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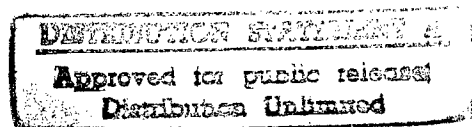
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# ***JPRS Report***



## **East Asia**

### ***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***

No 5, MAY 1987

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## EAST ASIA

### VIETNAM: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 5, May 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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THE SECOND PLENUM OF THE 6TH CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE: SOLVING URGENT PROBLEMS  
CONCERNING DISTRIBUTION AND CIRCULATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 1-6

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The second plenum of the CPV Central Committee implemented one of the important tasks laid down at the 6th CPV Congress, namely solving urgent problems concerning distribution and circulation.

The plenum noted that the situation concerning distribution and circulation has worsened with each passing day since the general readjustment of prices, wages and money in late 1985. This situation has adversely affected the entire production and business environment and social life. This situation is due to a combination of many factors that together generate an impact on the economy and social life, the main and direct root cause of which is the all too long maintenance of the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism that violates the objective law of economic management.

The fundamental and imperative orientations for resolving this situation consist of doing away with the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shifting economic activities to economic accounting and socialist business in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, getting the entire system of production and circulation moving in accordance with objective law and achieving a quick increase in social products.

The plenum pointed out: the resolution of urgent problems concerning distribution and circulation is aimed at reducing the rates of budget deficit, price increases and inflation and at alleviating difficulties facing the life of the laboring people on the basis of doing away with the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shifting economic activities to economic accounting and socialist business, enhancing the leading role of the state-run sector in the economy while developing the positive capabilities of other economic components, expanding the circulation of goods and liberating production forces.

In resolving these problems, it is necessary to be thoroughly aware of these key lines of thinking:

First, renovate the distribution and circulation-related mechanism, policies and organization in the direction of correctly applying various economic laws with the use of planning as a central task, broadening the relations between goods and money, shifting completely to economic accounting and socialist business and combining these with the renovation of other work links in the management mechanism.

Second, steps must be suited to actual conditions and must be both positive and firm. It is urgent to undertake those measures which are obviously necessary and practicable and to guard against the mode of doing things hastily and simplistically, especially without preparation, creating major upheavals and adverse socio-economic consequences. In each step, there must be uniformity in policies, measures and organization while concentrating on resolving key problems in order to alter the situation.

Third, strengthen the efficiency of the centralized and unified leadership of center in conjunction with efforts to vigorously develop the dynamism and creativity of various establishments, localities and sectors and to generate a mass revolutionary movement in resolving urgent problems concerning distribution and circulation. This must be linked with the motivation drive to purify party organizations and the state apparatus and to make all social relations healthy.

Fourth, effectively use and broaden various forms of international economic cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to obtain more conditions for resolving urgent economic problems.

The Party Central Committee plenum has decided on the following important policies and measures:

Policy on goods exchanges between the state and peasants: except for taxes, which are a compulsory obligation, henceforth sectors and echelons are forbidden either to arbitrarily obligate cooperatives, production collectives and peasant households to deliver their products; or to establish additional contribution obligations, thereby causing losses to the people. It is necessary to carry out more satisfactorily the motto that the state and people work together.

The policy on agricultural tax has been improved with the aim of encouraging production. Various cooperatives and production collectives must set appropriate product contract quotas. The tax rates and product contract quotas will be stabilized until 1990.

All relations of goods, exchanges between various state economic organizations and agricultural cooperatives, production collectives and peasant households must be carried out in accordance with the principle of equality, of mutual agreement in trade and of insuring the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

The state will reset a rational rate of exchange between materials and agricultural products on the basis of encouraging production. The prices of purchasing paddy and other agricultural products under contract as well as

beyond contracts, must be based on the principle of consent in order to insure that the peasants can, under normal production conditions, offset the essential social expenses and make a 30-40 percent profit over production costs. Rates of profit vary according to the kinds of products and areas. The profit rate on paddy is 40 percent.

The purchase and sale of products must be settled by cash in accordance with the agreed-upon price as mentioned in contracts. This method must be applied extensively.

The Party Central Committee plenum has decided to shift all state grain trading activities to the socialist accounting and business system. Various grain business organizations are responsible for insuring a sufficient supply of grain for recipients as defined by the state. They will be granted due authority and facilities commensurate with their responsibilities. They must carry out their business in accordance with the system of financial autonomy, of meeting expenses by themselves, of making no profit in selling grain to the appropriate sectors and relying on no state compensation for losses. These business organizations must develop integrated business involving purchase, sale and import and export of rice, secondary crop products, foodstuffs and so forth. They must use profits obtained from one trade to compensate for losses in another.

The shifting of the grain business mechanism must be urgently carried out in order for it to be ready for the early 10th month rice and 10th month rice crops in 1987. In the immediate future, regarding the purchase of grain under contract for this year's winter-spring and summer-fall crops, it is necessary to temporarily maintain the current price indexes and levels in localities. In addition to purchasing grain under contract, localities can buy the remaining agricultural products and goods at agreed-upon and flexible prices, while gradually overcoming the volatility of prices in the free market.

It is imperative that state business organizations strive to meet the requirements of materials for agriculture, immediately reorganize the trading of materials and goods and insure the prompt delivery of materials and goods to cooperatives, production collectives and peasant households at set prices and free from losses. They must not arbitrarily add other expenses or make irrational profits out of these goods through various middle levels, thus causing an increase in prices.

On the principle of insuring full implementation of tax obligations and contracts already signed with state economic organizations on the sale of products, cooperatives, production collectives and peasant households have the right to freely circulate and market grain and food and other marketable agricultural products, except a number of products that are banned by the state from free circulation.

The Party Central Committee's plenum adopted policies toward state-run enterprises aimed at shifting these enterprises to economic accounting and socialist business and enabling them to develop their leading role in the economy to guarantee the interests of the state, the collectives and the laboring people. Prices at both the incoming and outgoing ends will be

correctly and fully computed in order to promote economic accounting and socialist business; but it is necessary to take one step at a time to avoid creating obstacles to production and circulation and upsetting commercial retail prices and to match the purchasing power of the laboring people. Based on a rational price indexing system for imported goods, the state will calculate in full the prices of supplies and appraise the depreciation of fixed assets at selective rates for each sector and will adopt different handling methods at the delivery end depending on the types of products and the categories of enterprises involved.

State controlled supplies provided to state-run enterprises according to plan norms and set quotas must be handled through business procedures through which they will be purchased and sold under contracts with their prices subject to rational adjustment. The selling prices of products turned out by enterprises for circulation organizations shall be established on the basis of subtracting circulation costs from the commercial retail prices in the case of consumer goods or from the wholesale prices of supplies in the case of production materials so as to guarantee the right accumulation of revenue for the state budget in the production process.

In 1987, the system for accumulating revenue from the state-run sector will be renovated by doing away with the method of calculating profit norms based on the production costs of each enterprise. State-run enterprises are allowed to employ different forms to mobilize capital from all collectives and individuals at home as well as overseas Vietnamese.

The Party Central Committee's plenum also adopted policies toward the artisan and handicrafts sector. Policies toward the individual economy and the private capitalist economy will be institutionalized and concretized in the spirit of the 6th Party Congress resolution so that all people can feel at ease when investing capital in production and business. Encouragement will be given to such forms as joint capital investment, cooperation and collective business from a low to a high level; and to various forms of integration with socialist economic components.

Regarding collectivized, family-run, individual and private capitalist artisan and handicrafts production establishments, state business organizations will sell supplies to them at commercial prices that are equivalent to the selling prices in the state-run sector; and will purchase their products at agreed-upon prices, chiefly through economic contracts and on the principle of equality. Producers have the right to freely distribute products not under contract in accordance with the state's policy on the circulation of goods. Labor contract prices must be fixed on the principle of consent to insure that the producers will earn an appropriate amount of income and profit; and coercion and officialism as well as other negative practices must be done away with. The format of trade labor contracts will only be applied chiefly to products made of precious and rare raw material. Establishments producing goods for export are entitled to use part of the foreign currency they earn for importing supplies needed for production.

The tax system as applied toward the small-industry and handicraft sector is to be improved and will reflect special treatment as compared with the trade

sector. The state will apply tax exemptions or tax reductions to a number of export products for newly built or expanded production establishments in accordance with priority economic objectives and will announce a unified tax policy. Localities are not allowed to create any kind of taxes or levies other than those prescribed by the state. It is necessary to check the declaration of business revenue and tax payments and to exact penalties in accordance with the law in cases involving tax fraud and tax evasion.

All socio-economic policies regarding collectivized, individual and private capitalist economies are to be re-examined in order to abolish all narrowminded prejudices and irrational stipulations characteristic of discriminatory treatment such as those in the credit system, material supply, the stipulations on student recruitment and on the training of technical cadres and workers and the standards for sending children to day care centers and kindergartens.

The activities of various supply, domestic trade, foreign trade and transportation organizations must vigorously shift toward business, be financially self-governing and accept the responsibility for losses or benefits.

It is necessary to lift control over the flow of goods along with vigorously shifting socialist trade to business, to continue to immediately do away with all forms of banning circulation and dividing the market in accordance with administrative boundaries and to satisfactorily carry out the policy of removing all goods checkpoints along communications routes throughout the country.

The trade sector must strive to seize the social market in terms of essential goods and must not randomly raise prices in order to profit from price differences in addition to trade discounts. The activities of the state-run trade sector must be reorganized in an attempt to remove superfluous middlemen and drastically reduce irrational transportation expenses. General corporations at the central level must deliver goods directly from wholesale centers to retail trade enterprises. It is necessary to quickly abolish all the trade organizations to those public organs and units without any functions or any authorization to engage in trade and to duly punish speculators, smugglers and embezzlers in trade activities and in the state apparatus.

The communications and transportation management system must be renovated in the direction of carrying out economic accounting and business in order to meet the demand for broadening the flow of materials and goods. Collectivized, family-run, individual and private economies will be encouraged to purchase and build transportation means and register transportation business services, chiefly short-range transportation.

The Party Central Committee plenum decided on an export-import policy and the exchange rate. The plenum acknowledged urgent demands for alleviating difficulties and gradually stabilizing the life of workers, civil servants and members of the armed forces and for gradually tackling the question of salary and welfare in a positive and firm manner in keeping with production performance and the capability of achieving a balance in the budget as well as



in money and goods. It is necessary to come up with comprehensive measures if these demands are to be met. It is most important that the tackling of the salary question must be linked with efforts to reduce the rate of price increases in the social market and to encourage and help the development of family economies in production and support services. Workers and civil servants are allowed to work privately during their off-duty hours. The situation at present does not permit an immediate change in the wage system promulgated in September 1985. Instead, we can readjust part of it, particularly the number of wage scales for technical workers and scientific and technical cadres, while adopting the form of products-based wages and bonuses to partly overcome the character of egalitarianism and the irrationalities in the wage system now in force.

For the army and the public security forces, the state will provide combatants and non-commissioned officers with adequate grain, food and military uniforms and equipment in accordance with the set quantitative norms and at the correct time intervals and locations, with priority being given to those forces operating on the frontline and in areas of hardship. For officers and career military men, price differentials shall be added to their salaries as in the case of workers and state employees.

For workers and state employees in the production sector, efforts will be made to restore their actual wages to the level established in September 1985; and the wages paid will be fully computed into the manufacturing costs of products or circulation expenses. On the basis of developing and enhancing the efficiency of production, it is necessary for enterprises to cover the wage funds by themselves while insuring implementation of the state plan, including the provision for contribution of revenue to the state budget; and to put an end to the use of products or illegally earned sources of income for paying wages and bonuses or for internal distribution. For a number of enterprises that are not yet able to cover the wage funds, the state will deal with them on a case-by-case basis.

It is necessary to broadly apply the system of contract and product-based wages while reviewing remuneration norms and closely enforcing product quality control.

Regarding year-end bonuses that are not covered by the wage funds, it is necessary to temporarily set a cap to limit the excessive difference in income among enterprises. In particular, the payment of bonuses in recognition of inventions and technical innovations should be encouraged.

For workers and state employees of the administrative and service sector, it is necessary to restore step by step their actual salaries to the level established in September 1985. In those localities where conditions permit, price differentials should be added to the wages based on the minimum wage in kind established in September 1985 and computed at commercial prices. As an immediate step, the percentage of the wage readjustment in comparison to the actual wages established in September 1985 shall be decided by the various provinces and municipalities depending on their actual capability for balancing goods with money and for balancing their budgets; and an agreement will be reached with the Ministry of Finance to insure uniform application for

all workers and state employees under the central level's payroll who reside locally. The Council of Ministers shall provide close guidance over the wage readjustment so as to prevent adverse upheavals and avoid too great a difference between various localities and sectors.

For those localities that are not ready to add price differentials to wages in the immediate future or will only readjust wages based on the prices of six items of ration goods, the payment of hardship allowances will be authorized depending on their budget.

Regarding scientific and technological cadres, scientific and technological research establishments and their cadres will be encouraged and provided with conditions to establish direct contact with production and business organizations and establishments under different forms so they can supplement their income by making effective contributions to production. Technological research, application and development establishments must gradually shift to the system of economic accounting and bear part or all of their expenditures themselves.

For workers and state employees of the education and public health sectors, beside giving them the regular benefits, schools and hospitals will arrange for them to teach classes or provide medical services outside office hours to supplement their wages.

For administrative management organs and components engaged indirectly in production, it is necessary to rearrange the apparatus and drastically streamline the table of organization and to apply the wage fund contract system to those organs that have rearranged their organization. A rational percentage of persons engaged indirectly in production should be determined. Aid in the form of materials and capital and incentives should be given to encourage those persons declared surplus from the administrative sector and those components engaged indirectly in production to shift to direct production and service activities, including the collectivized economic sector.

For village and subward cadres, we must readjust their allowances in accordance with the current cost of living and urgently study measures to quickly formulate policy to provide them with better treatment. Allowances for retired persons and those subjected to social welfare will be appropriately readjusted in accordance with the wages paid to workers and state employees in the administrative and service sectors. We must strive to take measures to help those who are facing difficulties in their daily life, especially seriously wounded soldiers, poor families of fallen heroes and retired revolutionary veterans.

The Party Central Committee plenum has decided on many policies and measures aimed at increasing revenue, reducing the budget deficit and the rate of inflation, perfecting state banks and developing various specialized banks.

These urgent measures for distribution and circulation are carried out amid numerous difficulties, yet some favorable conditions do exist. We must stir up the mass revolutionary movement, combine this task with the campaign to

purify the party organizations and state apparatuses and create a healthy atmosphere in social relations. Party organizations of various echelons must clearly inform the people of the various difficulties of the nation, the party and state objectives to solve them and the responsibility of each person, party organization and mass organization to implement these tasks. They must make everyone clearly realize that the key point to satisfactorily carrying out these resolutions is that all echelons, sectors and grassroots units must vigorously shift to the socialist accounting and business system; strive to develop production to obtain high productivity, quality and economic results; and strictly practice thrift, thereby insuring the interests of the state, collectives and the workers.

The CPV Central Committee Second Plenum, sixth term, called on our entire party and people to clearly realize the current situation and their duties, develop the spirit of mastery of their nation, achieve unanimity and be determined to implement at all costs immediately various pressing policies and measures on distribution and circulation, thereby contributing to fulfilling the objective of stabilizing the socio-economic situation as set forth by the 6th CPV Congress resolution.

CSO: 4210/10

OPENING SPEECH BY GENERAL SECRETARY NGUYEN VAN LINH AT THE SECOND PLENUM OF  
THE 6TH CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 7-13

[Speech by Nguyen Van Linh]

[Text] Dear comrades, the Party Central Committee plenum we are holding today is aimed chiefly at resolving the pressing issues concerning distribution and circulation. This is an urgent task that is part of the broad program of action laid down at the 6th Party Congress which consists, among other things, of renovating thinking and conduct, carrying out the three programs, renovating the mechanism of economic management, launching major movements and so forth. It is no coincidence that the theme of the Party Central Committee Second Plenum is centered around the issues of distribution and circulation. Since 1981, although the central level has on many occasions held discussions and adopted decisions, the situation has, far from improving, become ever more serious. These issues now constitute a pressing and fundamental problem and a focal point of all difficulties facing our country's economy. The 6th National Party Congress charged the new Central Committee with the task of concentrating efforts on solving this problem. The political report to the congress pointed out: as an immediate step, effective measures must be taken to keep down inflation and the rate of price increases and to alleviate the difficulties facing the wage-earners. Only by so doing can we create the socio-economic and psychological preconditions for accelerating the reform process.

Our duty, namely the duty of each Party Central Committee member and the Party Central Committee as a whole, is to answer directly to the aforementioned difficult problems facing life so as to meet the people's earnest and legitimate expectations. If this can be accomplished, we will surely take the first august step that provides a vigorous momentum for the steps that follow. I hope and deeply believe that in spite of serious difficulties, we will certainly strive to accomplish this at all costs; for there is no other alternative.

Comrades, before you start discussing the draft plan, I want to make some suggestions in the hope of further clarifying the manner in which the issues of the Draft Plan should be raised.

First, distribution and circulation--which consist of many integral parts such as prices, circulation of supplies and goods, finances, budget, banking, wages and so forth--form an important link in the social reproduction process.

In its narrow sense, it guarantees both the input and output of production. Distribution and circulation are at the same time the conditions and results of production. Thus, the resolution of the distribution and circulation problem is closely related to the production process and the entire mechanism for managing the national economy.

Given such a complex nature of the problem, it is impossible for this plenum of the Party Central Committee to resolve it all at once but rather step by step over a few years. The first step which is expected to be taken between now and the end of 1987 is aimed at resolving the urgent issues to get out of the current chaotic situation. Afterwards, we will have to continue to study the situation, make supplemental decisions and, especially, deal with new problems that may arise.

What we should pay the utmost attention to while marshalling out thoughts to discuss this all too complex problem is that each person must remain absolutely calm and sober to adopt correct solutions. A reliable basis is the viewpoints on renovation of the 6th National Party Congress. It is definitely forbidden for us to revert to bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies; or, on the contrary, to plunge into the direction which is often referred to by many as the contract system. We must definitely avoid using the name of democracy and adopting a departmentalist, individualist, parochialist or sectorial standpoint to tackle the issues. The principled stand is to uphold the common, overall and national interests. For only by successfully resolving general issues facing the entire country will we have the conditions for dealing with the specific situation of each part, each locality and each sector. On the other hand, when having to deal with new problems that arise from the diversified realities of life during an urgent situation we may be correct or incorrect, in spite of local and sectorial interests, to use the name of centralism, order and discipline to introduce restrictive and conservative policies that are inconsistent with the objective realities. It is right now that we need to adopt new thinking and a correct concept about the relationship between centralism and democracy.

Another point worthy of special attention is that we must guard against a hasty and impatient mentality and the desire to overcome immediate difficulties at once by adopting policies and measures lacking in objectiveness and taking precipitate actions without adequate preparations. Otherwise, we will eventually repeat the mistake committed during the general readjustment of prices, wages and money in late 1985.

We must take firm steps. Only by satisfactorily carrying out the previous step can we create the premises and necessary conditions for the next step. If we do it differently, this would lead our country to an immeasurable deep abyss. That said, it does not mean that we should do our work slowly and as we please; we must do it intensively, actively and positively in accordance with the urgency of the issue that needs to be resolved with our all-out efforts.

Second, which issues are considered urgent and fundamental and should be dealt with first? Not much thinking is needed, for each of us can clearly see that inflation is currently a serious problem in our economy. It has intruded upon social life to such an extent that it daily affects every housewife and every citizen.

Within a year or more, the volume of currency thrown into circulation has increased by many times while the gross social output has increased by only 6 or 7 percent. Naturally, not all the money now in circulation is inflationary if we pay attention to the fact that the unit prices of goods have changed during that period of time.

However, a high rate of inflation is an undeniable fact. This is a tremendous challenge with which we must cope.

Meanwhile, we must realize that inflation is a combined manifestation of many contributing factors, which consists directly of budget overspending and galloping price increases. It also results, to an important extent, from many negative phenomena in the distribution of supplies, raw materials and goods; from the practice of increasing prices at will to pocket money from price differentials; and from competitive sales and purchases.

The deep and fundamental causes of this situation are low production output, the big gap between supply and demand and the great imbalance between money and goods. Here I want to call your attention to the fact that we have been in this situation for many years now, but never before has inflation worsened so fast, prices increased so unexpectedly and the lives of wage earners and members of the armed forces become so much more difficult as last year.

In the state sector, many different systems of distribution of income have been applied at will, causing big differences and revealing many negative phenomena. Only a part of the population has engaged in illegal business while speculators, smugglers and a number of degenerate and deviant cadres and civil servants have resorted to every available trick to quickly enrich themselves and to lead a luxurious life at the expense of the state and the laboring people.

This actual situation of distribution not only violates the principle of social justice but also destroys the momentum of production, business and other activities. What conclusion can we draw from this situation? The conclusion is that we cannot say that we should solve the issue of production first and the issues of distribution and circulation later. Some comrades hold that to extricate ourselves from the present situation, it is necessary for us to deal with the problem at the production process.

It is correct that we must start from the production process but we cannot set the whole black box in vigorous and immediate motion. This requires time. The problem is that the actual situation of distribution and circulation at present cannot create the premises and conditions for us to encourage the development of production and stabilize life one step further. On the contrary, it makes production and life even more difficult.

Now we must concentrate all our efforts on vigorously overcoming the direct causes of inflation--continuous budget overspending and skyrocketing price increases. Only on this basis can we insure the actual wages of the laboring people and minimize the difficulties in their daily life.

All factors exerting a direct effect on inflation have their own relatively independent positions. Therefore, we can only improve the situation and step up production and business activities by dealing more satisfactorily with the issue of distribution and circulation.

This approach to the issues has led us to study and resolve to a certain extent the following issues at the second plenum of the Party Central Committee: first, policies for prices and the circulation of supplies and goods; second, policies and measures for limiting budget overexpenditure and reducing the rate of inflation; and third, policies and measures for resolving wages and the livelihood of workers, state employees and members of the armed forces, as well as of retirees and the laboring people in both urban and rural areas. The requirements of this step are to realize four reductions--namely reducing budget overexpenditure, reducing the rate of price increases, reducing the rate of inflation and reducing the difficulties facing the laboring people's life--to contribute toward liberating production forces and broadening the circulation of goods and to shift economic activities to economic accounting and socialist business.

This step is to be taken between now and the end of 1987. By the end of this year, we will review our activities and, on the basis of the situation and the newly gained experience, set forth the requirements, targets and measures for the next step.

I want to stress this point: although we plan only to settle by a step the issues of distribution and circulation, it is necessary to bring about at all costs a marked and effective change within a certain period of time. We must definitely not allow the situation to remain as it is or to deteriorate any further.

Following the 6th Party Congress, our people are waiting for and sternly demanding positive changes. Life does not permit any procrastination.

Third, we are talking about the steps to be taken in the process of effecting various solutions to the distribution and circulation issues, but the principles and general viewpoints that serve as the basis for the solutions for each step must be consistent and generate neither contradictions nor bottlenecks. They are the principles and viewpoints expounded in the resolution of the 6th Party Congress. The congress pointed out: the mistakes committed over past years in the field of distribution and circulation stem from errors in arranging the economic structure and socialist transformation and from the all too long maintenance of the mechanism of bureaucratic centralization and state subsidies in economic management. If the resolution of the distribution and circulation problem is separated from these basic issues, we will not be able to take any step forward; for we will have neither the orientations nor the basis for realizing it.

To change the situation in a fundamental manner it is necessary to rearrange the economic structure along the lines of channelling resources for the three major economic programs concerning grain and food, consumer goods and goods for export. This requires that we resolutely readjust the portfolio for investment in capital construction, utilize sources of capital more rationally and avoid deepening the existing imbalances. It is necessary to invest in projects and products that quickly bring about socio-economic returns. This is a firm foundation serving as the basis for stabilizing distribution and circulation.

A fundamental solution to distribution and circulation cannot lie outside the guiding thought of liberating all the existing production capabilities, exploiting all of the country's latent potentials and making effective use of international assistance, first of all that of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. To a certain extent, this is related to the transformation and utilization of the various economic components. All policies on distribution and circulation must be aimed at unleashing all the existing potentials and bringing into play the great values that still lie dormant in the social reproduction process.

Realities at many localities and sectors have demonstrated that if correct policies are enforced, moribund capital, natural resources, labor, idle money and so forth will become active capital serving the entire economy as well as realistically benefiting each individual, each family and each laboring collective. Through various suitable transitional economic forms, many new production capabilities will emerge from among the people, thus turning out great quantities of products for society and helping to narrow the gap between commodity supply and demand. Recently, a number of provinces and municipalities promulgated various measures designed to develop artisan and handicrafts production and services, and this has brought about initial results.

Naturally, to change the situation and satisfactorily transform and utilize other economic components, the socialist economic sector which is composed of the state-run and collectivized components must grow big and strong so that it will be fully capable of assuming a leading core role, have the strength to set an example and carry out management throughout the sector satisfactorily.

The party and state must create favorable conditions in terms of systems, policies and organizations for state-run and collective economic installations to operate effectively. All solutions to the distribution and circulation problems for the immediate as well as long-range future must necessarily reflect clearly the viewpoints of opposing bureaucratic centralism and subsidization to shift to socialist accounting and business transactions and to correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism.

We must admit that thus far the inertia of the old way of thinking, which is manifested in the economic management organization in general and in distribution and circulation in particular, has been very serious. If we do not renovate the viewpoints and work behavior in accordance with the spirit of the 6th Party Congress, we will have no way of resolving the problem of distribution and circulation. Experience has shown that once in the quicksand



of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, we will be drowned by it. Another way must be sought--and that way is socialist accounting and business. Prices, money, materials and finance must be based on business enterprise. We cannot prolong forever the state of extensively using the budget to cover losses of production inputs to the point that the state loses billions of dong each year.

We cannot continue the usual way in which the state purchases agricultural products and commodities and resells them to workers, civil servants and other recipients at too low prices to the extent that the money required to cover these losses accounts for one-third of the budget.

Economic accounting is simply untrue when we determine production costs and wages at a lower level than the value of machinery, equipment, raw materials and fuel. Needless to say, you comrades already know that such policies have radically bankrupted national finances. How can we determine costs and avoid bureaucratic centralism and subsidization while being able to buy and sell on the basis of business enterprise without taking the liberty of casually increasing prices or of running after the free market prices?

We should expand the business environment and make a channel for goods to circulate without staying out of orbit of the planned economy. These are problems that the project must resolve correctly from the angle of socialist accounting and business.

We should also realize that the eliminations of subsidization in the economy constitutes a long process. It is not right to hastily eliminate subsidization by correctly and adequately calculating production inputs which leads to sudden increases in prices, or to maintain the status quo in the name of caution. In this connection, there should be a specific analysis of specific problems.

Using various calculating projects, we should carefully consider to what extent production inputs should be rationally used with regard to each type of materials and goods. In principle, production inputs should not cause sudden changes and an escalation of social market prices. In this connection, the lessons of the two adjustments of prices in 1981 and 1985 have given us valuable food for thought.

Fourth, distribution and circulation by itself as well as its relationship with the process of recycling social production encompasses several contents. This requires a systematic and uniform connection in dealing with each component factor. The way of isolating factors for consideration by separating this from that aspect will certainly harm the overall body. For example, the determination of prices is directly related to the determination of scales of wages, budget and currencies.

The determination of prices for each type of materials and goods has a chain impact on a series of other materials and goods. In the same way, there is a close mutual relationship between the prices of agricultural products and commodities and those of industrial goods. When the balance of these general relations is destroyed, they, in turn, will upset the component factors. The

question mentioned here is not limited only to technical and professional domains. Karl Marx said: social relations are values, human relations in the course of production and business, and the relations of work exchange crystallized into goods. Equal price is the dominant principle in these relations. When this fundamental principle of production and goods exchange is violated, the motive force of production and business will inevitably be decreased or eliminated.

The situation regarding production performance in last year's sugarcane crop serves as a typical example. As we purchased from peasants at too low a price--not enough to cover their production costs--it is natural that they did not sell the sugarcane to us but rather to private traders or to private operators of manual sugarcane presses. Conversely, when we sold industrial goods to peasants at too high a price, they raised the selling prices of their farm products accordingly. The price level thus keeps increasing against our will. These price relations, once out of control, adversely affect the relationship between the working class and the peasantry as well as between industry and agriculture. These examples are sufficient to testify to the complexity, sophistication and sensitivity of the question of distribution and circulation. It requires us to deal with it strictly and scrupulously and with a scientific attitude. Those things such as acts at one's own convenience, inflexibility, arbitrariness or loose control and spontaneity will lead to disastrous consequences.

Also, we cannot stop at general standpoints and principles. Although these standpoints and principles are very important, they are not sufficient for us to resolve the problem. We must simultaneously map out specific plans in which inter-sector relations are to be reflected. It is these specific and quantitative plans which serve as a yardstick to measure the level of implementation of various solutions aimed at realizing and officializing various general viewpoints.

This is a lesson of experience that we have drawn on from the implementation of the resolution of the 5th CPV Central Committee Eighth Plenum on the question of prices, wages and money. These experiences will guide us in renovating our work style this time.

The mapping out of a general draft plan must be simultaneously linked with efforts to devise specific plans. Formulating these specific plans requires an entire undertaking. Therefore, in this plenum, we cannot come up with all specific answers right away. All solutions, though being further quantified, cannot be regarded as adequate. After this plenum, responsible organs must continue to make further calculations. In addition, according to my opinion, this duty rests not only with central organs but also with various localities, especially with various production and business establishments. This is because they themselves are the people who carry out various plans and who know well what can and cannot be done. We must attentively listen to and respect their voice. Rounding off suggestions brought up by lower echelons and selecting good suggestions in order to supplement plans will demonstrate the renovation of our work style aimed at insuring the principles of democratic centralism.

In order to come up with correct solutions, we must thoroughly analyze the specific and direct causes of the situation. Facts show that though dealing with the same situation, one may interpret in different ways the causes leading to it. Only by clearly determining the causes can we find appropriate solutions and only by correctly diagnosing a disease can we find an effective cure.

Practical and effective solutions must necessarily be linked with efforts to take an important step toward renovation in the mechanism, policies, organization and cadres. We must admit that our concepts and work methods in these domains are far more backward, given current circumstances. They are the greatest obstacles on the path of renovation laid down at the 6th National CPV Congress.

Simultaneously, all solutions to the question of distribution and circulation must be linked with the motivation drive to purify the party, do away with indications of corruption in the state apparatus, dispel all negative phenomena in society and uphold the laboring people's collective mastery.

Dear comrades: this plenum is of great significance. It requires that in his official capacity as a representative of a sector, locality or establishment, each member of the Party Central Committee must uphold the common and overall interests if he is to have correct thinking and find effective solutions capable of quickly effecting a change in the situation.

I would like to end here and declare the 6th Party Central Committee's Second Plenum open.

I hope that the plenum concludes with fine success and will meet the pressing aspirations of the people as well as of party cadres and members nationwide.

CSO: 4210/10

CLOSING SPEECH BY GENERAL SECRETARY NGUYEN VAN LINH AT THE SECOND PLENUM OF  
THE 6TH CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 13-18

[Speech by Nguyen Van Linh]

[Text] Dear comrades, after a few days of urgent work, the 6th CPV Central Committee's second plenum has achieved a fine success. I say a fine success in the true sense of these words. This is the assessment of the Political Bureau and the plenum presidium as well as the common feeling of us all. Dealing with such complicated and important issues as distribution and circulation, especially when we have long held differing views, the achievement of unanimous agreement--not only on viewpoints and principles but also on important policies and measures reflected in the resolution--is truly a cause for rejoicing. The Plenum owes its success to the following main factors.

First, we have been enlightened by the major viewpoints of the 6th Party Congress. The party congress' major viewpoints on building economic structures, transforming and using various economic elements and renovating the economic management mechanism as well as on distribution and circulation serve as the most important basis for orienting our thoughts and helping us find correct solutions.

Second, our previous blunders and errors in handling the problems of prices, wages and money, especially in late 1985, have given us food for thought. Our past blunders and errors gain a positive significance when we can draw the proper conclusions from them, avoid the thorny path leading to an abyss and open clear new paths on which we can move forward steadily.

It should be added that recently, from the large-scale, national economic standpoint, we have not handled the distribution and circulation issue according to objective laws and the realistic situation of our country. Our performance has been hasty and hectic. However, from the small-scale, national economic standpoint, we have quite a number of typical models that can be widespread.

This plenum of the Party Central Committee has paid considerable attention to very promising members of the younger generation, considering them factors that will help us discover realistic measures to resolve the problem of distribution and circulation.

Third, in this plenum of the Party Central Committee, we have begun to renovate our work behavior according to the spirit of the 6th Party Congress. First, we have insured the principle of democratic centralism. The decisive factor in the plenum's success is that the Political Bureau has chosen the correct topic for the plenum. It cannot be said that there was no disagreement before and even during the plenum concerning this issue. Some thought that the issue of production should be selected. Others contended that urgent economic problems in general should be discussed.

Implementing the 6th Party Congress resolution and conforming to the real situation, the Political Bureau decided to adopt the urgent problems of distribution and circulation as the topic of the plenum. Through discussion, the comrades of the Party Central Committee agreed to this decision. In its draft plan sent to the Party Central Committee members, the Political Bureau presented different projects and measures on important issues so that the Party Central Committee could give its views. The method of pointing out differing views encouraged discussion and stimulated thought to discover a superior project. The views of the Party Central Committee members during the plenum were expressed in a very fruitful and straightforward manner and with a high sense of responsibility. The Political Bureau and the plenum presidium treasured these views, and the component charged with following the plenum process gathered and reported enough information to the Party Central Committee.

In comparison to the initial draft plan and projects, many new measures have been presented more rationally and correctly. The Political Bureau and the plenum presidium studied, discussed, accepted and included many appropriate views in the draft resolution. The plenum voted and unanimously approved the resolution in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. There was no subjective attempt to impose anything here. The views of the Party Central Committee are decisive and constitute the higher order that the entire party must execute. I think that this is the new kind of behavior that henceforth we must continue to carry out and improve with every passing day. I hope that this kind of behavior will become a regular work pattern for all party committee echelons; the administration; and various mass organizations, agencies and collectives at all levels and in all sectors.

Dear comrades, our plenum has decided on the issues of immediate and long-term importance in the domain of distribution and circulation. The effect of these decisions is not confined purely within the problem of distribution and circulation. Instead, it is also related to the process of renewing production activities, of which the key link is the process of directly engaging in production. Just as Karl Marx wrote, distribution and circulation are simultaneously premises of and conditions for and the outcome of production. Therefore, when we talk about taking another step toward resolving the problem of distribution and circulation, it also means that we are trying to remove obstacles to production input and output.

In the domain of distribution and circulation, we should not stop with resolving problems such as quantification and the interrelationship among price levels, price indexes, wage scales and budgetary and monetary norms.

Instead, we should pay the greatest attention to resolving very important problems regarding policies, mechanisms and organization. Experience shows that ignoring or belittling these domains will make it impossible for us to resolve the problem of distribution and circulation, as these domains serve as powerful economic catalysts vis-a-vis production. A specialized and thorough guideline for these policies is to handle correctly all economic interests to generate a driving force for production and business, including those in the agricultural, industrial, trade, financial and monetary sectors.

In a small agricultural country devastated by many years of continuous war, grain remains a central question of daily life. Thus, as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin put it: the road to achieving large-scale industrialization must begin with agriculture and the peasants.

It is necessary to formulate a correct policy to promote their enthusiasm for production and to consolidate and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance bloc under the new circumstances. Moving in this direction, as already stated in the resolution, the lowering of the rate of barter trade between fertilizer and paddy; the stabilization of the tax and contractual levels within a few years; the policy of compulsory after-tax contributions; and the matter of basing all economic relations between the state and the people on the principles of equality, equal prices and genuine consensus reflect viewpoints characteristic of the Leninist principle mentioned above.

Industrially, production-related interests must be reflected through the fixing of wholesale prices for the trade sector equal to retail prices in that sector after deducting trade discounts. We must strive to restore wage scales to the level set in September 1985 and include all expenses in production costs. In banking services, the value of the money deposited must be guaranteed with appropriate interests and so forth.

On the other hand, state interests must also be upheld appropriately. What is new in the resolution is an acknowledgment of and a demand for full enforcement of the principle that marketing materials used by the state in exchange with the peasants must be tallied with the quantities of farm produce delivered by the peasants in return to the state. Similarly, in industry, full and correct calculations on production input and output must be dealt with step by step. This is the best way to guarantee the interests of the state as well as those of the laboring people under the current circumstances.

A limit that cannot be bypassed is that output should not create major upheavals or cause prices to skyrocket abruptly as is presently the case.

The Central Committee's second plenum, with the help of collective wisdom, has found various concrete economic forms with which to guarantee harmony among the various interests. Only on the basis of unifying all interests can each

be guaranteed. Among the interests of peasants and workers, there are the interests of the state and vice versa. Leaning too heavily on one side or the other will eventually harm both.

Those policies and measures of distribution and circulation which are outlined in the Party Central Committee's second plenum resolution, thoroughly and profoundly manifest the guideline of eliminating bureaucratic centralism in state subsidies and gradually shifting to economic accounting and socialist business. This is a pressing demand of our national economy.

From what we have experienced in our lives over the years, we clearly see that if we continue to confine ourselves in the old mechanism or if we remain imprisoned by outdated viewpoints alien to life, we will have no escape.

This change in direction is the most important basis of the resolution that we have just approved. The shift to the relations of goods and money is relatively prevalent. The state will sell agricultural materials to and buy paddy from the peasants according to the principles of genuine consensus and equal prices, both within and without economic contracts. The sale of materials by the state to the industrial, small-industry and handicraft sectors at reasonable prices; the removal of obstacles to broaden the flow of goods; the reduction of subsidies in the state budget; the monetarization of wages on a large scale as well as the gradual restoration of real wages; the shifting to monetary business by banks; and so forth are the new steps toward making this change in direction possible.

The measure of broadening the circulation of goods by removing restrictions on transportation and marketing has produced great and immediate effects in many localities, especially Ho Chi Minh City. According to reports submitted to the Secretariat, the flow of rice transported by peasants in the delta provinces to the city has reached hundreds of metric tons a day; and the price of rice has dropped by more than 5 dong per kilogram. Various state rice retail outlets have reported a decrease in their sale volume as compared with past months. This is possible thanks to the assistance from the rice market outside--a very important force having a regulating effect on the supply-demand relationship that we cannot consider lightly. Along with rice, the prices of some other items have also gone down. The scarcity of many types of goods has been initially overcome. Obviously, when our economic decisions are consistent with the objective law of the goods-money relationship, they will be easily accepted and unleash great potentials.

In the relations of accounting and business, the key point is that we must fully master the great source of loan assets from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. If this source of capital is used to cover state subsidies in return for the delivery of products, as we have long been doing, it will not bring about the results that we expect. We must not only prevent this source of capital from slipping away, but must also put it into accounting and business in each production and business establishment as well as in the entire national economy as a whole along the line of actively collecting repayments by installments, considerably reducing state subsidization for business losses, and advancing toward eliminating this altogether as businesses show a profit. This is a fierce struggle not only in

the field of theoretical concepts but also in the field of practical economic management--from planning, mechanism and decision-making to apparatus organization and cadres. Drastic and uniform changes must be realized in all of these work activities.

Regarding organization in particular, urgent efforts must be made to rearrange the supplies and goods business network along the line of reducing intermediary links and directly reaching the consumers via the shortest way possible. At the same time, it is necessary to deal with the surplus personnel of the administrative sector, including administrative personnel of the production sector, by applying the wage contract format and creating favorable material conditions for those subjected to reduction in force to find jobs useful for society in the production and service sectors. On the other hand, business organizations must be organized at an early date on the basis of self-accounting--from corporations trading in grain to corporations engaging in domestic trade, supply organizations, foreign trade corporations, banks and communication and transportation organizations.

By thoroughly grasping the fundamental spirit explained above and by concretizing it in each specific action, it is certain that we will succeed in realizing the four reductions--namely reducing the rate of inflation, reducing the pace of price increases, reducing the rate of budget overexpenditure and reducing the difficulties facing wage-earners, members of the army and public security forces, retirees and the laboring people in both urban and rural areas.

Accomplishing this is the basic condition for liberating production forces, gradually narrowing the imbalance between goods and money, helping to gradually stabilize the socio-economic situation and thus realizing Lenin's teaching that it is necessary to quickly stop the magic trick of printing money to spend at will.

Dear comrades, the process of working out a resolution is a difficult struggle, but it will be an even more difficult struggle to implement this resolution and apply it to life. Here, it involves organization and guidance over implementation. The most decisive factor is that each member of the Party Central Committee should think, speak and act in accordance with the resolution; and that unanimity should be achieved from top to bottom within the party as well as among the masses by and large. This is our strength.

We must deeply and broadly explain to cadres, party members and the masses the viewpoints and objectives of this resolution in realization of the motto "let the people know, discuss, act and supervise." All work should be done this way. This applies all the more to the complex and difficult field of distribution and circulation. Only on this basis can mutual trust be developed between the people and the party in order to launch a seething mass revolutionary movement. We must make it clear for the people to understand that although the resolution of this Party Central Committee plenum is an important step of progress, it cannot change the entire situation at one time. No miracles can satisfactorily overcome all at once the bad situation and difficulties that have accumulated over the years. It is necessary to undo this one step at a time and advance toward stabilizing the situation within a



few years. If we rely on the masses, cadres and party members, no difficult problems are insurmountable when correct policies have been adopted.

We must also note that it will not be easy to implement the resolution of the Party Central Committee's second plenum. We have to struggle against conservative and sluggish viewpoints that display an aversion to renovation; and, at the same time, have to guard against the impatient and hasty mentality that favors precipitate actions without considering the steps involved. No less dangerous and harmful is the extremist attitude of stressing only one aspect such as touting the goods-money relations but neglecting planning or vice versa, interpreting the policy to fully employ market relations in favor of the spontaneously developed market while neglecting efforts to consolidate and strengthen the organized market, and applying agreed-upon prices in trading transactions at will in disregard of the state's guiding and managerial role. Theoretically, no one denies the identity between democracy and centralization as well as between the center and the localities. In practice, however, these two aspects have often been separated from and, even worse, pitted against each other.

To implement this resolution successfully we must continue to struggle against bureaucratic centralization, restrictiveness and alienation from the vivid realities of the masses which result in the adoption of rigid and coercive decisions; and at the same time, we must denounce the manifestations of liberalism, arbitrariness, disorganization and indiscipline that weaken centralized and unified leadership. Our state absolutely does not tolerate departmental and local interests that are detrimental to the national interests. At the same time, we must definitely avoid the situation in which the center's interests are cited as the reason to limit the localities' capability for accumulation and thus, paralyze their initiative and creativity; for the general consequences of this would be to weaken the common interests of both the center and the localities.

On the other hand, the struggle to implement the Party Central Committee's second plenum resolution must necessarily be closely linked with the movement to purify the party and the state apparatus and to combat negative phenomena. In the near future, the Political Bureau will issue a resolution on this issue.

We must take the most severe actions against cadres, whatever their position, who act at variance with the resolution, engage in corrupt practices and under-the-counter dealings, and become degenerate and degraded; and duly punish speculators, hoarders, smugglers and black marketeers.

All instruments of the mass media such as newspapers and radio stations should encourage the public to condemn acts that infringe upon party and state policies and violate the law so as to positively contribute to the struggle against negativism. Legal organs of the state should promptly prosecute violators before the law in order to firmly uphold discipline and the law of the state.

People's inspection organs, which represent the people's right to mastery, should undertake close and deep investigations aimed at detecting, denouncing

and dealing with erroneous and negative acts within the state apparatus as warranted by their authority in order to protect the people's legitimate interests.

Following this plenum, the Secretariat and the Council of Ministers' standing body must quickly initiate the implementation of the plenum resolution. In the spirit of providing concentrated guidance befitting a campaign, it is necessary to closely monitor the development of the situation, discover and remedy mistakes, and supplement and perfect the measures already promulgated by making preliminary and final reviews of each step to be taken. The important point is that efforts must be made on a timely basis and as quickly as possible to institutionalize into specific policies and regulations on the state plane the resolutions of the party.

As you know, comrades, our plenum has only decided on the major viewpoints. Much work still remains to be done to concretize these viewpoints. The Political Bureau, the Secretariat, and the Council of Ministers' standing body will provide guidance on what we must continue to do, especially with regard to the perfection of specific plans. Nevertheless, the localities and sectors should not wait for the center to make all the necessary decisions before they start implementing the resolution, they should go ahead and do whatever is already clear and can be done right away. Matters that are beyond their authority should be reported to higher echelons for instructions.

Dear comrades, the goals, orientations and major viewpoints concerning the pressing issues of distribution and circulation have been decided upon and approved with a high degree of unanimity at this plenum. With a great will and resolution, the Party Central Committee is deeply aware of its responsibility before the entire party and people and pledges its efforts to translate the center's resolution into reality, score successes at the very first step and generate general confidence and enthusiasm so as to meet the people's expectations.

I would like to end here and declare the Party Central Committee's second plenum closed.

CSO: 4210/10

## AN IMPORTANT STEP IN IMPLEMENTING THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 19-20, 27

[Editorial]

[Text] Over the years, our party and state have devoted much attention and energy to resolving the problems of distribution and circulation. However, the situation concerning distribution and circulation continues to be in complete disorder and has worsened with each passing day. Distribution and circulation are currently a burning front of our economy.

The second plenum of our Party Central Committee applied the major viewpoints of the 6th Party Congress, focused its intellect on analyzing the direct and root causes of the situation and set forth the orientations, guiding targets and concrete policies aimed at resolving the pressing issues of distribution and circulation.

Drawing on the lessons of the mistakes of the past years--especially the mistakes committed during the general readjustment of prices, wages and money in October 1985--the plenum worked carefully and deliberated on many aspects, yet firmly and resolutely changed these aspects in the direction laid down by the 6th Party Congress. Taking a general view of the situation in order to firmly grasp various specific points and place them in the systems concerned, the plenum defined policies on prices and the circulation of materials and goods; policies and measures to solve problems concerning wages and the livelihood of workers, civil servants and members of the armed forces; and policies and measures to increase revenue, limit the budget deficit and reduce the rate of inflation. All these policies manifest a determination to eliminate the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and definitely shift all economic activities to socialist accounting and business. All these policies are consistent with a single guiding concept: liberating all existing production capabilities, exploiting all of the country's potentials and effectively using international aid, especially aid from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. All these policies are imbued with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the unswerving lines of our party: strengthening the worker-peasant alliance for the sake of socialism and happiness of the people on the basis of insuring the laboring people's right to collective mastery.

In his closing speech at the plenum, the comrade general secretary said: "The process of working out a resolution is a difficult struggle, but it will be an even more difficult struggle to implement this resolution and apply it to life." Therefore, the task of organizing and providing guidance is of special importance. For several years now, many of the party's resolutions have not been implemented satisfactorily or fully, thus causing cadres and the people to lose faith in implementation. We cannot implement a certain resolution with some of our party's policies which are not close to reality, not in conformity with the irrefutable objective law and are characterized by voluntarism. However, the failure to implement a resolution in accordance with its contents and requirements is due mostly to a lack of organization, guidance and supervision as well as to a lack of a sense of responsibility and cadre knowledge.

The resolution of this Party Central Committee plenum emphasized the need to achieve unity of will and action from top to bottom, struggle against localism and enhance the sense of responsibility of all party committee echelons and leading cadres in various sectors and at various levels. All tasks related to institutionalization, dissemination, supervision and execution must be carried out in accordance with the resolution. Meanwhile, the Party Central Committee emphasized the need to minutely prepare and simultaneously carry out these tasks firmly.

The implementation of the Party Central Committee's second plenum resolution is not an easy task. There are favorable conditions, yet we face no fewer difficulties. The people face acute difficulties in their daily life. The working people, especially those who live on wages, are anxiously waiting for an improvement, but the present real conditions do not allow a total change at one time. Even the most urgent problems must be solved step by step. We are determined, yet we must carry out our tasks with confidence. This resolution is very important, yet it stresses only the main objectives.

There are still many tasks requiring concretization; we can distinguish right from wrong only when we have implemented them. Moreover, as far as our country's current situation is concerned there is no solution that can bear fruit without limitation; there is no solution that will bring positive results without negative ones. To quickly implement this resolution and to obtain the most satisfactory results, we must carry out tasks in such a way that the first step will be a prerequisite for the second step, and the second step must create favorable conditions for the following steps, thereby creating a firm position for the uniform implementation of various policies.

The recent decision to eliminate all forms of limiting transportation and dividing markets by means of administrative boundaries is totally correct. However, in implementing this objective, some localities did not promptly apply positive measures against speculation and smuggling and neglected market management, thus encouraging bad elements to take advantage of loopholes to carry out illegal activities. For this reason, in guiding the implementation of the Party Central Committee's resolution, in addition to a thorough understanding of its content and spirit, we must pay attention to the following points:

1. Firmly grasp the situation and be able to anticipate most of the possible negative results in order to actively formulate measures to overcome them. Be alert in facing new difficulties, resolutely reject applying old and out of date measures. We must always remember the comrade general secretary's expression: "From live experience during the past several years, we have clearly realized that if we had clung to the old mechanism, firmly maintained the out of date concepts and did not adapt ourselves to daily life, we would have no way out." We must be sharp and be able to quickly grasp the surging potential prompted by the implementation of this resolution. We should formulate measures to protect, encourage and accelerate this surge to spread its force in favor of changes at various links in the distribution and circulation of goods.

2. The lesson of taking the people as a base is always applicable. This lesson plays a decisive role at present. There is no better method to overcome difficulties and create confidence for the people than implementing seriously the motto: "The people know, discuss, do and control." From this point, we may create a seething revolutionary movement for the masses to implement the party resolution.

3. Pay attention to organizational and cadre-related work. During the process of implementing the resolution it is necessary to put organizational work in good order while fostering, promoting and replacing cadres. Closely combine various solutions concerning distribution and circulation with the campaign to purify the party and the state machinery.

4. During the period of transition to socialism in our country, we must continue clarifying the many theoretical issues in the areas of distribution and circulation, as well as in the entire socio-economic system, from various fundamental concepts such as socialist production relations, the relationship between goods and money in the multicomponent economy during the transitional period and socialist accounting and business to various problems such as marketing, planning, value, prices, wages, etc. Therefore, it is necessary for our entire party to pay attention to intensifying theoretical research work, especially in the economic field, both in the immediate future and on a long-term basis, considering this as the scientific basis for all decisions of the party. It is certain that new problems will arise during the process of implementing the resolution. All socio-economic research organs and all theoreticians, especially those at the central level, should stay close to the vivid reality that is taking place. Meanwhile, those responsible for management and supervision and all party committee echelons should know how to rely on various research establishments and competent theoretical advisors to combine practice with theory, thereby creating an aggregate strength for the implementation of the resolution. This is the best method for us to renovate our thinking and work style.

Comprehending the situation and tasks of the country, let our entire party and people unite and be resolved to successfully implement the resolution of the second plenum of the Party Central Committee, thus truly taking an important step in implementing the 6th Party Congress resolution.

CSO: 4210/10

## PRESIDENT HO LIVES FOREVER IN OUR CAUSE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 21-27

[Article by Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] President Ho Chi Minh is the spirit and quintessence of our nation combined with the wisdom and conscience of our time. He means boundless love to the Vietnamese people and the banner of the revolution in our country.

By remembering him we recall the past struggle, see more clearly the path ahead and further forge our confidence and will to fight, win and achieve the country totally independent and our people completely free, and to give adequate food, clothing and education to all our compatriots.

Celebrating his birthday this year, just like all Vietnamese people, I miss him, think of him and want to tell you, compatriots and comrades, some of my dearest thoughts about him.

Manifesting the heartfelt sentiment of all the party members and people for him and our determination to follow his path, we usually flaunt the slogan: "President Ho Chi Minh Lives Forever in Our Cause." This slogan is not merely a group of letters or words, it signifies the sentiment, will to struggle and inner motive force of each person which is mingled with his own conscience to be manifested in his work and the results of his work.

Our uncle lives forever in our cause. This means that we always consider him still alive among us and that we are carrying on his cause.

We are the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Communist Party, and the contingents of cadres of the party, state and other organizations. Our uncle appraised our people as "very heroic, courageous, dynamic and diligent. They always follow the party. Their patriotism and stalwartness is second to nobody." He clearly pointed out the duties of party members: "Party members take the lead, the people will follow." He repeatedly told cadres that "the president to ordinary cadres must remain worthy of really being the loyal servant of the people." Every one of us can consider ourselves as our uncle's heirs unless we alienate ourselves by becoming degenerate and deviant. Even those who have succumbed, if repentant, still have a place in our uncle's heart, and at the bottom of their hearts they still think of our uncle as

alive. He used to say that every Vietnamese person can become a patriot and a socialist man.

How noble is our people's sentiment and respect for and confidence in Uncle Ho. Individual idolatry is unknown to our nation. This is the very reason why we are touched all the more deeply by the meaning of this slogan: "Uncle Ho Lives Forever in Our Cause," which means that Uncle Ho lives in each of us.

In this moment of dire straits, let everyone imagine that he has a chance of meeting and talking with Uncle Ho. What would he tell us? How would he criticize our mistakes and failures? What would he advise us to do in order to overcome the difficulties ahead, gradually stabilize and advance our economy and society.

He taught us: "Roots must be firm to have a long lasting tree; build victory on the people's base." For half a century, now, or more, our uncle's desire has been what our people want, and the lines and policies of our party have been the crystallization of the aspirations of our uncle and people.

Our uncle's lifetime activities are the examples of new revolutionary changes of historical and epochal importance, from the time he chose a direction and a way to lead the country in the first decade of the century to the time when he saw the way of national salvation which was the proletarian revolution. He led our people for several decades on this path to develop and apply the Marxist-Leninist theory to the revolution in colonialized countries.

He founded our party with a view to creating a nuclei of leadership for the revolutionary movement in our country to insure success, staged the August general upheaval leading to the establishment of the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia, conducted an almost bare-handed resistance struggle against France, achieved the Dien Bien Phu victory, triggered the collapse of old colonialism, defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors in a head-on confrontation believed to be extremely unbalanced, signaled the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism, gained independence and unity for the nation and advanced the war-torn society of small production directly to socialism. In each historical period when revolutionary changes involved national survival, President Ho Chi Minh always led our party and people to achieve extraordinary new changes and to meet the demands of history in a timely, excellent and beautiful manner just like he and we had promised each other in advance. He used to remind us: "Let's struggle against what is old and rotten in order to create new and fresh things."

Today, once again renovation has become a pressing demand of the country. It is also a characteristic of the socialist revolution, a profound nature of Marxism-Leninism and an inevitable trend of our time. The 6th Congress of our party was a congress which looked squarely at the truth in an effort to change the actual socio-economic situation along the line of renovating the way of thinking, work style, organization and cadres and in conformity with the major concepts of the 27th CPSU Congress. Realizing renovation in accordance with the resolution of the 6th Party Congress is to faithfully heed Uncle Ho's teaching and carry on his cause.

Let us recall together the words of Uncle Ho which, spoken 30-40 years ago, seem addressed especially to us today: "What is bureaucratism? Bureaucratism means the lack of democracy. It is not true that only the upper echelons can be bureaucratic. Any person entrusted with responsibilities can be bureaucratic. To avoid this malady, one must maintain close contact with reality and learn from the masses... Conservatism is a rope that ties up one's feet and hands and must be discarded. To make progress, one must be bold, dare to think and to act... Our ways of thinking, calculating and doing things must be totally different from those of the past. We must resolutely do away with all manifestations of sluggishness and wastefulness and struggle uncompromisingly against errors detrimental to economic construction. We must look ahead and advance ceaselessly. We must mind no hardship, fear no difficulty... But we must be temperate in our wishes. We should do only what we surely can do and should focus our efforts on it... To advance rapidly and strongly does not mean to act in an adventurous and reckless fashion. We must be practical, taking one step at a time, advancing steadily. We must firmly grasp the law that governs the evolution of the revolution and must carefully assess the concrete conditions and measures. We should not substitute our subjectivism for actual conditions."

At this juncture, Uncle Ho's statements are embodied by the resolution of the second Party Central Committee plenum and the opening and closing addresses of Comrade General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh at the plenum.

The policies and methods set forth by the second Party Central Committee plenum have now enabled us to understand more clearly the content and meaning of the slogan: "President Ho Chi Minh Lives Forever in Our Cause." To concentrate on resolving the pressing problems concerning the distribution and circulation of goods and to realize the "four reductions" by all means are the demands of life and the wishes of the people, because at present the confusing situation in the distribution and circulation of goods is an obstacle on the road to socio-economic development and, we can say, a nightmare for the working people.

At present, in production and business, enterprise and cooperative directors, workers, peasants and handicraftsmen are still being subjected to untold constraints and often to bullying when they want to buy materials, sell their products, carry out technical and managerial innovations, associate with friendly units, withdraw their own money from the bank... In daily life, a housewife doing her shopping, a laborer receiving his wages, a family sitting down for a meal, a savings funds depositor calculating his losses following the change of currency, parents selling household effects to buy medicines and milk for their children--all these honest people can see that at present there are many injustices and privations, while next to them the speculators, smugglers, wheeler-dealers and corrupt elements are indulging in dissipation and luxurious living. We now recall with deep appreciation Uncle Ho's words: "We m present there are many injustices and privations, while next to them the speculators, smugglers, wheeler-dealers and corrupt elements are indulging in dissipation and luxurious living. We now recall with deep appreciation Uncle Ho's words: "We must do our utmost in caring for the people's livelihood. If the people are hungry, the party and government are to blame; if the people are cold, the



party and government also are to blame... In the task of distribution and circulation of goods, there are two important things that we must always bear in mind: Fear no shortage, only fear unfairness, fear no poverty, only fear the people's unhappiness."

Let us listen to what Uncle Ho said about pricing in relation to peasants, then we can understand the pricing policy in general: "Buying and selling must be done at adequate prices. Ordinarily, a buyer wants to buy cheap and a seller wants to sell dear. We cannot do likewise. Prices must insure the interests of the state, the cooperatives and their members for the purpose of national construction."

Let us listen to Uncle Ho's words about trade: "Trade cadres must further heighten their sense of service to the people, production... Prices should be set at a proper level; cadres should have a humble attitude. The harmful thing we must combat is the speculators and hoarders. Combating speculators is not a task that can be accomplished by the public security service alone; it takes all cadres and all the people, with their millions of eyes and ears, to tackle this problem to allow goods to reach the people's hands."

Let us hear Uncle Ho's statement about wages: "Wages must be paid according to labor and the level of production. Those who work well and work a lot will be paid a lot. Those who work shoddily and work little will be paid little and may sometimes have to compensate the state. The government will not pay anyone who does nothing... It will not help if wages are doubled but goods are expensive... Wages can be fixed only on the basis of the development of production, abundant wealth and stable prices."

Let us listen to Uncle Ho's remarks about finance: "We must firmly grasp the principle of unified financial management and strictly define revenue and expenses discipline... Right, the system of state expenditures is a shackle, but a necessary and highly welcome shackle. It is a bind for the spendthrift and the ostentatious. It is also a bind for those who care only for the work of their own department while shutting their eyes to the common affairs of the entire country. But it is thanks to its discipline that the system breaks the irons and gives wings to our national economy... It enables us to save every penny to build up a large amount of capital. It fills all holes and seals all cracks, preventing the leaks and scattering of our savings. Only in this way can the bulk, of the state's capital be devoted to socialist industrialization."

Let us listen to Uncle Ho's enunciation on banks: "Money is closely linked to the activities of all sectors. For this reason, all sectors, economic organizations and state organs as well as the entire people must know how to use money well. The banks and various sectors must closely cooperate with each other... Every dong of capital spent must insure an increase in the wealth of society, must be rapidly circulated and must not be allowed to stagnate. Idle money must be actively mobilized for production purposes."

Dealing with the entire field of economic activities, Uncle Ho pointed out the following basic issue: "Increasing production and practicing thrift are the road to the successful building of socialism and the people's happiness. Increasing production is the right hand of happiness and thrift is the left

hand."

The resolution of the second Party Central Committee plenum, which gave further concrete expression to the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, is also an application of Uncle Ho's economic thoughts as outlined above in the present conditions. The policies stated in the resolution of the second Party Central Committee plenum encompass all links of the distribution and circulation front. They are linked with both production and life and have the effect of liberating the productive force and consolidating the socialist production relations, thereby promoting the implementation of the three major economic programs and helping gradually stabilize the socio-economic situation.

Application of the immediate solution regarding the distribution and circulation of goods requires, and at the same time creates conditions for, carrying out the movement for purifying party organizations, purifying the state apparatus, making social relations healthier and realizing social justice. Perhaps it is clearer in the field of distribution and circulation of goods--where considerable confusion, disorder, corruption and ugliness are rampant--than in any other field that strong sweeps of the broom are needed to remove the trash and that clear and healthy rays of light are required to dispel the darkness. This field is the proving ground for the quality and capabilities of each party organization, each state organ and of the working people. The movement for purification and healthiness is being conducted in the entire society, but mainly and especially in the party and state apparatus. As the political report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Party Congress clearly pointed out: "Only by restoring discipline in the party and in the organs of state leadership at all levels can we have the necessary strength to restore order in society."

The campaign to make the party pure and strong is being carried out among all our cadres and people. However, it is necessary for most of our cadres, especially those at the higher levels, to scrupulously serve as examples. Toward the end of his lifetime Uncle Ho wrote an article under the title "Improve Revolutionary Ethics, Completely Wipe Out Individualism." In that article, he pointed out: "Individualism will make people shun hardship and difficulties and lure them into corruption, debauchery, wastage and luxury. They crave fame, seek only material gains and pursue positions and power. They are full of conceit, disregard the collective, despise the masses, act arbitrarily and despotically, alienate themselves from the masses and reality and advocate bureaucratism and commandism. Individualism will also lead to disunity, a lack of a sense of organization, discipline and responsibility and failure to correctly implement the lines and policies of the party and state, thus adversely affecting the interests of the revolution and people." Uncle Ho stressed: "Revolutionaries must destroy individualism, which is an aggressive enemy of socialism. The success of socialism is inseparable from that of the struggle to eliminate individualism." His teachings remain highly relevant to all of us.

Learning from and following Uncle Ho's examples at a time when the socio-economic situation is rife with difficulties, all cadres, especially leading cadres, must share the life and sentiments of the masses and must never be

aloof from the masses. They must feel deeply sorry about errors, view wrongdoings with severity and especially be exemplary in their way of thinking, work style and lifestyle in order to generate confidence among the masses in the leading cadres as an embodiment of the revolution, of the party and as worthy successors to Uncle Ho. In close combination with the struggle to implement the resolution of the Party Central Committee's second plenum, the campaign to purify and strengthen the party, state apparatus and society must be launched not only in conference halls and talks but in actual life.

Only through actions can we evaluate and correctly appoint cadres. As pointed out in the Party Central Committee's second plenum resolution: "Those who deliberately work in a way contrary to the resolution must be dealt with, and those who commit serious mistakes in implementing the resolution or who are not fully capable of implementing it must be replaced promptly." I hope that all competent organs and cadres will pay attention to this matter.

With regard to work methods, a new and highly important point is that the higher echelons must not simply rely on the calculation of a number of persons or resort to bureaucratic methods to map out detailed plans then pass them on to the lower echelons and working people. On the contrary, all sectors concerned at the central levels and all higher echelons must go to the grassroots units to hold discussions with cadres, workers, peasants and those directly responsible for production and consumption, thus correctly applying the 6th Party Congress' motto: "The people should be allowed to know, to discuss, to perform and to control." This is also in accordance with the work method adopted by Uncle Ho from the days he carried out activities in secret to the time he became chairman of the party and president of the state. There was always a profound and natural relationship between the uncle and our people. Many of our Vietnamese, although living in remote places, often felt as if the uncle could understand their life and secret sentiments. He placed boundless confidence in our people's patriotism, love for socialism, political consciousness and background, wisdom and skills. From a short newspaper article to important speeches and from an ordinary job to major policies for the entire country, Uncle Ho always consulted the masses and those brothers and sisters living around him.

With their experience and wisdom, those who are present daily at the sources of realities and centers of production and business activities, workers in enterprises, peasants at cooperatives and laborers in city wards and villages will help us get a keen look at the real situation to formulate plans with suitable norms, steps and work methods and to anticipate bad results in order to prevent and overcome them. In so doing, we will be able to satisfactorily carry out work related to distribution and circulation. Moreover, we will succeed in restoring and consolidating the people's confidence, thereby initiating a mass revolutionary movement. This actually means employing the human strategy, using the people as the base and applying the motto that all is for the people and by the people.

In the current difficult socio-economic situation, the most essential and valuable asset for every one of us workers is confidence, a clear-sighted, unshakable confidence in the party, the state, the collective and in ourselves.

The legacy bequeathed by Uncle Ho is our entire present undertaking, a unified country stretching from the north to the south, the material and spiritual forces of 60 million Vietnamese who are determined to fulfill their two strategic tasks, the growing material and technical bases of the economy, the knowledge and experience of a large contingent of cadres and workers, the moral values of several millennia of civilization raised to the level of our time, the solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, the two fraternal neighboring Indochinese countries and other socialist countries and the love and support of our brothers and friends on the five continents. Every one of us, with his vision, thinking power and working capacity enhanced under the current renovation drive, is part and parcel of this legacy. For all the untold difficulties and trials, for all the negative phenomena, we must profoundly perceive these sources of strength--our very precious assets--which Uncle Ho, together with our entire party and people, painstakingly built up and which are increasingly being brought into account in the present revolutionary struggle. This is the foundation of our confidence and the guarantee of our success.

Of the many forms of degradation and deviation, the most dangerous one is the erosion and, worse still, the loss of confidence. A man who lacks confidence is bound to see his will wither, to become discouraged, pessimistic and alienated from the revolutionary cause and to seek a separate way out for himself. This will easily lead him to bad, corrupt practices and make him easy prey to superstition. In the face of towering waves and roaring winds, our boat must be steady, and so must the helmsman and oarsmen, all joining hearts and hands, resolutely deciding not to give up but to overcome all difficulties and to reach the final destination.

From the earliest days of the revolution and the war of resistance, Uncle Ho had already taught us: "Unity, unity, great unity. Success, success, great success." In his Testament, he advised us: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. All comrades from the central level to the party chapters must preserve the party's unity and the singlemindedness as they would the apple of their eyes." Let our entire party and people unite as one and really achieve unity of thought and action. Let all sectors, levels and laboring people think and act in conformity with the resolutions of the 6th Party Congress and the second Party Central Committee plenum, without waiting and without showing dependency and jealousy. Let us strive to change the situation on step further in 1987, continue to advance in the years ahead, stabilize the socio-economic system and create the necessary new strength and conditions for national development.

The image of Uncle Ho is a magnificent image of our Vietnamese nation. As many of our foreign brothers have correctly pointed out: "President Ho Chi Minh was the embodiment of the entire national legacy and revolutionary experience in Vietnam, including the trials it has faced, the battles it has fought, the hardships and difficulties from which it has drawn precious lessons, the successes it has recorded and the prospects it has opened... There is something immortal in him, something that will never die because it is being preserved by the younger generation and by all those who believe in mankind."

A source of life, Uncle Ho will always lead the revolutionary struggle of the entire nation and will always be present in the daily life and in the heart of each Vietnamese. Uncle Ho will always share with us each success and joyous moment; we remember him even more when we stumble and experience difficult times. The thought of him infuses us with fresh confidence and strength, strengthens our will, clears our minds and deepens our sentiments, and spurs every one of us into carrying out practical deeds according to his position, thereby making our modest contributions to the common cause.

In my opinion, by so doing, we will be celebrating President Ho Chi Minh's birthday in a worthy fashion, faithfully carrying on his cause and loyally implementing the slogan: "Uncle Ho Lives Forever in Our Cause."

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## LEARNING FROM UNCLE HO'S ETHICS, IMPROVING OUR REVOLUTIONARY QUALITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 28-30, 35

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Improving the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members is one of the important, constant tasks of a Marxist-Leninist party, particularly when this party is in power. When he was alive, our revered Uncle Ho was very interested in teaching revolutionary ethics to cadres and party members. He, himself, set an unparalleled example of revolutionary ethics for our party and people.

The revolutionary ethics of Uncle Ho were the perfect combination of the great ideas and feelings of our times and the fine traditions of the nation. They were: unquestioned loyalty to and a tenacious and thorough militancy in support of the revolutionary cause of the class and the people; unshakable confidence in the strength of the people, in the inevitable victory of the revolution; and boundless love for the masses. They were: diligence, frugality, honesty and impartiality; a wholesome and simple way of life; modesty and respect for everyone, from the elderly to children. They were: a pure socialist international spirit and unequalled loyalty for the sake of the unity of the community of socialist countries and the victory of socialism throughout the world, which began with the great Russian October Revolution.

Educated by Uncle Ho, by the party and having been forged and challenged in the revolutionary struggle, the majority of our cadres and party members have displayed the fine qualities of the communist. In the face of the difficulties being experienced today with the economy and living conditions, the majority have remained steadfast, remained confident in the leadership of the Party Central Committee. They have continued to display a high spirit of enduring difficulties and hardships, have strictly complied with the positions and policies of the party and state and have tried to complete assigned tasks well. However, some cadres and party members--including a number of high ranking and middle level cadres--have shown signs that their qualities are eroding and have committed serious shortcomings. There are elements who have become degenerate and deviant. Deserving of attention is that liberalism, the lack of discipline, the failure to seriously comply with directives and resolutions of the party, with policies and laws of the state, negligence, flattery, opportunism, contempt for the masses, embezzlement, bribery, illegal

ways of earning a living and the pursuit of an ordinary material way of life have not been stopped and are continuing to spread.

The kinds of wrong behavior mentioned above have reached serious proportions and have caused considerable harm to the party's revolutionary cause, to the leadership role and fighting strength of the party, to the management effectiveness of the state. They have reduced the confidence of the masses and their will to struggle. Party committees must be fully aware of this situation and make every effort to correct that which is unwholesome within the corps of cadres and party members. They must, as stressed in the Political Report at the 6th National Congress, "bring about a strong change from the standpoint of cultivating and improving the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members." (1)

The communist party member is the soldier of the working class who is in the vanguard of the revolution. In view of this noble duty and weighty responsibility, the quality of foremost importance to every party member in every stage of the revolution is to be conscious of and steadfastly adhere to the ideals of communism. This is "the quality of qualities" of the communist.

Being conscious of the ideas of communism means that each party member must display a strong commitment to revolutionary struggle and an unswerving and clear-cut attitude in the struggle between the two paths for the victory of socialism. It requires that we overcome all pessimism, vacillation, lack of confidence and lack of direction and criticize views that are hostile to the ideals of communism.

One important quality that must be taught at this time is the sense of organization and discipline. The sense of organization and discipline is an expression of party consciousness, is a strict requirement of the principle of democratic centralism, the purpose of which is to maintain the party's unity of will and action. The sense of organization and discipline demands that each party member and cadre of the party, none excluded, scrupulously comply with the lines and policies of the party, speak and act in accordance with the resolutions of the upper level and the collective and respect the principles of party organization and party life. At times when the revolutionary encounters many difficulties, it is even more necessary for the party to emphasize the sense of organization and discipline and wage a determined struggle to criticize and correct everything that reflects liberalism and the lack of discipline.

The sense of organization and discipline is not contradictory to the need to tap the dynamism and creativity of cadres and party members. However, "all dynamism and creativity must be based on lines, policies... No leader may place himself outside the organization and assume the right to speak and act differently than has been decided by the collective."(2)

In labor and life today, we have more than a few examples of the spirit of dedication, of enduring hardships and wholeheartedly serving the party and the people, of being respected and trusted by the people. However, arbitrariness, authoritarianism, bureaucracy, irresponsibility and causing inconveniences to the masses are quite prevalent. Some things that have occurred have been very

serious, more serious than we could have ever imagined. If we do not wage a resolute struggle to deal with and put an end to negative phenomena and violations of the people's right of ownership, a most important lesson we have learned, a principle upon which our party operates--"make the people our base"--will become an empty slogan.

A pure and wholesome way of life is the everyday, concrete manifestation of revolutionary ethics. "In our society, a struggle is occurring between two ways of life: a wholesome and loyal way of life based on ideals, a life lived by means of one's own labor, a life of respecting and protecting public property and caring for the interests of the collective and the country and a pragmatic, deceitful, selfish and parasitic way of life, a life spent chasing after money." (3) The corruption of a cadre or party member often begins with his or her way of life. Poisoned by a pragmatic way of life, by the allure of money, some cadres and party members, including a number of cadres who have been forged and challenged, frequently sell their conscience and honor. The theft of public property, conspiracy, bribery and the many other illegal ways of making money that have developed in recent years stem from a pragmatic way of life and the pursuit of money.

Now, more than ever before, party organizations, state agencies and mass organizations must attach importance to teaching politics and ideology to their cadres and personnel and properly practice self-criticism and criticism in party life, in the life of their agency or mass organization in combination with soliciting the criticisms of the people. Every conceivable measure must be taken to restore the discipline of the party and observance of the laws of the state. We must deal with the mistakes of party members and cadres in accordance with party statutes and state law. We must be determined to expel from the party degenerate and deviant elements and persons who are not fully qualified to be party members. Cases involving crimes must be publicly prosecuted and tried. Cadres and party members who serve as "umbrellas" and tolerate or cover up mistakes by other persons must be dealt with in an appropriate manner. We must emphatically renounce the feudal approach of "prosecuting the people under criminal law but dealing with officials on the basis of 'protocol'" and stop being lenient toward high-ranking cadres who have achievements to their credit, even though their mistakes are clear and serious. Our party has pointed out: "The higher one's position is and the more time that one has been forged in the party, the harsher is the disciplinary action that must be taken against this person if he commits a disciplinary infraction." (4) The harm caused by negative phenomena on the part of cadres is many times greater than the harm caused by the negative phenomena of other persons. Wrongdoing by cadres who hold public positions and authority draws many other persons into doing things that are wrong and protects them in what they do. A cadre who is responsible for "providing leadership" but who places himself outside the law most assuredly allows many criminals to get away with their crimes.

Facts have shown that in order to do a good job of teaching and enhancing revolutionary qualities, it is necessary to strengthen and improve the management of cadres and party members. "Each party committee must possess detailed and accurate knowledge of the qualities of each cadre under its management. Party chapters must inspect and manage party members--including



party members who are leadership cadres--in those areas that relate to ethics and style."(5) We must abandon the outmoded approach to management of simply relying upon a cadre's or party member's personal history and never knowing the good or bad things that have occurred in his work or life. The effort to improve the revolutionary qualities of cadres, party members and state personnel must be closely tied to management requirements. On the basis of the function, task and characteristics of the work of one's sector, agency or unit, the party committee and management agency must work together to adopt specific policies, measures and requirements for each person to strive to implement and meet. On this basis, good persons and good work must be praised and a struggle must be waged to correct mistakes that relate to a person's qualities and way of life.

The living conditions of wage earners are a critical problem today. In conjunction with policies and measures adopted by the party and state with the aim of gradually stabilizing the standard of living of the laboring people, agencies and units must fully concern themselves with the living conditions of their cadres, manual workers and civil servants in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the recent 2nd Plenum of the 6th Party Central Committee. However, difficult living conditions are no reason to relax the ethical principles of the revolutionary cadre, to erase the line between the honest and the dishonest, the ethical and unethical. At the same time, attention must be given to the following reality: it is not rare to find that the cadres, manual workers and civil servants at one place receive wages and bonuses that are many times higher than those received at other places or who enjoy very many benefits compared to other places. In the case of cadres who live in the cities, the allotment of housing and conveniences, the use of vehicles and the policies on house rents and electricity bills vary from one place to another and are frequently not consistent with the regulations of the state. Very unreasonable differences in remuneration and benefits violate the principle of social fairness and have an adverse impact upon the qualities of cadres, manual workers and civil servants.

The Political Report at the 6th National Congress of the Party pointed out: "Each of we communists must, throughout our lives, learn from and follow the example set by the ethics and style of Uncle Ho, the great father of Vietnam's revolution. We must remember and follow his teachings, cultivate higher revolutionary ethics, combat individualism and be worthy of being the leader and the truly loyal servant of the people."(6)

The character of each communist, the prestige of the party and the survival of the revolution demand that each of our party members, cadres and state personnel follow the example set by the great Uncle Ho in his ethics, strictly comply with the resolution of the 6th Party Congress and constantly cultivate revolutionary qualities.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 81.
2. Ibid., p 82.

3. Ibid., p 76.
4. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 59.
5. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 83.
6. Ibid.

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## LEARNING FROM UNCLE HO, CULTIVATING A WORK STYLE THAT IS DEMOCRATIC AND CLOSE TO THE MASSES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 31-35

[Article by Le Quang Vinh]

[Text] Down through the ages, scientists have said: "Style is man himself"(1), is "the face of the soul"(2), is "the jewelry of thinking."(3)

The Ho Chi Minh style reflects the noble qualities of a revolutionary militant who struggled throughout his life for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, the happiness of the people and the ideals of communism. Combining his pure thinking and noble qualities, Uncle Ho cultivated for himself a revolutionary and scientific style of work--the Leninist style. This style helped him to creatively and successfully apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the realities of Vietnam's revolution and establish for our party a system of correct revolutionary views and thinking. This style helped him to successfully perform a huge amount of work in a short amount of time, work which brought about profound revolutionary changes in our country. This style will forever be a priceless asset of our party and people, be a standard for each of our cadres and party members to study and follow.

Many research projects on President Ho have shown that the Ho Chi Minh style is the combination of deep knowledge of revolutionary theory and practice and skill in practical organizational work. It is the well balanced combination of revolutionary zeal, boundless loyalty to ideals, a scientific mind and practical and effective work methods. The work style of Uncle Ho was a comprehensive, complete and rich style encompassing many qualities, the most prominent ones being his democratic style and his closeness to the masses.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. After he adopted Marxism-Leninism, this view became an increasingly conscious, concrete, profound and thorough view in President Ho. He stated: "The revolution is the common work of all the people, not just one or two persons"(4) and "workers and peasants are the masters of the revolution."(5) And, even during the days spent searching for the path of national liberation, Uncle Ho clearly stated his intention: "To me, the answer is clear: to return home, live among the masses, awaken them, organize them, unite them, train them and engage them in a struggle for freedom and independence."(6) He maintained that in order for

the revolution to be successful, it must give power to the people: "To make revolution, we must make sacrifices. Therefore, the revolution should be thorough, that is, should be carried out in such a way that once it has been completed, power rests with the majority, not with a minority. This is the only way that we can avoid making these sacrifices many times, the only way for the masses to achieve happiness."(7)

Clearly recognizing the important role and the enormous forces of the masses, being determined to live among the masses, assembling, organizing, educating and training the masses in how to make revolution and giving power to the masses, these were the newest, most scientific and most correct views in our country in the 1920's and also formed the basis of Uncle Ho's revolutionary line and his style. While he was still searching for the path of national salvation as well as when he held the positions of president of the country and chairman of the party, he always thoroughly practiced the view "the people are the base" in everything he did, from matters of minor importance in his everyday life to matters of major importance related to the national economy and the welfare of the people. Rereading the teachings of Uncle Ho, listening to stories about him, viewing films about him and viewing items of historical interest left behind by him, we and future generations will forever remember the style of a person who always concerned himself with the masses, who served the masses, became one of the masses and led them forward.

To liberate the nation and the laboring people, to awaken and lead the masses, Uncle Ho maintained that we must truly trust and respect the masses and must not look down on the masses, because, the masses are intelligent, creative and rich in experience. He said: "Some persons say that the 'masses are ignorant.' This is wrong. The people are very intelligent. The masses have very much experience and are very innovative."(8) He asserted: "The victory of the revolution will be determined by the struggle, sacrifices and creative intelligence of millions of people, particularly manual workers, farmers and revolutionary intellectuals."(9) In every job they perform, cadres and party members must truly rely upon the masses, upon the collective. Uncle Ho often said that no person can know everything. The same applies to heroes and leaders. "Compared to all the work performed by mankind in the world, the great heroes of yesterday and today have performed only a very small part."(10) The masses are very clear-sighted, intelligent and fair in everything they do. Therefore, we will achieve better results and avoid unnecessary mistakes in everything, from matters of minor importance to matters of major importance, from production and farm work to the evaluation of cadres and the promotion of cadres if we solicit the opinions of the masses and listen to what they have to say. Uncle Ho said: "By this method of comparison, the masses also very clearly know which cadre is good, which is bad, which cadre has made a mistake that can be rectified, who does good work and who works in a slipshod way.

Therefore, arranging for the masses to criticize cadres and promoting cadres on the basis of what they say will not be used as a form for expressing prejudices and biases and is both a reasonable and fair thing to do."(11)

Uncle Ho required that each cadre and party member set examples for the masses, be humble before the masses, maintain close contact with the masses

and organize, lead and educate the masses while listening to their opinions, learning from the masses and always being concerned with their living conditions.

Such was the specific and thorough guidance provided by Uncle Ho. But, more importantly and profoundly, our Uncle Ho truly set an example by being the first to correctly apply these views in his everyday life. Moreover, he did much more than he said or wrote. He humbly listened to everyone's opinion in a thoughtful and respectful way. He attached very much importance to the principle of collective work, especially in the activities of the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee. He solicited the opinions of many persons, even the opinions of his security guards and domestic help, concerning many of the proposals he made and many of the articles he wrote. In his speech and writings, he chose his words very carefully in order to make his thoughts easily understood and remembered by the masses and cadres. His writings, therefore, were very carefully edited.

Although he occupied the highest positions of the party and state and was always busy and pressed for time, Uncle Ho still managed to set aside time to visit and work with basic units and meet with the masses. Even when he was old and frail, Uncle Ho still made visits to a number of places. Wearing tire sandals and a plain khaki shirt and trousers, he blended in with the masses wherever he went. He tried to understand every aspect of life and was interested in everything that related to the life and work of his comrades and fellow countrymen: their kitchens, rice bins, paddy baskets, housing, privies, clothing, mosquito nets, medicine, paper, notebooks and so forth. He shook hands warmly with everyone and carried children in his arms. He would sit on the steps of houses and stand in fields and beside factories openly conversing with everyone. He spoke simply and said little but what he said was very profound, concrete and easily understood. He always explained scientific and revolutionary theories by giving specific examples of things found in everyday life. When he concluded speaking, he summarized what had to be done so that everyone did it. He lived a life of diligence, frugality, honesty, integrity and devotion. These qualities also reflected his respect for the people and their labor, his desire to not waste their money or effort and his desire to do everything possible to further the people's interests and everything possible to avoid harming their interests. Fidel Castro called Uncle Ho "the most modest and complete Marxist-Leninist of our times." President Salvador Allende cited three virtues of Uncle Ho: thoroughness, unselfishness and modesty.

When he learned that many persons among us still had the habits of acting like "revolutionary officials," of being autocratic and paternalistic and were not truly the "servants of the people," that in their work and dealings with others, they were arrogant, had no regard for the opinions of the collective or the masses and that they did not truly set examples in everything they did and were only concerned with looking after themselves, Uncle Ho was very upset. He demanded that the entire party uphold revolutionary ethics and rid itself of individualism. Every cadre and party member must truly serve the people, must fight and make sacrifices for the people.

Uncle Ho pointed out that bureaucracy, formalism, conceit, selfishness, arbitrariness and paternalism are the enemies of revolutionary ethics, are the antithesis of a work style that is characterized by democracy and closeness to the masses. He denounced the practices of constantly remaining at one's desk, being a "figurehead," performing work that has no practical purpose, working in a form for "form's sake" fashion, exaggerating how much work has been performed and writing reports which sound impressive but say nothing. The results of these ways of working do not serve the interests of the revolution or the people. To the contrary, they divide the government, the party and the people. Uncle Ho wrote: "The government and party seek to bring liberation to the people. Therefore, they must serve the interests of the people in everything they do and be responsible to the people."

This is a very simple and clear proposition. Yet, it is still not understood by many cadres. As a result, they often make mistakes in their work to the point where a division occurs, with government and party cadres on one side, the masses on the other."<sup>(12)</sup> He reminded us that when establishing an organization, considering a specific job or discussing how something should be done, we must always act in the interest of the masses. As regards methods of working that pose an inconvenience to the masses, we must have the courage to propose to the upper level that it change these methods and should even boldly change them ourselves and report on these changes later in order to insure that work is performed successfully. Uncle Ho wrote: "No matter how many methods of organization and work we have, they all must serve the interests of the masses, all must be needed for the masses. Therefore, we must have the courage to suggest that the upper level abandon or change methods of organization and work that are not compatible with the masses. We must suggest that the upper level adopt methods that are compatible with and needed by the masses, even if such methods do not now exist. If a method is needed, adopt it and report on it later, just as long as the work gets done."

Some of our cadres only know how to do things in the old way. They do not dare to abandon things that are no longer suitable nor do they dare to adopt things that are necessary.

This is because they have the habit of not taking charge, because they are 'conservative' and 'accept things as they are.'"<sup>(13)</sup> He reminded them: "Instead of being arrogant, the leader should try to understand. But his knowledge and experience are not enough to provide correct leadership. Therefore, in addition to his own experience and in order to broaden his own experience, the leader must also make use of the experience of party members and the masses."

This means that the ties between ourselves and the masses cannot be allowed to weaken for one moment.

This means that we must listen to the opinions of party members, of the people, of persons who are 'not important.'"<sup>(14)</sup>

Uncle Ho bitterly criticized selfishness, calling it a parasite that destroys the body of revolutionaries, making it impossible for them to do anything for the revolution, for the people, regardless of how skilled or intelligent these persons might be.

Uncle Ho harshly criticized the ills of being remote from the masses, assuming the airs of a revolutionary official, issuing orders to the masses, being authoritarian toward the masses, coercing and intimidating the masses and not listening to their criticisms, proposals, requests or complaints. He maintained that those cadres and party members who succeed in their work, who are able to persuade and educate the masses and who have the trust of the masses are persons who always display a high spirit of serving the masses. He reminded us that we must wholeheartedly serve the people, must always bear in mind the three words "for the people." He said: "We must understand that the agencies of the government, from the national level to the villages, are the servants of the people, that is, they perform public work for the people, not suppress the people as was done during the periods of French and Japanese domination." (15) He encouraged everyone to always place the interests of the revolution, the interests of the party and the interests of the people above personal interests and, when required by the revolution, to be ready to sacrifice personal interests, even sacrifice one's life. He wrote: "At all times and in everything they do, party members and cadres must place the interests of the party first and their personal interests second. This is the highest principle of the party.

This is 'party consciousness.'

If there is ever a time when the common interests of the party are in conflict with the personal interests of the individual, we must resolutely sacrifice personal interests for the interests of the party. Even when it comes to our life, we must gladly sacrifice it for the party." (16) Throughout his life, Uncle Ho struggled and made sacrifices for the revolution and the people. When he was travelling overseas as well as when he returned home, when engaged in clandestine activities as well as when bearing the responsibility of leading the party and state, Uncle Ho, regardless of the perils and hardships he faced, always had but one objective, to struggle for the independence and freedom of the nation, for the happiness of the people. Just before he passed away, Uncle Ho regretted that he could not serve the people longer, serve the people more, and he did not forget to remind us not to hold a grand funeral for him in order to avoid wasting the time and money of the people.

On the basis of his correct view concerning the masses, his noble goals of liberating the nation, liberating the class and bringing happiness back to the people and his deep faith in the masses, Uncle Ho cultivated for himself a work style, a style of leadership that was truly democratic and close to the masses. Learning from this work style of his is an important requirement, is a large task confronting each of our cadres and party members, the aim of which is to seriously implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress with regard to adopting a new style of work in each activity of our party.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Buffon, 18th Century French natural scientist.
2. Seneque, 3rd Century Spanish thinker.
3. Chesterfield, 18th Century British writer.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 233.
5. Ibid., p 268.
6. Tran Dan Tien: "Nhung mau chuyen ve doi hoat dong cua Ho Chu tich," [Stories About President Ho's Life of Activity], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, p 52.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," p 242.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Phat huy tinh than cau hoc, cau tien bo"[Displaying the Spirit of Desiring To Learn, Desiring To Make Progress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 24.
9. "Ho Chu tich noi ve dan chu, ky luat va dao duc cach mang,"[President Ho on Democracy, Discipline and Revolutionary Ethics], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 58.
10. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume 4, p 472.
11. Ibid., p 569.
12. Ibid., p 459.
13. Ibid., p 460.
14. Ibid., p 506.
15. Ibid., p 36.
16. Ibid., p 465.

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'A MAN WHOSE DESTINY WAS CLOSELY TIED TO THE PRESS'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 36-39, 52

[Article by Nguyen Xuan Thong]

[Text] Uncle Ho was a great revolutionary journalist. The entirety of his rich and intense life of revolutionary activity was closely tied to the cause of the press. Once, during a visit to the Vietnam Journalists Association, Uncle Ho said that he was a person whose destiny was closely tied to the press.

This was true.

During the years he spent travelling overseas in search of the path of national salvation, Uncle Ho considered the press to be an effective tool and used the press as a forum from which to denounce the evil character and expose the cunning tactics of colonialism and appeal to the colonial peoples to struggle for national liberation. From the time that our people won their independence, Uncle Ho's destiny was even more clearly and closely tied to the press. He was the founder of Vietnam's revolutionary press. He was always interested in the growth and development of newspapers. At the same time, he was a loyal, regular reader of many domestic and foreign papers. He read newspapers, wrote newspapers and used the press to support the revolutionary struggle of our party and our people.

Keenly interested in the press, Uncle Ho was a regular reader of many types of press materials. In his position as leader of the party and state at a time when our country's revolution was experiencing many difficulties and hardships, when the country's independence was once "hanging on a thread," Uncle Ho, although very busy, still set time aside each day to read. He read many types of newspapers: domestic papers, foreign papers, papers of the central level, local papers, the papers of sectors, mass organizations and so forth. Vu Ky, the director of the Ho Chi Minh Museum, informs us that Uncle Ho read every domestic newspaper sent to him. Uncle Ho read and left behind with his autograph on them more than 70 domestic and foreign papers. In the final years of his life, although his health had seriously declined, Uncle Ho continued his practice of regularly reading books and newspapers. Hoang Van Thai recounts: "Once, while visiting him, I noticed a stack of half-read books and newspapers beside his bed and said: --'Uncle Ho, you're tired and

should limit your reading so that you have more time to rest and regain your health.' He replied: --'Why are you telling me not to read? We who are elderly and frail must learn, too, must read in order to increase our knowledge and grasp the situation.'"(1) When he became too weak to read, Uncle Ho asked comrades to regularly read newspapers and news releases to him.

Uncle Ho read newspapers daily and thoroughly. He gave his attention not only to large and important articles, but also to small, short articles, to pictures and photographs. When he read a paper, Uncle Ho read page one first and then went on to pages two and three. And, he marked off some articles for action upon at a later date. From the materials he left behind we see that Uncle Ho used three types of pens and more than 20 different symbols to mark off items in papers. He read very quickly and was able to accurately pick out important domestic and foreign news. He noticed and corrected improper word usage and incorrect spelling. In August 1951, issue number 51 of VUI SONG Newspaper carried a poorly drawn picture. He examined this picture and wrote above it: "This drawing must be criticized." The 14 June 1961 issue of NHAN DAN Newspaper carried an article on the adjustment of the retail prices of some industrial goods by the Council of Ministers. He underlined the word "adjustment" in red ink and substituted the word "reduction," which was easier to understand.

Uncle Ho acted upon news reported in newspapers quickly and thoroughly. Once, when reading a local paper, he learned that children in Phu Tho who had been separated from their parents by the war had to live in Catholic missions. On 21 July 1947, he sent cadres to find these children and bring them to the Viet Bac base area to be raised and educated. He then paid them a personal visit. In early 1948, while reading QUAN KHU III Newspaper, he learned that Do Nhu Thin, although more than 50 years of age, was still active in the guerrillas and had recorded many achievements. Uncle Ho wrote a letter praising this man and presenting Thin as an example to be studied by everyone.

Uncle Ho gave special attention to examples of "good persons, good work" reported in newspapers. Whenever he came across a good example, regardless of whether it had been set by an individual or a collective, he marked it off and made a notation that it be verified so that he could make an award of an emblem or letter of commendation. He always advised: "Do not overlook things which you think are commonplace." "Using good examples among the masses and among cadres and party members to teach one another is a very practical and convincing way to have the masses educate one another. It is also a way to implement the mass line in educational work."(2)

Uncle Ho was also interested in examples of "good persons, good work" in the fraternal countries. In the 13 May 1962 issue of TIEN PHONG Newspaper, he learned that a 22 year old woman in Korea name Kim Trinh Thuan had saved seven children from drowning. He immediately wrote a letter to her. It read in part: "Only under the socialist system and with the education of a Marxist-Leninist party do persons as brave as you exist... It makes me happy to tell you that although our two countries are a thousand miles apart, there is in Vietnam a 14 year old boy named Pham Duc Thu who, like yourself, has saved seven children from drowning."(3)

Along with promptly praising and commending good examples, Uncle Ho also harshly criticized the shortcomings and weaknesses of cadres and party members that were brought to light by the press. Once, an article entitled "Call Him Sir" appeared in VUNG MO Newspaper (Quang Ninh) criticizing a young party member, a member of the village people's committee, who wanted everyone to call him "sir." The article told how once a 60 year old man, who was convicted of the crime of contempt for the administration because he did not call this cadre "sir," had to submit a written review of his behavior and was sentenced to corvee labor. Uncle Ho carefully read this article, marked off numerous spots and then sent the article to the secretary of the Quang Ninh Provincial Party Committee. When it received the article, which now bore Uncle Ho's signature, the Quang Ninh Provincial Party Committee conducted an investigation, took disciplinary action against this cadre and then sent a detailed report to Uncle Ho.

On another occasion, NHAN DAN Newspaper carried in its "Workers' Voice" column on 5 May 1962 an article entitled "Self-Reliance" criticizing Viet Tri City for not displaying a high spirit of self-reliance. Although it is in a locality that has wood and sawmills, the city was buying children's toys from Hanoi. It also had a cooperative that made barrels but was buying barrels in Nam Dinh. Although the province had much tre and nua bamboo, it was buying shades from Hai Hung. It was even buying clothing in Son Tay for resale. When he read this article, Uncle Ho made some notes in the margin and suggested that it be sent to the Phu Tho Provincial Party Committee so that it could study and correct the problem.

Uncle Ho used the news and stories carried in newspapers to provide quotations, to analyze or raise examples or to offer criticisms or reminders in his articles and speeches. At a training class for district level leadership cadres on 18 January 1967, he used a news report carried HAIPHONG Newspaper concerning the illegal slaughtering of hogs in My Phuc Village to remind cadres and party members of the need to set examples. At this conference, he cited the example of D. Village (Thai Nguyen), which performed good air defense work, organized production well and fulfilled its obligations to the state (based on a news report carried in VIETNAM DOC LAP Newspaper in late 1966).

He also reminded the persons around him, reminded each cadre and party member to set aside time to read books and newspapers. In the 24 June 1954 issue of NHAN DAN Newspaper, he published an article entitled "It Is Necessary To Ready the Party Paper" in which he encouraged cadres and party members to regularly read the paper. Whenever he visited a locality, agency or mass organization, he instructed their leaders to give attention to reading newspapers and to concern themselves with the contents, printing and distribution of papers and with the material-spiritual lives of correspondents.

His interest in the press led Uncle Ho to contribute many constructive opinions to newspaper and to journalists. He offered opinions to each paper, be it a central or local paper, the party paper or the paper of a sector or mass organization. Whenever he learned that a new paper was being published, Uncle Ho wrote a letter encouraging its staff and offering concrete, practical suggestions. On 10 March 1947, when VE QUOC QUAN Newspaper published its

first issue and took over the task of SAO VANG Newspaper, he read the issue and sent a letter to its staff stating that it was the responsibility of the paper to keep abreast of the activities and the development of the national guard and truly be the close friend of each of its soldiers. When QUAN DU KICH Newspaper--the organ of the Militia Department of the High Command--made its appearance before readers (March 1948), Uncle Ho wrote a letter to the paper's editorial board defining the paper's task as:

"Making every citizen a soldier and every village a fortress so that the forces of the enemy are harassed, attacked and destroyed everywhere they go and our troops receive the fullest possible material and spiritual assistance from the people."

On 20 October 1950, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Newspaper came into being to meet the rising demands of the tasks of the revolution and the rapid growth of the revolutionary armed forces. It was Uncle Ho who gave the paper its name. He also offered valuable ideas and instructions to its staff. A contemporary of his, Nguyen Chi Thanh recounts: "I asked Uncle Ho for his opinion. He said that our army is a people's army, so, the paper should be named PEOPLE'S ARMY PAPER."(4) He also advised that the paper should address practical matters, speak in accordance with the political line, not carry many humorous items and write in a concise, simple, easily understood and clear style. Uncle Ho also examined and offered his opinions to papers that had a small distribution, such as XUNG PHONG Newspaper, the organ of the patriotic children of Hai Hung Province, which was published in 1948, or BAN CHIEN DAU Newspaper, a paper with a small readership that was published in a foreign language to agitate among legionnaires.

Uncle Ho guided and corrected the mistakes of each newspaper every step of the way. He reminded papers to carry a column entitled "Welcoming Readers' Criticisms and Opinions" concerning the paper in order to improve the quality of their articles, drawings and photographs, serve the tasks of the revolution better and satisfy the requirements and aspirations of the masses.

His interest in the press led Uncle Ho to devote much time to meeting, exchanging opinions with and being interviewed by domestic and foreign journalists. In particular, he attended and offered valuable opinions at every congress of the Vietnam Journalists Association. He praised the contributions of the press to the revolution. At the same time, he pointed out the shortcomings and weaknesses of the press. In his speech at the 2nd Congress of the Vietnam Journalists Association (16 April 1959), Uncle Ho offered the following criticism: "NHAN DAN, THOI MOI, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN and other newspapers use far too many words."(5)

At the 3rd Congress of the Vietnam Journalists Association (8 September 1962), he pointed out other shortcomings of newspapers, such as "carrying articles that are often too long and complicated," "being biased and sometimes exaggerating achievements," "being in a rush to report news and frequently not displaying the necessary caution," "using too many foreign words," "using photographs of poor quality and drawings that are not skillfully done"...(6) He defined the standards of newspaper personnel, including writers, printers, editors and so forth. He pointed out: "Press cadres are revolutionary

militants. The pen and paper are effective weapons." Consequently, press cadres from central newspapers to local newspapers and the newspapers of sectors and mass organizations must cultivate revolutionary ethics so that they can fulfill their glorious task.

Uncle Ho was pleased by the worthy contributions made by the press to our country's cause of revolution. He felt a very deep sense of loss whenever he learned that a correspondent had been wounded or killed while performing his duty.

Our Uncle Ho not only read newspapers on a regular basis and concerned himself with improving papers, but he also wrote many articles for papers. He was a skilled journalist, a talented writer. Few could match his ability to write. In 1951, in NHAN DAN Newspaper alone (Uncle Ho founded NHAN DAN Newspaper, the organ of our Party Central committee, on 21 March 1951), he published 50 articles. In 1952, he wrote more than 80 articles and, in 1954, he wrote nearly 150 articles under the pen names CB, DX, A.G.... From 1951 to 1969, Uncle Ho wrote about 1,230 articles for NHAN DAN Newspaper. Many of his articles were carried in NHAN DAN Newspaper each year, the most being 249. His articles, which were written in many different genre, dealt with many different issues, from the issue of the party leading the people in the war of resistance and national construction, the issue of democratic centralism, self-criticism and criticism, the beautiful system in the Soviet Union and the decadence and crimes of the French and U.S. imperialists to individual examples of good persons and good work.

Between February 1946 and January 1955, Uncle Ho wrote approximately 300 articles under the pen names DX, QT, QTH and others for CUU QUOC Newspaper.

All his articles, regardless of whether they dealt with important issues of the country or presented examples of "good persons, good work," were written in a very concise style, were written in plain language that was easy to understand and remember. He often reminded journalists to ask themselves the following questions when writing: for whom and for what purpose am I writing? And, he said that they must write in a universally accepted, concise and easily understood style. Uncle Ho set a bright example of this style.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Newspaper, 19 May 1980.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve cong tac van hoa van nghe,"[Work in the Fields of Culture and Literature-Art], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, pp 82-83.
3. On 13 June 1961, Thu, who lived in Lien Hiep Village in Thanh Ba District, Phu Tho Province, saved four children. Ten days later, he saved one more. And, prior to then, in 1960, he had saved two other children from drowning. In its 27 July 1961 issue, NHAN DAN Newspaper reported his achievements. Uncle Ho read this report and awarded an emblem to Thu.
4. LICH SU QUAN DOI Journal, No 6-1986.

5. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve cong tac van hoa...", p 42.

6. Ibid., p 60.

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## THE CLASS OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS ON THE AGRICULTURAL FRONT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 40-42

[Article by Vu Oanh]

[Text] I. Under the Leadership of the Party, Our Country's Class of Collective Farmers Has Made Enormous Contributions to the Victories Won on the Agricultural Front During the Past 5 Years

During the past 5 years, much progress has been made in agricultural production. Grain production has reached an important level of development, increasing at the average annual rate of 4.9 percent compared to 1.9 percent during the period from 1976 to 1980. Once passive and disinterested in production, tens of millions of laboring farmers have begun to take the initiative. They are eager to produce and have been investing their energies and money in production, making more efficient use of land, labor and other material-technical conditions, expanding the trade sector and gradually shifting to a general business and commodity production. As a result, production forces have developed and production relations have been strengthened in all three areas: ownership, management and distribution. The final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within agriculture have been the primary force behind this process of change. Today, in the North, 95 percent of farm households and 97 percent of farmland have been collectivized. In the South, 88 percent of farm households and 86.3 percent of farmland have been collectivized. The most important result of agricultural transformation in the southern provinces is that collective production has, from the very outset, yielded larger returns than private production. In the course of transformation, production has continued to develop at a rapid rate, especially grain production.

In 5 years (1981-1985), our country's class of collective farmers produced and sold to the state from 3.2 to 4.3 million tons of grain, 200,000 to 260,000 tons of pork, live weight, 600,000 to 700,000 tons of ocean fish, 300,000 to 400,000 tons of soybeans and hundreds of tons of tobacco, peanuts, jute, rushes and other agricultural products. At the same time, the standard of living of farmers was improved and some farmers established grain reserves, thus creating the conditions for stabilizing life in the countryside. Unlike previous years, the state did not have to provide hundreds of thousands of tons of grain in relief to farmers each year.

The achievements recorded on the agricultural front during the past 5 years are a clear step forward in the mass movement to develop their role as collective masters in building and defending the fatherland.

## II. The Difficulties and Shortcomings Inhibiting Activism on the Part of the Collective Farmer on the Agricultural Production Front

In late 1985, changes in the fields of prices, wages and money had an adverse impact upon agricultural-rural activities, gradually reducing the incentive provided by product contracts and the activism of the class of collective farmers. Cooperative members returned some of the land they had accepted under contracts and only accepted contracts with small output requirements in order to concentrate their investments and exceed contracts by a wide margin. They reduced the production of certain crops and species of livestock and reduced the level of production in various trades, thus causing negative phenomena to emerge within production. There are also objective causes of this situation that must be acknowledged, such as the fact that economic potentials, especially industry's support of agriculture, are still weak. Natural disasters have resulted in serious losses and caused agricultural production to be unstable in many large areas. The entire country still must perform its two strategic tasks and an important portion of the able-bodied youths in the countryside has had to fulfill its obligation to defend the fatherland. The needs for grain and food products, for raw materials for industry and for agricultural products for exportation are pressing and acute. However, the main reason for the gradual decline in the activism of the farmer is that numerous socio-economic policies concerning the farmer and the countryside are largely characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. The obligations of farmers to the state have not been stabilized. The total amount of products mobilized is increasing at a faster rate than production is developing. The procurement of agricultural products is marked by unfairness. Procurement prices are lower than production costs. Many of the ratios between the prices of agricultural products and the prices of industrial goods cause farmers to suffer losses. Essential materials are not supplied in accordance with the plan. It is commonplace not to receive a full supply of materials or to receive materials on time, which have directly affected the management of production by cooperatives. The way in which materials are supplied is still authoritarian, is still inconvenient and costly to many cooperatives and farmers. Many state-operated organizations and agricultural services are living on subsidies from farmers, which have taken the place of subsidies from the state, and are not truly supporting production under a mechanism that closely ties them, in terms of accountability and interests, to the results of the production of basic units. Strategic agricultural materials are not being closely managed and some have been allowed to circulate on the free market. Private commerce is still doing better than state-operated commerce in many fields. At many places, the circulation of products and goods is being impeded and there is still the practice of closing rivers to traffic and prohibiting markets from being held. Farmers are caught in the middle, being exploited by private merchants twice, when they buy products and when they sell products. Cooperatives have not achieved independence in their production and business and must still make many payments to the state that are not part of the responsibility of a cooperative. In their trade relations with the state, cooperatives incur



increasing losses as they sell more agricultural products to the state. Because, for each ton of pork they sell to the state, they must make up for a loss of 22,000 to 26,000 dong. For each ton of paddy they sell, they must make up for a loss of 3,000 to 10,000 dong. Meanwhile, a very wide disparity exists between the procurement prices paid for agricultural products and the prices of industrial goods sold by the state:

One 2.5 liter thermos bottle is the equivalent of 75 kilograms of paddy;

One egg of a chicken raised by industrial methods is the equivalent of 1.6 kilograms of paddy;

One Thong Nhat bicycle is the equivalent of 450 kilograms of paddy.

Removing the obstacles described above will restore confidence and the right of ownership to the laborer, develop his activism and creativity on the job and eliminate the skepticism of the laboring farmer toward the socio-economic policies of our party and state, thereby creating a new situation for the development of agricultural production.

### III. The Role of the Class of Collective Farmers in the Tasks of the Revolution on the Agricultural Front in the New Stage

Following more than 25 years of working to build the cooperativization movement in the North and more than 10 years spent carrying out transformation, developing agricultural production and building the new, socialist countryside in the South, we have established nearly 16,000 agricultural cooperatives, more than 370,000 production collectives, 500 state farms, 300 state forestry sites, 21 state-operated fishing enterprises, 121 service corporations, more than 1,700 basic level scientific-technical stations and farms and 35 agricultural research institutes and colleges. The labor force on the agricultural front consists of nearly 21 million persons, 90.8 percent of the total social labor force. Each year, some 7 million hectares of agricultural land is used (primarily in the cultivation of wet rice). We have nearly 1 million hectares of fresh and brackish water ponds, lakes and swamps; 13 million hectares of barren hills; 640,000 hectares of coastal sand dunes; 7 million hectares of forests; 1 million square kilometers of territorial waters, etc. These are large potentials, are important conditions that we have yet to develop or utilize in a highly effective manner. However, they are also potentials and conditions that will contribute to the implementation of the goal-oriented programs in grain-food products, consumer goods and export goods established by the 6th Party Congress.

Today, the class of collective farmers is a very important force in the implementation of these three goal-oriented programs. Building upon the valuable experience gained during the past 5 years, we must continue to tap the zeal and creativity of the laboring masses; develop the potentials and strengths of our tropical agriculture and the combined strengths of all regions (the lowlands, the midlands, mountains, sea and so forth); strongly develop a commodity production economy in all three segments of the economy (state-operated, collective and household); and further improve the new economic mechanism on the basis of a rational economic structure in the

initial stage of the period of transition, one which closely ties domestic economic activities to overseas activities through exports and imports and involves economic-technical cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, most importantly the Soviet Union, and other friendly countries with a view toward successfully completing the three goal-oriented programs and achieving a new level of socio-economic development in the countryside.

The class of collective farmers has a large role to play in implementing the important economic positions and policies of the party, such as perfecting the product contract mechanism within agriculture, developing the household economy; accelerating the parcelling of land for afforestation to the people and collectives; strengthening socialist production relations in the mountains; carrying out socio-economic development along the seacoast; continuing to accelerate agricultural transformation and development in Nam Bo... In particular, on the basis of the different forms of cooperative production and in practical ways, the mass of farmers must participate in the movement to apply scientific and technical advances in agriculture. This is both a pressing requirement and the most basic way to rapidly raise crop and livestock yields, achieve higher labor productivity within agriculture and create the conditions for expanding the trade sector and the division of labor so that each laborer in the countryside has sufficient work. Collective farmers, the main force in the transformation and development of our country's rural areas toward socialism, must carry on and build upon the nation's cultural traditions while learning and applying modern experiences.

At the same time, in the process of collective labor and production, collective farmers, organized and led by the various party committee echelons, also transform themselves into new socialists and develop increasingly close ties with the working class. This process of self-transformation and improvement is not simple. It is the process of struggling to become a laborer who exercises socialist collective ownership.

We are making the transition from small-scale production under a mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies to large-scale production under a mechanism based on economic accounting and socialist business. This transition has a direct impact upon each family, each laborer. Bringing about this change on the agricultural front, the front of foremost importance today, is the weighty responsibility of our country's class of collective farmers, a responsibility fulfilled under the leadership of our party and with the wholehearted assistance of the working class and the stratum of socialist intellectuals. We are confident that, in view of their diligence and creativity, their deep patriotism and love of socialism and as a result of being forged in the process of building and defending the fatherland, our country's class of collective farmers will make worthy contributions to meeting the socio-economic goals set by the 6th Party Congress.

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## THE WORKING CLASS AND OUR TIMES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 43-48, 63

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Le]

[Text] The October Revolution brought about a great turning point in the worker movement. For the first time in the history of this movement, the working class in a large country, a country covering more than one-sixth of the earth's surface, arose and liberated itself, liberated all laboring people, liberated an entire society.

During the past 7 decades, under the banner of the October Revolution and with large assistance from the first socialist country in many different fields, the working class and laboring people have continued to seize power in a host of countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America. The world socialist system has constantly grown and become the factor of decisive importance in the development of mankind.

The second major historic event since the formation of the world socialist system has been the vigorous development of the national liberation movement. The enormous victories won by the national liberation movement could not have been won without the role of foremost importance--and, in many countries, the decisive role--played by the working class in its alliance with peasants and the other patriotic classes and strata within a united anti-colonialist national front. The victories of the national liberation movement also could not have been won without close militant solidarity between the working class in those imperialist countries that have had colonies and the working class of the socialist countries, where the working class is the class in power.

Thus, since the October Revolution, the international working class has completely changed the face of the world and markedly changed the comparison of forces between labor and capital, between progress and reaction. The international working class has shown itself to be the force that has the greatest impact upon man's course of development.

In this process, the international working class has experienced vigorous growth in terms of both its size and quality. At the start of the 20th century, there were only about 80 million workers. Today, their number has risen to 650 million, an eight-fold increase. During the same period of time,

the world's population only increased three-fold. These figures alone are enough to refute the argument of many bourgeois theoreticians that the working class is "eroding."

It would be simplistic and not at all dialectical for us to not see that the socio-economic changes which have been and are continuing to occur within the different social systems, that the growing internationalization of the relations among countries, that the scientific-technological revolution, a revolution that marks a new epic, have had a profound impact upon the social position, the make-up, the thinking and the trend of development of the working class in all countries. The individual and combined effects of the processes described above have led to similar and dissimilar results in countries depending upon the socio-political system of each.

Within the world socialist system, the working class is the class which leads society through its vanguard party. In the Soviet Union, the number of official and probationary party members who belong to the working class has risen to 8.6 million, 45 percent of the party's total membership. In the GDR, party members who are workers make up 58.1 percent of total party membership. In Czechoslovakia, this figure is 44.6 percent and workers account for 61.1 percent of probationary party members.

As regards the administration, more than 1 million workers in the Soviet Union are Soviet deputies on the various levels. The trade unions of the Soviet Union, which are the largest mass organizations of the working class and laboring people, have 137 million members.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is the victory of the leadership of the working class aligned with the class of collective farmers and the stratum of socialist intellectuals.

In its advance toward even larger victories in socialist and communist construction, the constant strengthening of the leadership role of the working class remains the factor of most decisive significance. The resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU stated: "The congress considers maintaining the leadership role of the working class and strengthening the alliance among the working class, collective farmers and laboring intellectuals to be the bedrock of the policy of the CPSU."

The resolutions of the party congresses of the other socialist countries and the resolution of our party's 6th Congress also stress this point.

To strengthen the leadership role of the working class, the CPSU, on the basis of the teachings of Lenin, the current situation and the need for comprehensive reform, has placed a very high degree of emphasis upon the further democratization of political and economic life and on upholding the right of ownership of workers and the people.

At the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Today, more than ever before, we have a clear understanding of the full meaning of Lenin's thinking concerning the dynamic, internal relationship between socialism and democracy. The entire historical experience of our

country has accurately proven that the socialist system has, in practical terms, upheld the political and socio-economic rights and the rights of freedom of citizens, thereby displaying the superiority of Soviet democracy and giving everyone increased confidence in tomorrow.

However, in light of the conditions of the reform under way today, when strengthening the human factor is the task of critical importance, we must return to Lenin's view concerning the thorough democratization of the socialist system, a system in which man sees himself as the master and the creator."

Guided by this thinking, the CPSU has been and is advancing a number of new ideas with the aim of promoting democratization. The economy is the decisive field in the life of society. Developing democracy within this field is of foremost importance. M.S. Gorbachev has said: "Developing democracy within production and steadfastly applying the principles of true self-management in the work of labor collectives are of foremost importance. The economy is the decisive field of social life. It is where tens of millions of persons work each day. This is why we say that developing democracy within production is the most important direction we can take in strengthening and expanding socialist democracy, in general, is the lever that can be used by us to insure the widespread and active participation of the laboring people in each field of social life and which will permit us to avoid many mistakes and shortcomings."

Reform and democratization are a revolutionary struggle that must be led by the working class. Because, although enormously important, reform and democratization will not occur without complications and difficulties. They will be met by considerable reaction on the part of "those who continue to do as they please at factories, in localities, municipalities, laboratories...with little consideration for the opinions of the collective, of the laboring people."

Another matter with which the socialist countries have concerned themselves in order to strengthen the leadership role of the working class is the need to eliminate the differences within the working class and bring about changes in the structure, perceptions, thinking and so forth of the working class.

At present, in the Soviet Union, manual laborers still make up 40 to 50 percent of the labor force. In the GDR, this figure is 25 to 30 percent. In Bulgaria, it is roughly 50 percent.

In the GDR, veteran workers make up two-thirds to three-fourths of the number of industrial workers. In Bulgaria and Rumania, the figure is one-fourth to one-third. In the Soviet Union, about one-half of the total number of workers are veteran workers. In the countries of Soviet Central Asia the percentage of veteran workers is the same as it is in Bulgaria and Rumania.

As regards occupational standards, three-fourths of the workers in the GDR have received systematic training at trade schools and are highly skilled. In the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland, about one-third of workers are highly skilled, one-third possess average skills and one-third are unskilled. The

27th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the fraternal parties of many socialist countries adopted the strategy of accelerating intensive development. The resolution of the CPSU congress stated: "In principle, the party has adopted the policy of accelerating, in a fundamental way, the advancement of science and technology and the widespread introduction of new generations of machines and equipment and new industrial processes to achieve the highest possible labor productivity and economic efficiency and use this productivity and efficiency as the main levers in the intensive development of the national economy."

The implementation of the strategy for intensive economic development and the application of the latest achievements of science and technology in production demand extraordinary efforts on the part of the working class, of all manual and mental laborers. The process of performing the tasks mentioned above is the process of continuing to bring about new changes in the structure, the thinking and the position of workers within each different sector and trade. Also through this process, mental laborers, such as researchers, engineers, highly qualified technicians and so forth will also participate in increasingly large numbers in the process of producing material wealth. Mental laborers and highly qualified technicians will make up an increasingly large percentage of the work force of the modern industrial sectors.

The process of implementing the strategy for intensive economic development and the application of modern science and technology raise many problems, none of which are simple, such as the systematic and frequent retraining of workers, the problem of the labor displaced as a result of the rationalization and automation of production, etc. These jobs, although difficult, are not impossible under socialism.

The working class in the socialist countries share much in common: Marxism-Leninism; the leadership of communist and worker parties; the goals of building socialism and communism; cooperation in the spirit of comradeship for the sake of common interests; and the causes of protecting the gains made by socialism and safeguarding peace. These things which are shared in common are vital.

Due to historical and cultural differences, due to different socio-economic starting points and due to the varying amounts of time that have been spent building socialism, the development of the working class in the different socialist countries has not been uniform. This is an objective fact. The process of joining together to build socialism and communism is the process of bringing the common and the particular, the national factor and the international factor closer together.

In the nationalist countries, the working class has taken leaps forward since their countries threw off the yoke of colonial domination and as the nations' industry has developed. Today, this force numbers 300 million persons.

The position of the working class in these countries depends, in many respects, upon the political, economic-social system of each country.

In those countries that are developing toward socialism and those countries in which parties with Marxist leanings or democratic, revolutionary parties are in power, the working class along with the class of farmers and the stratum of people's intellectuals are the primary forces of society, forces which are waging a joint struggle to carry out the transformation of society and industrialization for the sake of the interests of the people.

In those countries which are following the capitalist path of development, particularly countries ruled by feudal-bourgeois, militaristic dictatorships, the working class is severely oppressed and exploited.

The majority of the newly independent countries are still the targets of exploitation by neo-colonialism, by "technological imperialism" and by "financial imperialism." Multinational corporations control the economic-financial arteries in the majority of the developing countries. They have established in these countries industrial enterprises which employ simple and medium-scale industrial processes, particularly assembly enterprises and enterprises that generate large amounts of pollution. At present, the developing countries owe the imperialist countries more than 1 trillion dollars. Each year, the U.S. imperialists take from the developing countries, 50 percent of which are Latin American countries, more than 100 billion dollars.

As a result, in many of the developing countries, the international capitalist class, the owner of the multinational corporations, has become the largest and most ruthless exploiter of the native working class and laboring people.

The members of the working class in the developing countries share common goals: struggling to strengthen their political and economic national independence, achieve and maintain social progress and safeguard peace. The working class in the developing countries is a homogeneous class, is the most progressive of the classes and represents the most progressive production force. It has natural ties to the class of farmers, the largest social force in these countries and the main source of support of the working class.

In the age of the proletarian revolution and the national liberation revolution, national independence and socialism are closely linked to each other. The working class in the developing countries has a natural, organic alliance with the working class and people of the socialist countries, with the working class in the imperialist countries.

The differences in national history and national culture and different socio-economic structures within each country show us the diversity of the working class in the developing countries.

One point to which attention must be given is that although Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism have become ever more closely associated with the worker movement in the developing countries and have increasingly become the banner and compass of the working class in these countries, it must be realized that paternalism, religions and traditional customs still exert considerable control over the working class in this region of the world. As a result, there have emerged such things as African socialism," "Islamic

socialism" and worker and labor organizations controlled by Islamism, Hinduism and Protestantism. And, in recent years, the Social International (the 2nd International), which consists of social-democratic parties, has intensified its activities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Social International has many ties to trade union organizations controlled by aristocratic workers. In many developing countries, the stratum of aristocratic workers is the product of neo-colonialism.

In the developed capitalist countries, the working class, which came into being at the same time as the bourgeoisie, has a history that extends over many centuries and became a class that fights for its own interests more than 100 years ago. Marxism was born in the developed capitalist countries of Europe on the basis of French socialism, German philosophy, British political economics and a review of the struggle that had been waged by the working class.

The working class in the developed capitalist countries has written glorious pages in its history and taken much political, economic and social power from the hands of the ruling class.

For many decades, many processes of profound change have been occurring in the developed capitalist countries. The structure of production and the structure of the economy have undergone many changes. Capitalism has fallen into a serious general crisis from which it cannot be saved, one consisting of a deep structural crisis and a more rapid cyclical crisis. The development and growth of state monopolistic capitalism have accelerated the socialization of production and the instruments of production. The formation and development of multinational corporations has accelerated the internationalization of production and circulation. The strong development of science and technology and the application of modern technologies have opened unprecedented prospects for modernizing the means of production and work tools and raising labor productivity.

These processes have had a strong and broad impact upon the size, quality, make-up, consciousness, living conditions and struggle of the working class.

The number of workers and persons working for hire has risen rapidly. In France, workers and persons who worked for hire made up 65 percent of the total number of employed persons in 1954. By 1982, this figure had risen to 83 percent (95 percent in industry, 80 percent in the building sector and 88 percent in the service sector). In the Federal Republic of Germany, workers and laborers who worked for hire made up 77.4 percent of the number of employed persons in 1960. By 1981, this figure had risen to 88.1 percent. Within agriculture, the opposite has occurred. The number of workers and laborers working for hire has steadily declined. In France, workers and laborers who work for hire account for only 17 percent of the persons employed within agriculture (1982). In the Federal Republic of Germany, workers and laborers who work for hire accounted for 13.5 percent of the persons working within agriculture in 1980 but only 5 percent in 1981.

The make-up of the working class has undergone many large changes. Many traditional industrial sectors, such as mining, metallurgy and machine



manufacturing, which once employed many workers and laborers, have reduced their operations or markedly declined. Conversely, modern, leading industrial sectors which apply modern technologies and modern scientific and technical achievements and utilize little labor, such as the electronic, micro-electronic, computer and robotics sectors, the space industry and so forth, have been developing strongly. The service sectors have also been developing strongly. The situation described above has brought about a decline in the number of workers and laborers in many traditional industrial sectors and an increase in the number within modern, leading industrial sectors and the service sectors. The number of traditional workers and laborers (often called "blue collar" workers) has not increased significantly. At some times and places, their numbers have declined. Conversely, the number of highly educated workers and laborers, of persons who work mainly with their minds (called "white collar" workers) has been increasing. In the United States, "blue collar" workers and laborers make up 60 percent of the total work force. Also in the United States, workers and laborers in the service sectors account for 70 to 75 percent of the total work force (1985). In the Federal Republic of Germany, workers and laborers who work for hire in the service sectors account for 44 percent of the work force (1981).

One theoretical and practical question we face is in which segment of society should researchers, persons who apply science and technology in production, engineers, supervisors, highly qualified technicians and the laborers in the service sectors be placed? Many Marxist sociologists maintain that we should not consider these persons to be members of the middle segment of society, but should place them in the same segment as workers, their argument being that everyone who participates in the process of producing and reproducing material wealth but who does not own means of production is a worker. Moreover, the development of science education in the world today has created objective conditions for the laborer to be the master of technology with both his mind and his hands. However, there is also the opinion that these persons should be included among the intellectuals of society due to the characteristics of their labor and the environment in which they work.

Once the make-up of the working class has been defined, it will confirm the strong development of the working class in the new age and further strengthen the militant solidarity among the members of the working class in the increasingly bitter struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In the developed capitalist countries, the rapid rise in the price of means of production, of the material wealth of society, has been accompanied by the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class and laboring people.

Speaking at "The Working Class and Our Times" International Conference held in Moscow in October 1986, G. Holt, general secretary of the American Communist Party, reported that the number of partially and totally unemployed persons in the United States had risen to 20 million, 25 percent of the total work force. During the past 10 years, the labor productivity of the American worker has increased by 65 percent but wages have declined by 16 percent. Surplus labor has been exploited at the rate of 300 percent.

In France, unemployment stood at 902,000 persons in 1975. By 1984, it had risen to 2,240,000 persons, a 148 percent increase.

In Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, unemployment is higher than it has ever been since World War II.

Increasingly large numbers of intellectuals and high and middle level technicians have been joining the ranks of the unemployed in the developed capitalist countries.

The situation described above is a reflection of very sharp class and social contradictions within the developed capitalist countries. Intense class battles of many different forms have been and are taking place in these countries, the aim of which is to achieve democratic reforms and social progress.

The working class is the most progressive class of our times. This is a truth. The position and forces of the international working class have never been as strong as they are today. Never before has the international nature of the working class been as highly developed as it is today. This is also something that cannot be denied.

Together with struggling for the complete victory of the cause of national liberation, for the total victory of the liberation of society, building socialism and communism throughout the world is the path charted for the international working class by Marx, Engels and Lenin. In the current international situation, with the world facing the danger of annihilation in a nuclear war which the bellicose powers of imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are threatening to unleash, preventing nuclear war, eliminating all nuclear and other weapons of mass murder, preserving life on our planet and safeguarding world peace have become the foremost and primary tasks of the working class in all countries. In this noble cause, the international working class will surely have the support of progressive social forces of every skin color on every continent and will surely win decisive victories.

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## BUILDING THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CURRENT STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 49-52

[Article by Duong Xuan An]

[Text] Today, the working class is in the vanguard, along with the class of collective farmers, is the main force army, is the primary social base of the socialist revolution.

The vanguard role of the working class is most evident in the field of production, in the field of building the material-technical bases of socialism. With more than 3.8 million members (1.7 million technical workers), who make up about 6 percent of the population and 16 percent of the social labor force, our country's working class annually produces nearly 40 percent of the social product and generates more than 60 percent of state budget revenues. Although still weak in many areas, state-operated economic forces, which the working class controls, are clearly developing and playing the dominant role within the economy.

During the past 5 years, the working class made nearly 210,000 innovations with the aim of overcoming difficulties with raw materials, spare parts, designs, manufacturing and technological improvements, saving the state billions of dong. Between 1981 and 1985, 7,916 workers, management cadres and scientific-technical cadres were awarded certificates and creative labor emblems by the Confederation of Trade Unions. In recent years, increasingly large number of workers have been participating in the emulation movement to earn the title socialist labor section or unit. In 1984, 46,986 sections registered to participate in this movement and some 20,000 earned this title, 362 of which have retained this title for 10 years or more. From within the emulation movement many new collectives and persons have emerged, representative of whom are the collectives and individuals that have been commended as labor heroes by the state.

Workers are also a force waging an enthusiastic struggle against negative phenomena in economic and social life. In many localities and basic units, workers are actively participating in the forces that inspect and control economic activities and distribution-circulation. They have brought to light many cases of embezzlement, intimidation of the masses and violations of regulations and policies of the party and laws of the state.

The situation described above permits us to conclude that in the face of countless difficulties and challenges, our country's working class has continued to uphold its revolutionary tradition and is worthy of being the vanguard class leading the revolution, of being our basic political force and the main force in the work of building socialism and defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

However, besides these basic strengths, our country's workers still exhibit many weaknesses and shortcomings:

The level of socialist awareness and the class consciousness of many workers are low and their sense of socialist collective ownership as well as their ability to exercise this ownership are poor. The will of some workers to engage in revolutionary struggle has declined. There are signs of negative phenomena among some workers.

The level of education is low. Nationwide, 57.5 percent of workers have a basic general school education and 42.5 percent have a middle school education.

The skills of workers are underdeveloped. The grade of the average worker is 3.3/7. The number of workers in the higher grades is very small. According to data compiled by the Confederation of Trade Unions (August 1985), only 1.9 percent of the nation's workers are grade 7 workers. In Hanoi, only 0.7 percent of workers are grade 7 workers; in Haiphong--2.1 percent; in Quang Ninh--2.3 percent; in Ho Chi Minh City--5.3 percent; in the communications-transportation sector--1 percent; in the water conservancy sector--0.6 percent...

A rather large number of workers have less than 10 years experience in their job. The majority of these workers were once farmers or poor persons and have not attended trade training classes or had much contact with modern industry. As a result, their thinking and habits are still heavily influenced by their background, by small-scale production. The industrial style and discipline has made little impact upon them. During the past 10 years, according to an investigation conducted by the Confederation of Trade Unions, 65 percent of the new persons joining the contingent of workers have been students, 8.2 percent have been farmers, 12.4 percent have been military personnel transferred to another sector and 5.7 percent have been handicraft laborers. That is, the majority of these persons have come from the background of small-scale producers. Only 9.8 percent of the total number of workers have fathers or mothers who are workers.

The structure of the contingent of workers is not balanced or well coordinated. The selection and training of workers are not planned, consequently, once trained, some workers do not work in the trade for which they were trained and some are unable to find jobs. Also according to data compiled by the Confederation of Trade Unions, only 76 percent of workers nationwide are being utilized in the trade for which they were trained. During the past 10 years (1975-1985), 8.8 percent of workers changed their occupations one to three times because they moved, because of reasons of health or in order to earn a higher income.

Workers have been experiencing increasing difficulties in their everyday lives. Working conditions have not been improved. Occupational illnesses have increased. There are still many accidents on the job. The health of workers has declined. Many persons, including workers in the higher grades, have had to go on disability or retire early.

This situation has caused workers to not feel secure in their jobs and not be motivated to produce. Worried about providing for their families, negative phenomena have arisen among workers, such as pilfering materials, going into trade, "blackmarketing" or leaving one's factory, enterprise or worksite in search of a different way to earn a living. Some persons have committed serious crimes and caused a lack of security and social order. Since 1978, more than 100,000 persons have left their enterprise or agency to work on the outside. In 1980 alone, some 50,000 persons quit their jobs. Although this phenomenon has declined in recent years, it continues to occur.

Other phenomena have also emerged among workers: a lack of enthusiasm for work; a failure to consciously uphold labor discipline or comply with industrial and technical standards and regulations; sloppy work; and a failure to work the required number of hours and days. Many young workers exhibit signs of liberalism, are reluctant to learn and live a pragmatic way of life.

What are the causes of the weaknesses described above?

First, most of the members of our working class come from the background of a small-scale producer. Consequently, their thinking and style are still heavily influenced by the thinking and style of the small-scale producer. Many members of the working class have been influenced by the anti-socialist propaganda of reactionaries. In the South, workers have also been influenced by neo-colonialism.

Secondly, the leadership and management of the economy and the management of production are still marked by many shortcomings. The conditions needed for production are not regularly provided. Workers do not always have enough work. The management of labor and materials is very lax.

Thirdly, the policies on wages, bonuses, social insurance and so forth do not truly provide incentive for the worker nor do they encourage the application of scientific-technical advances, higher labor productivity or better product quality. Many policies do not attach importance to or provide appropriate benefits for skilled workers. Meanwhile, prices on the market have soared, thus causing a rapid decline in the real wage of the worker. Workers, instead of devoting their efforts and attention to production, must save some of their energy to cope with everyday life. The impact of negative phenomena in society upon the contingent of workers has also been very large.

Fourthly, educational work is still ineffective and marked by numerous shortcomings. Some workers have not been fully educated in the role, position and responsibility of the working class; in their responsibility to exercise collective ownership; and in the struggle between the two paths, the struggle between ourselves and the enemy. We have been slow to improve the subject matter being taught and the methods of education. Vigorous efforts have not

been made to teach and mobilize the masses to struggle against negative phenomena and against enemy sabotage.

Building a large Vietnamese working class that is strong and solid in every respect is an urgent demand in today's work of building and defending the fatherland. To accomplish this, full attention must be given to the following matters:

--We must urgently reorganize production, restructure the labor force and insure that workers regularly have sufficient work because productive labor is an obligation and a right and provides the conditions needed to educate and forge the worker. Organizing and managing productive labor in a scientific and thorough manner will exert a very large impact upon efforts to mold persons. Karl Marx said: education through productive labor is "the soul and only way to train perfect human beings."(1)

--The party and state must adopt urgent policies and measures designed to gradually stabilize and improve the living conditions of workers. First, a reasonable wage policy and necessary social welfare policies must be enacted in order to meet the material and cultural needs of the worker and his family. If we do not solve this problem well, we will be unable to accelerate production, unable to overcome the negative phenomena among workers and, as a result, unable to build a solid and strong contingent of workers.

--We must intensify the educational work conducted among workers and adopt new themes and methods of education. When we say that the working class is the leading class, is the basic force of socialism, we are describing a class whose level of awareness is high, a class which is rather highly educated and skilled, a class which possesses splendid qualities. Such cannot be achieved through education in dry theory or through simple forms of education. Rather, the education required here is general education, is patient and detailed education. We must educate, forge and build the contingent of socialist workers through the establishment and implementation of the mechanism of collective ownership at enterprises and through the practical activities of party, administration and mass organizations (including the Trade Union).

--In order for the contingent of workers to steadily grow in size and quality, the planning of worker training must be improved. The plans and policies of the party and state must correctly reflect the view concerning balance between investments in the economy and investments in society, between investments in the construction of material-technical bases and investments in building the contingent of workers, in training persons within the system of general schools, colleges, vocational middle schools and formal trade training schools and classes as well as within on-the-job classes in production. These schools must successfully provide everything from occupational counseling and trade training to political and ideological education, raise consciousness of the role of the working class, of the fine character and traditions of Vietnam's working class and create every possible condition for students to familiarize themselves with industrial production, with the life of a worker.

We must provide good occupational counseling and trade training. Trade training must be planned in a thorough and well coordinated manner with a view

toward achieving balance within the education system and balance between the training system and the economic system. On this basis, we must improve and develop the system of trade training schools of all types so that this system is, in every sense, the continuation of the general school system and provides occupational counseling and trade training to students once they graduate from general schools.

To improve and develop trade training schools, additional investments must be made in the construction of schools and material-technical bases for these schools. These investments must be considered priority investments (investments in the human factor).

--Worker training at basic production units is also an important form of training today. Therefore, in addition to promulgating "state trade training school regulations," it is also necessary to adopt "regulations on the elementary and advanced training of workers in production" and to plan the training of workers in production.

We must quickly reform the subject matter and methods employed in training along lines which produce workers who are skilled in one trade and knowledgeable of a few others, along lines which closely tie theory to practice, to production so that the worker and schools can go to work immediately. At the same time, special importance must be attached to on-the-job advanced training and time must be set aside for workers to study, to constantly improve their skills and achieve a higher job rating.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx: "Das Kapital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Book I, Volume II, p 231.

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COMBINING THE STRENGTH OF THE NATION WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES IN THE NEW  
STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 53-57

[Article by Doan Nam]

[Text] The Political Report of the CPV Central Committee at the party's 6th Congress pointed out: "Throughout our revolutionary cause, we must attach special importance to combining the national factor and the international factor, the factor of tradition and the factor that is our times, avail ourselves of every possibility for expanding trade relations and economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the outside in order to support socialist construction and always fulfill our international obligation to fraternal and friendly countries."(1)

This is the lesson, the experience which our party has drawn from the realities of Vietnam's revolution over the past half-century and more, namely, the need to combine the strength of the nation with the strength of our times. It also amounts to a directive concerning how to apply this lesson in the new stage of the revolution.

Why has our party been able to achieve success in combining the strength of the nation with the strength of the times, thereby multiplying the combined strength of our people and leading the Vietnamese revolution to victory after victory? It has been because our party has firmly adhered to the views of Marxism-Leninism and taken the stand of the proletariat in combining the interests of the nation with the interests of the world's people, thus forming a close union between the patriotism of our people and proletarian internationalism.

There are two fundamental reasons why the national and international factors, the factors of tradition and our times have been combined in the revolutionary line of the party: first, our country's revolution is a part of the world revolution; secondly, our country's revolution is taking place in the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

These two fundamental reasons reflect the organic relationship between our country and the world. Although the relationship between our country and the world is diverse, complex and replete with contradictions, the elements of



this relationship are closely tied to and dependent upon each other. At the same time, these reasons also reflect the laws and trend of development of our times. The strength of our times stems from these laws and this trend. It is the combined strength of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, of which the world socialist system is the pillar and the main factor determining the essence, direction and main characteristics of the development of mankind in the modern age. The victory of the revolution of each country is the result of combining its own strength with the strength of our times by bringing the development of its nation in line with the common trend of the world with the aim of creating for its nation a combined and ever victorious strength. This has become a phenomenon tantamount to a law.

Following the complete victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our country's revolution entered a new stage of development. This new stage of our country's revolution is taking place at a time when the world revolution has entered a period which many persons call the "post-Vietnam period," a period marked by a qualitative development in the world situation and international relations. Within the international economy and international politics new directions have been opened as a result of the very profound changes associated with this new period, changes that face all nations with new possibilities and new challenges in their development.

First, in the early 1970's, a very fundamental change occurred in the balance of power in the world due to the establishment of military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries, between the two socio-political systems, in general. This was an historic achievement of the forces of peace and revolution. It brought to a permanent end the period during which imperialism could, on the basis of its military superiority, threaten the people of the world and plot ways to crush the forces of peace and revolution. For the first time in history, the people of the world acquired the real ability to prevent a new world war, gradually achieve disarmament and achieve peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The worldwide class struggle between the opposing forces of our times is gradually evolving from a state of military-political confrontation to mainly peaceful economic-political emulation and rivalry.

Secondly, the new cycle of the second scientific-technological revolution that has been under way since the mid-1970's has had a profound impact upon every aspect of the life of man. It has "narrowed" the gap among countries and changed not only the relationship between man and nature, but also international relations and brought about fundamental changes in the world economy. As a direct production force, the science and technology of today have increased the world's storehouse of material wealth rapidly and on a scale unprecedented. At the same time, they have given man the ability to destroy himself and all this material wealth in an instant. They have created for countries the ability to overcome the state of uneven development. At the same time, they are tools that can be used to reverse or widen the gap in development among countries, even among those countries that are currently the most advanced in the world. A scientific-technological race to the 21st century is now taking place not only among countries with different social systems, but also among the imperialist countries.

Thirdly, also since the early 1970's, the world economy has been undergoing profound changes and shifting to intensive development. A vigorous process of internationalization and standardization of the world economy, in general, and of each system, in particular, is occurring, one which will lead to a new international division of labor within each system as well as on a worldwide scale. The economies of all countries are becoming tied to one another within a world economy in which they both augment and are dependent upon one another. The successful development of the economy of every country depends upon each country creating for itself an optimum position within the overall framework of the world economy. This is an objective phenomenon and, as a result, is tantamount to a law.

The new characteristics of the world political and economic situations demand that we adopt new methods of thinking and new approaches when applying the lesson on combining the strength of the nation with the strength of our times. This means that we must promptly adopt new thinking concerning the world political-economic situation and concerning economic cooperation between our country and other countries.

From the standpoint of politics and security, we must make full use of the peaceful framework in the world today so that we can, in the next 10 to 15 years, focus our efforts on rebuilding the country following many years of war. This framework demands that we adopt a new concept of national security and new methods for maintaining this security. Because, no country, regardless of how powerful it might be, can maintain its security on its own if it is not part of a common world or regional security system. No country, regardless of how large it might be, can secure for itself a security system better than the security systems of other countries. The security of nations today must be uniform, equal security within a common world security system. The security of every nation today is not simply military security, but must be a comprehensive security system, within which economic security is assuming paramount importance. As a result, the best way to maintain security today is to closely tie the nation's security to a common security system in the world, especially in Asia-Pacific and Southeast Asia. But how is this done? It is done by increasing our contributions to the common struggle being waged by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the other progressive forces for peace, disarmament and the gradual removal of nuclear weapons from earth. We must continue to work with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia and with the other countries in Southeast Asia to turn Southeast Asia into a region of peace, friendship and cooperation, most importantly turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear free zone. Only within the framework of a common security system within the world and within the region can we firmly maintain our security and devote the major portion of our manpower and wealth to building the fatherland. A new way of thinking about security and the methods of maintaining security in the new situation will help us to solve the problem of development well.

From an economic standpoint, combining the strength of the nation with the strength of our times under the new conditions that exist today also demands that we adopt new concepts concerning a host of matters related to the country's development policy.

First, it is necessary to adopt a new concept concerning independence and sovereignty in the formulation of economic strategy. Building an independent and sovereign economy does not mean building a subsistent economy or producing everything that we need so that we do not need anything from the outside. When formulating economic strategy, we must take into consideration new factors, such as the level of internationalization of the world economy, the trend toward economic ties within the international division of labor, the mutual dependency of the economies of countries, etc. In view of the level of development of world production forces and of science and technology today, no country, regardless of how powerful or rich in resources it might be, can develop its economy without being part of the world economy and without being dependent upon other countries. This dependency is "mutual dependency," not one-sided dependency. This "mutual dependency" is a back door that will bring equality to the economic relations among countries. In the capitalist world, Japan imports 90 percent of its petroleum but this does not mean that Japan's economy is dependent upon the oil producing countries, because Japan is stronger than these countries in other ways. The United States is less dependent upon imported materials and fuel than Japan but this does not mean that Japan's rate of development is slower than that of the United States. To the contrary, Japan is a formidable economic competitor of the United States. This mutual dependency also provides a solid foundation for the struggle by the non-aligned countries against the developed capitalist countries aimed at establishing a new, fair and reasonable world economic order.

Secondly, we must have a correct understanding of the relationship between maintaining national security and expanding our international cooperation. We cannot expand international economic cooperation without welcoming foreign specialists, businessmen and tourists. How do we maintain national security and still cooperate with foreign countries, this is the question we must study and correctly resolve with the aim of steadily expanding our international cooperation, not the opposite. This is not only the responsibility of security agencies, but also the responsibility of the entire party and all the people, especially of all cadres engaged in work related to foreign affairs.

Thirdly, it is necessary to establish the proper relationship between diversifying our economic relations and continuing to build and strengthen our cooperation and economic ties with the socialist countries within CEMA. Vietnam is a developing country and is advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Therefore, the overseas economic relations of our country must be based primarily on the socialist countries. This is a law. The socialist countries also consider helping us to develop our economy and gradually eliminating the gap in development among the CEMA member countries to be their international responsibility.

On the other hand, our country's economy is a part of the world economy. The development of economic relations with other countries is also an inevitability in international relations. However, it must be understood that the purpose of this diversification is to augment and enhance our cooperation with the socialist countries. On the other hand, the better and more effectively we cooperate with the socialist countries, the better able we will

be to diversify our relations with other countries, thus serving our interests and the interests of cooperation within the socialist community. This is a close relationship in which we augment and do not exclude one another.

Fourthly, it is necessary to fairly implement the principles of equality and mutual benefit in economic relations with other countries. In order for cooperation to be long-range in nature and successful, both sides must benefit and be equal, regardless of whether this cooperation is between socialist countries or with capitalist countries. When cooperating with socialist countries, our friends, of course, do not allow us to incur losses. But we should not take advantage of their goodness to cause our friends to suffer losses. If we concern ourselves only with our own interests and do not attach importance to the interests of our friends, the result will be that the interests of cooperation will not be served.

In the case of capitalist countries or capitalist corporations, a number of persons maintain that "the capitalists will never 'help' us to build socialism." We maintain that this thinking is not entirely correct because it overlooks the fundamental law of capitalism, namely, profit. Marx said that whenever profit is involved, capitalists are likely to do anything and are not even afraid to "sell us the rope to hang them." Consequently, they will not refuse to work with us if there is a profit to be gained. What we must do is insure that our interests are satisfied and show the parties with whom we are cooperating that their interests lie in this cooperation also. This demands that we have a force of skilled specialists and that we revamp the economic management mechanism. Only in this way can we give ourselves the ability to make full use of the scientific-technical knowledge and capital of the world to support our socialist construction.

In the years ahead, efforts to combine the strength of the nation with the strength of our times can take the following three directions:

First, we can continue to try to secure aid from our friends, most importantly from the socialist countries. This approach is tantamount to a law and will continue to be an approach that we take for a long time to come. To continue to seek aid from our friends, we must first make effective use of this aid and turn the fruits of the labor of their people into material and spiritual strength that helps us to grow. When they grant us aid, our friends do not impose binding political terms upon us. However, we must impose upon ourselves the requirement of using this aid in an effective manner that strengthens both our forces and the forces of the socialist community, not in a way that weakens this community because it must bear many heavy burdens.

We should establish for ourselves an optimum position within the socialist economic system, in particular, and the world economy, in general. This is not a simply matter. It demands that we have a deep understanding of world economic and scientific-technical issues, the development strategies of other countries as well as economic issues of our country and our strengths, weaknesses and capabilities with regard to using the achievements of science and technology to rapidly develop our role within the international division of labor. Our participation in the general scientific-technical advances program of the CEMA member countries and the adoption of the three key

programs for the upcoming 5-year plan by our party's 6th Congress, especially the exports program, are initial steps in this direction.

Thirdly, we can learn from experience gained elsewhere in the world in how to use the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with a view toward charting the shortest and least expensive course for the industrialization of our country and formulating long-term economic development strategy. Here, we must give attention to the experience of those countries whose level of development is similar to ours, especially countries in East Asia and South Asia.

The trend of development of the world economic-political situation and the scientific-technological revolution are creating very favorable conditions for our people to complete their strategic tasks in the new stage of the revolution. However, as was the case in previous years, in order for us to properly combine the strength of the nation with the strength of our times, we must first have strength of our own. In previous years, our strength was mainly political-military strength. Today, it is political-economic strength, with the decisive factor being economic strength. Without economic strength, our national cannot make good use of aid received from friends or good use of scientific-technological achievements of the world and cannot, of course, actively or effectively participate in the international division of labor. The course has been charted for our people. It is the resolutions of our party's 6th Congress. There is but one path for us to follow: adopting new approaches and advancing in step with the common trend of the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 30.

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TOWARD THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION:  
LENIN'S 'NEW ECONOMIC POLICY' AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese, No 5, May 87 pp 58-63

[Article by Nguyen Trung]

[Text] History records that Lenin's "New Economic Policy" saved the economy of Soviet Russia, which had been crippled in the counter-revolutionary civil war, and, as a result, kept the entire cause of the Soviet revolution alive so that the Soviet Union could become the powerful country that it is today.

But, instead of understanding this great achievement as confirmation of Lenin's genius in dealing with the economic problems of the period of transition to socialism, more than a few communists have maintained that Lenin's "New Economic Policy" was nothing more than an astute way to deal with the desperate state of the economy of Soviet Russia following the counter-revolutionary civil war.(1) Today, the realities of the 70 years of the socialist revolution in the world are helping many persons to rectify this shortcoming.

More than simply restoring and stabilizing the economy of ravaged Soviet Russia, Lenin's "New Economic Policy" primarily had the objectives of gradually bringing the decentralized and chaotic economy of the Soviet Union at that time--an economy in which small-scale, private production predominated--into the realm of socialism and gradually developing production forces in order to gradually advance to large-scale, socialist production. The measures for achieving these objectives consisted of policies aimed at accelerating production and socializing production in the period of transition on the basis of developing each potential of the various segments of the socialist economy under the guidance and supervision of the proletarian dictatorship.

The main elements of the "New Economic Policy" were:

—The war time communist economic policy was terminated. The most prominent aspects of this decision were the repeal of the grain expropriation policy and a complete shift to a grain tax policy. After fulfilling their grain tax obligation, peasants were allowed to use their surplus grain or sell it on the free market.

--State capitalism was implemented. This decision permitted domestic bourgeoisie to continue their production and business operations under the supervision, inventory and control of the proletarian dictatorship state. As regards private producers, it was the policy of the Soviet state to draw them into cooperatives by helping them to realize larger gains than realized as private producers. Concessions were granted to foreign capitalists to develop resources and do business in the Soviet Union.

--Through commerce and the circulation of money regulated by the proletarian dictatorship state in order to develop the commodity economy of Soviet Russia, the system of product deliveries and barter were established and the role of money in economic development was increased.

Lenin called the important policies described above painful steps "backward" and recognized that exploitation would continue to exist to a certain degree. These were steps "backward" from the production relations of war time communism, the level of development of which was too high, back to production relations that were more consistent with the state of development of production forces in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

Why did Lenin advocate these policies?

In the face of the imminent collapse of the crippled economy, liberating each economic and social potential was a matter of survival. Lenin stressed: the first step had to be taken in grain production. Only on this basis was it possible to stabilize the socio-economic situation, replenish the energies expended in labor, supply raw materials to industry, create the conditions needed to restore and develop industry... In view of the circumstances of the Soviet Union back then, any large increase in the output of grain had to be achieved mainly by increasing the ability of peasants to work. Moreover, from the perspective of the working class, rapidly improving the living conditions of peasants--the persons who produced the grain for society--was the best way to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants. Without this factor, the Soviet administration would not be able to survive.

Lenin's decision to repeal the grain expropriation policy was also very bold because, by implementing a grain tax policy, the Soviet state could only control 109 million poods of grain compared to the 230 million poods needed to supply to wage earners and the armed forces at a time when the entire Soviet Union was suffering an unprecedented famine. Moreover, the surplus grain traded freely by peasants on the market would pose the constant danger of giving birth to capitalism! Lenin stated that only a insane person would fail to see this. However, in contrast to the communists afflicted with "petty bourgeois, leftist infantilism," Lenin dealt with this threat within the body of production relations of the period of transition to socialism.

When the "New Economic Policy" was implemented, the Soviet economy consisted of five different segments. In this period of transition, a serious contradiction arose in the process of advancing to socialism in the Soviet Union: on the one hand, it was necessary to develop each potential of the country's decentralized and backward economy; on the other hand, there was the

need to gradually bring this development within the realm of large-scale, socialist production at a time when the Soviet Union's heavy industry was still small and backward.

To deal with this contradiction, Lenin, displaying the genius of a great strategist, accurately defined the "chief enemy" of the advance to large-scale, socialist production as "petty bourgeois spontaneity." Lenin assessed the petty bourgeois segment as follows: "They are the characteristic economic type, that is, the basis of profiteering and private capitalism... Either we subordinate the petty bourgeoisie to our control and accounting...or they will overthrow our workers' power as surely and as inevitably as the previous revolution was overthrown by the Napoleons and Cavaignacs."(2)

With the establishment of the Soviet administration, the bourgeoisie had been defeated politically. Economically, a large portion of the private, capitalist economy had been nationalized. At the same time, the Soviet state was fully capable of controlling that portion of the economy of the bourgeoisie that had not been nationalized. Meanwhile, "petty bourgeois spontaneity" was to be found among millions of private laborers--including the majority of peasants in their role as small-scale commodity producers. They were the laboring masses of the revolution and many of them had directly participated in the revolution. However, in the stage of the socialist revolution, "petty bourgeois spontaneity" became "most bitter opposition" to control and inventory by the state and the sense of organization of large-scale, socialist production.

The key to resolving this major contradiction was the Soviet administration's policy of state capitalism.

Lenin taught that only through state capitalism of the Soviet administration was it possible to win victory over the anarchy within the economy caused by "petty bourgeois spontaneity." Only through state capitalism of the Soviet administration could the working class learn how to maintain state economic order and how to arrange and organize production on a nationwide scale. For these reasons, Lenin considered state capitalism of the Soviet administration to be the "link" between small-scale production and socialism, to be "the prerequisite to the sure victory of socialism." Every price that had to be paid as a result of implementing state capitalism within the socialist system was considered by Lenin to be "the cost of training the working class to be able to trade and do business, to manage and lead the country's economy."

Of the various steps "backward" that were taken, Lenin considered the return to the regulation of commerce and the circulation of money to be the longest period because it raised an important question: is there still a commodity economy under socialism? It was difficult to give a clear answer to this question more than 6 decades ago, particularly in view of the fact that war time communism had made a deep imprint upon the economic thinking of those who were building socialism.

Lenin maintained that it was only possible to advance to large-scale, socialist production by developing production forces while accelerating the socialization of production. To effectively develop production forces,



attention had to be given to accelerating the socialization of production because this was the path for expanding the division of social labor on the basis of achieving increasingly high specialization and cooperation and, on this basis, bringing about the constant development of production forces. This was a path that would create a new social labor productivity, one higher than that of the old system, and cause socialism to win total victory and completely replace the old system. This path could only be opened by developing the commodity economy of socialism.

The history of man under the different social systems has proven that the socialization of production is the result of the movement of economic, social and scientific-technical factors. No administrative intervention, regardless of how gross or willful it might be, can impede or take the place of these factors. Therefore, Lenin's decision on circulating goods and money under the regulation of the proletarian dictatorship represented the full application of every economic law, universal laws as well as the special laws of the period of socialist construction. In the process of implementing the "New Economic Policy," Lenin frequently and harshly criticized giving light attention to business accounting, separating economic management from the market, being conservative and maintaining the practice of barter, giving light attention to the role of money... Shortly after the grain tax policy was promulgated (this tax was originally collected in product), Lenin instructed that the grain tax be collected in money. He stated that the grain tax meant being free to freely trade surplus grain and that prohibiting free trade within a small-scale production economy was stupid and suicidal. The issue here was that the free trade of small-scale producers had to be brought, through cooperatives and through state capitalism of the Soviet administration, under the inventory and control of the state and into contracts with the state.

By late 1921, 1 year after the "New Economic Policy" had been implemented, many encouraging changes had occurred within the Soviet economy: the terrible famine had been alleviated; industrial production and communications-transportation had begun to increase; and small coal mines turned over to peasants under contracts had begun to prosper, thus making a breakthrough to the overseas economy.

Our greatest shortcoming, as well as our largest difficulty, when we began socialist construction nationwide was our failure to fully perceive the elements of and the tasks that must be performed during the period of transition. For this reason, we have taken inappropriate steps in socialist transformation and in building the economic management mechanism. We truly face a pressing requirement: to apply Lenin's thinking for the purpose of continuing to study the specifics involved in the period of transition in order to lay a scientific foundation for the tasks to be performed in socialist construction in our country in the years ahead. The resolution of the 6th Party Congress set many important guidelines based on Lenin's views, the most important of which are the following:

--It is necessary to fully apply universal and special economic laws in the period of transition and accelerate the socialization of production and the development of production forces through the development of socialist commodity production.

--The role of all five segments of the economy must be developed on the basis of constantly strengthening the dominant role played by the state-operated economy and adopt various forms of state capitalism in order to bring private producers within the sphere of socialism. It is also necessary to carry out socialist transformation throughout the period of transition to socialism.

--The management mode of economic accounting and socialist business practices must be thoroughly implemented on the basis of the principle of insuring the production and business independence of basic economic units, etc.

However, implementing making these important ideas a reality in our country's socio-economic life will be very difficult and will demand that we tap the intelligence and energies of the entire party and all the people.

Perhaps it has come time to not waste another word trying to answer the question: does commodity production still exist under socialism? The more practical question is: how do we resolve the contradictions of commodity production under socialism in line with the principles of socialist economic management? Matters tantamount to laws are: planning the socialist economy; the relationship between planning the economy and the use of the relationship between goods and money under socialism; the relationship between socialist ownership and the independence of enterprises and basic units; the relationship between distribution in accordance with labor and social fairness, etc. Clearly, if we do not deeply study and successfully deal with these contradictions, we will be in danger of losing our direction. In fact, as a result of not developing the commodity production of socialism, our economic potentials are seriously decentralized and fragmented, the organization and division of social labor are still backward, the national market is incomplete, new production capacity is not being fully utilized, the efficiency of the entire economy is very low... However, perhaps most disappointing is the fact that because we have not developed the commodity production of socialism, our cause of socialist construction is being attacked on every front by the economy of "petty bourgeois spontaneity" and the "underground economy."

The resolution of the 6th Party Congress has brought renewed hope to the people. At the same time, it directly attacked both "leftist" and rightist petty bourgeois thinking. The congress recognized the household economy as a part of the socialist economy and stated that we must develop the role of all five segments of the economy. The Political Report at the 6th Party Congress presented important lessons learned from the past: in dealing with the five segments and in socialist transformation, we have frequently placed too much emphasis on dealing solely with the ownership of the means of production and have impetuously sought to quickly abolish the non-socialist segments of the economy without giving appropriate attention to developing production forces in the process of carrying out socialist transformation. In the work of building agricultural cooperatives, we organized production and the management mechanism on a scale that was too large. The general outcome was that we accelerated the development of production relations but not in a manner consistent with the nature or level of development of production forces, in particular, or with the entire economy, in general. This is iron clad confirmation of a fact of life: production relations which are not

consistent with production forces, regardless of whether they are lower or higher than the level of development of production forces, always restrict the development of production forces. The matter we must continue to study is: in his "New Economic Policy," Lenin demanded that the victory of the proletariat in the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism be assured when applying the policy on developing the role of the five different segments of the economy.

The independence of basic economic units is one of the factors of decisive importance in dismantling the management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. In recent months, the implementation of Political Bureau Resolution 306 (draft) has shown that this independence will mean nothing if our current economic management mechanism is not completely changed. Lenin pointed out that dismantling a management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism is a difficult undertaking, one which requires steadfast efforts. He stated: our plans must be broad in scope and scientifically based. The plan of the socialist state must focus on managing macro-economic tasks. Through the continuous improvement of the system of economic levers, micro-economic management must be completely turned over to enterprises and basic units. Have we truly done this in the process of implementing Political Bureau Resolution 306 (draft)? Facts have proven that Resolution 306 (draft) must continue to be amended and refined.

Our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction face three major challenges: the weakness of the domestic economy; the very large economic gap between our country and the outside world; and the absence of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Lenin warned about similar challenges facing Soviet Russia in 1921. However, the greatest obstacle we face today is the conservative, stagnant thinking that is impeding efforts to revamp the economic management mechanism. Therefore, applying the thinking contained within Lenin's "New Economic Policy" requires that a vigorous ideological struggle be waged within the party and among the people. This is the significance behind the statement made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that the struggle to achieve economic reform in the Soviet Union is aimed at making the Soviet Union's socio-economic life "more socialist and more democratic." There is no doubt that we, too, will have to take some steps "backward" of the kind taken by Lenin in order to conform with laws. At the same time, we must uphold the principle of democratic centralism in the management of the economy and society to insure that Vietnamese society steadily advances toward socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Regrettably Lenin died and never conducted any projects to summarize the political-economic aspects of socialism.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 250.

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TOWARD THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION: THE  
CHANGES IN THEORETICAL THINKING WITHIN THE ECONOMIC FIELD IN THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 64-68

[Article by Ho Vu]

[Text] This year, the Soviet people celebrate the 70th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution amidst an atmosphere of urgent efforts to implement the resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

During the past 70 years, under the leadership of the glorious CPSU founded and forged by V.I. Lenin, the Soviet people have worked with selfless dedication and recorded historic achievements in the fields of politics, the economy, society and ideology, thereby bringing socialism to a complete and thorough victory in their vast motherland. At the same time, they have made great contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. These facts are clear and irrefutable.

However, in an effort to record even greater achievements, the 27th Congress of the CPSU frankly pointed out the difficulties and negative phenomena in socio-economic development in the 1970's and early 1980's. During that time, the rate of economic growth and labor productivity markedly declined. A number of other figures on economic performance were low. The advancement of science and technology slowed. The economy became more unbalanced. At the same time, the world was experiencing a period of far reaching and profound changes. In the economic field, the scientific-technological revolution entered a new stage of qualitative development, one which has created many new capabilities but also raised new and very stern challenges.

It was against this background that the 27th Congress of the CPSU asserted: "Today, the foremost task of the party, of all the people is to make determined efforts to reverse unfavorable trends in economic development so that it reflects the necessary dynamism and creates the conditions for tapping the initiative and creativity of the masses by means of true revolutionary reforms." (1)

Today, in order to perform this important but exceedingly difficult and complex task, the Soviet Union is carrying out very extensive reforms. The basis of this reform process is the adoption of new thinking concerning a host

of basic issues, thinking which was first expressed at the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and then at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and was further developed upon at the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee held in January 1987.

This adoption of new thinking relates first to defining the stage of development now being experienced by the Soviet Union. The 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union and the proceedings of the 18th Congress of the CPSU (1939) asserted that socialist society had virtually been constructed in the Soviet Union. The resolution of this congress clearly stated this, which meant that every exploiting class had been abolished, that the causes of the exploitation of man by man and the division of society into exploiters and exploited had been abolished, that the exceedingly difficult task of the socialist revolution, namely, agricultural collectivization, had been completed, that the retooling of the national economy had been virtually completed... The 18th Congress also set the task of bringing the building of a society without classes to a conclusion and gradually making the transition from socialism to communism.

In 1959, the extraordinary 21st Congress asserted that socialism had won complete and thorough victory. This meant that not only had the internal forces that could lead to the re-emergence of capitalism been abolished, but the possibility that external hostile forces could restore capitalism in the Soviet Union had been eliminated as well. This new assessment related to the birth and growth of the world socialist system, the development of revolutionary forces and the decline of imperialism in the new stage of its general crisis.

On the basis of this thinking, the 21st Congress of the CPSU considered it a practical possibility to carry out the task of building the material-technical bases of communist society and make a planned transition to communism. This position was reconfirmed at the 22nd Congress (1962) of the CPSU and recorded in the Program adopted at the congress, in which it was predicted that the construction of communism would be completed by 1980.

Facts showed that it was premature and impractical to make this assertion. In 1967, when it first began to realize this, the Soviet Union, which was then celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, re-evaluated its progress, stating that it was in the stage of completing the construction of developed socialism. This assessment was officially confirmed at the 24th Congress of the CPSU (1971).

However, even the concept of developed socialism has gradually been reconsidered and more accurately defined. In 1983, in his work "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Some Issues Regarding Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union," which was written on the occasion of the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, Y.V. Andropov, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at that time, stated the following when discussing the tasks of the Soviet people in the remaining years of this century: "Taken as a whole, these tasks revolve around what can be called perfecting developed socialism, on the momentum of which the gradual transition to communism will occur. Our country is in the initial period of

this long stage of history..."(2) In other words, according to Y.V. Andropov, the Soviet Union is in the initial period of the stage of perfecting developed socialism and has not completed the construction of developed socialist society as had been previously thought.

At the 27th Congress of the CPSU, this matter was further clarified. In the Political Report delivered at the congress, M.S. Gorbachev said: "The major conclusions that have now been reached concerning socialist society reconfirm that our country has entered the stage of developed socialism... At the same time, it must be reiterated that the argument concerning developed socialism gained popularity in our country as a response to concepts that simplified the path to communism and the amount of time needed to perform the tasks associated with communist construction. Subsequently, however, the explanation of developed socialism gradually changed. Once, we explained it only in terms of certain victories while ignoring or not attaching appropriate importance to many burning issues related to putting the economy on the path to intensive development, raising labor productivity, improving the supply of goods to the people, overcoming negative phenomena... Today, now that our party has proclaimed and is implementing the line on acceleration socio-economic development, we cannot accept such a view."(3)

In light of this new thinking concerning the issue of stage of development, the 27th Congress defined three additional aspects:

First, the congress clearly established the fact that the Soviet Union is in the stage of the planned and comprehensive perfection of socialism. Soviet society is continuing to advance toward communism on the basis of accelerating its socio-economic development.

Secondly, the congress did not raise the issue of building communism as an immediate task. Although the new version of the program does present an outline of communist society, it also clearly states that the CPSU has not set for itself the objective of defining each and every detail of communism. In the process of advancing to communism, the scientific concept of the high stage of the new society will be enhanced and further concretized on the basis of the experience gained in communist construction.

Thirdly, the congress clearly defined the standards of socialism. One of the theoretical achievements of the 27th Congress of the CPSU was that it defined the nine standards of socialism in a more realistic manner. These standards relate to production relations, production forces, the principles of distribution, political, social and cultural issues, ideology, national defense, foreign affairs...

This can be seen in the adjustment of the levels of development achieved under socialism. Consider, for example, the forms of ownership of the means of production. The program adopted in 1962 asserted that socialism would bring to a permanent end the dominance of individual ownership of the means of production, which was the source of the division of society into hostile classes, and that the solid economic base of society is socialist ownership of the means of production. When explaining developed socialism, many authors also held that the various forms of socialist ownership are to be applied in

all fields of production, the services, circulation and distribution and that, of these forms, national ownership and collective ownership would rapidly become more like each other from the standpoint of the nature of the ownership of the means of production, the level of socialization and the form of organization of labor and distribution and ultimately take one form--national ownership.

Facts showed this concepts to be impetuous and simplistic. The 27th Congress of the CPSU and the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee clarified several aspects of this issue.

The new version of the program points out that, under socialism, the means of production are in the hands of the people, thus putting a permanent end to the exploitation of man by man, social oppression, dictatorship by a privileged minority and the impoverishment and illiteracy of millions of persons. Thus, unlike the previous version, the new version does not raise the issue of putting a complete and permanent end to individual ownership of the means of production while still under socialism, but only raises the issue of putting a permanent end to the exploitation of man by man, with the means of production remaining in the hands of the people. Only under this concept is it possible to mobilize the potential sources of labor among the people by permitting families and individuals to work within the subsidiary economy and expanding overseas economic relations even by establishing joint businesses with foreign countries, including capitalist countries. The Law on Private Labor and the regulations concerning matters related to the formation and operation within the territory of the Soviet Union of joint businesses, federations of enterprises and international organizations with the participation of Soviet organizations, corporations and management agencies and foreign countries are closely associated with the new thinking mentioned above concerning the forms of ownership in the period of perfecting socialism.

Also in keeping with this spirit, the Soviet Union is not now raising the issue of abolishing collective ownership in order to put what was collectively owned under national ownership. Rather, it considers strengthening and expanding cooperatives to be an important task. In the Political Report presented at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that cooperatives "have yet to make full use of their capabilities in socialist production or in fully satisfying the needs of the people...and wherever these needs exist, there must be full support for the formation and development of enterprises and cooperative organizations. These forms must be widely applied in the various fields of production and product processing, in housing construction, in truck farming as well as in the services and trades."(4)

Another new concept concerning the forms of ownership is establishing the right of socialist collective ownership of each collective and each worker and creating real conditions for them to exercise this right where they work, thereby correcting the state of "ownerlessness" caused by the concept of "national ownership" and establishing a mechanism through which collectives and workers can exercise self-management on the basis of practicing full-scale accounting and being responsible for each cost. On the other hand, the CPSU is waging a struggle against localism and schemes to take possession of and divide property that is under national ownership. The draft of the law on

state-operated enterprises that was approved by the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to be presented to the people to solicit their opinions clearly reflects the change in thinking concerning this matter.

Along with the new thinking concerning the nature and elements of the stage of development has come a more precise and deeper understanding of the movement of economic laws.

For a long time, it was maintained in the Soviet Union that, under socialism, there is no basis for objective economic contradictions. For the most part, they only addressed contradictions caused by the subjective activities of man. Today, researching the objective contradictions that exist under socialism has become one of the subjects of much interest in the Soviet Union. This research is based on V.I. Lenin's view that antagonisms and contradictions are not synonymous, that, under socialism, antagonisms disappear but contradictions remain.

There is also a renewed appreciation of the movement of the law that production relations must be compatible with the level of production forces under socialism in the developed stage. Facts have shown that with the victory of the socialist revolution and in the process of building socialism, production relations do not automatically become compatible with the nature and level of development of production forces. Production forces are constantly developing. Consequently, they are always in contradiction with production relations, which are a less dynamic component. Moreover, production relations do not only consist of the various forms of ownership, but also include the forms of distribution and circulation and the management mechanism. In the case of the Soviet Union, a management mechanism which was designed for an economy that was relatively small in scale and developing in breadth is obviously not suited to an economy that is now large in scale and has shifted to intensive development. This contradiction must necessarily be resolved through reform of a revolutionary nature.

One change of no less importance is the fuller understanding of the movement of the law of value under socialism. There was a time in the Soviet Union when they denied the impact of the law of value under socialism. In the early 1950's, although they acknowledged the impact of this law, this recognition only applied to consumer goods. But because means of production were not considered to be commodities, it was still thought that the law of value did not apply to them. This denial of the role played by the relationship between goods and money and the denial of the impact of the law of value, frequently to the point of viewing this law as being in direct opposition to socialism, led to voluntarism within the economy, equalization in wages, the lack of a proper appreciation of economic accountability, the emergence of subjective foundations in the formation of prices, violations of the principles which govern the circulation of money and a lack of concern for the matters involved in regulating supply and demand. The 27th Congress of the CPSU took another look at this matter, pointing out the need to cast aside all preconceptions concerning the relationship between goods and money and the law of value as well as the need to apply them for the purposes of achieving accountability and higher economic efficiency. The reforms now taking place in the formation



of prices and in the activities of the credit and banking system within the Soviet Union are part of this approach.

The role of the special laws of socialism continues to be stressed on the basis of the new thinking that has been adopted. The Soviet Union is correcting its mistakes in planning, such as subjectivism and red tape-bureaucracy, which caused plans to lack a scientific, balanced and stable base, to encompass many different activities while overlooking matters of strategic importance. As regards the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," the newly adopted thinking emphasizes the need to create favorable conditions for this principle to be implemented and the need to do away with equalization, which is still quite widespread, even in the wage and social welfare distribution policies.

The newly adopted theoretical thinking described above forms the basis for the reform of the management mechanism now being widely carried out in the Soviet Union. At present, this reform is only in the initial stage and many things are being conducted on a trial basis. In some fields, more than a few difficulties are being encountered, even opposition from the old way of thinking and the old style and from some individuals whose interests are closely tied to the old ways of doing things. However, it is apparent that the reform has the support of the broad masses. It is consistent with the laws of development and has, therefore, produced initial results. In 1986, the Soviet Union achieved production levels unprecedented in the last 10 to 15 years.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 36.
2. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5-1983, p 21.
3. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress..., p 137.
4. Ibid., pp 59-60.

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CSO: 4210/10

RESEARCH-EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS: CONCERNING ECONOMIC LAWS IN THE PERIOD OF  
TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 69-73, 88

[Article by Tran Duc]

[Text] 1. During the period of transition to socialism, the economy consists of many different segments based on different ownership relations, consequently, economic laws also differ in nature and content.

In the initial stage of the period of transition in our country, besides the inherent laws of socialist production relations, there is also the impact of other economic laws which, taken together, comprise four sub-systems of economic laws: the laws of socialism (state-operated and collective), the laws of state capitalism, the laws of private capitalism and the laws of small-scale commodity production. In general, there are two major sub-systems, the socialist system (which consist of the economic laws that apply within the socialist and state capitalism segments of the economy) and the capitalist system (which consists of the economic laws that apply within the private capitalist and small-scale commodity production segments). Each sub-system, in addition to the special laws of each specific segment, also includes general laws and universal laws, all of which reflect a socio-economic quality determined by the special laws of the sub-system. For example, within the socialist sub-system, not only the special economic laws of socialism (such as the fundamental economic law of socialism, the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy, the law of distribution in accordance with labor...) apply, but general economic laws (such as the law of giving priority to the development of the means of production, the law of value...) and universal economic laws (such as the law of saving time, the law on compatibility between production relations and the nature and level of development of production forces...) apply as well.

Within the capitalist sub-system, there are also special economic laws, general economic laws and universal economic laws. In a country such as ours, which is advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the private capitalist sub-system does not have as strong an impact as it does in countries which are making the transition from capitalism to socialism. In the meantime, the economic laws of small-scale commodity production also play a very important role. The farmers and private

handicraftsmen who represent the small-scale commodity economy have a tendency toward spontaneous development along the path of capitalism; on the other hand, their interests are closely tied to the interests of the working class, consequently, they are close to socialism and under the leadership of the working class, not opposed to the socialist segment of the economy.

2. All the laws mentioned above exert an independent impact within each sub-system. On the other hand, they are locked in a sharp struggle that takes place among the various sub-systems. These laws intertwine. Their effects are the same in some cases and opposite in others. This tells us that within the multi-segment economy of the period of transition, there are not only internal contradictions, but also antagonistic contradictions between socialism and capitalism and that the requirements of the economic laws of socialism must be met gradually through a struggle that persists for the entire period of transition and is particularly sharp in the initial stage, a struggle waged by means of a host of economic, administrative, organizational, political and ideological measures. In the mid-1950's, amidst the jubilation that followed the total liberation of the North and on the momentum of the relatively easy victory won in socialist transformation, more than a few persons, partly as a result of not knowing the characteristics of the period of transition, thought that the economy of the period of transition was only governed by one type of economic laws, the economic laws of socialism. This thinking led to misconceptions concerning the tasks and targets as well as the rate, steps and scope of the socialist revolution and even concerning the stages into which socialist construction is divided.

Another characteristic deserving of attention of the system of economic laws in the period of transition is that not one structural component of this system is developed solely for the purpose of meeting the demands of its own development.

The economic laws of the capitalist sub-system continue to exert an impact. However, the spontaneous nature and the negative consequences of these laws are very greatly limited by the state's control of the command centers of the national economy. The economic laws of the small-scale commodity production sub-system are not as powerful as they were when private ownership prevailed. The decentralization of small-scale producers, although it continues to occur, is not as profound as it was when the law of value was the basic force regulating the economy. The sub-system of socialist economic laws, although it has begun to exert an impact, is not an organic or complete entity. And, from the standpoint of social content as well as economic impact, the laws of this sub-system have yet to fully display their attributes as they do in the developed stage. The relationship among the laws of this sub-system is also not as close as it is under developed socialism. To create the conditions for this sub-system of laws to exert its full impact, it is necessary, in conjunction with accelerating the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism, to constantly improve the new style production relations so that they gradually become socialist production relations. However, economic laws ordinarily do not exert an impact independent of a mode of social production. In the period of transition, the leading mode of production is the socialist mode of production. The sub-system of socialist economic laws not only exerts a direct impact within the socialist economy, but also exerts an increasing

influence upon the other segments of the national economy. Of course, conditions impose certain limitations on the extent as well as the form of this influence. This means that we cannot force purely socialist management principles and methods upon the non-socialist segments of the economy, but that we must develop appropriate forms and modes, such as commodity-money relations, a policy on cooperation that is compatible with production forces which are still at a low level of development and correct guidelines for developing the household economy. These forms embody both socialist factors and non-socialist factors. Through them, an effective impact can be exerted upon the economic development of the non-socialist segments. This is an exceedingly important issue to a country in which the small-scale farm economy still accounts for a large portion of the national economy. It was Lenin who reminded us: "...If 'we' are to successfully solve the problem of our immediate transition to socialism, we must understand what intermediary paths, methods, means and instruments are required for the transition from pre-capitalist relations to socialism."(1)

3. To gain a deeper understanding of the nature and role of economic laws, it is also necessary to adopt new thinking in the economic field.

"Rich in its content, socialist ownership encompasses an entire system of diverse relations in the use of the means and results of production, in the distribution of these items to the workers, collectives, sectors and regions of the country and an entire array of economic interests."(2) Understood in this sense, nationalization in countries that are following the socialist path never proves that socialist production relations exist because, through nationalization, the revolutionary administration only succeeds in destroying the bases upon which capitalist (or pre-capitalist) relations have existed and developed. In order for this ownership to become socialist ownership in the form of production relations, it must be implemented not only from a legal standpoint, but also an economic standpoint by means of different measures aimed at organizing socialist business, managing the enterprises that have been nationalized as well as the economy, in general, and carrying out trade, distribution and consumption in accordance with socialist management principles. Likewise, in the field of cooperativization, the emergence of collective ownership of the means of production does not mean that socialist production relations have been born. Rather, it only opens the way for the formation of the new style production relations.

Everyone knows that production forces are the essence and production relations are the form of a given mode of production. However, production relations have both content and form. Their form is such economic phenomena as prices, wages, profits,... Their content is expressed in the modes and methods as well as the extent of ownership of the means of production. Economic laws are closely related to the content, not the form, of production relations. For this reason, they control the process of development of production relations to an important degree. And, the scope as well as the intensity of the impact of economic laws depend upon the level of development of production relations. In those countries in which small-scale production still predominates, such as our country, it is easy to set socio-economic goals that are too high to be reached in a short amount of time if we do not correctly assess the low level of development of production forces, if, recognizing the progressive nature

of socialist production relations, we maintain that these new production relations can immediately "move mountains" and if, on the other hand, we do not see all the difficulties and complex problems posed by the contradictions that arise during the period of transition. With this, the difficulties of the period of transition do not decrease, but increase, thereby not only making established targets hard to reach, but sometimes also jeopardizing the gains made by the revolution.

4. In the period of transition, as mentioned above, the inherent requirements and properties of the economic laws of socialism are not fully apparent because all the socio-economic conditions and technical organization needed for this have not been fully established. Two laws which exert a strong impact upon the economy are the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy.

As regards the fundamental economic law of socialism, only some of its requirements can be met, the first being those involved in meeting the basic needs of the people. Even among these needs, we must choose those that we are able to meet. For example, when difficulties are still being encountered with grain, efforts must be focused on solving the grain problem and although the need for clothing is very important, it cannot be given the same priority as the need for food. Consequently, it is unavoidable that there are some areas in which the people only have enough to eat, not sufficient clothing, too. Education is a very legitimate aspiration of the people. However, in the process of industrialization, even in the Soviet Union, there have been times when it was necessary to "economize even on schools" in order to concentrate on building the material-technical bases of socialism.

The law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy determines the form and mechanism of the socialist mode of production. In the period of transition in a country in which small-scale production is still widespread, planned production can emerge at the very outset, even before heavy industry has developed (in contrast to socialist countries which have a developed industry, where planned organization is a demand of large-scale production). This is sure to affect the quality of planned production. Here, the requirement of the law of the planned and balanced development of the economy is not to achieve balance throughout the system of production, but only between the production and consumption of the most important types of products. Constant difficulty in balancing the national economy is unavoidable. The thinking that, with tens of millions of laborers and millions of hectares of farmland, we can set many high targets and are fully capable of achieving balance is illusory, is divorced from reality, is a result of not recognizing the limitations upon the law of planned and balanced development of the economy not only in the initial stage, but throughout the period of transition as well.

The extent and scope of the impact of the law of distribution in accordance with labor are also limited. Marx once remarked about the remnants of bourgeois jurisprudence in distribution under the socialist system. In the period of transition in our country, this influence is even greater due to the low level of production, due to the need to make appropriate investments in construction and partly due to the need to fund the national defense budget

and implement the rear area policies for the army when it is in combat or maintaining combat readiness. Under these conditions, it is clear that there are certain limitations upon the law of distribution in accordance with labor and that it is difficult to achieve its full impact. In recent years, sweeping subsidization and distribution based on averages have reduced the activism of workers.

The law of value is applied to calculate the expenditure of social labor and determine economic returns in business activities. The categories of value, such as production costs, prices, profits and so forth, stimulate the formation of proper ratios within the national economy, encourage cost cutting measures and lay the ground work for inspecting the implementation of plans. However, we should not simplify the use of the law of value and the relationships between goods and money. We also should remember that within a planned economy in which there are relationships between goods and money, planned management must be strengthened, not reduced.

As regards the non-socialist segments of the economy, we must adopt an appropriate attitude. For the sake of the interest of socialism, we are allowing the private capitalist segment to continue to exist. Therefore, the special law of capitalism--the law of surplus value--will continue to have an impact to some extent and for a certain amount of time within the framework of the current laws of the state. In a country such as ours in which small-scale production is still widespread, the small-scale commodity production segment of the economy is a source of negative phenomena due to its petty bourgeois spontaneity. The conditions also exist for the law of value to exert a widespread impact. On the one hand, it stimulates the development of production. On the other hand, however, it gives rise to negative phenomena, which further complicates the relationships among the various types of laws. If we take a simple view of this issue, if we underestimate this danger, if we do not see the complex interaction among the various types of laws caused by the strong impact of the law of value and if we do not fully see the positive and negative aspects of small-scale producers, we will find ourselves making mistakes in economic construction and development.

Another important characteristic is that our country has had to constantly deal with war. This has affected the economy and left a deep imprint upon all economic laws in the period of transition. The extent and scope of the impact as well as the forms of expression of these laws have been changed, sometimes even distorted.

As a result of the impact of war and preparations for war, as a result of the interaction of economic laws and the laws of war, has not a special type of laws emerged, a type that can be called economic-military laws? These laws exert something of an impact even in peace time due to our need to prevent war. The laws originate in the military field but are closely tied to economic factors. These factors are of basic significance. In many respects, they are of decisive significance in the development of military forces. On the other hand, because economic-military consumption is non-productive, there are cases in which, due to the need to strongly mobilize the economy in war, negative effects occur which restrict the development of the economy. The application of economic-military laws is expressed in closely combining the

economy with national defense with the aim of supporting both and closely tying national defense construction to the development of the economy.

The multi-segment economy of the period of transition, although each segment operates in accordance with different laws, although these laws exert their impact in a different way and to a different degree and although the various sub-systems of laws have an impact upon one another, restrict one another and sometimes even contradict one another, is, generally speaking, a unified economy. This unity is special in nature because, although the economy consists of many different segments, all these segments are part of a unified division of social labor, one in which the socialist segment plays the dominant role and the private segments of the economy are used to serve the interests of socialism. For this reason, although our economy is not a purely socialist economy and although the system of economic laws is not an organic whole and is not truly complete, the economic laws of socialism, particularly the fundamental economic law and the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy, still play the basic role in regulating the economy.

When applying laws, we must have a firm grasp of the socio-economic conditions of the period of transition, take an overall view and skillfully select appropriate economic forms on the basis of a systematic review. Another point to which attention must be given is that we absolutely should not think that all laws have been discovered and that each law exerts its full impact from the very outset. We should not forget Lenin's teaching: there is no greater mistake than to consider socialism to be perfection, to be immutable.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 274.
2. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress of the Party, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi; Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 58.

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CSO: 4210/10

## THE MOLDING OF THE NEW MAN AND THE PREVENTION OF CRIME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 74-76

[Article by Le Quang Thanh]

[Text] The molding of the new, socialist man cannot be carried out without educational efforts aimed at preventing crime. The prevention of crime and, on an even higher level, the prevention of all violations of the law are not only an important part of the struggle against crime, but are also an indispensable part of molding the new man and establishing the new, socialist way of life. This is an important line of thinking in our ideological and cultural revolution, the aims of which are to help to stabilize every aspect of the socio-economic situation, restore order and discipline and achieve social fairness.

The struggle against crime is a part of the sharp struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in all fields of politics, economics, ideology and culture, is an important part of molding the new, socialist man. This is not only a struggle to stop, reduce the level of and eliminate crime, it also encompasses everything from stopping minor violations of the law to combating negative phenomena in economic activities, cultural activities and lifestyle. The effectiveness of the struggle against crime depends upon numerous goal-oriented activities of man and society. Here, as in the other fields, organizing and managing the struggle against crime each step of the way demands a correct understanding and the creative application of the laws, forms and measures associated with this struggle. Therefore, in the prevention of crime and the struggle against crime, forecasts and planning are of very important significance.

From the standpoint of crime, a look at the actual situation of our country over the past 10 years shows:

1. Crimes and the crime situation have been the most direct and diverse manifestation of the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in our country in the initial stage.



2. The crime situation has been complex not only in society, but even within agencies of the state. The spread of some crimes has become serious and we have not taken basic measures to stop these crimes or reduce the rate at which they are being committed. For example, from 1981 to 1985, violations of the provisions of criminal law concerning public order and traffic increased (accounting for 35.7 percent of the total number of violations of the law). Crimes against socialist property, speculation (80 percent of the goods and materials involved in speculation have been goods and materials of the state), black marketing and crimes against the life and property of the citizen have also increased. Murders resulting from domestic disputes and disputes among the people have also been on the rise (accounting for 70 percent of the total number of murders). Professional crime also accounts for a considerable percentage (31.7 percent). More than 70 percent of the persons who have committed crimes have been youths and teenagers. In the case of crimes against socialist property, cadres, manual workers and civil servants account for more than 60 percent of the persons committing these crimes. There are many reasons for this situation. However, the main cause has been subjective shortcomings in the struggle against crime, especially shortcomings in organizing and guiding efforts to curb and stop crime.

In the struggle against crime, prevention plays the major role. It is the basic prerequisite to abolishing or curbing the impact of those factors that cause crime. Prevention consists of two aspects: prevention from the standpoint of ethics and prevention from the standpoint of the law.

Within the system of standards concerning the new, socialist man, ethical standards are of paramount importance. Upholding these standards prevents crimes well before they are ever committed. Because, ethics encompass other standards, be they political or economic standards, social or cultural standards, scientific or aesthetic standards. Ethics are closely associated with social relations, with all interpersonal relations. In practical activities, ethics are present in virtually every field and every environment in which man lives, from primary fields, such as productive labor, combat and studies, to the such secondary fields as rest or play and entertainment, from larger environments, such as society, the work place and school, to small environments, such as where one resides or one's family. Clearly, we cannot envision the prevention of crime being successful if all these "forward ethical positions" are overrun.

Prevention from an ethical standpoint requires many painstaking efforts and a comprehensive view in order to be successful. This view encompasses many factors, from the subject and object of prevention to the specifics, methods and measures involved in this work. In our lifetime, each of us occupies different positions in society and plays different social roles. Therefore, we are both the subject and the object of the prevention of crime from an ethical standpoint. Thus, preventing crime from an ethical standpoint takes three directions: re-educating and preventing other persons from committing crimes, being re-educated and prevented from committing crimes by other persons and re-educating and preventing ourselves from committing crimes.

Violations of socialist ethics vary very widely from one stratum to another and from one person to another. Therefore, they must be prevented within each and every stratum, within each and every person.

To prevent crime from an ethical standpoint, we must first give our attention to prevention among cadres, party members and youths. It is not surprising that Uncle Ho advised cadres and party members that they "must be worthy of being the leader and truly loyal servant of the people"(1), that "party members take the lead and the village follows."(2) Therefore, with high determination and by means of many effective measures, we must make the party pure, beginning by immediately expelling degenerate and deviant elements.

Preventing crime from a legal standpoint means preventing actions that are against the interests of society. This form of prevention applies in all economic, cultural, social and other fields. Preventing the kinds of behavior defined in the state's Criminal Code plays an especially important role in this form of prevention.

Our state's system of law is gradually being improved from the standpoint of its content, structure, form and uniformity. However, many basic policies of the party have not been codified in the form of state law, particularly in the economic field. Some laws need to be amended to be consistent with the new situation. Administrative-economic management and administrative-social management are still weak. This has thwarted our efforts to prevent crime from a legal standpoint to some extent.

It must be emphasized that the law is always compulsory. That is, no one may violate the law and anyone who does must be prosecuted. Our party has pointed out: "No one is permitted to use his authority to do something that violates the law. Each violation of the law must be prosecuted... Ours must not be the feudal approach of prosecuting the people under criminal law but dealing with officials in accordance with 'protocol'."(3)

Therefore, preventing crime from a legal standpoint demands that we constantly do a good job of teaching the law with a view toward giving each citizen a clear understanding of which kinds of behavior are permitted in society and which are not and developing within each citizen true awareness of the socialist system of law and the attitude of obeying the law in each field of life. Of course, this work must be performed on a permanent basis and is not at all easy.

We can divide the measures involved in preventing crime into the following three groups:

Group 1: economic-social measures, such as inventory and control measures; economic security, economic inspection and economic arbitration measures; guidance, standardization and work in the field of weights-measures; and, in particular, measures aimed at providing a job to each worker and gradually improving each worker's standard of living and welfare. These measures have the effect of preventing crime even under material conditions that easily lead to crime.

Group 2: political and social measures, such as socio-psychological measures, educational, ideological and cultural measures and measures designed to organize a way of living and working in accordance with the Constitution and the law, organize the new, socialist way of life with the aims of achieving a higher level of socio-political activism and insuring political and spiritual unity among the people. These measures exert an impact upon the psychological life of the people, upon the mood of society with the aims of overcoming the psychology of private ownership and other psychological factors that are not consistent with the character of socialism and creating a wholesome atmosphere among the people.

Group 3: legal-professional measures, which consist of the measures and means employed to increase the effectiveness of the crime prevention activities of state agencies, agencies tasked with defending the law and so forth and professional and technical-specialized measures aimed at uncovering, investigating, prosecuting and trying violations of the law.

The three groups of measures mentioned above are closely interrelated and exert a combined impact upon efforts to establish and adjust social relations. They also have a direct impact upon the formation of the new man and the new, socialist way of life. Over the past 10 years, those localities, agencies and enterprises that have implemented these measures in a well coordinated manner have established good collectives within which new persons have been emerging. This, in turn, has brought about a gradual reduction in the number of crimes being committed.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve tu cach nguoi, dang vien cong san," [The Qualifications of a Communist Party Member], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1983, p 132.
2. Ibid., p 128.
3. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 74.

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LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD: SOME POINTS CONCERNING NGUYEN TAT THANH'S APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO SCHOOL IN 1911 MUST BE CLARIFIED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 77-79

[Letter by Professor Dinh Xuan Lam]

[Text] On file at the French archives in the Colonial School room of the Overseas Department in case number 27, file number 11 is a document related to the time when Uncle Ho first arrived in France.(1) It is the application for admission to school sent by Nguyen Tat Thanh (that is, our Uncle Ho) to the President of France (Armand Fallieres--DXL) from Marseilles dated 15 September 1911. Based on the fact that this application was filed from Marseilles, it can be confirmed that the Latouche Treville had just docked in Marseilles and that Uncle Ho was still in Marseilles at that time.

This document was first introduced (1983) over the French radio and television network by H. de Turenne on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreement.

The document was subsequently mentioned at the international "Marx-Marxism" Symposium under the topic: "Nationalist Communism--the Envelopment of Marxism by Nationalist Thinking in Vietnam"(Le Communisme nationaliste--Investissement du marxisme par la pensee nationaliste au Vietnam).

Later, Nguyen The Anh (former dean of the Saigon College of Arts during the U.S.-puppet era, who currently resides in France) and Vu Ngu Chieu (former puppet army officer currently residing in Canada) published the complete text of the application in issue number 1 of DOUONG MOI Review (June 1983), their intention being gross misrepresentation. They intentionally distorted historic fact, stating that Nguyen Tat Thanh originally intended to seek admission to the Colonial School so that he could subsequently work for France and that he was forced to turn to revolutionary activities when he failed to gain acceptance at the school(!). This led them to publish a book entitled "Find Another School for Nguyen Tat Thanh" which was printed in three languages (Vietnamese, English and French) and was rather widely distributed in a number of European and North American countries in which large numbers of Vietnamese reside.

The malevolent distortion of facts by Nguyen The Anh and Vu Ngu Chieu was exposed. Even some foreign scholars have spoken out. In an article entitled "Concerning the Application of the Young Man Ho Chi Minh in 1911 for Admission to the Colonial School," Daniel Hemery, a French historian who specializes in researching and teaching recent and modern Vietnamese history at College of Paris Number 7 and who has also published a number of works on Vietnamese history(3), after presenting many materials found in French archives and the "top secret" files of the former French Ministry of Colonies, reaches the clear conclusion that it is absolutely impossible to deduce from his 1911 application for admission to this school that it was the intention of Nguyen Tat Thanh (President Ho Chi Minh) to become a collaborator of the colonial administration upon his graduation.

In fact, on the basis of the materials cited above as they relate to the training objectives as well as the organizational system of the colonial school--all of which were taken from French archives--one finds that Hemery's conclusion is correct.

The Colonial School was established in 1885. When it opened, it only had the task of accepting 13 Cambodian students--whose tuition was paid by the Indochina Governor-general--to study the French language and French culture. It was not until 1889 that classes were opened to train public servants for agencies of the Indochina colonial region. Shortly thereafter, these classes were expanded to all the colonies of France. As of 1896, the school was only accepting students for training as administration officials for the colonies. Of course, the first prerequisite for taking the entrance examination was to be a native born French citizen or to have acquired French citizenship in another way. Meanwhile, the school still retained a section exclusively for native Indochinese students called the Indigenous Section. This section, which continued to exist until 1914, accepted an average of 20 students per year. In some cases, students boarded at the school. Others attended outside annexes of the school. A decree dated 30 April 1910 reorganized the Indigenous Section, establishing its specific objective as training support technicians for the Indochina colonial administration (bookkeepers, telegraph operations, worksite commanders and so forth).

In 1911, Nguyen Tat Thanh filed an application for admission to the Colonial School, his purposes being to have the opportunity to learn a specialized trade and learn Western technology, of which France was one of the countries in the forefront, so that he could later return home and serve his fellow countrymen, serve his fatherland, not to become an administrator or a high ranking public servant as some undesirable elements have alleged in their willful slander and distortions of fact. Nguyen Tat Thanh's decision to seek admission to the French school was wholly consistent with the intention he had, while still in Vietnam, to seek admission to the Vocational School in Saigon. Not only that, if we consider the burning thoughts that were in his mind when he was still a student at the Hue National Academy--thoughts which he had an opportunity to express more than 10 years later, after he became a communist, to the Soviet poet Osif Mandelstam--we see that the desire to learn French civilization and technology was his from an early date and became stronger as time passed: "From then on, I wanted very much to familiarize myself with French civilization, to learn what was behind those words (that

is, the three French words Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite--DXL)... I decided to find a way to go abroad." In early June 1911, before boarding the ship that would take him to the West, he stated his objective: "I want to go abroad to see France and other countries. After learning how they do things, I will return home to help our fellow countrymen."(6) When he discovered the true path of national salvation, he also found the path that would take him back to his fatherland: "To me, the answer was clear: to return to my country and live among the masses, to awaken them, organize them, unite them, train them and engage them in struggle for freedom and independence."(7)

Moreover, even though the language one uses when filing out an application must be polite, must conform with certain accepted standards, the careful and alert reader is still able to discern the writer's intention, especially when he writes: "I want to become useful to France from the standpoint of my fellow countrymen and, at the same time, to help them to enjoy the benefits of education." Furthermore, to a great personality such as President Ho Chi Minh, who, on the basis of his ardent spirit of patriotism, embraced an unshakable determination since his teenage years to devote himself to the cause of national liberation, and who, prior to departing in search of the path of national salvation, considered and rejected the methods of national salvation of his predecessors, this thinking was readily apparent, was a shining truth that could not be refuted.

Clearly, anyone whose purposes are not malevolent, anyone who does not harbor an evil intention and does not willfully distort historic fact can see the real purpose as well as the strong patriotism and revolutionary will of Uncle Ho. Even colonialist ringleaders from Minister of Colonies Albert Sarraut to Indochina Governor-general Pierre Pasquier, recognized the strength of Uncle Ho's tenacious spirit and will. Even Police Inspector Arnoux had a "foreboding" from the very first time he met him that "this frail and energetic youth might be the person who plants the cross on our rule"(8) in Indochina.

The facts presented above provide a solid basis and eloquent proof for rejecting the distortions and slanderous allegations of some lackey writers of colonialism, both old style and new, concerning Uncle Ho's application for admission to school in 1911.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This department of the archives was previously located Oudinot Street in Paris. Today, however, it is located in the city of Auch (Aix-en-Provence) in southern France.
2. According to Hong Ha in "The Youth of Uncle Ho"(Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976), the ship Latouche Treville weighed anchor at Nha Rong Pier on 5 June 1911 and docked at the Darang Pier in the port of Marseilles on 6 July. On 15 July, it arrived in Le Havre (pp 27-28). However, on the basis of the date on the application, the ship was still docked in Marseilles on 15 July.

3. Hemery (D): "Vietnamese Revolutionaries and the Colonial Administration in Indochina"(Revolutionnaires Vietnamiens et pouvoir colonial en Indochine), Francois Maspero, Paris 1975; "From Patriotism to Marxism: the Migration of Vietnamese to France from 1926 to 1930"(SOCIAL MOVEMENTS Review, No 90--January-February-March 1975).
4. Printed in the annuls of Hoi thao Viet-nam-Achau, first printing, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1983.
5. Osif Mandelstam: "Nguyen Ai Quoc--Visit with an Activist Within the Communist International"(ISKRA Newspaper, No 39, 23 December 1923).
6. Tran Dan Tien: "Short Stories About the Active Life of President Ho" (fourth printing), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 14.
7. Ibid., p 52.
8. According to Hong Ha in: "The Youth of Uncle," Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976.

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## FROM BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS OF THE FRATERNAL COUNTRIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 87 pp 80-88

[Text] Editorial Note: TAP CHI CONG SAN is introducing this new section with the aim of presenting to readers contemporary issues in international theoretical activities and political life that are being discussed in books and newspapers of the fraternal countries.

To begin, we respectfully present some thoughts of the leaders of the Soviet, Cuban and Czechoslovak Communist Parties concerning change and reform under the specific conditions of each country.

### Reform and the Attitude Toward Reform

[Excerpts from Report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (PRAVDA Newspaper, 28 January 1987)]

[Text] Reform is taking determined steps to overcome the processes that have slowed us down, dismantle the mechanism that has impeded our progress and establish a stable and effective mechanism for accelerating the socio-economic development of Soviet society. The thrust of our strategy is to closely tie the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution to the planned economy and to fully utilize the potentials of socialism.

Reform means relying upon the rich creativity of the masses, means developing socialist democracy and self-management in every field, means encouraging initiative and creativity, means strengthening discipline and order, means expanding public criticism and self-criticism in each field of social life. It is the attitude of highly respecting the value and qualities of the individual.

Reform is constantly increasing the role of the factors of intensive development in the development of the Soviet economy; restoring and developing upon the Leninist principles of democratic centralism in the management of the national economy; applying the methods of economic management everywhere; insuring the transition by all elements of the economy to full economic



accounting and new methods in organizing labor and production; and making every effort to encourage the display of initiative and socialist resourcefulness.

Reform is a sharp turning point in the direction being taken by science. It closely ties science to practice in order to achieve the highest possible final results. It entails knowing how to create a solid scientific foundation for each and every innovation, namely, a sense of readiness and fervent desire on the part of scientists to actively support the party's policy of social change. At the same time, it is concern for the development of science, the development of the corps of scientific cadres and their active participation in the reform process.

Reform is giving priority to development within the social field and meeting the needs of Soviet citizens for good working conditions, good living conditions, good conditions for rest and leisure, a good education and good public health services more fully with each passing day. It is constant concern for the rich spiritual values and the cultural values of each person and of society, in general. It is the ability to combine the performance of large-scale tasks confronted in social life with the performance of the tasks with which each person is concerned today.

Reform is resolutely rejecting the arguments in society that distort socialist ethics and unswerving adherence to the principles of social fairness. It is consistency between words and deeds, between authority and responsibility. It is extolling honest, high quality labor, abandoning the trends toward equalization in the remuneration of labor and eradicating the hedonist way of life.

The ultimate goals of the reform are clear. They are to bring about profound changes in every aspect of the country's life, equip socialism with the most modern forms of social organization and develop, as thoroughly as possible, the humanist character of our system in each of its most decisive aspects, such as its economic aspect, its socio-political aspect and its spiritual aspect.

Everyone must begin the reform with himself.

We must learn the lesson of the past--to not allow a gap to develop between resolutions and the specific actions taken to implement these resolutions. We must not display an attitude of arrogance and conceit. I mention this because we continue to encounter these phenomena. We must take action, take positive, brave and creative action and know our jobs well.

This approach is necessary because in many economic, state and soviet agencies, in agencies of the party and even in production collectives, not everyone has been meeting the demands of life. Many persons still have not cast off the heavy burden of the past. They still procrastinate and openly obstruct work and impede efforts to widely tap the political and social activism of the people and the activism of the people in labor.

Not everyone understands that working in the new way means completely abandoning old habits and methods. In the final analysis, this depends upon how each person relates to his role as a citizen, upon an attitude of devotion to one's job, devotion to one's responsibility, devotion to that for which all of us are responsible to the party, to the country and our own conscience.

From their meetings and contacts with workers, party and economic cadres report that the reform has their enthusiastic support. It is said that the people wholeheartedly support the reform. But there is one point to which attention must be given. Many persons, while supporting the new, maintain that reform is the obligatory work of leaders and the upper level, of other persons, such as party, state and economic agencies, of other sectors, of directly related enterprises, of workers and their shops, farms or worksites. Generally speaking, it is the job of everyone else.

This view is unacceptable. When there is a legitimate demand to carry out reform on each level, each of us must begin by reforming ourselves. Each and every worker, state farm member and intellectual, everyone from production collectives to the Party Central Committee and the government must work in the new way in a determined and creative fashion and on the basis of one's conscience.

#### The Demands of Cadres

Today, the critical standard in cadre policy, like a tuning fork, is the cadre's attitude toward reform, toward the tasks involved in accelerating socio-economic development. This attitude is expressed not in his words, but in his work. Of course, we must realize that the formation and the activities of cadres have long taken place under conditions that have been less than ideal.

As a result, changes have not come easily. Reforming the corps of cadres will be a difficult job, one requiring steadfast efforts.

We have committed ourselves to a policy of supporting creative, thinking, zealous persons, persons who can and want to boldly move ahead and who know how to achieve success...

We must learn how to resolutely support such cadres and respect their independence and creativity. Of importance is the need to create within each party organization, each collective of workers an atmosphere that encourages everyone to search for effective solutions and exchange opinions in a sincere and very open manner. And, of course, determined efforts must be made to avoid measures which I call insulting, shrill "lecturing," which are still being applied today. We support reforming the corps of cadres, not turning it upside down. Comrades, we must respect other persons and place greater confidence in them.

Today, everyone is able to display his abilities. We must assist, through words of encouragement and demands made in the spirit of comradeship, anyone

who wants to work. Those who cling to the old, who are indifferent toward the changes that are taking place and even oppose these changes cannot, of course, accompany us.

Thus, the evaluation of cadres must be based on their attitude toward reform and the specific things they do to achieve reform. Of course, we must also take into consideration other qualities that are tantamount to principles. Most importantly, cadres must be angered by shortcomings, by old habits, by indifference and apathy and be fully committed to everything that is advanced and progressive.

Reform demands that cadres possess highly developed professional skills and high professional standards. Today, we cannot bypass comprehensive and modern training, cannot afford to lack extensive knowledge of matters related to production, science, technology, management, economics, the organization of labor, incentives to work and psychology. Generally speaking, we must mobilize the intellectual potentials of the country to the maximum degree possible and truly increase the creative returns from these potentials.

The sense of organization and discipline is assuming greater importance with each passing day. It is essential at all times and places. However, it is especially important within the context of modern production and the widespread application of the latest technologies. In recent years, we have achieved a significant increase in the rate of economic development as a result of establishing basic order and combating negligence.

But the urgency of this task remains. Lax discipline and a low spirit of responsibility are deeply entrenched and rampant. Criminal negligence and indifference have been the prime causes of some heart-rending events, such as the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Plant, the sinking of the Admiral Nakhimov and a number of railroad and aviation accidents that have caused much loss of human life.

An environment must be created everywhere which precludes every possibility of such things reoccurring. The sense of organization, precision and the spirit of doing what one's work demands must become laws to everyone.

Lastly, one very important requirement is the high morals of our cadres, is their loyalty, integrity, simplicity... Now, from the experience of the past as well as the experience of today, we know that if we do not strengthen the ethical foundation of society, we will not be able to perform the tasks associated with reform. It is also not unexpected that we are today sharply confronted with negative phenomena in the ethical field, that is, with the need to struggle to wipe out alcoholism, drunkenness, theft, the demanding of bribes, the abuse of power and the practice of covering things up.

Society is very acutely sensitive to everything that reflects the ethics of the party member, most importantly of leaders. Our foremost task is to restore the pure and loyal image of the communist leader, an image that has been tarnished to some extent by the wrongdoing of deviant persons...

## The Building of the Economic Mechanism and Political-Ideological Work

[Excerpts from speech by Fidel Castro, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, chairman of the Council of State and chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers, at the supplemental session of the 3rd Congress To Ratify the Program of the Cuban Communist Party (from 30 November to 2 December 1986)(BOHEMIA, No 51, 19 December 1986)]

[Text] Building socialism and communism is essentially a political task, a revolutionary task and must, basically, be the result of developing man's concept of and educating him in socialism and communism.

This does not negate the usefulness and value of a few mechanisms, even economic mechanisms. Yes, economic mechanisms! However, in my opinion, it is clear that economic mechanisms are tools of political work and revolutionary work, supplemental tools, I dare to say. Economic mechanisms are supplemental means of political and revolutionary work. They are not, however, the basic means employed to build socialism and communism. I have not the slightest doubt that the basic path is political and revolutionary work.

In the field of material production and the services, particularly in the field of material production, we have reached the point where we believe that everything will function perfectly with guidance and planning of the economy, with the payment of wages in accordance with productivity and labor, that this panacea will solve everything and thus enable us to build socialism. This, to some extent, indicates the party's loss of direction...

We should not abandon the payment of wages in accordance with labor in material production, which is a measure that cannot be applied in the other fields. No! Such would not make sense. We should not abandon the payment of wages on the basis of productivity, quotas and socialist formulas on the payment of wages in accordance with the quantity and quality of work. I emphasize quantity and quality! We should not reject the thinking concerning the ability of enterprises to operate at a profit or the thinking concerning economic accountability. I am not opposed to any of these mechanisms provided that we clearly understand that they are a part of political work and ideological work, provided that we give thought to the responsibility of the leadership cadre--yes, thought to the responsibility of the leadership cadre, that which can produce results for us, and not disguise the leadership cadre as a capitalist, which we have done with management cadres in the field of material production...

Finding ways to operate at a profit does not mean one enterprise deceiving or stealing from another. Rather, it means, as we say, that profits must be achieved by reducing production costs and raising productivity, by making full use of the work day, applying new technologies, organizing labor in a rational way and reducing the size of staffs. These things, of course, cannot be accomplished overnight.

We must reduce production costs and find ways to achieve quality. In practice, we do not encourage socialist enterprises to compete with one another because this is not consistent with the thinking and views of

socialism or with Marxism-Leninism. They can emulate one another, but this does not mean that they can compete in the way that capitalist corporations do, because this will lead to tragic consequences if we do not pay attention.

What can take the place of competition and the stimulative measures applied by owners in capitalist society to protect their personal interests? The only possible substitute is a sense of responsibility on the part of the cadre in the role he assumes, a sense of responsibility on the part of the individual, not the collective. This person must be a communist. Clearly, whether this person is a communist party member or not, he must be a responsible person, a communist, a true revolutionary. He must not be a communist who plays at capitalism, a communist disguised as a capitalist, a communist who acts like a capitalist or a capitalist pretending to be a communist.

There are some very important fields in social life and revolutionary tasks in which none of the mechanisms described above can be applied. If they were, how would we provide such basic services as public health services, services in which we in our country have recorded outstanding achievements, such as the infant mortality rate, for example? It is very likely that the infant mortality rate will decline to 14/1,000 this year and even further in the future because of what I explained happened in the mountains in past years and the fact that doctors now provide at home medical care there.

And who are these doctors who provide at home medical care? In my opinion, these doctors are the embodiment of the communist because they do good work and perform a relatively large amount of work. Moreover, all the doctors who have gone to the mountains are youths trained by the revolution. They have not been corrupted or influenced by a decadent and greedy regime. They have been greatly encouraged by their neighbors, been influenced by the people and been educated in the ways of communist labor...

I have calculated that there are some persons who would annually earn as much as a surgeon, even as much as it would take a skilled specialist in our country 60 years to earn.

I know very many skilled surgeons and other specialized doctors who are among the skilled of this country but I do not see this drive to make money in them. They live to work and devote everything they have to their work. They are true communists.

And the same applies in the field of education. How could we pay educators piecework wages? If I paid them on the basis of the number of students taught, every student would score a 115 (out of a possible 100) in every subject. Thus, is there another way to pay them piecework wages? If there is, how does a school operate at a profit?

We must endeavor to remunerate doctors in a way that is thorough and enables them to have a decent standard of living. However, from a practical standpoint, will we train good doctors by paying them 2,000 pesos per month, that is, are good doctors the result of how much they are paid? I would like for anyone to tell me with certainty whether we should do this, where it will lead us and whether we have any option other than to teach political and

revolutionary consciousness to our children from the time they are vanguard teenagers.

We must begin to train the communist while this person is still in the cradle and still a member of the Vanguard Teenagers' Unit. The socialist state has everything we need, from child care centers to education on all levels, including the college level. The state has everything. Thus, can we do this or not? Practical experience has shown and I myself have seen that many schools have been able to do this by means of correct political work. Political work is not a matter of giving daily lectures on the teachings of Marx and Lenin, rather, it is being able to cultivate motives and ethics in a person.

And, which economic mechanism can we apply in the work of defending the country? Where is profit to be earned in building a division or military corps, in building a squad or squadron? Where are we to obtain the money needed to pay and provide incentives to youths who are fulfilling their military obligation and have volunteered for international missions? And what about the officers of our People's Armed Forces who have fulfilled their international obligation three, four or even five times? Where do we get the money to pay them and what material incentives can we offer to encourage them to continue to serve?

With what do we pay persons who are prepared to lay down their lives, who frequently confront truly dangerous situations and sacrifice their lives?

You should give some thought to what would occur were we to apply other mechanisms in the field of defending the fatherland and maintaining order and security. Were we to do this, we would certainly give rise to greed and corruption and teach people to only think about money. True, we must pay the soldiers and officers within the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of Interior a wage commensurate with the work they perform so that they have a decent standard of living. True, these are not average wages, but socialist wages, that is, wages based on ability and job experience, but this is still not what determines a person's ethics.

We must make persons conscious of ideals. Thus, other mechanisms and the various economic factors are means and tools that supplement political and revolutionary work, means and tools which a revolution truly demands and which, most importantly, socialist construction and communist construction demand.

I can say the same about the members of the party and the cadres in our mass organizations. I am sincere when I say that the splendid accomplishments that we have recorded are the result of political and revolutionary work and the result of developing the consciousness of man. These are not illusions. These examples are right before our eyes. And, I also want to say that, in the field of material production, we must apply economic mechanisms but only as supplementary means and tools in political and revolutionary work because it would be one of the most absurd illusions ever to maintain that these mechanisms will create miraculous returns, will produce miracles in social and economic development and in socialist construction.

## Concerning the Reform in the Soviet Union

[Excerpts from replies by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in an interview with the editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO Newspaper (RUDE PRAVO Newspaper, 20 February 1987)]

[Text] The current efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet people are truly having large and positive repercussions. The policies of the CPSU, which are very similar to ours, are consistent with the needs of socialism for dynamic development. Our party and people fully support these policies. We are attentively following, with a feeling of empathy, the things that are taking place in the Soviet Union. We stated this during the 17th Congress and also during the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The efforts aimed at reforming Soviet society hold much by way of exciting initiatives for our party and society. I see these efforts as the third great event in the history of the revolution. The first event was the great October Socialist Revolution. The second was the great war of national defense, the victory over fascism and the birth of the world socialist system. And, today, the third event is taking place: the mobilization in the Soviet Union of each material as well as spiritual force in order for socialism to display its superiority over everything that is old fashioned.

There are some persons who actually want to use this common feeling of support for the social changes under way in the Soviet Union, use it not to serve the interests of socialism, but to oppose socialism. They have still not rid themselves of the narrowminded, dogmatic thinking of rightist opportunism and maintain that something is occurring within the CPSU similar to that which occurred in our country during the crisis of years past. We, as the genuine friends of the Soviet Union, must resolutely combat this thinking...

Because, the things taking place within the CPSU and the Soviet Union today are correct, entirely correct, and we must fully support them. The issue is the program that was established by the 27th Congress and which the country's leadership is making every effort to successfully apply. The leadership of the CPSU and the widespread support among the people for the party's policy are the factors which guarantee that the correct approaches now being taken will bear fruit...

Our people support this program because it represents a struggle for order and discipline--both within society and within the party, from the standpoint of the state as well as industry and for the sake of the quality of production and a better information apparatus. And what can be said about those who were defeated in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1968 and are now expressing some "hopes" in light of the reform in the Soviet Union? Do they have a right to express such hopes? They most certainly do not. The disciples of rightist opportunism have nothing to hope for in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The leadership of the CPSU is making every effort to strengthen socialism and the unity of the socialist community. The "militants who struggled for a

socialism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia in 1968 are now trying to disarm socialism and destroy the socialist community.

The CPSU is taking steps to strengthen the leadership role of the working class and the party in society. The rightist opportunists in Czechoslovakia are looking for ways to weaken the leadership role of the working class and its vanguard unit--the revolutionary party. They are trying to revive bourgeois political parties and create other groups opposed to socialism. In the field of foreign policy, they do not want to strengthen the unity of the socialist community, rather, they are planning to withdraw Czechoslovakia from the Warsaw Pact. They want to make changes to foreign policy and sever our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, etc.

The CPSU is also making every effort to build stronger discipline in production and within all leadership committees for the sake of further developing material production. Our enemies would create chaos in production and subvert discipline.

Recently, we informed the broad masses of the principles governing the reform of our economic mechanism. These principles attach importance to strengthening socialism. They are the principle difference between what we are doing and the theories of the Siks, who are plotting to incorporate within our economy as many factors of capitalism as possible.

And, I would also like to say that the CPSU has a very solid grasp of the situation. The leadership committee of the CPSU is in complete agreement on implementing the line set by the 27th Congress. This leadership committee is not turning back. Unfortunately, in early 1968, the leadership of our party was not in agreement and had no clear program. I recall these facts because it is necessary to reject these comparisons once and for all.

I also recall these facts because the Central Committee has received different letters from our people making inquiries concerning what is about to occur and how these changes will take place. There have even been some letters--although rare--from persons threatening the communist party and, in particular, threatening a number of party members. The authors of these letters have not forgotten the "democratic methods" they employed in 1968, "democratic" to the point of threatening hanging.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet people clearly understand that it is their historic responsibility to build socialist society. Along this difficult path, problems, difficulties and shortcomings might be encountered, but the direction being taken is correct. On this path, that which was sufficient yesterday is not longer sufficient today. And this raises a legitimate demand for new and more effective approaches. It must also be realized that in the Soviet Union as well as our country, there is no lack of persons who are easy going, are inattentive and who can adapt to any and all circumstances as well as persons who are thwarting and impeding this reform of a revolutionary



nature. But the first step has been a correct step and the future belongs to this reform...

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