by the entire country toward socialism. Following many years of struggle to overcome the very serious consequences of war and having begun at an exceedingly low economic and technical starting point, we have the right to be proud of what we have accomplished over the years in changing the face of the country and the life of each person.

However, there has also never been a time when the thoughts of each Vietnamese were as worried and tormented as they are today. Everyone is trying to find an answer for himself and discussing within the family, within the collective and with friends and comrades the burning and urgent socio-economic problems that are thrusting their way into everyday life and each person's very being. It can be said that through a wide variety of different forms, the entire party and all the people are discussing the affairs of the party, the affairs

of the state. The situation very urgently demands that we find a way out, find a direction to take that will lead us forward. The Political Report at the 6th Congress of the Party correctly evaluated the country's situation and correctly analyzed the objective and subjective causes of this situation.

Due to serious shortcomings and mistakes in mapping out strategy and in concretizing and organizing the implementation of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, we have failed to meet socio-economic targets, particularly those regarding stabilizing and improving the standard of living.

Very deserving of attention are the worry and despair felt by cadres, party members and the masses. Due not only to the difficulties and shortages in everyday material life, but also, to a very significant degree, to the fact that negative phenomena in social life have reached serious proportions and lasted for a long time, the principles of socialist social fairness and the ethical values of the new, socialist way of life are not evident in society. The changes that have occurred in the structure of the social classes, the quality of the classes and the social strata that make up the backbone of the system have not been totally consistent with the demands of the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" during the period of transition.

One of our major shortcomings is that although socio-economic tasks and targets have been set ever since the 4th Congress of the Party, social targets (which include education and culture) and the relationship between the economy and society have not been clearly defined or concretized. As a result, two situations arise: because we were impetuous and failed to clearly define where we are in the process of socialist construction, sweeping subsidies were enacted and norms that were too high were set in many fields. On the other hand, in the leadership provided by the party and the management provided by the state, matters related to social policy have, more often than not, been given light attention in every area from the adoption of policies and investments to efforts to organize implementation. As a consequence, social tasks and targets have not been carried out or met and economic tasks and targets have also been affected. "This is also one of the shortcomings that has been discussed quite extensively in the Soviet Union since the 27th Congress of the CPSU. In the Political Report delivered at the congress and on many subsequent occasions, Gorbachev has described the two mistakes most commonly made in the past as taking a purely technical point of view and investing only in the economy while not caring about the extent to which investments were made in social policy. The Central Committee of the CPSU has also issued a resolution on intensifying the struggle against persons whose source of income is not work."

In the months ahead, our adoption of new thinking, our adoption of a new style of leadership and management and our adoption of new approaches in practical activities must be comprehensive and begin with economic thinking and economic activities. Social policy must be fully reflected in the practical application of the party's view concerning the unity between economic policy and social policy. Two extremes must be corrected: sweeping subsidies that far exceed the current capabilities of the economy and giving light attention to social policy, which equates to giving light attention to the human factor in the cause of socialist construction. We must have a basic and long-range

social policy, must have a human strategy. At the same time, it is necessary to set tasks, targets and norms that are consistent with our requirements and capabilities in this initial stage.

The approach we take must be an integrated approach. That is, when setting policy, it is necessary to take into full consideration the results of these policies in the socio-economic, political, ideological-psychological and all other fields and give attention to balance so that these policies actively support one another to an optimum degree within each field. The level of economic development is always the material base for the implementation of social policy. Social goals are also the goals of economic activities. This is the clearest manifestation of the essential difference between socialism and the social systems marked by oppression and exploitation.

Even within the framework of economic activities, social policy, through its impact upon the worker, is an important factor in the development of production and directly affects labor productivity and product quality, particularly when developing the economy in depth. It is also an exceedingly important factor in stabilizing and strengthening worker collectives, in establishing on the part of the worker a truly close bond with the collective, with the basic production unit. This lesson, this experience can be drawn from our successes and failures in building new economic zones and in the activities of many worksites. It is also an experience common to many fraternal socialist countries.

We are in the initial stage of the period of transition. Mistakes and shortcomings in economic policy and social policy in recent years have led to unnecessary consequences. In conjunction with developing the human factor and making supporting man the objective of each economic activity--specifically, at present, meeting the minimum and pressing needs in the material life and cultural life of the laborer--we must have a plan for taking the initiative in building the class structure of the new society. We also must concretize and implement the nationalities policy of the party and its policy on religions better. Under the conditions that exist in the initial stage, when the class structure of socialist society is in the process of forming and we lack the conditions needed to strongly invest in regular residential areas for the ethnic minorities, giving careful and detailed consideration to the particular interests of the various classes, strata of society and ethnic groups is an extremely important matter.

The most basic element and requirement of socialist fairness is the consistent implementation of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor so that the real income of every person is directly dependent upon their efforts and the quality of their work. At the same time, we must take determined steps to eliminate sources of dishonest and unlawful income. This demands that a series of measures be taken and that a strong improvement be made to the current distribution policy, beginning with the wage policy.

To implement social policy better in the months and years ahead in order to more fully implement the principles of socialist fairness, it is necessary, in view of present circumstances, to re-examine and adjust the consumption policy and the distribution policy. We cannot consume more than we produce. This is

an iron clad law of capital formation in order to make it possible to carry out expanded reproduction. In conjunction with a policy of frugality in production, it is also necessary to enact a policy of strict frugality in consumption.

Together with moving ahead to thoroughly abolish each socio-economic base of social unfairness (at present, also in the interests of the laborer and socialism, we accept the existence of the non-socialist segments of the economy and must have a fair policy and attitude toward these segments), we must further intensify, must carry out even more resolutely the struggle against negative phenomena, not only in society, but especially within the apparatus of the party and state. These negative phenomena are the causes of legitimate displeasure and indignation on the part of loyal laborers and law-abiding citizens and are the reasons why the positions and policies of the party are distorted and deformed by the time they reach the masses, thus eroding the masses' confidence in the party and state. Within the apparatus of our party and state are some persons, particularly at agencies that control property, money and goods, who have become deviant and corrupt, become persons who steal, embezzle, take bribes, conspire and siphon state goods onto the free market, who take advantage of loopholes and use their position to gain illegal wealth and live in luxury on the suffering and privations of the people. For the sake of their dishonest interests, they look for ways to suppress good persons, to hurt persons who denounce their illegal conduct and create factions in order to have their way. Money made in a dishonest and illegal way always goes hand in hand with an immoral and debauched way of life that defies all ethical standards. Speculators, smugglers and black marketeers and the corrupt and deviant persons within the state apparatus are "accomplices" who rely upon one another to conduct their illegal activities. Therefore, we cannot rid ourselves of one without ridding ourselves of the other.

The harm they cause to the property of the state and people is very large. But, even larger and incalculable in monetary terms is the harm they cause from the standpoint of spirit, principles and way of life, the harm they cause to the confidence of the masses in the socialist system, in the party, particularly the harm they cause to youths, who need to have role models as they begin their lives.

Cutting these festering cancers from the body of society is an urgent demand if we are to make economic life wholesome, make our socio-spiritual atmosphere pure and if what our party says and writes about the new, socialist man, about the socialist way of life is to represent not only a fine desire and good advice, but also to be implemented, be reflected in real life.

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ON PREPARING THE COUNTRY TO RESIST A WAR OF AGGRESSION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 48-54

[Article by Senior General Hoang Van Thai]

[Text] Preparing the country to resist a war of aggression is a very important matter to every independent nation, a very basic strategic factor in the military art of every nation. Preparing the country to resist a war of aggression has become a matter directly related to the survival of every sovereign country.

In the case of a country that occupies an important strategic position, such as our country, and a nation that has had to resist foreign aggression countless times, such as our nation, the need to prepare the country to resist a war of aggression has been recognized and met since ancient times. As far back as the Ly Dynasty, when it was learned that the Song planned to invade the country, the House of Ly made every effort to prepare. In conjunction with economic measures, particularly developing agricultural production, the House of Ly relaxed laws and reduced taxes. In particular, it attached importance to training troops, conducting maneuvers, strengthening border defense forces and building stronger unity within the court; treated the elderly kindly, held examinations and recruited talented persons, etc. In the Tran Dynasty, even after winning the first victory over Yuan forces, the House of Tran flexibly maintained normal diplomatic relations with the House of Yuan while making every effort to prepare for a war of aggression launched by them. Making the people its base, the House of Tran repaired dikes and expanded agriculture in order to raise the people's standard of living and provide what was needed to support the army. It held the Binh Than Conference to discuss plans for fighting the foreign aggressors. It assembled some 200,000 troops in Dong Bo Dau to make a show of force, mobilized officers and then stationed troops at strategically important places. It held the Dien Hong Conference to build morale nationwide for the fight against aggression. Tran Quoc Tuan drafted two military manuals for the training of officers...

Since our party was born, under the light of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian military science and carrying on and developing upon the rich and precious military tradition of the nation, the party has led our armed forces and people in winning continuous victories in five major fights fought by the entire nation: the August general uprising, the two wars of national

liberation and the two wars to defend the fatherland at either end of the country. Through the bitter challenges of the several decades of combat, our nation has gained much experience in wars of national liberation and wars to defend the fatherland. This experience includes much experience in preparing the country to resist a war of aggression. For example, after 1954, when the North was liberated but the South was still under the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, our party and state gave constant attention to building the North in every respect. In March 1957, the Party Central Committee issued Resolution 12 on the guidelines and task involved in strengthening the national defense forces of the North and gradually making the People's Army a regular and modern army. In essence, this was preparation of the country for the new situation in the revolutionary struggle being waged in our country at that time. We still remember that after the 2nd Party Committee issued Resolution 12 and in conjunction with carrying out economic construction and cultural development, our party and state mobilized and organized our armed forces and people to urgently perform a number of large and complex military tasks in order to prepare the country: teaching politics, raising the level of vigilance and mobilizing the masses to maintain order and security to combat spies, wipe out commandoes and drive off bandits; building widespread, strong and solid mass armed forces; building a regular and modern people's army of suitable size and increasingly high quality with new services and branches; formulating strategic warfare plans and organizing combat maneuvers; building strategic rear areas for the war, defense projects and strategic stockpiles; expanding roads, airports, seaports and national defense enterprises; promulgating the Military Service Law; building powerful reserve forces; promulgating the Officers Service Law with the aim of training an increasingly large and strong corps of military cadres; building the air defense network consisting of the three different elements of the military in the North; building the strategic roads along the Truong Son Mountain Range and the border in order to support the South... As a result of recognizing these needs early, adopting these correct policies and enacting these good measures in the process of preparing the country (the North) in every respect, the North possessed all the strength and capabilities it needed to provide a very high level of support to the cause of liberating the South and directly fought and triumphed over the war of destruction of the U.S. pirates while being ready to defeat their ground forces if they recklessly attacked the North. It can be said that if the preparation of the country, particularly the preparation of the armed forces, was not comprehensive and timely, it would have been impossible to win such a large victory in the resistance against the United States for national salvation. Today, in the face of the new enemy, our party has established the strategic task of successfully building socialism in a manner closely tied to the strategic task of being ready to fight and firmly defend the socialist fatherland. Consequently, preparing the country to resist a war of aggression has become a task of a strategic, vital nature, a pressing and constant task of our country in the new period of the revolution. It is a task that encompasses very many areas of activity of the country, a task that is nationwide in scale and is carried out by the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces with the aim of continuously building our military, political, economic, scientific, technical and other potentials and gradually putting all the country's potentials, most importantly its military potential, in a state of combat readiness to insure that the country is prepared to go to war under all

circumstances and, when war breaks out, is ready to defeat the aggressor forces regardless of from where they come, regardless of the scale of their forces, regardless of the form of their attack, regardless of the situation, even during the initial period of the war, and maintain this potential throughout the course of the war and win the largest possible victory with the lowest possible losses.

During the past 10 years, our party and state, our armed forces and people have done much to prepare the country to resist a war of aggression. However, this is a very large and complex matter. While we do have a certain amount of experience in this area, we face many very new requirements. Moreover, things are always moving and developing and our work must be constantly augmented and improved upon. As a result, we still must do very much more to prepare the country so that the fatherland is truly firmly defended in each situation.

Preparing the country to resist a war of aggression is a very important part of the law of defending the socialist fatherland. In the present age, particularly in recent years, with imperialist and international reactionary powers moving farther down a militarist and bellicose path and committing aggression by cunning and brazen methods, increasing importance is being attached to preparing the country to resist a war of aggression and this task is being carried out more actively.

The objectives, specifics and methods of the socialist countries in preparing for war generally involve similar requirements based on the universal laws that apply. At the same time, there are certain differences due to specific differences in domestic conditions and international circumstances. Ordinarily, the preparation of the country must begin with the political line and task, the military line and task, the strategy...of the leading party and must be based on the nature of a future war, the level of development of the technical weapons that will be used, the table of organization and equipment of the armed forces, specific military geographical conditions, the economic capabilities of the enemy, the composition, staff and equipment of the enemy's army, the scale of the war of aggression that the enemy might launch...

The general objective in preparing the country is to continuously and rapidly build military forces and economic forces in order to achieve a combined strength of high combat readiness even before the war begins, maintain this strength in the course of the war and insure that large victories are won with few losses even during the initial period of the war and throughout the war.

Preparing the country militarily means insuring that the armed forces are always in a high state of combat readiness, even in peace time, and are fully capable of smashing an invasion by the enemy should they unleash one; creating the conditions needed to call up and send forces into battle, to rapidly deploy and strengthen the armed forces even during the initial period of the war; fully providing the fortifications necessary for the armed forces that have been and are being deployed, for populated areas and for strategic positions in the rear area to provide protection against enemy air attacks; and insuring that the leadership and command apparatus and armed forces, the signal system and the road network of the entire country possess high vitality and are highly effective in the face of each grave challenge. All the above

is aimed at insuring that the armed forces can immediately retaliate against invading forces, inflict heavy casualties upon them and preserve our large forces so that we can advance and wipe out the enemy.

The forces which prepare the country are the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces, the various ministries, sectors and levels and the entire proletarian dictatorship system, from the central to the local and basic levels, under the centralized, unified, resolute and timely leadership and management of the Party Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Defense Council. In view of the very broad, nationwide scope of activities it entails in all fields—politics, military, economic, cultural, social and scientific-technical—the work of preparing the country is not, of course, the separate work of the military sector but is the common responsibility of all sectors. The agency mapping out military strategy must be the key staff of the Party Central Committee and state in establishing the guidelines, specifics and measures for preparing the country.

The main elements involved in preparing the country are preparing the armed forces, preparing the economy, preparing battlefield positions and preparing the people.

Under the conditions of modern war, preparing the armed forces in peace time is of decisive significance in victoriously implementing the strategy of the party to defeat aggressor forces and maintain the territorial integrity of the country.

Preparing the armed forces is a matter that is very broadly related to a host of jobs. These preparations must be made in peace time, must be made continuously and be routinely augmented and improved in every area from the preparation of the organization, preparations for mobilization, the preparation of cadres, the preparation of material-technical bases and combat readiness preparations to improving the quality of combat, organizing and conducting military strategic intelligence operations...

In a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland, the central forces of all the people fighting the enemy are still the three elements of the military: main force troops, local troops and militia-self-defense forces (or, as some say, the two elements of the military: main force troops and local troops). This is a special feature in the organization of our armed forces. It reached a high level of development in the war of national liberation. Today, it must reach an even higher level of development in the war to defend the fatherland. Therefore, preparing the organization of the armed forces means preparing all three elements of the military. Only in this way can we achieve the combined strength of the regular, modern, powerful and well trained standing army and the widespread mass armed forces. In contrast to the war of liberation, when we had to build and develop forces gradually (although they subsequently grew quickly and became large), in a war to defend the fatherland, we can and must develop all three elements of the military so that they are large and strong before and during the initial period of the war and do so on a large scale.

The mobilization of the armed forces usually must be carried out when the war is about to break out or has already broken out. Therefore, it must be done very urgently and quickly. Mobilizing forces before or during the initial period of the war is the main strategic measure in very rapidly increasing the size of the armed forces to meet the urgent requirements of defending the fatherland at that time. Therefore, while still in peace time, we must make serious and well-organized preparations for a mobilization and conduct many practice mobilizations. The requirements that must be met are: speed, timeliness, full troop strength, high quality, secrecy, security... (In many fraternal socialist countries, very high preparations for a mobilization have been made. All reserve troops have been trained. Military gear is stored and ready at home, weapons are ready at centers. Drivers and vehicles are fully present at stipulated places within only several hours after the alert is issued).

The preparation of cadres is a key part of preparing the armed forces, is a measure of decisive importance in preparing the organization and preparing for a mobilization. Consequently, the preparation of cadres must be carried out at the same time as and in close coordination with the other preparations being made. A corps of cadres must be prepared for all three elements of the military, for standing and reserve forces, for existing forces and perspective cadres. One matter of paramount importance is the need to concern ourselves with fully preparing plans, while still in peace time, for mobilizing cadres in accordance with the requirements of war time, most importantly the initial period of the war. Plans must be prepared for fully mobilizing command cadres and specialized and technical cadres locally from among officers transferred to other sectors, state cadres and primarily non-commissioned officers transferred to the outside and students who have been trained... One very important requirement in the preparation of cadres is that all comrades in charge of the ministries and general departments be trained in matters relating to national defense, war, the preparation of the country...

In modern war, the preparation of material-technical bases is of special importance, the first requirement being to meet needs during the initial period of the war. Therefore, while still in peace time, it is necessary to make timely and correct forecasts and build deep stockpiles on many different levels. The preparation of material and technical bases for war must also be closely tied to preparing the system of warehouses, the road network, stationary rear bases and mobile rear bases.

The preparation of the armed forces in terms of making them combat ready consists of increasing the fighting strength and raising the level of combat readiness of all three elements of the military, particularly those services, branches, units and components that have the mission of constantly being in a high state of combat readiness. Numerous problems must be resolved in a well coordinated manner in order to prepare the armed forces in terms of combat readiness, such as teaching politics and building hatred of the aggressor forces; establishing battlefield deployment of the three elements of the military; establishing alert procedures and conducting exercises in combat readiness alerts; preparing rear service and technical support in accordance with combat requirements; constantly improving the command organizational system from top to bottom; intensifying strategic intelligence and combat

reconnaissance operations to insure that each change of the enemy is known by us...

Constantly improving the quality of fighting of the armed forces is the factor of most basic and far reaching significance in preparing for war and insuring victory by the armed forces. In providing basic, comprehensive and systematic training in accordance with the requirements of a people's army that is becoming a regular and increasingly modern army, special attention must be given to the realities of a future war as we foresee them and the special characteristics of the large-scale warfare that might break out. On this basis, full attention must be given to the training of high level commanders and command staffs, particularly those on the strategic and strategic campaign levels.

In conjunction with preparing the armed forces, economic preparations must be made, most importantly mapping out economic strategy, preparing industry, agriculture, the forestry sector, the fishing sector, the communications-transportation sector and the signal and posts-telecommunications sectors, preparing scientific and technical forces...

The economic strategy must be based on domestic conditions and international circumstances, on the requirements of both strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland and must closely combine the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy and the central economy with the local economy. Thus, a complete economic strategy and national defense strategy must be formulated by the high level agencies of the party, the state and the army working together under the direct guidance of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

Preparing industry is a very important factor in preparing the country to resist a war of aggression because modern war demands very large support from industry and because industry is usually a target which aggressor forces concentrate on attacking as soon as the war begins. Consequently, even in peace time industrial development, attention must be given to the requirements of both the welfare of the people and national defense when preparing for and conducting a war, to the requirements of convenience in peace time and safety in war time... The above requirements demand that the industrial sectors, most importantly the persons in charge of them, must thoroughly understand policies, plans and measures and fully calculate what is necessary to implement them.

Preparing the agricultural, forestry and fishing sectors in our country is a large and complex job because agriculture and forestry account for a large portion of the national economy and because these sectors absorb the majority of the country's economic manpower. We all very clearly recognize the importance of preparations in this area. Grain is of strategic importance in war. The planning of construction in vast rural areas is related, to a large degree, to the formation of combat villages and combat clusters. The planting of trees and afforestation must help to improve the terrain in accordance with the requirements of war and in a manner advantageous to us. More new agricultural-forestry economic zones must be opened at strategically important

places to help build a solid battlefield position for the national defense system and the people's war.

Preparing the communications-transportation sector and the signal and post-telecommunications sector is of special importance because these two sectors very closely tie the economy to national defense. Modern war involves very large and very high requirements regarding the mobility of forces and means of war and the command of each battlefield and all strategic fronts, particularly the main strategic front. In war, the enemy most often launches heavy attacks against communication centers, bridges and ferries, port piers, airports, warehouses, means of transportation, signal facilities...with the aim of dividing the battlefield and disrupting our command. Consequently, while still in peace time, we must foresee each situation that might arise in order to prepare plans for maintaining uninterrupted communications, transportation and command signal operations in every situation...

Modern war demands scientific and technical preparations. The main focus of these preparations is the national defense industry, is making preparations for the war time mobilization of industry, the application of mathematics, cybernetics, operations research, electronic computers...in the military field.

Together with preparing the armed forces and preparing the economy, it is also necessary to prepare the people, which includes preparing their morale, preparing them to fight, preparing a passive defense...

Preparing the morale of the people is a major requirement in strengthening national defense forces and defending the fatherland because the morale of our people was a great strength in the war of national salvation and will be in a war to defend the fatherland. In view of all the violence in war, it is even more necessary that the people's morale be solid and stable. On the one hand, we must constantly cultivate among all the people patriotism, a sense of vigilance and the sense of obligation to defend the fatherland. On the other hand, we must especially prepare the morale of those people living in frontline areas within strategic regions of the country and on those fronts on which we predict heavy fighting. It is especially necessary to fully prepare the morale of the people during the initial period of the war.

Preparing the people to fight and support combat is an indispensable part of preparing the people because all the people fighting the enemy is our fine tradition and our military art. Effective preparations must be made to build truly strong and solid militia and self-defense forces everywhere, particularly on the frontline and in strategically important areas, so that they are truly the central force of all the people in the fight against the enemy on the basic level. At the same time, reserve forces must be prepared and made ready for a large-scale and rapid mobilization when necessary so that we can meet the demands of the initial period of the war as best possible. And, the people must be prepared to directly participate in fighting the enemy or supporting the armed forces in their fight against the enemy in thousands of different ways.

Preparing a passive defense and preparing for the evacuation of the people in time of war are very important. The people are a source of tremendous strength and abundant manpower of the country, both in combat and production. Therefore, plans must be adopted for protecting the people and avoiding casualties to the greatest possible degree. The enemy massacres civilians to weaken our will. Of importance is the need to adopt plans for making preparations, particularly in key areas, so that we are not taken by surprise.

Finally, there is the matter of preparing our strategic battlefield deployment and strategic rear area. This is a very important matter of military science and military art, is the factor of strength, the factor of victory of the Vietnamese people's war and encompasses many large and small problems that must be raised and resolved. We must build the system of battle positions, that is, build villages, streets, worksites, state farms and forestry sites into combat organizations, districts into military fortresses, provinces into strategic units and military regions into strategic fronts. We must build a solid defense line along the border and seacoast. We must build solid defense zones deep within our territory. We must build strong battlefield positions of the local people's war in all areas and build the combat operations zones of the main force military corps. The "fists" of the main force troops, the combined branches, must be deployed as effectively as possible so that they are ready to retaliate and deal proper blows to aggressor forces even during the opening period of the war. At the same time, we must prepare the battle positions of air defense forces, the air force and the navy. Special importance must be attached to building strategic rear areas, from the national strategic rear area to the army's strategic rear areas, with attention to combining the economy with national defense, providing strategic roads, a system of strategic warehouses, nerve centers to guide the war effort, command combat operations and so forth.

What conclusions do all the very important and complex matters presented above concerning preparing the country to resist a war of aggression permit us to draw?

1. Preparing the country to resist a war of aggression is an objective necessity. Each of us Vietnamese today, particularly on the various leadership, guidance and command levels, must have a full and timely awareness of this necessity because it is a matter related to victory in the initial period of a war, to the survival of the country.

2. Preparing the country to resist a war of aggression is a strategic issue of the entire country. One related to many fields. Therefore, it is essential that the entire party, all the people, all the armed forces and the entire proletarian dictatorship system make these preparations, with primary responsibility being borne by the state and the army under the leadership of the Party Central Committee.

3. Of decisive importance is the need for the directly responsible agencies to take the initiative in conducting research, bringing problems to light and

proposing positions, policies and measures and for agencies that provide leadership and guidance to accurately and promptly examine, discuss and decide these very important matters of the country.

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THE PRICELESS LESSON OF HISTORY

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[Article by Nguyen Phu Trong]

[Text] From the realities of our country's revolution over a period of many years, the 6th National Congress of the Party drew a number of very valuable, very important lessons and experiences, the first lesson being that "the party must thoroughly practice the thinking 'the people are the base,' establish and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people" and "concern itself with strengthening the ties between the party and the people." Truong Chinh has stressed: "The lesson 'the revolution is the undertaking of the masses,' very important in past years, is now even more important. It is the priceless lesson of history of our country's revolution."(1)

As we struggle to implement the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, we must deeply study, thoroughly understand and very successfully apply the priceless lesson of history pointed out by the party and give our attention to agitating among the masses well and building and strengthening the ties between the party and the masses.

We all know that trust in the people, concern for the people and making the people the base are important lessons drawn from the depths of history. In the 15th century, although limited by historic perspective, Nguyen Trai drew from the realities of many feudal dynasties important experiences in the nature of laws: whether the country prospers or declines, whether it survives or perishes are determined by the strength of the people; any dynasty that has the support of the people and closely unites the people can do great things. Conversely, any dynasty that goes against the people will sooner or later be defeated. According to him, the post-Tran dynasties declined because the post-Tran kings did not correctly implement a "pro-people" policy nor follow the advice of Tran Hung Dao: "Tap the strength of the people and grow deep roots." They only concerned themselves with their own life of luxury and selfish interests. They "let the people suffer," "did not know the animosity that the people felt toward them and did not care about the people's complaints." Ho Quy Ly was rapidly defeated, his career was shattered and the country was lost to the Minh simply because the administration of the House of Ho was far removed from the people. "Government affairs were so burdensome as to arouse animosity in the hearts of the people." Nguyen Trai drew a very

profound conclusion: only when the ship has been overturned is it realized that the strength of the people is as strong as water: water that can "carry a ship" but also "overturn a ship"!

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses. To lead the revolution, the communist party must have close ties to the masses. To be victorious, the revolution must have the support of the broad masses. Lenin frequently asserted: the main source of strength of the party lies in close ties to the masses. The vanguard unit can only fulfill its historic mission when it knows how to closely tie itself to the masses in order to lead and truly guide all the masses forward. He emphasized that, to a party in power, "one of the greatest and most feared dangers is to sever its ties to the masses." (2) The historical experience of the international communist and worker movement proves this very clearly.

In its more than one-half century of brave and tenacious struggle, our party has always concerned itself with building and strengthening close ties with the masses. And, as a result, although it is not large, our party has been fully capable of leading the revolution beyond every difficulty, winning victory over each enemy, even the most dangerous and powerful. Maintaining close ties with the masses is the fine tradition and the source of invincible strength of our party. The Political Report at the 4th Party Congress stated: "In the recent stages of the revolution, our party and our people were joined as a solid bloc by exceedingly strong ties of flesh and blood. Our party knows and has full confidence in the strength of our people to move mountains... Our people also know our party and place their full confidence in it. In the long march to independence and freedom for the nation, the party has been present at all times and places, the party has taken the lead in combat, the party has charged forth to places where difficulties have been encountered. The party has establish close ties with the people by means of what it has done for the cause of liberating the country." (3)

Since the total liberation of the South, the reunification of the country and the start of the advance by the entire country toward socialism, the large scale and magnitude of the revolution, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship administration nationwide and the increasing role and level of ownership of the country by the masses have given our party better conditions for expanding and strengthening its ties with the masses. On the other hand, under the new circumstances of history and in light of the new character of and approach to leadership, the ties between the party and the masses also involve new and higher demands and face new and very complex challenges. Today, in addition to the objective difficulties resulting from our need to build socialism from the very low starting point of a backward agricultural country that has not experienced socialism and has, in addition, suffered very heavy destruction in several wars, we still must deal with enemy sabotage. Subjectively, we have also committed a number of mistakes and shortcomings in mapping out strategy and organizing the implementation of the line on socio-economic development. Bureaucracy, bossism and authoritarianism are quite widespread within leadership and management agencies and even within the organizations that specialize in mobilizing the masses. More than a few administration agencies do not respect the opinions of citizens, do not mobilize the masses and lean heavily upon administrative measures and orders.

Some cadres and party members, particularly persons who hold position and authority, show signs of being corrupt, of their good qualities having eroded, of living a life far from the people, of being irresponsible toward the people. Many leadership cadres on the various levels and within the different sectors display a bureaucratic, paternalistic and arbitrary style and some even suppress and intimidate the masses. Some phenomena involving corruption and special rights and privileges within the party and within state agencies are not being resolutely struggled against or been dealt with harshly. As a result, the reputation and prestige of the party have been harmed, the confidence of the masses in the party has declined and the ties between the party and the masses have been adversely affected. The enemy and undesirable elements are taking advantage of this situation in a vain attempt to provoke divisions between the party and the masses and are attempting to undermine the unity between the party and the people. And, in actuality, they have achieved certain results at one place or another.

Some comrades who do not fully realize the importance of this matter mistakenly think that these phenomena are difficult to avoid with the party being the party in power. Some persons forget that maintaining close relations with the masses is the law by which the party survives, develops and operates, is a necessary prerequisite in the struggle for socialism and the struggle to defend the socialist fatherland.

Close relations with the masses are the law by which the communist party survives, develops and operates. However, as is the case with other social laws, this law only has an impact through the conscious activities of the subject to whom it applies--in this case, the communist party, the entity that recognizes objective laws and tries to act in a manner consistent with these objective laws. This means that whether the ties between the party and the masses are strong and lasting, whether the party is strong or weak depend, most importantly, upon the subjective efforts made by communist party members themselves.

At present, the matters of decisive significance in strengthening the ties between the party and the masses are for the party to fully and deeply concern itself with the standard of living and interests of the masses; truly respect and uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses; strengthen and build the party organization so that it is truly pure; overcome the negative phenomena among cadres and party members and make the party truly worthy of being the leader and loyal servant of the people.

Satisfying the interests of and bringing happiness to the laboring masses are the sacred objective, the lofty ideal of the party. Struggling and making sacrifices for the ideals of the party, for the happiness of the people are the *raison d'être* of each communist. Under the conditions of peace time construction, looking after the living conditions of the people is the immediate goal, is an important part of the activities of the party and state agencies, is the issue which determines how much confidence the masses have in the party and how close they feel to the party, is a tremendous force in the launching of revolutionary action movements of the masses. Practical experience in the socialist countries has shown that only by giving full attention to the interests of the laboring people is it possible to encourage

the laborer to produce and work better. The laborer then feels close to the party, to the state, to the socialist system.

In recent years, under the slogan "everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people," our party and state have made very many efforts to look after the living conditions of the people. The party always considers maintaining and improving the living conditions of the people to be a constant and major responsibility. However, it must be acknowledged that some policies do not truly meet the requirements, satisfy the aspirations or match the standards of the people. Some localities and basic units have not properly concerned themselves with nor taken truly positive measures to develop production and support the everyday lives of the people. Meanwhile, at many places where the people continue to encounter difficulties in their daily lives and many essential needs of the masses are not being met, some cadres and party members are only concerned with furthering their personal interests, do anything they can to get rich and eat and drink to excess and lead a depraved life. There are even some persons who are irresponsible toward the people, are indifferent in the face of the difficulties and sufferings of the masses. A number of persons also use their position to embezzle and plunder wealth of the state and the collective and have become harmful parasites of society. In practice, they are far removed from the people and quickly forgot the days and months they shared joys and sorrows with the masses and were supported and protected by them. This is perhaps the greatest loss in the sentiments of the masses, is that which causes us the greatest pain and sadness.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Party Congress pointed out: "Our people are very revolutionary and possess very precious qualities. In the more than one-half century of continuous fighting they have endured countless sacrifices and hardships, always displayed high revolutionary heroism, worked diligently and fought bravely for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. When the party commits mistakes and shortcomings, the people still fervently hope that the party will overcome its mistakes and lead the country forward. The party cannot betray this hope of the people... Each position and policy of the party must be based on the interests, aspirations and capabilities of the laboring people, must arouse support among the masses." We must "make serving man the highest objective of each activity."⁽⁴⁾ If, under the conditions that exist today, we do not look after the living conditions of the people in concrete and practical ways, no matter how much we talk about our mass viewpoint, about the right of collective ownership of the masses, what we say will be meaningless and unconvincing.

We must have a deeper appreciation of the importance of looking after the living conditions of the people. We must thoroughly understand and strictly implement the positions and views of the party concerning this matter and take concrete and positive steps to support the daily lives of the people, most importantly by providing jobs, looking after their needs for food, clothing, health care, education and so forth. We must implement the principles of social fairness, establish a cultured way of life and insure social safety. We must sternly punish persons who earn their livings illegally and violate the interests of the masses. We must restore order and discipline in each

field of social life. Only in this way can we help the masses to go about their production and work with a feeling of assurance and enthusiasm. It was not without reason that Uncle Ho often advised: "We should not fear shortages, only distribution that is not fair. We should not fear poverty, only that the people are not content!"

Truly respecting and upholding the right of ownership of the masses are a strategic policy, a basic factor in the line of our party. Throughout the course of the revolution, our party has always closely combined leadership by the party with tapping the creative energies of the people. It has found its strength in close ties with the masses and has created the necessary conditions for the masses to create their own history in a conscious and organized manner. In the socialist revolution, our party holds that the exercise of socialist collective ownership by the laboring people is the essence of our system. Our party is leading the effort to establish and implement an appropriate organizational mechanism for upholding the right of collective ownership of the people. At many places, the practices have been established of regularly arranging for the masses to participate in discussing and formulating the lines and positions of the party and the work guidelines and tasks of the unit; mobilizing the masses to implement the decisions of the party; and encouraging the masses to participate in inspecting each activity of the party organization and supervising and criticizing cadres and party members. Recently, the criticism and self-criticism campaign conducted in preparation for the party's 6th Congress as well as the phase of activities to contribute ideas to the draft of the Political Report of the Party Central Committee in which millions of persons participated and millions of ideas were contributed offered new, living proof that our party truly respects and upholds the right of ownership of the people. It can be said that there never has been a democratic campaign as broad, practical and successful as the recent campaign to have the people contribute ideas to the party.

However, at more than a few places, the party committee is not concerned about mobilizing the masses and has not truly respected or upheld their right of collective ownership. Some cadres and party members talk about the right of collective ownership of the masses, like some empty slogan, but take no practical steps to uphold this right. More than a few party members have an attitude of contempt for the masses, do not listen to their opinions, do not learn from laborers and do not actively go about educating and mobilizing the masses. Some cadres and personnel whose jobs bring them into direct contact with the people are authoritarian and arrogant. They start trouble, create all sorts of inconveniences and difficulties for the people and are impolite toward the people. Some demand bribes from the people and extort gifts and presents. A number of persons who hold position and authority display a bureaucratic, paternalistic style and discharge their responsibility of being in charge of a locality or unit as though they were "king." There are even individuals and collectives that suppress and intimidate the masses, have arrested and beaten law-abiding citizens for reasons of personal hatred. These actions, although not widespread, are very serious. They have harmed the feelings that the masses have for the party and their confidence in the party. There are more than a few folk songs, verses and funny stories going around that ridicule "revolutionary officials" and are very painful to hear. We cannot give light attention to these phenomena. If they are not stopped,

we will not be able to strengthen the confidence of the masses or build stronger ties between the party and the masses. We must be determined to expel from the party persons who violate the right of ownership of the people and are detested by the masses.

The 6th Congress of the Party asserted that implementing the right of collective ownership of the laboring people essentially entails respecting man, tapping the creativity of each stratum of the people and directing this creativity toward the building of the new society. Together with looking after the living conditions of the people and respecting and upholding the rights of the citizen set forth in the Constitution, the various party committee echelons and state agencies must mobilize the masses to widely and regularly participate in the work of managing the economy and managing society. We must abandon the mistaken thinking that mobilizing the masses is only a measure for organizing and encouraging the people to implement the policies of the party. With regard to positions that directly relate to the living conditions of the people, the party committee must solicit the opinions of the people before making a decision. "The people know, the people discuss, the people act, the people inspect" must become the slogan of action, the guideline in mobilizing the masses. We must correctly implement the principle: the policies of the party must be based on the interests, aspirations and standards of the people. In cases in which the policy is correct but the people do not understand or support it, every effort must be made to educate and explain the policy to the people. We must know how to wait for the people. Sometimes, it might be necessary to adjust a policy to bring it in line with realities and with the standards of the masses. Lenin stressed: a policy that is not consistent with the standards of the masses "is a reckless policy."(5)

On the other hand, party committees and administration agencies must take positive steps to teach cadres, party members and personnel to display a high spirit of serving the people, display a correct consciousness and attitude toward the people, love, be close to, respect and revere the people. They must establish a program for receiving the people and acting upon the complaints and the legitimate requests and aspirations of the people. Harsh and appropriate punishment must be meted out in cases of suppressing and intimidating the masses. The mass organizations, particularly the Trade Union, the Youth Union and the Women's Union, must adopt new themes and new methods of operation, must become deeply involved in educating, training and encouraging the masses to exercise their right of collective ownership by actively participating in building the party, building the administration and participating in political and social activities with the full sense of responsibility of a master.

One matter of utmost importance is the need to urgently purify the ranks of the party and stop the decline and degeneration in the personal qualities and way of life of cadres and party members. The ethical qualities and way of life of cadres and party members have a decisive impact upon the prestige and honor of the party and a direct impact upon the ties between the party and the masses. The masses frequently view and evaluate the party through the qualities, behavior and way of life of cadres and party members. That there has been a decline in the confidence of the masses in the party does not mean

that their confidence in the ideals and cause of the party has declined but that their confidence has declined in corrupt and immoral cadres and party members, in party organizations that are in a shambles and no longer possess fighting strength.

In recent years, the decline in qualities, the degeneration and the corruption among cadres and party members have been increasing and becoming increasingly serious. The cases of disciplinary action recently made public in the press also reflect this. More than a few party members joined the party not to struggle and make sacrifices for the ideals of the people, for the happiness of the people, but to seek personal fame and wealth. A number of persons are not only failing to set a good example for the masses, but are also setting bad examples. Some unorganized and undisciplined persons have established factions, flatter superiors, impede the masses and the lower level, practice opportunism and pragmatism and have caused a loss of internal unity.

Many persons whose jobs are directly related to material, goods and money have abused their authority and taken advantage of the conditions under which they work in order to engage in misappropriation and black marketing, steal public property, take bribes and conspire with dishonest merchants and bourgeoisie in order to get rich. Serious is the fact that more than a few cadres and party members, including some high ranking cadres and veteran party members, seduced by material desires, are also chasing after fame and fortune and living a selfish, licentious and liberal life. Some elements, having become completely deviant, live an extravagant and decadent life like new bourgeoisie, new village bullies and retain nothing whatsoever of their qualifications to be party members. Large number of cadres and party members and the masses are genuinely very upset by these phenomena and are worried about the erosion of the class character and fine tradition of the party.

Squarely facing the truth, the 6th Congress of the Party decided to launch in the months ahead a campaign to purify the party, overcome the corruption within the state apparatus and make inroads against the negative phenomena in society. A plenum of the Party Central Committee will be devoted solely to the matter of building the party. The congress stressed that improving the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members and struggling against negative phenomena within the party are urgent requirements and the primary task in the ideological work of the party. On the occasion of this year's celebration of the founding of the party (3 February), the Party Secretariat is requiring that we do a good job of improving the qualities of cadres and party members through education, considering this to be a vital part of party activities. Party committees must take truly determined and positive measures to educate, train and closely manage cadres and party members, struggle to stop the degeneration and corruption among cadres and party members, strengthen the discipline of the party, expel deviant elements from the party and purify the party's ranks. Only in this way can we win back the confidence of the masses in the party and strengthen the ties between the party and the masses.

Now, more than ever before, we must deeply appreciate and strictly implement the great thinking of Uncle Ho: "Every party member and every cadre, from the top to the bottom, must understand that he or she joined the party to be the

servant of the people...to be the servant of the people, not a people's 'official'."(6)

At the 6th Congress of the Party, General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh said: "The laboring people of our country, our nation of Vietnam, are very rich in revolutionary zeal, bravery, intelligence and creativity. Our people will surely greet the resolution of the congress with joy, turn it into revolutionary actions and make every effort to achieve practical results in each field of life."(7) Ours being the responsibility and conscience of the communist, we will make every effort to forge and improve our revolutionary ethics, combat individualism, maintain close ties with the masses, lead and organize the masses in the struggle to successfully implement the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, lead our country's cause of revolution beyond each difficulty and continue its advance.

FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8-1986, p 2.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 426.
3. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 211.
4. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, pp 22 and 79.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Volume 25, p 225.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 223.
7. Nguyen Van Linh: "Dien van khai mac Dai hoi VI cua Dang,"[Speech Opening the 6th Congress of the Party].

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SOME THOUGHTS ON ADOPTING A NEW APPROACH TO ORGANIZATIONAL WORK AND CADRE WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 61-66

[Article by Vo Tu Thanh]

[Text] Adopting a new approach is an objective requirement, a necessary trend of the times. It is also a pressing requirement, a matter of survival to the revolutionary cause of our party and our people. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Party Congress stated: "To increase its fighting strength and improve its practical organizational skills, the party must take a new approach in many areas: adopt new thinking, most importantly economic thinking; adopt a new approach to organizational work; revamp the corps of cadres; and adopt a new style of leadership and work."⁽¹⁾

In this whole effort to adopt a new approach, adopting a new approach to organizational work and cadre work is a very important factor, is a factor that will determine the success or failure of this effort.

In recent years, major achievements have been recorded in our organizational work and cadre work, achievements that have made important contributions to the victories won in socialist construction in our country. However, there is still a rather wide gap between these achievements and the enormous requirements of the revolution. We recognize the tremendous importance and the decisive role of organizational work and cadre work in improving the practical organizational skills of the party and in the leadership provided by the party. However, these correct realizations are not fully appreciated nor are they being reflected in practical actions at all times and places. For example, we recognize the need to gradually build a scientific-rational and dynamic economic management and social management organizational apparatus. However, at some times and places, we have established a cumbersome and very ineffective management apparatus consisting of many different levels and echelons.

In cadre work, the application of standards on personal qualities and abilities, the coordination between succession in the ranks of cadres and the introduction of new cadres, the coordination between the selection and assignment of local cadres and bringing in cadres from elsewhere, the training, assignment and utilization of cadres...have not been marked by consistency between thinking and actions at all times and places. There have

been many cases in which cadre work has not been carried out in exact accordance with the views and requirements of the party. For example, we say that cadres are being transferred to strengthen a place where the movement is weak, a place where difficulties are being experienced or important zones of the country but then do not implement appropriate procedures and policies. And, when these procedures and policies are implemented, it is usually done half-way, less than thoroughly or in a counter-productive manner. While we say that cadres can rise to a higher position or go to a lower position, in practice, they usually only move upward or horizontally, rarely downward. While we say that cadres must be selected and assigned on the basis of the principle of matching the person to the job, when this principle is implemented different practices are indulged. Cadres are assigned on the basis of acquaintanceships, relations with colleagues or "factions."

Organizational agencies and the cadres who perform organizational work are the staffs of party committees in the area of the policies and measures for performing organizational work and cadre work and in the area of inspecting this work. However, more than a few organizational agencies and cadres engaged in organizational work do not have a correct understanding of their function, their task or the scope of their responsibility. As a result, they often fail to fulfill their function or far exceed their authority.

The above mentioned mistakes and shortcomings in organizational work and cadre work have not only limited our strengths and overall achievements, even caused major harm in other areas of work, but have also caused a number of elements of organizational work and cadre work to stagnate and become backward. The organizational and management standards and skills of the corps of cadres and party members are still weak. There is a rather large gap between these standards and skills and new requirements and tasks. More than a few cadres and party members are not fulfilling their role in developing and concretizing the lines and policies of the party, most importantly in implementing the lines and policies of the party. Those who perform organizational work and cadre work must bear a major portion of the responsibility for the mistakes of "infantile leftism" and voluntarism, of going against objective laws, being subjective and impetuous, skipping stages and being conservative and stagnant, along with the many ugly phenomena regarding the qualities and ethics of cadres and party members that we have seen in recent years.

The above situation exists mainly because organizational work and cadre work are very difficult and complex fields when the party is in power. The difficulty and complexity of the work performed in these fields have been further increased by the fact that we must build socialism in a country in which small-scale production predominates, a country that has known the serious consequences of many bitter and long wars of aggression. However, from a subjective standpoint, one important cause of this situation is the stagnation and the slowness with which changes have been made in organizational work and cadre work. These fields demand that we always be dynamic, creative and alert so that what we do is consistent with the demands of life, of the times. We must look ahead not just to the next stage, but to many subsequent stages so that we can take the initiative in helping to lay

the groundwork and establish the conditions needed to stimulate the advance of the entire apparatus of the new system. However, in recent years, we have not displayed this necessary dynamism.

In the socialist revolution and in socialist construction, people, in general, and cadres, in particular, are the most important forces of society, are the primary value of society. People are not only the means, but also the objective of social progress. Under the leadership of a party in power, the vanguard role of communists, of cadres must be manifested in specific jobs and specific job positions. In this age of rapid scientific and technological development, it is not possible to have a ready force of many cadres who are skilled in every field and can be assigned anywhere, particularly to leadership and management positions within the different specialized fields. Rather, just the opposite is the case. In recent years, we have not been aware of this fact, have not acted accordingly and, in more than a few cases, have even done the opposite. As a result, we have created additional difficulties and confusion in the performance of tasks and have not created a highly specialized, competent and well coordinated forces of cadres and managers.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Party Congress pointed out that revamping the corps of cadres and strengthening the leadership and management agencies on the various levels are a very urgent requirement in revamping the leadership of our party. "Revamping the corps of leadership cadres on the various levels is the most important element that our party must control in order to stimulate the revolutionary reforms."(2)

To revamp the corps of cadres, we must have a correct concept of the cadre and cadre work.

A good cadre--as the essence of this title implies--must be a person who embodies a dialectical unity between personal qualities and abilities, between what he says and what he does, between what he knows and how he acts. He must possess good political and ethical qualities and be well versed in his profession, considering these to be matters of principle. He must speak the truth and speak correctly in accordance with the lines and positions of the party. He must speak the truth and speak correctly regarding the situation, particularly when encountering difficulties, mistakes and shortcomings. He must not be evasive, not deceive his superiors or lie to subordinates. At the same time, he must express his consciousness as a master in practical revolutionary actions. That is, he must do what must be done, must fulfill his responsibilities and obligations. Every cadre in every job position must maintain close contact with the basic unit, keep abreast of practice, maintain close ties with the masses and be dynamic and creative in his work in order to help improve the situation and make the lines and positions of the party reality. Here, organizational work plays an especially important role. We must assign the cadre to the correct job, to a necessary job, one consistent with his qualities and skills. At the same time, we must create the conditions needed for the cadre to see that he is truly the master of the work of which he is in charge so that, on this basis, he utilizes his capabilities and strengths to the greatest possible degree and makes the best possible contributions to the cause of the revolution.

In every job position, the cadre must also fulfill the personal responsibility assigned to him. He must make the greatest possible effort to fulfill this responsibility and do so with a sense of self-consciousness. He must recognize that the first standards in evaluating the contribution made by each person to the common cause are whether or not he fulfills his personal responsibility, whether the results of his work are high or low. With our country experiencing as many difficulties as it is today, every cadre, particularly key cadres, must place greater demands upon himself. At the same time, he must collaborate closely with others and be under the control of the collective, of the organization. No cadre is permitted to place himself outside the collective, above the organization or outside the control and supervision of the organization and the masses. Practically all degenerate and deviant cadres against whom action has been taken in the recent past were discovered and denounced by the masses and party members, not by the party organization. This is further evidence of the weakness and ineffectiveness of the organizational mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and clearly shows us the enormous harm caused by the lack of strict regulations that compel the cadre--regardless of his job position--to bind himself to the organization, place himself under the control of the organization and put a stop to the phenomena of ugly "protective umbrellas," of contempt for the law and disregard for justice, of not maintaining social order or strictly complying with the discipline of the party.

In organizational work and cadre work, appropriate praise and awards and strict but fair and timely penalties are exceedingly important. If individuals and organizations perform good work and should be praised and rewarded but are ignored or not given appropriate praise and awards and if individuals and organizations that should be disciplined are overlooked, treated leniently or, ironically, even given praise and awards or promoted, it is clear that the discipline of the party and laws of the state are no longer effective. When this happens, how can the confidence of the masses be retained?

Recently, as we have addressed the problems of succession, of old versus young cadres, of veteran versus new cadres, of selecting cadres locally versus bringing in cadres from other places, of experience versus education, of the structure of the corps versus qualifications...and the issues of dismantling the old organization and establishing the new, of separating or merging organizations and so forth, there are numerous viewpoints and concepts that have still not been made clear, there is still a lack of consistency. Many cases are still decided in a manner very much suited to convenience, a manner marked by indulgence and deference. Instead of matching the person to the job and the organization, the job and the organization are made to suit the person. This has affected the selection, assignment and utilization of cadres to more than a small degree. We have yet to fully base what we do on the objective and scientific requirements of organizational work and do not fully recognize the obvious truths that only strong persons make a strong organization, that we must have good persons to have a good organization. And, the strength of persons lies in the organization. The organization creates a new strength, one qualitatively different than the combined strength of its individual persons, etc. For this reason, although more than a few cadres have been selected and trained, the number of persons truly working is

not large. Competent persons who want to truly perform a job are not assigned or utilized correctly. When it is necessary to select persons for key leadership positions or to replace incompetent persons, more than a few difficulties are encountered. Efforts to streamline the apparatus, reduce the size of the staff, restructure the organization and improve the efficiency and quality of work generally stop at issuing a directive or a general appeal, which are not strictly implemented or thoroughly carried out. The results are that the cumbersome and ineffective organizational apparatus continues to grow; the number of cadres "sitting around doing nothing" or "general specialists" continues to increase; and, the desired productivity, quality and efficiency are not being achieved in production and work. If we truly want to take a new approach to cadre work, we must realize what all the requirements of a cadre in the current stage of the revolution are. At the same time, we must be determined to put a stop to the above mentioned "explosion" in the growth of the apparatus.

Throughout the several decades of tenacious struggle in the national democratic revolution, our party not only followed a correct line, but was also skilled in organizational work. Our organizational work during that stage of the revolution reached a high level of development. The organized corps of cadres included many intellectuals and possessed broad, creative experience. As a result, it contributed to great victories. However, when the revolution entered the new stage, the stage in which the most important and difficult tasks are organizing and managing society and managing production, we did not promptly make changes in organizational work or the corps of persons performing organizational work. Consequently, we have encountered more than a few difficulties, experienced considerable confusion and even made serious mistakes.

In the face of the critical need to adopt a new approach, we must rapidly take a new approach to organizational work, to the cadres and persons who perform organizational and cadre work.

To begin with, we must have a correct appreciation of the importance and the scientific nature of organizational and cadre work. We must consider organizational work not only a science but also an art: the science and art of managing and organizing society; the science and art of researching, managing and utilizing people.

Organizational and cadre work must make important contributions in building an economic management apparatus and a social management apparatus that are truly scientific, rational and dynamic. They must contribute to the training of a corps of cadres who possess all the personal qualities and abilities needed to insure that the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages" is implemented in practice, thereby making worthy contributions in constantly enhancing the qualities and abilities of a party in power and helping to successfully organize the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress.

Under the conditions that exist today, with real socialism in the world developing in depth with all the breadth and complexity this entails; with the human factor being considered the basic strategy of a party in power; with the

scientific-technological revolution developing at an extraordinary rate and on an unprecedented scale; and with economic relations and economic cooperation being expanded in a wide variety of ways, organizational work, cadre work and the corps of persons who perform organizational and cadre work should not be limited to daily routine and purely administrative work, but must broaden their vision and fully recognize the objective requirements mentioned above in order to establish the scientific basis needed to boldly take a new approach to their work.

Together with adopting a new outlook, we must also revamp the corps of cadres who perform organizational work and adopt new methods and a new style of organizational work. This field demands that we have cadres who, besides possessing such political qualities as a stable and steadfast class stand, a clear political background, pure personal qualities, experience in party work and experience as a party committee member, also possess necessary knowledge in many fields, particularly knowledge of the science of organizing and managing society, the science of managing production, scientific knowledge about man, about managing and utilizing people. At the same time, they must possess the work style of persons who perform political work and scientific work: thoroughness, practicality, thorough knowledge of cadres and strict standards, standards that are sometimes more strict than those that apply to a number of other jobs because this is the field of studying, managing and utilizing people, the revolution's most precious asset. More than anyone else, the persons who perform organizational work cannot "look backward and employ the methods of yesterday."⁽³⁾ They must possess pure revolutionary qualities, possess a sense of justice, be objective and be filled with communist humanism and altruism. If they do not meet these standards, do not possess this knowledge and style, it is impossible to restructure the organization, restructure the apparatus or select and assign cadres in keeping with the requirements of taking a new approach.

Adopting a new approach concerning the cadres who perform organizational work is not simply a matter of augmenting this field with new cadres, but also includes selecting and utilizing organizational cadres who, although trained in past stages of the revolution, are still making an impact and moving ahead to embrace the new, thus making positive contributions to the adoption of a new approach in the country and in their own work. However, the important and urgent task is to make every effort to quickly train a corps of organizational cadres who fully possess the personal qualities, abilities and work style required to meet the new and ever higher demands of the tasks of the revolution. K. Marx observed: "Society makes man, man makes society."⁽⁴⁾ Therefore, if we do not rapidly train a corps of organizational cadres who meet the requirements cited above, the new approach being adopted, in general, and the new approach to organizational work and cadre work, in particular, will be difficult to implement in practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987.
2. Ibid.

3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 398.
4. Marx-Engels: "Collected Works," Russian version, Volume 42, p 118.

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ON BUILDING A RATIONAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 67-71

[Article by Tran Thanh]

[Text] During the past 10 years, our people, under the leadership of the party and overcoming towering difficulties, have recorded important achievements in socialist construction. We have made every effort to restore the economy, heal the wounds of the war, develop production and expand construction. The rise in agricultural and industrial output has made an important contribution to supporting domestic consumption.

However, the achievements and progress of recent years have not changed the socio-economic face of our country, have not created a stable situation or put us on the momentum of development because the socio-economic targets set by the 5th Party Congress have not been met.

The structure of the economy remains virtually as it was, crippled and old. The lack of balance among the factors of production and between the various sectors and fields is still very acute. Appropriate investments have not been made in agriculture, even though it is the front of foremost importance, consequently, agriculture is not diversified, does not provide a full supply of grain to society or raw materials to industry, particularly the consumer goods industry, and is not meeting the needs of production and everyday life.

As regards material-technical bases, although more than a few factors of large-scale production exist, they are not universal or well coordinated. From the standpoint of the management organization and final returns, the economy is still in a state of small-scale production. The new production relations have been formed but not strengthened and perfected. Production forces have not been appropriately developed. Very few economic units have all the conditions they need to operate on a stable basis, develop all their potentials and truly be efficient. Many laborers currently do not have a job or sufficient work and 50 percent of machine capacity is not being used. Our country's economy is in an abnormal state.

The weak economic situation described above stems from basic, underlying causes and is the consequence of shortcomings on our part in leading and managing the economy. We have had to pay a high price for not correctly

assessing the state of our country's economy, not establishing a correct economic structure and not selecting correct targets in order to proceed in a manner consistent with actual conditions and capabilities in the initial stage of the period of transition in our country.

The building of a rational economic structure must be based on the unified nature of the socialist economy, on the binding relationships and reciprocal impact among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In the dialectical relationship between the two sectors of social production, the development of sector I, of course, plays the decisive role in the development of sector II. However, against the historic background of a country that is advancing from small-scale production, the impact of sector II from the standpoints of the accumulation of capital and the standard of living is of special importance in the process of social reproduction in our country today. A rational economic structure defines the internal relationship between industry and agriculture, the most basic relationship of the national economy. The experience gained in the process of building the socialist economy shows that wherever agriculture is closely combined with light industry and heavy industry, the economy develops in a balanced and smooth manner. Conversely, wherever the activities of these three sectors are separated, all three sectors encounter difficulties in the process of social reproduction.

Our starting point--small-scale production, from which we are advancing directly to socialism--has given the process of transforming and building our country's economy unique features compared to the fraternal socialist countries. They are the peculiarities and difficulties which demand that we take the initiative, be creative and correctly define rational stages of development in industrialization in our country in the initial stage of the period of transition.

For more than 10 years, we have not recognized all the difficulties and complex problems involved in transforming and developing the socio-economic system. Some things that should and could have been done have not been given appropriate attention nor have drastic measures been taken to carry them out. Conversely, many tasks and targets that have been set have been far too large in scale and exceed our practical capabilities. Arranging the structure of the economy, the structure of production and the structure of investments incorrectly has caused us to encounter major difficulties. While we want to move ahead quickly, we have actually been going around in circles, wasting time and making the initial stage longer.

We have committed mistakes in the formulation of plans and set norms that are too large in scale, too high in terms of the rate of capital construction and the rate of economic development. We have leaned too heavily toward the construction of heavy industry and wanted to quickly build many large projects. Meanwhile, we have not concentrated on developing agriculture and light industry. We have not attached appropriate importance to reorganizing industrial production. We have not encouraged or guided the development of small industry and the handicraft trades in the correct direction. We have not appropriately strengthened the infrastructure of the economy, particularly the communications-transportation sector. Thus, we have made large-scale investments but received very low economic returns, production has developed

slowly, the laboring people have encountered many difficulties in their everyday lives and the socio-economic situation is unstable.

In 1982, the 5th Congress of the Party made clear our shortcomings and recharted the course of industrialization as restructuring and developing production and reorganizing capital construction in a manner consistent with actual capabilities with the aims of stabilizing the socio-economic situation, stabilizing the standard of living and creating the conditions needed to accelerate the construction of material-technical bases. However, during the past 5 years, as a result of not correcting the shortcoming of being subjective and impetuous and the shortcoming of conservatism and inertia, basic industrial units still have not been restructured, capital construction has not been reorganized and the construction of projects that are neither pressing nor economically efficient has still not been postponed. In construction, particularly industrial construction, decentralization and the lack of coordination continue. The various sectors and the localities are opening too many construction projects, thereby decentralizing and fragmenting sources of capital and materials and making it impossible to make full and effective use of capital and materials to meet pressing targets in the development of agriculture and the consumer goods industry. These are the immediate causes of the current unstable socio-economic situation.

Having analyzed the achievements and the unstable aspects of our country's economy today, we see that even the structure of each sector and each area of the country is incompatible with the specific characteristics of this initial stage. Shortcomings in arranging the specific structure and organizing management within each sector have reduced the productivity, quality and efficiency of sectors and made it impossible to meet many of the needs of industry, agriculture and the other sectors well or to develop the strengths and capabilities of sectors.

In agriculture, our major weakness has been the slowness with which we have developed a diversified agriculture that is well suited to the land, climatic and weather conditions of each area. We have failed to closely combine agriculture, forestry and fishing with the processing industry. We lack flexible policies and measures, consequently, we have not strongly developed the production of industrial crops, livestock production, the forest industry and the fishing industry. Centralized areas producing a large output of commodities have not been formed. Land-use planning and the zoning of production areas have been carried out slowly. The returns from the clearing of land for the construction of new economic zones, from afforestation and the harvesting of forest products and marine products are low.

In industry, we have not established reasonable tasks and targets or the specific structure of each industrial sector within 5-year plans, particularly the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan. Plans for the construction of projects have not been consistent with investment capabilities nor balanced with the infrastructure and production conditions. Light attention has been given to making investments in intensive development. No attention has been given to making investments in modifying and expanding existing installation. Light

attention has been given to medium-scale and small-scale units. Construction schedules and sites have not been carefully considered in order to achieve the highest possible economic efficiency.

The above mentioned shortcomings have led to a lack of capital and an inability to make all the investments that need to be made. As a result, the construction of many large projects has had to be postponed even though contracts have been signed with foreign countries. The construction time of dozens of projects has been extended. The number of unfinished construction projects is still very large. Some construction projects that have been completed cannot be used at full capacity or lack the conditions needed to operate well.

If we continue on this momentum and allow factories to limp along, allow capital to be tied up for far too long in projects that are taking a long time to build and are inefficient, we will surely be unable to meet the socio-economic targets that have been set. This situation demands that we take determined steps to rectify these shortcomings in order to move ahead.

In the next 5 years, we must be determined to make major adjustments to the plans for structuring the economy, structuring production and structuring investments, which must be done in a rational manner.

These adjustments must take the direction of truly considering agriculture the front of foremost importance. This must be fully reflected in the specific rate at which investments are made in agriculture in order to promptly resolve such problems as water conservancy, fertilizer and pesticides. We must promulgate procurement, price, credit and other policies that stimulate the development of production and improve the living condition of farmers. We must truly provide incentive for farmers to produce by means of economic leverage policies. At the same time, necessary consumer goods must be promptly supplied to farmers.

The development of agricultural production must mainly be achieved by promoting intensive cultivation and multicropping while expanding the amount of area under cultivation in a steady and effective manner and establishing a sensible allocation of grain, industrial and livestock crops. Importance must be attached to successfully resolving the grain and food problem for all society. If these shortages are allowed to persist, we will encounter difficulties in the process of social production and reproduction. To increase the output of grain, food products and other agricultural products so that we have enough to support all society and are able to supply raw materials to industry and provide some for exportation, it is important that we take effective measures to raise labor productivity and the yields of crops, livestock and so forth within agriculture. When agricultural yields rise, the products produced will not only be enough to fully support the agricultural population, but also to support the population in non-agricultural areas and throughout society. To accomplish this, we must promptly apply achievements of science and technology in agriculture with the aim of recording high yields in crop and livestock production.

While developing agriculture, we must also make every effort to develop light industry, which includes the consumer goods industry and the agricultural and food product processing industry, to create large sources of export goods, provide additional jobs and gradually carry out the formation of capital from within the national economy.

We must accelerate the development of the production of such consumer goods as cloth, paper, sugar, medicine, etc. We must expand the processing of subsidiary food crops and marine products and create sources of daily essentials for the people. We must absorb much labor in the production of consumer goods. We must reorganize and develop small industry and the handicraft trades in the cities and towns and the trade sector in the countryside, make full use of local sources of raw materials and building materials and create many products for society.

As regards heavy industry, it is necessary to select both a scale and rate of construction that produce rapid returns with a view toward capably supporting the need to develop agriculture, light industry and export activities. Efforts must be focused on developing such sectors as the power sector, the coal sector, the phosphate fertilizer sector and so forth. This development must be carried out in an active manner on an appropriate scale and utilizing appropriate technology. We must build both thermoelectric and hydroelectric power plants, with attention given to developing small-scale hydroelectric power plants, particularly in those areas not served by the national power network. We must build and upgrade power lines and transformer stations and coordinate them with power sources. We must formulate a program for the well coordinated development of the coal sector, with appropriate importance attached to economic factors, technical factors and the organization of management in order to increase coal output in a stable manner. We must promptly correct the lack of coordination among elements of the production lines at mines. We must step up the mining of local coal and improve the quality of coal. To support agricultural production, it is necessary to rapidly develop the production of phosphate fertilizer and necessary to upgrade and expand existing chemical fertilizer plants. Products that cannot be produced domestically must be obtained as imports by exporting other products.

A rational economic structure must be supported by a well coordinated communications-transportation system and signal-liaison system. It is necessary to develop the infrastructure and the services necessary to support economic development.

Importance must be attached to making investments in science and technology and accelerating the application of scientific and technical advances in production to stimulate socio-economic development. Scientific-technical research and the application of science and technology must focus on biology, biotechnology and chemistry in support of the production and processing of grain and food products; on advanced technologies and technical solutions designed to save energy and materials, replace imported raw materials and improve product quality and economic efficiency; and on the sciences of economics and economic management in support of the formulation of socio-economic strategy and the new management system. At the same time,

preparations must be made in every area for accelerating industrialization in the next stage. On the basis of adjusting the structure of the economy, we must concentrate our forces, most importantly our capital and materials, in order to carry out the three goal-oriented programs regarding grain-food products, consumer goods and export goods. These three programs chart the course for the establishment of a rational economic structure. They reflect the relationship between industry and agriculture within the national economy and are also a part of industrialization in the initial stage of the period of transition in our country.

In arranging the structure of the economy and the structure of investments, it is necessary to thoroughly adhere to the following several important positions:

First, we must be determined to restructure basic economic and cultural units, most importantly basic industrial and agricultural production units of both the central and local levels.

As regards basic production and business units that will not acquire the conditions needed to operate efficiently in the next 5 years, determined efforts must be made to shift the focus of their production or business, narrow the scope of their production or close their doors entirely. We must concentrate on providing a full supply of energy, raw materials and supplies to those basic units that produce the important products of the national economy. Priority in the use of capital must be given to making investments in intensive development in these basic units with a view toward fully utilizing their production capacity and improving their product quality and economic efficiency.

Secondly, we must use the capital we have to complete necessary projects now under construction so that they can quickly begin yielding returns with the aims of supporting the development of agriculture, the consumer goods industry and the production of exports and meeting selected targets. We should reduce the rate of construction or suspend the construction of projects which are not truly necessary or which we will be unable to use efficiently once they have been completed. Investments in the construction of new projects must comply with established guidelines and targets. New construction within the various sectors, particularly industry, must be sensible in scale, involve appropriate technology and be carried out rapidly so that each project can be promptly put into production in order to begin yielding practical returns.

Thirdly, we must abandon the old way of doing things and decide each project on its merits instead of from the perspective of the overall 5-year plan. We must comply with construction standards and approve the construction of projects on the basis of economic-technical argumentation.

Shifting the focus of and adjusting the structure of the economy are very difficult matters which demand that we adopt a new way of thinking and working consistent with the requirements of economic development and with the conditions and circumstances of our country today. We must be determined to

combat conservatism and inertia, dare to admit that previous decisions were wrong and correct them and bravely deal with the complex problems that arise in this process of change and adjustment.

We must have a thorough understanding of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress with regard to shifting the focus of efforts to build the structure of the economy. All sectors and levels must take the initiative in reorganizing production and investments within their sector and locality and join with the central level in reorganizing the structure of the economy nationwide in order to overcome each difficulty being faced, stabilize the socio-economic situation and create the conditions for accelerating socialist industrialization in the next stage.

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SOME INITIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT MECHANISM IN THANH HOA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 72-75, 83

[Article by Nguyen Huu Phung]

[Text] The 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee decided to "completely dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and correctly implement democratic centralism, economic accounting and socialist business practices."

Thanh Hoa began the implementation of this resolution at basic economic units at an early date. The various levels of the party and administration, the socio-economic management sectors and the mass organizations have changed the focus of their activities toward maintaining close contact with basic units and knowing the requirements and aspirations of basic units and laborers. They have adopted policies and measures designed to remove obstacles and gradually revamp the management mechanism with a view toward achieving the targets of higher productivity, higher quality and higher efficiency.

Under the Political Bureau resolution (draft) on guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units, Thanh Hoa has further accelerated this change.

To begin with, Thanh Hoa has attached importance to planning--the central element of economic management. The provincial party committee secretary personally reported to the key cadres and the cadres directly responsible for planning within the province on the objectives, requirements, specifics and methods involved in taking a new approach to planning and the matters with which they must concern themselves when formulating plans. The province, districts and basic units have revised their master plans, adjusted and augmented their economic structure and set specific production guidelines. As of July 1986, practically all districts and cities had completed (and had approved by the province) their master plans for the development of production and their socio-economic and national defense-security targets for the years from 1986 to 1990. This also laid the groundwork for the district and provincial party organization congresses to set the political task.

Many state-operated enterprises and agricultural, forestry, fishing, small industry and handicraft cooperatives have re-examined, augmented and

established production guidelines and plan targets and norms that are relatively consistent with their capabilities and creative in nature. The salient feature of planning today is that the broad masses participate in the formulation of plans. Plans are formulated from the basic level upward. On the basis of economic information, economic contracts, the guidance received from the upper level and their own capabilities and potentials, production and business units formulate their plans and present them to the masses to be discussed. A serious effort is made to survey the opinions of households skilled in production, of skilled manual workers and of highly experienced management cadres and scientific and technical cadres. On this basis, units calculated and established sound balances and established the norms for their 1986 plans. These were combined to form the 1986 socio-economic development plan of the province. This plan received a high degree of support at the conference of the provincial Party Organization Executive Committee and the provincial People's Council.

The economic thinking and the approach to economic work of the cadres within the province have changed and are more dynamic. Many good models have emerged. Some agricultural cooperatives have shifted subsidiary food crop production to the winter, established high yield rice growing areas, promoted intensive cultivation on all their farmland and put much land under the cultivation of such annual industrial crops as peanuts, jute, tobacco and so forth with the aim of increasing the sources of export goods.

State-operated enterprises, small industry and handicraft cooperatives and fishing cooperatives have restructured their production, improved their technology, invested in machinery and tools and rapidly applied technical advances in production. As a result, they have begun to develop production and are now achieving higher economic efficiency. Within the household economy, such trades as the processing of subsidiary food crops, the production of jute, rush, rattan and bamboo products, the production of woven goods for exportation and so forth have been restored. The household economy now accounts for a rather higher percentage of the overall economy.

As a result of adopting a new approach to planning, Thanh Hoa has begun to resolve a number of problems in production and business and stimulate the development of the economy.

Positive changes have occurred in the supplying of materials and the marketing of products. At present, we are encountering the same difficulties as other places: materials for production are not being supplied in adequate quantities, not being supplied in the right quality or types, not being supplied on time or to the correct destination. To overcome some of these difficulties, Thanh Hoa has adopted a number of effective policies and measures. In conjunction with receiving materials from the state, Thanh Hoa has stepped up the effort to expand the development of sources of supplies and raw materials within the province and is trading products with other localities through exports in order to import supplies. As a result, during the past several years, the province has obtained tens of thousands of additional tons of nitrogen fertilizer, phosphate and coal and hundreds of

thousands of additional tons of raw materials, grain and goods, thus providing significant supplemental sources to support the operation of basic production and business units.

On the other hand, the province has promulgated a number of policies that provide incentive for the districts, sectors and basic production units to develop local sources of supplies and raw materials and scarce materials in order to meet their needs on their own. As a result of good incentive policies, Thieu Yen District has, on its own, constructed more than 40 low voltage power stations, thereby solving its problems of drought and waterlogging and creating the conditions for the district economy, most importantly agriculture, to develop in a diversified manner. Many districts have achieved self-sufficiency in the development of communications and the construction of bridges, sluices and other material bases. Many state-operated enterprises and production cooperatives have obtained on their own 30 to 40 percent of the supplies and raw materials not supplied by the province. Recently, a new approach worthy of encouragement has emerged: the pooling of capital and materials by a number of localities, units or families to build projects or develop product production to the benefit of all parties participating.

The procurement and delivery of products have also been improved. Through two-way economic contracts, the state provides producers with materials in advance and collects products when the harvest season arrives or at the end of the production cycle. The sale of products of the people and basic units to the state or to other basic units for use as raw materials in production has been efficiently reorganized so that products are not sent through many different intermediaries, thus causing inconvenience and waste.

However, there is still imbalance between the need for materials for production and the limited supply capabilities of the provincial, district and basic levels. The prices of goods are still changing and do not correctly reflect production costs. As a result, an artificial and unreasonable difference in income has formed among production and business units and the conditions needed to correctly evaluate the productivity and efficiency of economic units are lacking. These problems are the main causes of the stagnation and inertia in the economy today.

Financial autonomy is a pressing and legitimate demand of basic economic units. In recent years, Thanh Hoa has attached importance to balancing the budget on the provincial, district and basic levels. Today, as a result of appropriate and timely incentive policies, many districts and basic units have significant financial and grain reserves, which have helped to stabilize the living conditions of the people in times of natural disasters and helped to develop production.

Since the issuance of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, many basic production and business units have boldly provided incentive for cooperative members, cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the people to pool their capital in many different ways, such as making loans at appropriate interest rates, taking out shares, etc. As a result, many marketing cooperatives have increased their business capital,

many agricultural cooperatives have capital with which to stockpile supplies before the season starts and many fishing cooperatives have capital with which to purchase boats and fishing equipment. Additional capital has even been provided for some capital construction projects in a number of districts, thereby increasing the rate of construction.

In the 2 years 1984 and 1985, the total amount of capital invested in capital construction by Thieu Yen, Tho Xuan, Nong Cong and Nga Son Districts was structured as follows: 17 percent from the provincial budget, 21 percent from bank loans, 2 percent from the district budget and 60 percent contributed by cooperatives and the people.

Initial results show that if we refine economic leverage policies and promulgate new ones in order to provide appropriate incentive and support these policies with laws, we will surely be able to encourage the people to contribute capital with which to expand production and business. This is a realistic possibility, is an enormous potential that can be developed in order to bring about a turning point in our efforts to balance the budget and broaden the financial autonomy of basic economic units.

The biggest obstacles we face today are the decline in the purchasing power of the dong and the slowness with which the operating mechanism of the bank is being improved. When basic production units need capital to buy supplies and raw materials for production, when commerce units need money to make procurements and control goods, money is still not available. By the time money is available, the season has passed. This problem has created many difficulties in production and business and has reduced the confidence of the people and basic units.

Some budget revenue policies are unstable and inconsistently applied, being "broadly interpreted at one place, narrowly interpreted at another." This has caused producers and production units to think twice, even to not dare report their actual income. This problem must be corrected at an early date. These policies must be amended and stabilized for a relatively long period.

Thanh Hoa also has many untapped potentials, particularly in the mineral rich midland and mountain districts. With assistance in the form of appropriate investments by the central level, Thanh Hoa's economy could acquire on its own the capital needed to expand important roads, develop mineral resources on a large scale, harness major rivers, build seaports, etc.

Labor is both a tremendous potential and a source of "pressure" upon society. It poses a problem which all levels and sectors must participate in solving. The natural distribution of labor that exists now among the different areas and economic sectors of Thanh Hoa Province is uneven. At a time when the midlands and mountains are sparsely populated and lack labor, lowland and coastal areas, especially the cities, have very much unemployed labor. Within state-operated enterprises, the percentage of indirect labor is high and many direct production laborers have not been trained or have been assigned to trades other than those for which they were trained. The various enterprises,

sectors and localities of the province have been and are restructuring production and opening many more trades in order to provide jobs to surplus labor and provide jobs for a number of other laborers in society.

Together with sending persons to build new economic zones outside the province, Thanh Hoa is continuing to send citizens to build new economic zones in the province's mountain districts, is expanding the harvesting and processing of agricultural, forest and marine products, expanding the services and so forth. However, because a number of policies concerning persons who go to build new economic zones have been revised and amended slowly and do not truly provide incentive, because political and ideological education has not been thorough, because the guidance provided by the various levels and sectors has not been close guidance and because some needs of production have not been met, the results achieved from our efforts to redistribute and utilize labor have been low.

The rise in the prices of daily essentials and the decline in the real wage have caused cadres, manual workers and civil servants who live mainly on their wages to encounter many difficulties in their daily lives. Wages are not serving the functions of carrying out distribution in accordance with labor and encouraging higher labor productivity.

Increasing our ability to apply scientific and technical advances at basic units and rapidly introducing scientific and technical advances in production is a matter of very basic and pressing importance. Many basic units and localities within the province became aware of this need at an early date and have taken steps in this direction. For many years now, with the assistance of the sectors on the central level and the assistance of scientists, the application of scientific and technical advances in a number of fields has been producing good results. In agriculture, we have established a rational allocation of crops, one well suited to the soil conditions of each area, one which produces high yields. Many cooperatives, such as Xuan Thanh in Tho Xuan District, Tien Nong in Trieu Son, Te Loi in Nong Cong District, Hoang Quy in Hoang Hoa District and Trieu Duong in Dong Son District, have established high yield rice fields and rice growing areas, as a result of which rice yields have soared from an average of 4 tons per hectare per season to 6-7 tons per hectare per season, even 8-9 tons per hectare per season at one place. VM1 hybrid corn is yielding 3-4 tons per season at Cam Van and Cam Binh in Cam Thuy District.

A number of livestock breeds, such as Beijing and Anh Dao ducks, Sindhi cattle, Great White and Corval hogs, Hungarian carp and so forth have brought about changes in both output and quality. The average market weight of hogs has risen from 40 to 55-60 kilograms per hog. The weight of seasonal ducks has risen from 1 to 1.8-2 kilograms per duck, etc.

In industry, a number of new products, such as corrugated cardboard cartons, foot powered rice threshing machines and refrigerated shrimp, have been introduced and the quality of a number of other products, such as high-grade rubber, Bong Sen cigarettes, ceiling fans, table fans, woven bamboo products, jute and rush products and so forth, has been improved, thus meeting the needs of consumers and meeting the standards of quality for export goods. In

conjunction with accelerating the application of scientific and technical advances, many basic units have given appropriate attention to advances in the science of management and have combined the three interests in a way that is well balanced. As a result, they have stimulated the development of production and achieved higher economic efficiency.

When it began the implementation of the Political Bureau resolution (draft) on guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units, Thanh Hoa conducted a pilot project in assigning the directors of several enterprises the authority to improve production technology, upgrade equipment, sign scientific and technical contracts, hire specialists, purchase inventions and innovations, etc. This will certainly provide incentive for the rapid and effective application of scientific and technical advances in production.

As the old management mechanism is dismantled, the laborer of Thanh Hoa is moving forward with enthusiasm to be the master of his life. This is most clearly evident in his sense of responsibility toward work and his contributions to society. Thousands of skilled households and production sections and units have emerged in practically all production sectors and economic zones.

At present, the socio-economic situation is still difficult and complex at many places, usually because these places have not attached importance to party building, because the role of the administration and the mass organizations has not been developed and because bureaucracy, paternalism, conservatism and inertia have not been overcome. On the other hand, the upper levels and the various sectors have not maintained close contact with the lower level, have not acted correctly in economic relations such as two-way contracts, promises and commitments between the state and collective, between the collective and laborers, the setting of procurement and selling prices, the price ratios at which goods are exchanged, wage and bonus unit prices, etc.

The resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and the resolution of the Political Bureau (draft) on guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units have satisfied very basic and pressing requirements of basic economic units. Under the light of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, the party organization and the people of the ethnic minorities of Thanh Hoa support these resolutions with even greater enthusiasm and are determined to implement them in a serious spirit, implement them in a spirit of initiative and creativity.

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FROM SOME WORKS OF YOUNG WRITERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 76-81

[Article by Phan Quynh Anh]

[Text] The main attractions of the creative works of young writers are the profusion of feeling they express, their honesty, their freshness and their humor. The majority of their works, particularly their first works, were inspired by passionate devotion to ideals, by their feelings, their soul. At the 3rd National Conference of Young Writers held in late 1985, Dang Thi Kim Phung spoke about her "path to literature": she writes to build stronger confidence and vitality, to relive a long youth spent in operations and campaigns—a spirited and passionate but also hard and violent youth. She writes to remember the members of her unit who died.

Youths, through their fresh outlooks, their dynamism and their eagerness to charge forth in every field of life, have brought to literature the pace, the atmosphere and the hot breath of life today.

The realism found in the works of some young writers is slices of life in the old society or the two recent sacred wars. The realism in the work of young writers who have emerge since 1975 is the vibrant, rich, complex and changing realism of today. It is the realism of the days of the historic month of April 1975 and the many enormous changes that occurred. The new and intense pace of this life has had an impact upon each household, each street and upon the fate of each person since liberation. This life has brought intense joy by restoring a *raison d'etre*, confidence and dignity to each and every person ("If There Had Been No 30th of April" by Dinh Thi Thu Van, "The April City" by Le Thi Kim and the collection of short stories entitled "Families" by Tran Van Tuan). Sensitivity has helped many young writers to achieve considerable success in developing these themes. They are also the very persons who have "taken up their position" in the "area" of works on today's war to defend the fatherland. In February 1979, young army writers went up to bases and, from there, followed soldiers wherever they went, to the islands and to the places where our troops were fulfilling their international obligation. Many young writers are writers as well as soldiers. It is easy to understand why their sentiments coincide with the thinking and feelings of today's soldier. They have helped readers to more fully and clearly understand how the violent nature of the border war is new, understand that this is a war marked by

sudden, intense fighting but mainly by quiet and prolonged periods of tension. The soldier must not only endure hunger and thirst in the scorching sun and the blistering heat radiating from the rocks, but must also overcome his dreams and recurring thoughts about a life of peace in the rear not far from the gunfire (essays and poems of Nguyen Dinh Chien, the poems of Tran Dang Khoa, Nguyen Hong Ha, Tu Ngan Pho, Nguyen Tung Linh...). Their works deeply probe the feelings of the soldier and describe the difficulties and hardships of the soldier with the aim of showing us the soldier's optimism and love of life, his spirit of bravery in the struggle against his circumstances and himself and his determination to win victory in order to defend the sacred fatherland. Although not many good works have been written on the war to defend the fatherland's border, the soldiers of this 4th generation of our soldiers see the examples they are setting and their life of combat filled with challenges in the works of writers of their own generation.

Young writers have also been focusing on each field of the new socialist life. Numerous essays have recreated the picture of the diligent labor and the brawny, robust beauty of ordinary laborers as they toil day and night to build the new life. The genre of the essay, with its characteristic focus on contemporary, burning issues, seems to be especially well suited to the young, bold persons who see things quickly and are sensitive, zealous and optimistic. Worthy of mention here are the two essays about persons who have gone to sea by Nguyen Van De, an essay about beekeepers by Vu Dinh Minh, one about an iron and steel worker by Ho Thuy Giang, one about the Da River by Giang Van, one about a mountain post office Dup Ban, one about the force of afforestation workers of the Central Highland ethnic groups by Nguyen Thai Van and especially "My River Bank Village" by Hoang Huu Cac. These works bring to readers the beauty of sails filled with wind and the hard struggle of man against the sea, against nature. The harsh conditions of a coastal village demand that its inhabitants be determined and steadfast, that they unite as one and join efforts to develop creative models and chart the shortest possible path to prosperity.

It can be said that the scope of subjects covered in these works encompasses both the whole of our life of combat and our life of production. It extends from the vast life we share in common to places deep within the soul of man. Carrying the light of the new life into the quiet lives of persons who have concealed themselves within the four walls of a convent helps to liberate them from their backwardness, conservatism and opposition to social progress (the novel "Life on the Outside" by Vu Huy Anh).

The works of young writers might not be truly polished but they must be "fresh and filled with the vigor of youth," must "be bold and dare to tackle the complex questions" of life. Only in this way is it possible to take strides forward in literature--strides that keep pace with life. Otherwise, literature will fail to serve its two natural functions: to reflect and help to transform life. The works of our young writers serve both of these functions. A trend to directly participate in resolving the burning issues of life is especially clear in their works.

Practically all young writers are conscious of the need to help solve the problems raised by life and all want to share their feelings and engage in a

dialogue with the reader. This they do through new proposals and new models concerning the management and leadership of soldiers with a view toward increasing the effectiveness of training and combat efficiency under the new circumstances that exist today ("The Upper Echelon Is Not Satisfied" by Hoang Huu Cac, "Officer of the Regiment" by Ha Pham Phu...). Today, especially, with the struggle between the two paths, the struggle to build a new management mechanism, to establish a new style of working...being an exceedingly sharp struggle, young writers have a major responsibility to this stark reality of the country. "Facing the Sea" and "Tram Islet" by Nguyen Manh Tuan, "The Blank Piece of Paper" by Trieu Xuan...reflect this struggle and sharply analyze and criticize the ugly and the negative with all the skill of a writer and enthusiastically praise the new man and the new models in socio-economic organizational work and management. The primary attraction of these works lies in the fact that they dare to raise and answer questions. Of course, not all the questions they raise are answered in a thorough and convincing manner, but these are the central questions of life, questions that deeply touch each person in each region of the country. The attraction of these works lies in the fact that they take a hard look at the essence of things and do not evade the issue. It lies in their deep sense of civic commitment and their high sense of responsibility of someone who is a master.

Another noteworthy contribution by young writers in a number of works is that they sketch the character and a beautiful portrait of today's new generation. Here, we find positive personalities who represent an entire progressive force struggling for a new way of thinking, a faithful attitude toward work and an attitude of attaching importance to the quality and efficiency of work. These personalities consciously state who they are by what they do, consciously push themselves further and live a loyal life, devoted to their work, their friends and their comrades.

Directing attention to the plane of socialist ethics and character while building the character of these personalities is a salient feature of many short novels on the soldiers of the 4th generation, on different subjects in socialist construction. In these short novels, young writers have smoothly combined burning contemporary and political issues with probing the psychology and fate of their subjects. Here, the struggle between the positive-progressive and the conservative-stagnant is closely tied to the struggle between good and bad, between white and black within each person. It is under these circumstances that the character of the subject is revealed most clearly, is most fully developed and comes alive. These model personalities, these muscular, beautiful personalities gives these works depth and bring to the reader a true aesthetic feeling and a dialectical confidence in the future.

The contributions by young writers to the common cause of literature today clearly are not a matter of the sheer number of contributions they have made. Honesty, wholesomeness, enthusiasm, confidence and a sense of responsibility to life radiate from many of their poems, essays, short stories, medium-length stories and short novels. The young writers of today have shown themselves to be quick and sensitive. They charge forth to new land areas and try to capture reality from many different perspectives. Burning within them is a desire to get to the very bottom of things, to reach the essence of this

reality in order to make suggestions and proposals through artistic imagery with a view toward solving the pressing problems of life.

The writers who have grown and matured since 1975 belong to the 4th generation of writers. They number in the thousands and are present in every region of the country.

A considerable percentage of creative forces consists of writers in the armed forces. They are: Hoang Huu Cac, Dinh Kinh, Pham Hoa, Nguyen Dinh Chien, Pham Si Sau, Le Huy Khanh, Nguyen Quoc Trung, Vu Thi Hong, Tran Dang Khoa, Ho Anh Thai, Pham Khac Vinh, Nguyen Thuy Kha...

In addition, a large force is made up of a part of the life of spirit and hard work in socialist construction. Worthy here are Nguyen Quang Loc, Tran Van Tuan, Vu Huy Any, Nguyen Duc Loc, Ho Trung Tu, Duc Ban, Nguyen Duc Tho... This force also includes many women writers, such as Tran Thi Thang, Da Ngan, Tran Thuy Mai, Ly Lan, Dinh Thu Thu Van, Le Thi Kim, Song Hao, Pham Thi Minh Thu, Thuy Linh, Ngo Thi Hong Van, Le Thi Thanh Minh, Hoang Viet Hang, Nguyen Thi Giang Van, Nguyen Thi Thu Hue... Many more young ethnic writers have emerged, such as Dinh Xang Hien (Hre), Lo Ngan Sung (Giay), Dinh Dang Luong and Quach Ngoc Thien (Muong), Y Phuong (Tay), Sa Phong Ba (Thai), Po Sao Minh (Padi), Y Thi (Jarai)...

Mention must also be made of the young writers who specialize in theory and criticism (whose specific works we are unable to discuss), such as Le Quang Trang, Bui Viet Thang, Huynh Nhu Phuong, Dinh Xuan Dung, Tran Bao Hung, Le Thanh Nghi, Tran Dang Xuyen, Le Xuan Viet, Nguyen Van Luu, Ngo Vinh Binh, Doan Thi Huong, Ton Phuong Lan, Dam My Hanh, Ton Thao Mien, Pham Xuan Nguyen, Le Thi Kim Vinh...

The formation and development of the corps of writers of this 4th generation represent continuity tantamount to an historic necessity. Because, every period of history, every stage of the revolution requires its own writers and artists. The writers of the preceding generations, in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, contributed to giving "our country's literature and art a worthy position in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist literature and art of the present age."⁽²⁾ As they carry on the cause of those who preceded them and inherit the theory of creativity and the creative experience of the several decades that have been spent building and developing socialist realist literature, the young writers of today, generally speaking, stand upon a higher foundation and thus have favorable conditions for fulfilling their mission: reflecting and helping to transform reality within a country that is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The nation's history is at a turning point, is in a period filled with change, is gradually making the transition to socialism. Meanwhile, it is still necessary to wage a war to defend the fatherland and overcome the serious consequences of the 30 years of war. As a result, compared to the preceding generations of writers, this 4th generation has encountered new and complex difficulties. They face a reality which, although rich and captivating, is not stable. They face a public whose aesthetic standards are constantly rising.

The contributions made by young writers are only initial ones. And, as we look across our entire corps of writers, we still see matters deserving of discussion. It is the opinion of readers that the social and ideological nature of a rather large number of works is still low. In more than a few first works, readers are most often moved more by the writer's good will and zeal than by his or her life experience and profound thinking. Here and there are writers who repeat the same motives in their work, even writers who have stood still in their development, trapped in a "talent" rut. Generally speaking, there are still few works that have won wide acclaim in literary circles or everyday life.

There are many reasons for this. The delegates attending the 3rd National Conference of Young Writers spoke at great length about exchanging political experience, life experience and cultural experience.

The most fundamental need of young writers today is to clearly determine on which piece of the ground of reality they are standing and for what they are struggling.(3) In other words, every young writer must forge himself so that he acquires the correct Marxist world view and a solid political stand, must "enter the new stage of the revolution as a soldier-writer."(4) Many of the speakers at the conference also considered this a matter of survival to young writers. Various delegates asserted that, judging from their work, more than a few young writers have not gone beyond a narrow and one-sided view of man and life. More than a few works do not attract readers because they do not go beyond the trivial matters that make no statement whatsoever and criticize negative phenomena but do not explain their causes. The issue here is not whether the theme is "major" or "minor" but whether the work contributes anything to life, what its social returns are. The readers of today demand that writers--especially young assault writers--join them in bringing to light and explaining the basic problems in life and join them in solving these problems, in building models, in discovering the true beauty of the new, socialist character. This means that each of our young writers must have the ability to set his or her direction, the ability to discover new factors and the ability to be an activist in our still disorganized life, in the sharp struggle between the two paths, between the two ways of life. These abilities, as a number of writers said, are the product of the process of cultivating a keen political instinct, the essence of which is firmly adhering to the lines and policies of the party.

Many young writers think that bringing light to the reader requires that the writer himself glow with the flame of ideals and perfect his socialist character. Whereas the preceding generations threw themselves into the current of the war of national liberation as soldiers, our generation of today is charging forth to the leading edges of life with all the zeal of youth and the responsibility of the citizen. It is only at these "hot spots" that we can forge and cultivate our skills and fully discover the rich beauty of the new man, of the new life.

Going, living and understanding--these are the ways to gain both political experience and life experience. Facts have proven that if, after their initial successes, young writers quickly leave their "home ground," that is, if they do not possess the fortitude to return to the long and demanding job

of accumulating experience for the next works, they very easily fall victim to formalism or fall into dry deductive reasoning and experimentation that lie outside the scope of imagery, outside the scope of emotion. The fact that some writers do not move ahead is partly due to their lack of life experience. If keen political instinct helps the young writer to quickly grasp the essential, the new, the progressive issues of life, deep life experience (combined, of course, with the artistic talent of the author) makes all these new and progressive things appear in vivid form and come alive through fates, through persons portrayed, and gives them a second life—a permanent and interesting life. Moreover, "combat alert" duty on the literary front—the duty to promptly recreate the living reality of today—lies mainly with the 4th generation. This duty demands that these young men and women permanently place themselves squarely in the center of life and achieve the ability to generalize on a high plane—which are the prerequisites to preparing for the birth of major works in the future, collections of novels and historical essays on our country and people of today and tomorrow.

Also facing young writers is the need to constantly learn more and deepen their cultural experience. One writer compared persons new to writing to youths who know some things but do not know anything thoroughly. This is true, our young writers of today are more fortunate than the generations of their fathers and elder brothers in that practically all of them have received formal training at colleges, are rather well educated in the fundamentals of literary theory and history... But all these things cannot be considered enough to support a long-term career in writing. In addition, our age is the age of the proliferation of information, of the scientific-technological revolution, of qualitative changes within socialism. Vietnam's reality also lies within the parameters of the common trends of our times. Today's reader has higher cultural standards and more diverse and sophisticated aesthetic standards. Widely exposed to many literatures of the world, the reading public no longer accepts an easy-going, simplistic style of writing but demands richness of style and form of expression. Therefore, to avoid the "talent" rut, to fly higher and further, young men and women writers are constantly building "life experience...drawing from the depth and breadth of the nation's past"(excerpt from the speech by a young delegate at the conference). They are studying and incorporating the cultural heritage of mankind. They are consciously taking their place in the field of socialist realism. At the same time, they are continuously increasing their knowledge of science and technology, their knowledge of every aspect of life...

The young writers of today face a tough, complex challenge in the country's process of adopting a new approach and moving ahead. But, in view of their promising initial contributions, their extensive efforts in every field, their youthful and keen vision of the new and their hearts of those who hold the future of the country's literature in their hands, we are confident that the 4th generation of writers will carry on the literary cause of preceding generations in a worthy manner and create works worthy of their nation and times.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Astafiev: "And Life Keeps Changing...," LITERARY Newspaper, (Russian), No 50, 1985.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 121.
3. Speech by Ha Xuan Truong at the 3rd National Conference of Young Writers.
4. Report of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Writers Association at the association's 3rd Congress, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 27 September 1983.

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LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD: THE TRUE IDENTITY OF THE OPPORTUNIST

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 82-83

[Article by Le Van Giap, Hau Giang Province]

[Text] In principle, there is no room in our party for opportunism to emerge and develop. In practice, however, elements whose thinking and actions are opportunistic have been and are present at one place or another within organizations of the party and state. Whether these elements are or are not known for what they are depends on how intensive the struggle being waged by genuine party members and the masses is. The thinking with which a person begins to become an opportunist is "everything for myself." The activities of opportunist elements are designed mainly to serve their personal interests. Consequently, it can be said that opportunistic thinking and actions are dangerous manifestations of individualism.

Opportunist elements are, by nature, exceedingly cunning and their opportunism is sophisticated and assumes a diversity of forms. Therefore, it is difficult for us to recognize opportunists for what they really are and hard to anticipate all the underhanded tricks they might pull. Despite this, through the realities of the struggle we have waged, we have been able to define the primary characteristics of opportunist elements.

--Generally speaking, opportunist elements are persons who ingratiate themselves with others, blow in the wind and side with the strong. They do any job that serves their interests and make every effort to further their position and get ahead. They are hypocritical, shifty and pragmatic.

--They rarely speak the truth. They often fabricate and exaggerated their "achievements." At the same time, they distort facts and exaggerate the shortcomings of persons whom they do not like. Sometimes, they create false successes to deceive or please their superiors. At times, they even distort the positions of the party and state to serve their personal interests.

--They establish a "faction" among cadres and personnel." More correctly stated, they join with subordinates within their faction, who consist of persons to whom they are related (children, grandchildren, neighbors and other relatives), persons who have an unwholesome family or personal background and persons with whom they have collaborated in illegal activities but have not

yet been caught, to set up an "assault force," a "steel fence" protecting each of their opportunist activities.

—Opportunist elements flatter superiors and suppress subordinates. They speak with two voices: a meek and quiet voice when speaking to superiors and a harsh and loud voice when speaking to subordinates. There are also some who flatter superiors when in their presence but speak poorly about them behind their back in order to gain favor with the masses. But when the masses and genuine party members struggle to expose these opportunists, they are immediately accused of being "reactionaries," of being "against the leader," of undermining internal unity" and so forth in an attempt to make weak persons tremble with fear.

It can be said that when the thinking and actions of the person at the head of a state agency or party organization are opportunistic, the conditions exist for undesirable elements to easily emerge. They consider this leader to be a "patron saint." They use this situation to conduct more intense and cunning activities. The struggle to expose them thus becomes more difficult and complex.

Everyone knows that opportunist elements (especially those who hold public positions and authority) have caused much harm. Some of this harm has been very serious. Struggling against opportunist elements is a very arduous and complicated task. Therefore, we must firmly adhere to the stand of the working class, know opportunist elements for what they really are and boldly and forthrightly expose the opportunists who are hiding within the party.

Under the light of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, let us struggle to expose opportunist elements and expel them from the party, thus helping to purify the party.

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IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: BEING EVASIVE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 84-85, 96

[Article by Duc Uy]

[Text] Being evasive is becoming a way of behaving, a way of life, a way of thinking and acting among some of our cadres and party members. It is one of the primary causes of the stagnation in society and the decline in the fighting strength of our corps.

Being evasive takes many very diverse forms. Some persons are evasive in their thinking, in the research they conduct, evading complex, new and difficult problems, particularly problems that do not serve to further their interests. This is more than just a matter of being too lazy to think. Some persons give a great deal of thought to how they can get ahead and become rich, how they can quickly rise to one position or another or concern themselves solely with getting another person's job, with attacking and employing ugly tactics against their comrades while they themselves are indifferent to problems and tasks that relate to the interests of the collective and society. In the face of difficult problems, concerning which they should join with the collective in finding a solution, they are indifferent and unconcerned and even neglect the tasks assigned to them.

In their work, some persons push off onto others jobs that are difficult, jobs that are not profitable or jobs that do not allow them to get some "gravy" for themselves. They only want to take on jobs in which it is easy to succeed and which are not demanding, jobs which give them an opportunity to make some money for themselves. They avoid jobs that require diligence day after day, jobs that do not enhance their reputation, jobs about which few persons know, particularly jobs that are mundane, trivial and unimpressive.

Evading work is usually associated with evading responsibility, with not daring to assume responsibility or to undertake difficult work. Some cadres and party members are so afraid of assuming personal responsibility that they perform every job in a cautious manner, are afraid of making mistakes and want to make everything the responsibility of the collective. As a result, when things fall apart, when they make mistakes and commit shortcomings, they have the collective to "take the responsibility" and they "melt back into the village" or, as Lenin said, they "look for a culprit." Worse yet, they blame

others or another level but when something good is done or an achievement is recorded, they take all the credit for themselves. And, so called "joint responsibility" is frequently responsibility that is defined in a very vague and fuzzy way.

In their relations with everyone else, these persons are, more often than not, "yes men." They realize what is correct but do not dare to openly support or defend it. They see things that are wrong but do not dare to speak out or struggle against them. They avoid disagreeing with others, are afraid to make waves, afraid to offend others. They live their life in a "form for form's sake" manner, are indulgent and are always "on the best of terms" with everyone. They smile and say "hello" to everyone they meet and appear very warm and open, which sometimes causes others to get the wrong impression, to think that they are kind and have good relations with the masses. Actually, this behavior is nothing more than a shell concealing apathy. While appearing normal and innocent, these kinds of relations are very superficial and shallow and often create a false atmosphere of amicable feelings.

In the criticism and self-criticism struggle, these persons not only refuse to criticize themselves, but also do not dare to forthrightly criticize others. They evade, indulge and are afraid of shortcomings. They are afraid of losing their position or authority, afraid of harming relations. Their guidelines are "if you don't say anything about me, I'll leave you alone" and "I'll get you back for whatever criticisms you level against me." If compelled to participate in criticism and self-criticism, they do so in a cursory, "form for form's sake" manner. The criticism they offer comes in the form of part praise, part criticism but this criticism is general in nature and the things being criticized are blamed mainly on objective conditions. Taking the excuses that they must be "tactful," must not "upset anyone," must "preserve long-standing relations" and must "maintain old loyalties," they do not dare to squarely face the truth, do not frankly state all their shortcomings and mistakes and lack courage when struggling. In their self-criticism and their criticism of others, they only mention a few matters of trivial, secondary importance, things that deserve neither reward nor penalties, and sometimes even turn shortcomings into strengths. They say such things as "the chief still has a hot temper," "the chief dresses somewhat plainly and should present himself in a more dignified manner so that he has better relations with persons on the outside"... Here, criticism become flattery! Most dangerous are those persons whose criticisms are opportunistic, are made to suit the moment, persons who blow in the wind, who take the side of anyone who is strong and join with others in attacking and belittling persons who lose their position. Criticism and self-criticism of these kinds are truly alien to the attitude of genuine communists.

There are many reasons why persons are evasive. It might be because they are weary, are incompetent, lack courage or are poorly educated. It might be because they are acting on the basis of personal considerations and placing personal interests above the interests of the collective and society or because they are opportunists. It might be because they are bureaucratic, are far removed from the masses, are indifferent toward the interests of the masses and the revolution. It might also be because they have not been well prepared in terms of their will, spirit and standards to undertake new and

difficult tasks. However, in the final analysis, it is because the evasive person is an apathetic person who remains hidden away inside his personal shell and is irresponsible toward life. He wants to "close his eyes and ears" and avoid life. He wants to keep himself as unblemished as a well polished marble and live an indifferent and passive life devoid of vitality.

Being evasive is not only a problem related to a person's style or behavior, it is also a problem that relates to the personality of a certain type of person. It has its social origins. It is a vestige of the old way of life, a product of making it one's principle to always "be on the best of terms" with everyone and living an apathetic life. This way of life was found among the middle class of the old society and still exists even among some laborers who lack revolutionary awareness. Being evasive is a practice among some cadres and party members today because their will to struggle has weakened and they have fallen victim to individualism and mercenary motives.

These comrades do not understand that in light of our country's current circumstances, being evasive retards society and exacerbates negative phenomena. To be evasive is to be irresponsible to the people, to history. The greater the problem affecting the interests of millions of persons, the larger is the harm that is caused when one is evasive. The higher one's level, the greater is the harm that is caused when being evasive. Admittedly, there are those problems that have not yet fully emerged and cannot be quickly resolved. But this is not a matter of being evasive. The evasiveness we are criticizing is a lifestyle based on individualism.

Life is demanding, more than ever before, that cadres and party members not be evasive, particularly that they not evade responsibility, not evade hardships and difficulties, not evade criticism and self-criticism. Displaying a high spirit of bravery in struggle, daring to act, daring to assume responsibility and boldly struggling to overcome the old and the outmoded, the conservative and the backward in order to create the conditions for society to move strongly ahead are the responsibility and obligation of each of our cadres and party members today.

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A MEETING FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 86-89

[Article Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] In the socio-political life of the world, large and profound changes have been and are occurring, changes which demand that we adopt new thinking and analyze all the factors that have led to these changes in order to chart a course for protecting and developing the civilization of man. Under the light of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, many new questions regarding theory and politics have been raised that have attracted the attention of the persons who perform the theoretical and political work of the world's communist and worker parties.

From 3 to 5 December 1986, the editors-in-chief and representatives of the editors-in-chief of 41 theoretical and political reviews of communist and worker parties from all continents met in Moscow to discuss and debate urgent matters related to the survival and development of mankind. This was the first large-scale meeting to involve broad participation by representatives of the theoretical and political organs of the fraternal parties. The timing of this meeting was also very appropriate. It promptly met the needs to exchange opinions concerning pressing questions, analyze the changes taking place within the world communist and worker movements, the national liberation movement and the peace movement, share valuable experiences in revolutionary struggle and socialist construction and express the desire to join in unified efforts for peace and social progress.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in an atmosphere of solidarity, equality, understanding and respect for the independence of each party, the participants in the meeting exchanged opinions concerning matters of foremost importance: the struggle to safeguard peace; the adoption of a new approach in socialist construction in the socialist countries; the general crisis of capitalism; scientific-technical progress and changes in the structure of the working class; peace and revolution; the defense of national independence and international solidarity and assistance; the struggles against imperialism, colonialism, racism and zionism; and the struggle against anti-communism and anti-soviet sentiment.

Each speaker addressed these matters, expressed his opinions and presented experiences based on the basis of the special characteristics of the situation and role of his party.

The issue of struggling to safeguard peace and struggling against the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and the arms race in space, was considered the task of foremost importance by all speakers. All parties have adopted specific programs and measures and taken concrete actions in this broad and bitter struggle. The socialist countries and the world's working class--the decisive forces in this struggle--have joined with other important forces consisting of the forces of the national liberation movement, the movement for a decent standard of living and democracy and the peace-loving and progressive movement of all mankind to establish a broad peace front, the strength of which is invincible. The outstanding contributions, the results of the tireless efforts, the initiatives filled with good will and the brave and highly responsible actions of the Soviet Union in the cause of safeguarding world peace were heartily praised. The bellicose attitude of the United States and its scheme to achieve military-strategic superiority through its stubborn refusal to abandon the SDI Program were exposed and bitterly denounced. The speakers pointed out that, in the nuclear and space age, man must adopt new political thinking if he is to insure peace on earth. Giving everyone a correct understanding of this issue and charting realistic courses by which this struggle can achieve its main goal--preserving the civilization of man--are the noble mission of the theoretical and political organs of the communist and worker parties.

The issue of adopting a new approach in socialist construction in the socialist countries is an urgent issue of very important significance. The tasks that confront socialism with regard to the future of all mankind demand that a new stage of development be reached in the socialist countries. At this turning point, the communists in the socialist countries must develop basic formulas for resolving the key issues of social development. The economy of the socialist countries must be promptly shifted from development in breadth to development in depth, the structure of social production and the economic management mechanism must be revamped, the bases supporting a higher level of development must be established... The strategy for accelerated socio-economic development adopted by the Soviet Union is attracting the attention of everyone in the world. The participants in this meeting expressed deep confidence that the adoption of this new approach will yield fine results and stated that these results will create favorable conditions for the propaganda work and ideological struggle of the communist and worker parties, particularly the parties in the developed capitalist countries and the newly independent countries.

The general crisis of capitalism is becoming increasingly serious and deep and has affected every aspect of the socio-political life of the capitalist world: the economy is in recession, unemployment is rising, the contradictions between capital and labor are sharp and the internal contradictions among capitalist powers are becoming deeper with each passing day. Political systems and cultural and spiritual activities have fallen into a state of malaise. Crime and violence are on the rise. Against this background, militarism has become the universal tool used by the bourgeoisie in a vain

attempt to accelerate economic development and intensify their control of society.

The persons who perform the theoretical and political work of the communist and worker parties realize that they must closely observe and thoroughly study the general crisis of capitalism, learn the forms it takes and make them known to the entire working class and all laboring people.

In recent years, science and technology have developed strongly. The standards and knowledge of workers have been raised and increased. As a result, the structure of the working class has changed. The number of mental laborers and the number of persons working in the service sector have risen. This is a reality that was recognized by practically all of the participants in the meeting. How this reality affects the struggles for a decent standard of living and democracy, the struggle to safeguard peace and so forth must be studied further. However, many speakers stated that these changes in the structure of the working class have not changed its character. The working class will continue to be the deciding force of the revolution as long as its antagonist--capitalism--exists. Moreover, the fact that the standards of the working class have been raised helps workers to understand the important issues in the world today and, as a result, makes them even more active participants in the struggle for peace, democracy, freedom and justice.

The issue of peace and revolution drew the attention of many speakers. Without peace we have nothing, but with peace we do not necessarily have everything is a thought that was frequently expressed. To achieve social progress, it is necessary to engage in many different forms of revolutionary struggle. The struggle for peace and against war must be closely tied to the struggle for national liberation and the struggle against imperialism. On the other hand, the forces of revolution are, at the same time, the forces of peace. The anti-war movement of mankind and the revolutionary movements of the working class and all nations have the goals of safeguarding peace and achieving social progress.

Today, many nations are struggling to defend their sovereignty, independence and freedom. Under the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the right of self-determination of nations is sacred. Many speakers pointed out that in the complex world situation of today, a time when imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the other international reactionary forces are intensifying their activities that threaten the independence and sovereignty of many nations, international solidarity and assistance are exceedingly important. Communists must display a high spirit of international solidarity and be ready to fulfill their international obligation to help the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America to defend their independence and freedom.

Struggling against racism and zionism is one of the most important tasks of our times. In practical terms, this struggle touches all capitalist countries and is a very violent struggle in Africa. Many speakers remarked that racism is an oddity of reactionary, anti-humanist thinking and disregard for one's

fellow man. Communists, the working class of the world, and all progressive mankind must focus their efforts on eradicating racism from the life of civilized society.

In recent years, the imperialists and other international reactionary forces have been trying to unleash a wave of anti-communist and anti-soviet sentiment in practically all capitalist countries. This is an insidious and cunning scheme. Imperialism uses anti-communism and anti-soviet sentiment not only to oppose and attack the Soviet Union and the socialist community, but also to oppose and attack the working class in the capitalist countries, oppose and attack the national liberation movement and oppose mankind's aspirations for peace. For this reason, the current world situation requires unity in the struggle against "anti-communism and anti-soviet sentiment" as part of the struggle for peace, the struggle against war and against imperialism.

In the meeting's open, free, comfortable and creative atmosphere, the representatives forthrightly presented their views concerning the issues on the agenda. A number of issues were the subject of rather heated debate but the purpose of this debate was to clarify these issues and reach a consensus concerning them. The participants in the meeting stressed that, in 1987, on the occasion of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the great October Revolution, the persons who perform the theoretical work of the communist and worker parties must further intensify their effort to summarize the revolutionary experience gained in their countries in order to contribute to the common body of theory of the world revolutionary movement. Marxism-Leninism is a living philosophy that is always being enriched by the realities of the revolutionary struggle in many different countries and under different economic, political and social conditions.

At the meeting, Hong Chuong, editor-in-chief of TAP CHI CONG SAN, the theoretical and political organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam, gave a speech entitled "Adhering to the Laws of the Socialist Revolution in Socialist Construction in Vietnam." His speech presented the most important feature of the Vietnamese revolution, namely, the fact that we are advancing from a colonial and semi-feudal society and a backward economy directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Due to this special feature, the period of transition to socialism in Vietnam has begun with a stage called the initial stage of the period of transition. This represents the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory on the period of transition to the specific conditions of Vietnam. His speech evaluated and summarized the economic, political and social situations of Vietnam during the past 5 years and confirmed the achievements that have been recorded. At the same time, it also forthrightly pointed out mistakes and shortcomings and presented our targets and guidelines for the years ahead. The speech also expressed the aspiration for peace of the Vietnamese and their determination to struggle to achieve peace, stability, development and cooperation within the region.

Following 3 days of scientific and intense work and through frank and open discussion, the persons who perform the theoretical and political work of the communist and worker parties present at this meeting had gained a better understanding of one another and clearly saw the issues with which each party

is concerned. The representatives highly evaluated the results of the meeting and expressed hope for unified efforts by all communist and worker parties for the cause of peace and progress on earth. They stressed that one of the basic sources of the strength of socialist ideology and the communist movement is the spirit of international solidarity and cooperation.

Prior to departing, the representatives sincerely thanked the CPSU's KOMMUNIST for organizing this useful and important meeting. At the same time, they expressed the desire that similar meetings will be held on a more regular basis with the aim of promptly exchanging opinions concerning matters of theory and practice relating to the international communist and worker movement.

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ADHERING TO LAWS IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 90-96

[Speech by Hong Chuong at the Conference of Editors-in-Chief of the Theoretical Reviews of Communist and Worker Parties held in Moscow from 3 to 5 December 1986]

[Text] We are very happy to be attending this important conference. On behalf of the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN, the political and theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we respectfully extend to you our warmest greetings. We thank our Soviet comrades for making it possible for us to attend this conference. We wish everyone attending this conference robust health. May our conference be a fine success.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU and the Program (new version) adopted by it have opened a new horizon in our theoretical work. Our Soviet comrades have set a bright example of defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism by enriching it with the experience gained in the many years of real socialism in the Soviet Union and the world. In 1987, on the occasion of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the great October Revolution, let us further intensify the effort to summarize the revolutionary experiences gained in our countries, particularly the experiences gained in building the new society, and raise our theoretical work to a new level of development.

At this conference, we have heard many important speeches. The speeches by our Soviet comrades have especially drawn much interest. These speeches presented many new ideas concerning our theoretical work. These ideas will be of benefit to us in our research to solve the problems of theory that arise in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country.

To help you better understand the situation of our country, we have presented below a summary of a few of the main features of socialist construction in our country and the situation as it relates to our party's theoretical research.

During the past 5 years, under the leadership of our party, the working class and laboring people of our country, through arduous struggle, have recorded important achievements in socialist construction. Marked progress has been made in industrial and agricultural production. Agricultural production has

been increasing at the average annual rate of 4.9 percent. Grain production has taken an important stride forward, averaging 17 million tons per year, an increase of 3.6 million tons compared to the average annual output during the preceding 5 years. Industrial production has been growing at the average annual rate of 9.5 percent. National income has been rising at the average annual rate of 6.4 percent. As regards the construction of material-technical bases, during the past 5 years, we completed several hundred relatively large-scale projects and thousands of medium and small-scale projects. We have taken another stride forward in socialist transformation. The vast majority of the farmers of Nam Bo has embarked on collective production. Cultural work, education, public health, physical culture-sports, literature and art have developed, thus helping to establish the new culture and mold the new man. The development of scientific and technical activities has helped to stimulate production, particularly agricultural production. In their fight to defend the fatherland and fulfill their international obligation, our armed forces and people have won new, large victories and further strengthened their ability to defend the country and firmly defend the outpost of socialism in Indochina.

The above mentioned achievements have been closely associated with the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy, with the correct domestic and foreign policies of our party and state. These achievements would not have been possible without the valuable assistance and support of the fraternal socialist countries, of friendly countries and international organizations, especially the large and effective assistance of the Soviet Union. From this rostrum, allow us to express our deep gratitude.

The achievements recorded during the past 5 years by our people under the leadership of our party have been confirmed.

However, we have also committed some mistakes and shortcomings during the past 5 years. Most importantly, these have been subjectivism, voluntarism and the failure to respect and act in accordance with objective laws. These mistakes are manifested in how we have structured the economy, particularly investments in capital construction, where our desire has been to develop heavy industry on a large-scale that far exceeds our practical capabilities. They are manifested in our maintaining, for too long a time, the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies coupled with a huge superstructure that far exceeds the ability of the infrastructure to support it. They are also manifested in our desire to complete socialist transformation too early by quickly abolishing the non-socialist segments of the economy. In building the material and technical bases of socialism, we have committed the mistakes of being subjective and impetuous, of wanting to rapidly build many large projects, again in a manner that exceeds our capabilities. When we made these mistakes, we then committed the shortcomings of being conservative and stagnant, of wanting to prolong the situation instead of taking brave and determined steps to rectify the mistakes that have been made.

The mistakes, particularly those regarding economic policy, that we have made during the past 5 years have been related to shortcomings on our part in

theoretical and ideological work. We have been behind the times in our theory and our application of the system of objective laws that are exerting an impact in the period of transition, particularly in the initial stage of the period of transition. Appropriate attention has not been given to the social sciences as fertile ground for the development of subjectivism and voluntarism. This gave rise to a simplistic way of thinking and acting, to disregard for objective laws, to impetuously wanting to fulfill subjective aspirations and wanting to rapidly achieve many of the targets of socialism when not permitted by the objective situation. Some presumptions we have made have been incorrect. In practice, we have not truly recognized the laws of commodity production that exist as objective factors within the socialist economy. Consequently, we have not given attention to applying them when adopting economic positions and policies.

Since the start of 1986, in order to prepare for its 6th Congress, our party has held a widespread self-criticism and criticism campaign throughout the party in which it forthrightly brought to light the mistakes that have been made, determined to rectify them in order to advance the revolution.

In the spirit of squarely facing the truth, correctly evaluating the truth and speaking the truth, our party has correctly evaluated the achievements that have been recorded. At the same time, it has conducted a serious review of its weaknesses, deeply analyzed its mistakes and shortcomings, their causes and the measures taken to correct them and set tasks and targets for the years ahead.

In December 1986, the 6th Congress of our party will be convened. The congress will decide the tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the stage that lies ahead. The party will appeal to all party members, all the people and all the armed forces to unite as one and devote the full measure of their spirit and forces to continuing the successful performance of the two strategic tasks of building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland while making positive contributions to the common struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Through our many decades of struggling for national independence, we have gained valuable experience in political struggle and armed struggle. However, we have very little experience in economic construction, particularly in building a socialist economy in a country that only recently emerged from the slavery of colonialism. We have had to pay a high price to learn this experience.

We are facing a major challenge from the standpoint of economic development. Socialism in Vietnam, in Indochina, must triumph over capitalism in the other countries of the Third World, particularly the ASEAN countries.

The nations that have recently emerged from colonialist enslavement face a question: which path should we follow? Should we take the path of socialism or follow the path of capitalism? Which side is superior, socialism or capitalism? Through its national construction, Vietnam must prove to the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America that recently emerged from the

colonial system of imperialism that socialism is superior to capitalism. Today, we can say that from the standpoints of the political system, the culture, society, interpersonal relations and so forth, socialism in Vietnam and Indochina is very much better than capitalism in the ASEAN countries. However, this cannot be said from an economic standpoint. This situation is unacceptable. We will surely triumph in this challenge.

For many reasons, social labor productivity in our country today is very low. Everyone knows that labor productivity is especially important. Lenin said that victory will belong to the system that has the higher labor productivity.

By rectifying the mistakes that have been made and developing the economy in a manner consistent with objective laws, by the efforts they themselves make in productive labor, in building the material-technical bases of socialism, the Vietnamese will surely give socialism the power to attract the hundreds of millions of persons who have recently thrown off the yoke of colonialism.

By establishing economic ties among the countries of CEMA, by carrying out the general programs of CEMA concerning assistance for and cooperation with Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia and so forth, our socialist countries will surely prove to the peoples of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that it is better to select the path of socialist development than the path of capitalist development. I think that this matter must be given attention by all of us because it is related to the question of "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism throughout the world.

Our country of Vietnam is advancing from a colonial system and a backward economy in which small-scale production predominates directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The realities of the revolution in our country prove the correctness of Lenin's famous argument that it is inevitable that all nations will advance to socialism but no nation will do so in precisely the same way. Every nation will be unique from the standpoint of its form of democracy, its style of the proletarian dictatorship and the rate at which it carries out the socialist transformation of the different aspects of social life.

Our party has applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country and adopted a correct line for leading the Vietnamese revolution. When formulating its revolutionary line, our party followed the teaching of Lenin: "The task of communists is that we must know how to apply the universal and fundamental principles of communism to the special characteristics of the relationships among the classes and political parties, to the special characteristics of the objective development toward communism and the separate characteristics of every country, which we must know how to research, discover and predict."(1)

By contributing the unique aspects of the Vietnamese revolution to the common movement of the world revolution, our party has helped to further enrich the storehouse of experience and theory on the socialist revolution, the foundation of which was laid by K. Marx, F. Engels and Lenin.

The dominant characteristic of Vietnam is that our country is advancing directly to socialism, without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, from a colonial and semi-feudal society and a backward economy in which agriculture occupies the position of primary importance, industry, particularly heavy industry, is insignificant, labor is predominantly manual labor and production is primarily small scale.

In the period of transition to socialism, because Vietnam has not experienced the stage of capitalist development, the working class and laboring people of our country must perform jobs which the working class and laboring people of the other socialist countries have not had to perform. In the majority of the fraternal socialist countries, these jobs were performed before the proletarian revolution, when capitalism still prevailed.

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

In this "initial stage," we must solve various problems: redistributing social labor; carrying out the formation of initial capital; carrying out the first technological revolution; carrying out industrialization; creating large-scale, mechanized production... In the developed 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 equal to the level that had been reached by the majority of the fraternal socialist countries when they entered the period of transition to socialism.

Our country is advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. To achieve socialism, we must build, from the very beginning, new production forces and new production relations, a new infrastructure as well as a new superstructure. We must build virtually all the material-technical bases, economic bases and the superstructure of socialist society.

In the "initial stage," we must endeavor to stabilize every aspect of the socio-economic situation; build a rational industrial-agricultural structure; begin to build the material-technical bases of socialism; strengthen and improve socialist production relations; establish the new management mechanism; and build and strengthen our national defense and security forces so that they can be depended upon in every situation.

In the "initial stage," we are trying to create a new position and new forces for ourselves so that we can 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 above description of the "initial stage of the period of transition to socialism" in Vietnam represents the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory on the period of transition to the specific conditions of Vietnam. The

practical significance of this approach lies in recognizing objective laws, taking the steps that must be taken to socialism, not "skipping stages, not being impetuous and subjective or conservative and inert and advancing steadily to socialism." Only by adhering to this argument is it possible to avoid mistakes in evaluating the situation, selecting targets and establishing the structure of the economy, the social structure of production and the socio-economic management mechanism.

Our party maintains that the transition to socialism in our country will be a relatively long period in our history. The "initial stage" is but one small step in this period of transition. Lenin said: in our policy, we must divide the period of transition into many smaller transitional stages. All the difficulties associated with policy lie in knowing the special tasks to be performed in each of these transitional stages. In keeping with this teaching of Lenin, our party is concretizing its general line and its economic line and establishing tasks and targets that are consistent with the conditions existing in the remaining years of the initial stage.

We maintain that our task in the initial stage of the period of transition is to lay the political, economic and social foundations needed to carry out socialist industrialization on a large-scale in the next stage... In the immediate future, we must take effective measures to rapidly stabilize the socio-economic situation, bring every aspect of our activities within the orb of normal development, carry out organizational and management reforms and establish a new structure of production and a new mechanism. Our party has defined the overriding tasks and general targets in the remaining years of the initial stage as stabilizing every aspect of the socio-economic situation and continuing to lay the foundations needed to accelerate socialist industrialization in the next stage.

We are living in a world that has been and is undergoing many changes. The revolutionary forces of our times and the world peace movement are constantly growing stronger and are clearly taking the initiative, are clearly on the offensive. The forces of the socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, are being strengthened in every respect with each passing day. In the country of the Soviets, a new stage is being opened, a stage in the nature of a turning point, a stage marked by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the stage of dynamic development in all fields of social life. The socialist community is entering a new stage of development, the very quality of which is new. The national independence movement is developing and displaying new features. National independence closely tied to socialism and opposition to imperialism is becoming an increasingly strong trend. In the capitalist countries, the struggle of the working class has reached a new level of development, one closely associated with the increasingly serious structural crisis of imperialism and the democratic and peace movement against imperialism and the threat of nuclear war. The contractions and competition among the imperialist capitalist countries are sharp. At the same time, these countries are looking for ways to reconcile their internal contradictions and prolong their existence by collaborating with one another in opposing the forces of revolution. The gap between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries is steadily growing. Severe exploitation by the imperialist countries has caused many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin

America to become increasingly impoverished and incur towering debts. With the large economic and military forces at their disposal, the imperialists and international reactionary powers are intensifying the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, instigating local conflicts and counter-attacking the forces of revolution and peace. Never has the threat of a nuclear war unleashed by imperialism been as great as it is today.

At present, mankind faces the threat of a nuclear war unleashed by bellicose, militaristic power of imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists. Struggling to safeguard peace, to stop the arms race and reduce the threat of nuclear war is the foremost, pressing task of the peoples of all countries. We Vietnamese completely support the foreign policy set forth by the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the tireless activities of the Soviet Union aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass murder and the extensive efforts being made by it for a comprehensive international security system. We Vietnamese heartily endorse the peace initiative in Asia-Pacific made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, in his famous address at Vladivostok. We are determined to unite with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with India and the progressive forces of the region in a struggle to defeat the schemes of the imperialists and reactionaries, who are constantly creating tensions in this region, thereby contributing to the struggle for a Southeast Asia of peace, stability and cooperation.

The peoples of the two countries of Vietnam and China, who have long shared friendly relations, have united with and assisted one another in the struggle against imperialism, the struggle to win independence and freedom and build their countries. The peoples of the two countries share the common interests of peace, independence and economic development. The government and people of Vietnam, as they always have in the past and always will in the future, treasure and are doing their very best to restore the friendship between the people of the two countries. We have made many proposals aimed at quickly normalizing relations between the two countries. Our stand is based on the fundamental and long-range interests of the two countries. Our government has stated on many different occasions: Vietnam is ready to hold negotiations with China at any time, on any level and at any place with the aim of normalizing relations between the two countries.

During the past several decades, under the leadership of the party founded and trained by Ho Chi Minh, the people of Vietnam, combining the strength of the nation and the strength of our times, won victory in the struggle to liberate the nation. Today, also combining the strength of the nation with the strength of our times, the Vietnamese, led by the communist party, will surely successfully build socialism and firmly defend their socialist fatherland. We face many difficulties but our party and people have all the conditions they need to overcome these difficulties and continue the advance of the revolution. The socialist revolution in Vietnam will surely be victorious. The outpost of socialism in Indochina will surely be preserved.

I thank you for your attention.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 41, p 93.

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ON THE LAW OF ALLIANCE AMONG THE THREE COUNTRIES OF INDOCHINA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 97-102

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The issues of alliance and militant solidarity based on interests that are shared, either temporarily or on a long-term basis, and on the objectives and class nature of the forces of the alliance have existed at all times and places in the history of the class struggle and the national liberation struggle. In particular, to small, weak nations and oppressed and exploited progressive social classes, this alliance is always one of the factors in winning victory, sometimes, the primary, decisive factor.

In his work "The Poverty of Philosophy," K. Marx, when analyzing the anti-scientific and reactionary views of Proudhon against the alliance of workers, pointed out: "The more modern industry and competition develop, the more the factors that create and support alliances emerge.(1) As capitalism, through modern industry, increasingly exploited the workers and laboring people in the mother country as well as the colonial and dependent countries, the alliance of the proletariat on a regional as well as worldwide scale became essential in order to liberate the class, liberate the nation and perform the historic mission of the proletariat. The 1st International, the 2nd International and the Communist International as well as the present day Warsaw Pact were and are new style alliances that both reflect and put into practice the slogan advanced by Marx and Engels: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!", and the version of this slogan later developed by Lenin: "Proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite."

In Indochina, history records that economic and cultural intercourse and warm neighborly relations existed among the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in ancient times. The peoples of the three countries on the peninsula engaged in commerce with one another via sea routes and land routes, trading special products, draft buffalo and cattle, machines, cavalry horses, etc. Buddhist missionaries, ambassadors of friendship and so forth also frequently travelled from one country to another. The three countries joined forces on many occasions to combat expansionist aggression and the yoke of oppression and exploitation of the Chinese and Thai feudalists. Throughout

the past 20 centuries, Indochina has constantly been the target of annexation by northern feudalist and expansionist powers. Cambodia and Laos have also frequently been the victims of the expansionist policy of Thailand.

Generally speaking, for many centuries, despite antagonisms among the feudal states of the three countries, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia frequently shared amicable relations, engaged in friendly cooperation and provided each other with mutual help in fighting to defend themselves whenever faced with serious intimidation, oppression and exploitation by the feudal dynasties of China.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Vietnam helped Cambodia and Laos resist aggression by the Thai feudalists. The French historian H. Ruy-xi-e [Vietnamese phonetics] wrote: in 1620, under the reign of King Saysetta II in Cambodia, Vietnam was the friend and ally of Cambodia.

In the 18th century, there was coordination between the Tay Son peasant movement (Vietnam) and the movements of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos against the Chinese and Thai aggressor forces, who were collaborating. Nguyen Hue, distinguished hero of the nation of Vietnam, helped Cambodia drive the Thai aggressors from its borders (1783) and, through the decisive victory won at Rach Gam-Xoai Mut (1785), routed some 50,000 troops that had invaded Vietnam. Nguyen Hue also defeated 500,000 Qing troops coordinating with Thai troops in attacks on Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos from the west, the southwest and the north. As for themselves, the Tay Son troops also received assistance from the armed forces and people of Cambodia in fighting and defeating the Nguyen Anh traitors and Thai aggressor forces.

In the second half of the 19th century, the French imperialists launched their aggression and imposed their rule upon the three countries of Indochina, establishing an Indochina under French domination or, what was called French Indochina. In the face of this invasion, it was incumbent upon the three countries to maintain close ties to one another and join in a long-term militant alliance against the common enemy in order to liberate their countries.

When Nguyen Ai Quoc brought Marxism-Leninism and the light of the great October Revolution to Indochina and founded the Indochinese Communist Party to organize and lead the revolutionary movement of the three countries along the new path, the militant alliance among the three fraternal countries reached a new level of development and assumed a different quality. It was now a new style alliance, an alliance under the leadership of a genuine proletarian party, an alliance of the new age, the age of national independence closely tied to socialism. It was an alliance based on the stand and views of the proletariat, on proletarian internationalism and the slogan "proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" Alliance among the three countries of Indochina now became an essential law, a law determining the existence and development of the three countries, in general, and each country, in particular.

In March, 1945, Japan kicked out France and took control of Indochina. The August 1945 revolution toppled Japan's rule. But then, France invaded again. The peoples of the three countries had to bravely arise and join efforts in a

long war of resistance. It was not until 1954, after the armed forces and people of Vietnam dealt the decisive blow to France through the shameful defeat at Dien Bien Phu, that France recognized the sovereignty and independence of the three countries of Indochina at the Geneva Convention.

After that, the United States jumped in, took the place of France, intervened and carried out armed aggression in a vain attempt to turn the three countries of Indochina into new style colonies and counter-revolutionary military bases in Southeast Asia (1954-1975). The peoples of the three countries once again resumed their alliance and fought bitterly to win and maintain their independence and freedom.

Defeated, the United States withdrew. Then, a new enemy—the expansionists and hegemonists made their appearance and used their Pol-Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan lackey clique in Cambodia to attack Vietnam on its southwestern border. In the end, they suffered a painful defeat and the genocidal Pol Pot clique was toppled. The plan to invade Vietnam from the north was also defeated. However, the enemy remain obstinate and still hold to their expansionist and hegemonist designs. They have been collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers in a war of encroachment and occupation and a wide-ranging war of sabotage against Vietnam, in a war to encroach upon and occupy the territory of and topple the government of Cambodia and in exerting pressure upon and bringing about peaceful change in Laos. All three countries of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam must again strengthen their alliance in order to deal with our common enemies and maintain our independence and freedom. It is not by accident that all three fraternal parties of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia share the same observations and assessment of their special relationship and the enormous impact of the alliance of the three countries of Indochina. Facts have proven that this model alliance and solidarity have been a factor of decisive significance in winning victory over each enemy and winning independence and freedom for each country. Whenever the solidarity among the three countries has been undermined, the independence of each country has been threatened. In this significance, the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (May 1981) stated: "The history of the Cambodian revolution during the past half-century shows that when patriotism is closely linked to international solidarity, solidarity among the three countries of Indochina and solidarity between Cambodia and Vietnam, the Cambodian revolution wins glorious victories. Conversely, when the militant solidarity and alliance among the three countries, most importantly the solidarity between Cambodia and Vietnam, are undermined, the Cambodian revolution is pushed back and suffers many losses... The 4th Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (November 1986) and the recent 6th Congress of our party once again confirmed that the militant solidarity, the special relations and the cooperation in every field among the three countries of Indochina are matters of survival, are laws of development of all three fraternal nations.

Clearly, the militant alliance among the three countries of Indochina is not accidental or temporary, but is an objective necessity. It occurs on a regular basis, keeps being re-established, is an historic tradition and has evolved through a process from a low to a high stage of development.

Enemies of all kinds, current as well as past, have been and are looking for every way to divide the three nations and undermine the three countries of Indochina. They are distorting the truth, slandering and falsely accusing Vietnam and trying to isolate Vietnam in a vain attempt to separate it from the alliance with Cambodia and Laos. They loudly proclaim that Vietnam is violating the right of national self-determination and scheming to establish an "Indochina union" in order to rule; that Vietnam is assimilating Cambodia; that there is nothing to be gained from an alliance with Vietnam, which is also a poor country that has an underdeveloped material-technical base, etc.

The truth has disproven these allegations.

As everyone knows, Lenin, when discussing the national issue, pointed out two trends that are in the nature of laws: 1--the awakening of national life and national movements against national oppression and the establishment of nations; and 2--the development of relations among nations, the tearing down of national fences, the international nature of economic life, in general, of politics, science, etc.

Marxist views give attention to both of these trends. When defending the equality and right of self-determination of nations, including the right to secede and establish an independent nation, it is attention to the first tendency. When defending the great principle of proletarian internationalism, namely, the unity of the laboring people of all nations in uncompromising struggle against the influences of bourgeois nationalism, it is attention to the second trend. The national question is a part of the question of revolution, in general. Therefore, in each different stage, this question is resolved in a different way depending upon the nature and tasks of each stage in the revolution. The issue of the right of self-determination of nations, therefore, must also be resolved in accordance with each specific set of historic circumstances and in a manner closely tied to the revolutionary tide of the times. Of primary importance is the need to unite within the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and imperialism the working class and laboring peoples of all countries so that they are close to one another and achieve unity of actions for the sake of the victories of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The issue of the right of national self-determination of the three countries of Indochina, viewed from the perspective of the first trend, was virtually resolved long ago, with the successful August Revolution, 1945 and then, after the French colonialists were defeated and forced to recognize the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country in Indochina, at the Geneva Convention in 1954.

Since then, the revolutionary struggle within each country has continued with the aims of completing the thorough liberation of the nation and defending the independence of and building the socialist fatherland. This is part of what the second tendency entails. It demands that we build and strengthen the alliance, build and strengthen the solidarity and cooperation among the three nations, tear down the artificial fences that separate the three nations and establish international unity and economic, political, cultural and scientific ties among the three countries. These are objective requirements in the

development of production forces, in the international division of social labor for the sake of the interests of each nation and all three nations on the Indochina peninsula. Here, genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism intertwine. This was stated in the Declaration of the High Level Laos-Cambodia-Vietnam Conference on 23 February 1983. The Declaration stressed that the three countries must strengthen their solidarity and cooperation in every field in accordance with the following objectives and principles:

--Establishing unity and cooperation among the three countries with the aim of assisting one another in building and defending the country and helping to maintain peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world, not with the aim of opposing any country.

--Building stronger unity and cooperation on the basis of socialist internationalism. Every issue in the relations among the three countries will be resolved through negotiations on the basis of respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another and not intervening in one another's internal affairs and resolved in the spirit of mutual understanding with respect for the legitimate interests of each country and for the sake of the interests of all three nations.

--Developing long-term cooperation and mutual assistance on a bilateral or trilateral basis in every field in the spirit of fraternal friendship and on a totally voluntary, equal and mutually beneficial basis.

--Building stronger solidarity among the three nations against each divisive scheme of the enemy and everything that reflects big country nationalism and bigoted nationalism.

These objectives and principles of alliance reflect the traditional friendship and special relations among the three countries and reflect loyalty to pure proletarian internationalism.

As for Vietnam, while fulfilling our international obligation, we very clearly understand the famous Marxist-Leninist principles: a nation which oppresses another nation is not free. We are determined to struggle against selfish nationalism of every shade, considering it to be the enemy of proletarian internationalism.

The presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces on Cambodian soil is in fulfillment of our international obligation, is at the request of Cambodia and represents the implementation of the alliance treaty signed between the two countries. This is happening because, in actuality, the independence and security of the friendly country of Cambodia are still being threatened. Until a political solution concerning Cambodia and Southeast Asia is achieved and on the basis of the current situation in Cambodia, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have stated that they will still continue to gradually withdraw Vietnamese volunteer forces from Cambodia each year and that this withdrawal of forces will be completed in 1990 as previously declared.

Reflecting an increasing deep appreciation of the alliance of the three countries of Indochina, the recent 6th Congress of our party stressed: "Through practical and effective measures, we must make every effort to develop the relationship between our country and Laos and Cambodia so that each country and all three countries become increasingly solid and strong and the divisive schemes and tactics of the enemy are defeated. As it has in the past and always will in the future, Vietnam remains loyal to its international obligation to the Lao revolution and the Cambodian revolution. We consider every achievement recorded in defending and building the fatherlands of the two fraternal countries to be achievements of our own. Likewise, each of our achievements would be impossible without the solidarity, support and assistance of the parties, states and peoples of the two fraternal countries."

In the alliance of the three countries of Indochina, one essential and objective matter of long-range significance is the need to effectively increase and develop in depth the close and comprehensive cooperation in all fields, with economic and cultural cooperation being the foundation for strengthening the permanent strategic and fighting alliance among the three countries. Because, although to varying degrees, all three countries are backward agricultural countries and are currently making the transition to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Consequently, it is essential that we lay the groundwork for socialist industrialization, for building the material-technical bases of socialism. Without industrialization, there can be no socialism, no true independence, no true freedom or equality. To accomplish this, we must rely upon aid from the socialist countries, the pillar of which is the great Soviet Union. On the other hand, we must try to gradually carry out the formation of capital from within the national economy of each country. This, in turn, raises the need for close mutual assistance and cooperation among the three countries of Indochina. Because, we share the same rivers and mountains, share a tradition of friendship, are led by Marxist-Leninist parties and are all underdeveloped economically and technically, the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia must not only unite with and assist one another, but must also have suitable conditions for exchanging experience with one another in managing and building our countries in the process of advancing to large-scale, socialist production.

Despite what the enemy says, the three countries of Indochina have been and are aligned with one another and are moving steadily forward. Among the three countries, cooperation in every field, especially economic and cultural cooperation is being rapidly expanded with the aim of helping one another to strongly develop the potentials that lie in the natural resources and material-technical bases of each country in order to resolve urgent problems in the production and life of the people, specifically to assist one another in conducting basic investigations and research, training cadres and formulating long-range planning and plans for national construction in a manner consistent with the requirements of each country and with close ties to one another in terms of socio-economic development strategy. This economic cooperation fully embodies the principles of internationalism: completely voluntary association, true equality, mutual benefit and giving priority and favored status to one another in the spirit of comradeship. This cooperation must be practical and effective, must be planned so that it is carried out on

a stable basis and must combine economic construction with the strengthening of national defense and security forces to insure the performance of the strategic tasks of each country, building and defending the socialist fatherland.

The forms that this cooperation takes are bilateral or trilateral cooperation, cooperation between sectors, cooperation between localities, the coordination of plans, joint economic ventures and exports to one another. At present, although Vietnam's levels of scientific, technological and economic development are not high, it can, generally speaking, still help Laos and Cambodia in a manner consistent with the ability of the two fraternal countries to accept assistance. Such cooperation in the spirit of comradeship and brotherhood is practical, is very necessary and, from an economic standpoint, is consistent with the path being taken by each country toward socialist industrialization. Of course, to continuously elevate, expand and revamp the relations among the three countries, it is necessary to continue to deeply study and employ, with maximum effectiveness, the various forms of political, military, diplomatic, economic, cultural and social cooperation among the three countries. We must guard against subjective and impetuous thinking and actions, against only seeing basic advantages and large victories but not seeing all the difficulties and complex problems being faced.

Recently, Vietnam and Laos examined and drew experience from the cooperation between them in every field during the past several years and adopted plans and measures for increasing this cooperation in the next 5 years (1986-1990). The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea signed and ratified a national border demarcation treaty and signed plans for cooperation in the fields of agriculture, forestry, water conservancy, meteorology, posts-telecommunications, education and tourism during the 2 years 1986-1987 and the 5 years from 1986 to 1990.

Thus, the wide-ranging cooperative relations among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have gradually been codified in the form of bilateral or trilateral treaties of friendship and cooperation based on Marxist-Leninist principles and socialist internationalism. This is further proof that the relations among the three countries of Indochina are relations of revolutionary solidarity among fraternal countries, within which each country is independent, sovereign and equal to the others. These relations serve the common interests of all three countries and the separate interests of each.

While building stronger cooperative relations with one another, the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are constantly intensifying their cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union and the socialist community and, at the same time, cooperating with other friendly countries. This reflects the combination of genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism and reflects opposition to localism, parochialism, shallow thinking and bigoted nationalism.

Clearly recognizing the essential and vital need for the alliance of the three countries of Indochina and for the sake of the cause of building and defending the three countries of socialist Indochina and the cause of safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world, we Vietnamese communists are determined to

strengthen the pure solidarity existing among the three fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula so that it is always a loyal and close solidarity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1980, Volume 1, p 405.

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1986 AND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 87 pp 103-106

[Article by Phan Doan Nam]

[Text] 1986 was a year of heavy defeats for the Reagan administration in both domestic and foreign affairs. Having taken power against the background of a United States in crisis and weakened by the consequences of the Vietnam war and the Watergate scandal, Reagan's ambition was to restore the confidence of the American people in their leader in the White House and regain the international prestige of the United States within the capitalist world in a short amount of time by means of tough measures.

The policy of the Reagan administration is aimed at restoring the internal strength of the United States, that is, helping the sick U.S. economy to get back on its feet following persistent recessions and crises. It is also aimed at intensifying the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and the arms race in space, reawakening the cold war in a vain attempt to disrupt the East-West military-strategic balance that came into being in the 1970's, suppressing the national liberation movement and reasserting U.S. leadership among its allies.

In his first term (1981-1984), thanks to a number of successes on the economic front (especially the successes in 1984, a presidential election year, when GNP grew at the rate of 6.6 percent), the value of the U.S. dollar constantly rose compared to the other "strong" currencies in the capitalist world. Reagan was elected to a second term by a relatively wide margin.

However, during the first 2 years of Reagan's second term, especially in 1986, the U.S. situation has not turned out as the Reagan administration had hoped it would. The crises and scandals of the United States, like needles long concealed in the layers of the fabric of Reagan's demagoguery, have become increasingly evident and been piercing ever deeper into the entire body of the Reagan administration.

To begin with, there is the economy. Two of Reagan's 6 years in office have been years of recession (1981 and 1982). In particular, the U.S. GNP grew at a minus rate (-2.1 percent) in 1982. It grew by 3.7 percent in 1983 and, as mentioned above, by 6.6 percent in 1984. But, in 1985, it dropped to 2.3

percent and only reached 2.6 percent in 1986. During the first 5 years of the 1980's, during four of which Reagan has been in power, U.S. GNP grew at the average annual rate of only 1.2 percent compared to 2.6 percent in the period from 1971 to 1979, 3.2 percent in the period from 1968 to 1973 and 4.2 percent in the period from 1962 to 1967. Thus, even compared to the 1970's, a decade of a very serious economic crisis and energy crisis, the rate of growth of the U.S. economy during the first 5 years of the 1980's was slower.

What caused the U.S. economy to suddenly grow by a high rate in 1984 and then decline in the next 2 years? It has been asserted that the United States experienced strong economic growth in 1984 mainly as a result of economic measures which some economists refer to as "Reaganomics." "Reaganomics" is a patchwork consisting of the economic theory of the supply side school and the economic theory of monetarism coupled with the financial measures of economism of the classical Keynesian school of economics. Combining the approaches of these two schools, Reaganomics has mobilized large amounts of foreign capital by raising bank interest rates. In 1983, 100 billion dollars in foreign capital poured into the United States. In 1985, this figure rose to 300 billion dollars. As a result of this influx of foreign capital, enterprises received a large amount of money without causing inflation. It continues to be the policy of the U.S. government to borrow money from the American people. To date, some 1.5 trillion dollars have been borrowed in this way. This policy, although bringing about temporary development of the U.S. economy as mentioned above, has had harmful consequences in recent years because the United States is so deeply in debt that it not dare borrow additional money. Because the United States must continue to maintain high interest rates to attract dollars, domestic capital, in order to quickly yield a profit, is being invested not in industrial production, but in the stock market, thus causing the U.S. economy to develop in a way that is unwholesome. The high bank interest rates that produced the high exchange rates for the dollar have had the opposite effect: U.S. goods have not been selling because their prices are too high. Meanwhile, foreign goods have inundated the U.S. market, thus making the U.S. trade deficit and balance of payments steadily worse. In 1985, this deficit reached 118 billion dollars, making the United States a debtor nation for the first time in its history. It must also be pointed out that another cause of the unwholesome development of the U.S. economy has been the investment by the United States of hundreds of billions of dollars in the arms race, which has caused imbalance in production and a very serious federal budget deficit. The deficit could exceed 200 billion dollars this year, five times higher than it was when Reagan first entered the White House.

The gloomy state of the U.S. economy has not only adversely affected the United States internally, but has also caused the relations between the United States and its allies, specifically its relations with western Europe and Japan, to become increasingly strained. The passage by the U.S. Congress of a protectionist trade bill was a heavy blow to imports from western Europe and Japan, especially textiles and other light industrial goods.

While the U.S. economy has been encountering these difficulties, the economies of Japan and a few western European countries have been developing. Japan is highly capable of surpassing the United States in economic competition. The U.S. economy no longer exerts the control it once did. At present, the assets

of Japan overseas still rank second behind the United States. However, it has been predicted that Japan could move into first place in the next few years.

The defeats of the United States show that although the United States and the imperialist clique still possess much economic might and are still capable of resisting as they decline or even achieving economic development for a certain period, the overall trend is one of instability. Recession and crisis are necessary parts of the capitalist economy, in general, and the U.S. economy, in particular. They also show that the measures taken by the Reagan administration are only temporary sedatives and not efficacious from the standpoint of reversing the situation. The structural crisis of the capitalist economy and the crisis of capitalist economic theory remain unresolved.

The worsening economic situation has led to upheavals in U.S. society and was one of the main causes of the major defeat suffered by the Republican Party, Reagan's party, in the mid-term elections held in November 1986. What surprised Reagan was that this defeat was much larger than anticipated. As a result of the election, the Senate, which has the deciding voice concerning the policy of the Reagan administration, shifted from the hands of the Republican Party to the opposition Democratic Party. The House of Representatives was already controlled by the Democratic Party. Now, the Democratic Party also controls the Senate. This situation has faced Reagan with very many major difficulties in his work in the 2 remaining years of his term as President.

But the largest defeats of the Reagan administration in 1986 came in the field of foreign affairs. According to the U.S. press, the foreign policy of the Reagan administration during the first year of his second term included three most important "initiatives." These were the "Reagan Doctrine"; the acceleration of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI); and the large-scale procurement of weapons. The Reagan Doctrine, which is also called "neo-globalism," is essentially a counter-attack by the U.S. imperialists against the national liberation and national independence movements. From the speeches of Reagan and Pentagon generals, the bellicose nature of this doctrine is clearly evident in the need to show the world that "the United States is always ready to use military power at any time" and, when necessary, the United States can act unilaterally without informing its allies in advance and without prior consent from its allies (as was the case in the U.S. bombing of Libya and the escalation of the air war in Nicaragua). And what have the results of this policy been? Clearly, they have not extinguished the opposition of other nations, rather, they have caused the United States to be further denounced and isolated in the world, even in countries that are allies of the United States. No documents of the non-aligned movement were as strongly anti-American as the document issued by the 8th High Level Conference held in Zimbabwe in September 1986. However, the defeats of the United States have come not only in the form of being denounced and isolated, but also in the failure of the United States to achieve the goals of "neo-globalism," the failure to instigate activities by counter-revolutionaries in other countries against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the non-aligned countries. Through "neo-globalism," the United States intends to go beyond the limits of the Nixon Doctrine, intends to not only serve as a gendarme in

selective cases, but to return to its pre-Vietnam role as international gendarme. However, it is clear that the weakened position of the U.S. imperialists in the post-Vietnam period will not permit the United States to go beyond the framework of the Nixon Doctrine.

Reagan's decisions to accelerate the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and continue the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, without limits have made the world situation very tense and caused East-West relations to deteriorate but have still not disrupted the East-West military-strategic balance. The technical setbacks of SDI (as seen in the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger) and the uncertain nature of this program have set off within the United States a wave of protest demanding that Reagan abandon SDI or limit it to laboratory testing. The U.S. Congress has cut the budget for national defense, in general, and SDI, in particular. More important, however, is the fact that world opinion is increasingly recognizing the good will being displayed by the Soviet Union in its very constructive proposals concerning military disarmament and the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. From the Soviet-U.S. summits in Geneva and Reykjavik, everyone sees that the only obstacle to the disarmament process is the United States' stubborn insistence on the SDI Program. The anti-nuclear war movement and the de-nuclearization movement have been and are growing strongly, even within the stronghold of the U.S. imperialists and in regions in which the United States maintains large military bases to support the SDI Program. The cracks in the ANZUS alliance are constantly growing and the collapse of this alliance is unavoidable.

During the final days of 1986, a foreign affairs scandal rocked the U.S. administration. The United States had secretly sold arms to Iran and used the profits from this arms sale to supply rebels in various countries, especially the Contras in Nicaragua. Western public opinion has compared this scandal to Watergate. This scandal makes it clear that the crisis in the foreign policy of the United States has not ended. As one of the consequences of the wounds suffered in Vietnam, Iran-gate proves that the crisis of confidence within the United States persists. This is more than just a crisis of confidence on the part of U.S. working people in U.S. ruling circles. It also involves antagonism and disagreements within ruling circles, between the White House and the State Department, between the CIA and the Defense Department and even among top officials within the White House. No U.S. president who has spent 6 years in office has had to replace his national security advisor five times except for Reagan. Democratic leaders in the Senate have openly stated that Reagan's foreign policy is a complete failure. Also as a result of this scandal, the people of the United States and the world are asking if Reagan really controls policy in the United States or is only a "lame duck." Clearly, many events that have taken place show that Reagan is not in control of the White House apparatus.

Everyone also realizes that since the start of the 1960's, when the United States first became involved in the Vietnam war, not one president of the United States has been able to easily complete the task he set for himself in two terms. John Kennedy, whose policy was the "New Frontier", was assassinated in November 1963. Johnson, who succeeded Kennedy and whose policy was to escalate the Vietnam war, removed himself from office following

the Mau Than Tet offensive by our armed forces and people. Nixon, the cunning imperialist ringleader, was forced out of office by the Watergate scandal in 1974. Ford, who succeeded Nixon, bore the shame of the total victory won by our people in the spring of 1975 and ultimately lost the presidency to Carter in 1976. Carter, who thought that playing the China card would help him to win a second term, was defeated by Reagan in 1980. Only time will tell whether Reagan is impeached as a result of the Iran scandal. However, one thing is certain, if Reagan does remain in office for the remaining 2 years of his term, in view of the defeats and scandals on both the domestic and foreign fronts, he will be nothing more than a "lame duck" as everyone already anticipates.

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