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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

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

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**Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN**  
**No 1, January 1988**

JPRS-ATC-88-005

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10 July 1988

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## TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 1, January 1988

### **There Are Still Many Difficulties But the Foundations Are Being Laid for Achieving Our Objectives**

42100006b Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 14-18

[Editorial]

#### [Text] The Positive New Factors

The year 1987 was the first year in the implementation of the resolution of the Sixth Congress. The very large efforts made by the entire party and all the people in all areas of activity have yielded a number of positive results in line with the specifics of renewal as set forth by the Sixth Congress.

As regards the economy, the resolutions of the Second and Third Plenums of the Party Central Committee correctly concretized and, to some extent, developed upon the thinking and the positions and policies of the Sixth Congress with regard to revamping the management mechanism and solving the pressing problems concerning distribution and circulation. The relations between the state and farmers have been established along lines that tap the potentials and stabilize the interests and obligations of working farmers. The policies of allowing farmers to borrow land for winter crop production, supplying materials in accordance with contracts at the very start of the season and introducing a number of new, high yield varieties in production caused the output of winter subsidiary food crops in the northern provinces to increase by nearly 90,000 tons over 1986. As a result of rearranging production and making improvements to product contracts, a number of agricultural cooperatives have become new outstanding model units. The autonomy of state-operated industrial enterprises in production and business has begun to exert an impact, creating a number of good model units within industry. Solving problems in circulation and abandoning the practice of "closing rivers to traffic and banning markets" have helped to regulate the flow of goods and regulate prices in many localities. The frugality policy that has been promulgated has not only reduced unnecessary costs, but has also created good relations between leadership and the masses, between management cadres and manual workers. One enterprise has reduced its monthly expenditures on food and beverages (banquets) and on guests ("greasing palms") by tens of millions of dong monthly yet its productivity has risen and the income of its workers is higher. The overseas economy has entered a new period. Many agreements on cooperation in production between Vietnam and the Soviet Union that have been signed are opening many prospects for our country's economy which will actively help to correct our country's socio-economic instability.

In the social field, the spirit of democracy is clearly evident in the openness and honesty of the press, literature and art. The citizen is excited to have the right to use the press to struggle against the injustices of society and the press is also thriving because it is able to effectively undertake its role as the representative of public opinion. The function, duties and responsibilities of the press have been affirmed. This has been followed by the decision concerning the campaign to purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations, purify and increase the management effectiveness of the state apparatus and make social relations wholesome, thereby satisfying the desires of the masses and party members. The resolution on revamping and improving the party's leadership of literature, art and culture reflects the party's concern for an important and complex field that has not been the subject of collective discussion on the highest levels of leadership for a long time, thereby creating the conditions for a new stage of development in this field. The meetings between high ranking leaders and many men and women working in the press, literature, art, culture, science and so forth are beautiful images in the process of democratization. Clearly, an atmosphere of change in the ideological and social life of our country has emerged since the Sixth Congress.

Organizational restructuring and the reassignment of cadres have begun, the direction being to reduce the number of echelons, streamline staffs and strengthen the various leadership levels. A new, young and qualified corps of cadres who have been forged in practice is forming and gradually assuming important responsibilities of the party and state. The organizations of women and youths are being reorganized through congresses being held in the spirit of change and democracy.

As regards the task of defending the fatherland, the army and security forces, under the close and flexible guidance of the party, have staunchly defended the frontier and the islands of the fatherland, thwarted each cunning scheme of the enemy and their lackeys and fulfilled our international obligation well.

In foreign affairs, our party has strengthened its general strategic coordination as well as its specific activities within the region and the world, attaching importance to quality and efficiency in cooperation based on the new thinking. The negotiations between our party and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, between General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and and General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev were important events marking qualitative changes in relations with the fraternal parties and countries. Our attitude of sincerity and good will has been hailed by progressive public opinion in many countries of the region and the world.

The various party committee echelons, administration organizations and the mass organizations from the central to the local levels have begun to take positive steps in changing their work methods and mode of work. They

are now closer to basic units and have put democracy, collective leadership and personal accountability into practice. There is also less by way of ostentatious ceremonies and cumbersome procedures.

### **The Large Socio-Economic Problems Being Faced**

Generally speaking, however, the new advances and positive factors of the past year in the socio-economic field are still limited in nature. The economic situation is improving very slowly. There is still a constant shortage of grain. National income per capita has declined. Serious waste and loss of socialist property are occurring. Disorder persists in distribution and circulation. The majority of wage earners and the armed forces continue to encounter difficulties in their everyday lives. The social situation is changing in a direction that is giving rise to many negative phenomena. Social ethics are on the decline.

The causes of the above situation are both subjective and objective. The Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee pointed out the major shortcomings in socio-economic leadership and guidance in 1987:

—We failed to promptly adopt correct policies and measures aimed at restructuring and reorganizing the economy in order to strongly develop socialist commodity production in the direction of focusing on the three major economic programs, particularly on the front of foremost importance, agriculture. We have yet to adopt well-coordinated policies and measures designed to successfully resolve the grain problem, the most pressing and difficult problem we face today.

—The policies concerning farmers and the position on shifting economic activities to socialist accounting and business that were set forth in the resolution of the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee have not been implemented well. Efforts to concretize the positions concerning prices, wages, finance and monetary affairs have not been aimed at the primary goal of stimulating and creating favorable conditions for the development of commodity production. In addition, these efforts have been made slowly. In some areas, the calculations that have been made have not been thorough. Some of the measures taken have been half-way measures. The solutions recently applied to problems in distribution and circulation have not yielded the desired results.

—We failed to attach full importance to and successfully carry out efforts to closely tie the revamping of the economic management mechanism and the scientific-technical management mechanism to practicing broader democracy and upholding the socialist system of law. Bureaucratic centralism, the lack of democracy, decentralization and the lack of strict order and discipline impeded the implementation of the party's correct resolutions.

—Ideological, organizational and cadre work fail to meet the requirements involved in revamping the economic management mechanism and increasing the effectiveness of party leadership and the management effectiveness of the state apparatus. In the current renovation campaign, the main obstacle continues to be the fact that theoretical thinking, most importantly economic theory, has not fully formed.

Theoretical work, one of the areas of work in which the party is the weakest, has not become a concern of the entire party, most importantly of leadership cadres. Specific positions and measures were not adopted to correct the backward state of our theory and narrow the gap between theory and practice. Ideological work was less than thorough and still unimaginative. Propaganda, educational and ideological agencies lacked the necessary means and worked at cross purposes. The sense of militancy on this front was quite weak. We did not wage a determined struggle against the conservative thinking and slowness to change that still prevail among many cadres. We did not actively criticize the pessimism, vacillation and decline in the will and confidence of some cadres. At the same time, we failed to actively prevent impetuosity (in essence, voluntarism). Ideological work was also stagnant and ineffective in the face of the provocations, distortions and psychological warfare of the enemy and undesirable elements.

Being indulgent toward certain persons, being indecisive and inconsistent together with a slowness to examine and reach conclusions concerning mistakes made by cadres of position and authority that have been brought to light by the masses and the mass media are impeding and limiting the struggle against newly emerging negative phenomena. A lack of democracy and even suppression are still widespread. The spirit of self-criticism is very weak. A pompous and bureaucratic style is still quite prevalent among more than a few cadres, including high ranking cadres.

The shortcomings pointed out by the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee on the occasion of the review conducted 1 year after the implementation of the resolution of the Sixth Congress and the adoption of the socio-economic guidelines and tasks for the 3 years from 1980 to 1999 must be rectified, the sooner the better, by the entire party, beginning on the highest level. The situation and time do not permit us to hesitate.

### **Comprehending Tasks, Emphasizing Responsibility, Marching Steadily Forward**

Seeing the difficulties that exist and fully recognizing our shortcomings in order to fully see the responsibility of the collective and each leadership cadre, from the central to all other levels, in the face of the current situation and then proposing correct policies and measures designed to overcome difficulties—this is the substance of the resolution of the Fourth Party Plenum. The spirit of this



plenum as well as the two preceding plenums was being resolved to bring about change, which is a "matter of survival"<sup>1</sup> to for our country's revolution.

Change is a continuous and long process, a process of struggle between the old and the new, a process of reasserting old values and discovering new ones, a dialectical process within the relationship between criticism and creativity... Under our country's circumstances, change is a process of exceedingly arduous struggle. One year is a very short amount of time. Moreover, our party faces very weighty tasks and an enormous volume of work accumulated over many years. The mistakes made in our strategic guidance of the economy over the past decade and more have caused very large difficulties. To gradually overcome these difficulties, there is but one path to follow: bringing about comprehensive and well coordinated change under the light of the Sixth Congress, even though this path is covered with obstacles. Mistakes occur in leadership and guidance. However, these mistakes must be discovered early, clearly recognized and resolutely rectified. In 1988, with the aim of achieving the targets set for the 3 years 1988-1990, change must occur in two primary areas first: the economic management mechanism and organization-cadres. These two areas are closely interrelated and change must occur within them simultaneously. The decisive factor, however, continues to be cadres. If a manager is not qualified, if he is not dynamic or determined, no policy or measure can be implemented regardless of how correct it might be. We must quickly put qualified cadres who are able to think and act in key positions within the national economy. In light of the circumstances of Russia in the early 1920's, Lenin said: "In our struggle, it must be remembered that communists must think maturely. They are quite skilled at speaking about the revolutionary struggle, about the situation surrounding this struggle throughout the world. But emerging from acute shortages and bitter poverty requires that they think, that they be educated, be disciplined..."<sup>2</sup> This thinking is of very important significance to us today.

Putting decisions in the form of regulations is something that must be done as soon as a decision has been made. State agencies must quickly correct their slowness to enact new regulations and their frequent inconsistency in the performance of this task. Every position and policy must be placed within the system of policies of a sector, with attention given to its impact upon the other sectors. No policy can be allowed to conflict with common objectives, immediate objectives cannot conflict with long-range objectives. The policies on prices, wages and money can only be correct when these policies help to regulate circulation and distribution, create the conditions for production and business, stimulate production, protect the interests of the laborer, combat speculation, black marketing... These policies are not objectives in and of themselves.

There is a definite need to adopt new theoretical thinking. Theory must lay the scientific foundation for each

policy decision. Nguyen Van Linh wrote: "...Changes must be made in theoretical thinking, changes based on summarizing practice, on arguments in the nature of principles, so that we can develop consistent policies and solutions that meet the needs of life. After being tested and applied on a large scale, this theoretical thinking must be codified and become the standard in life, become the everyday actions of the broad masses. This is a logical process with which all the major decisions of the party and state must comply."<sup>3</sup> Special concern must be given to the task of refining and developing the views of the Sixth Congress concerning change, most importantly the views on the economy. The commodity market, socialist accounting and business, the market and the plan, the relationships between goods and money, money and inflation, state management and business management...these matters must be clarified at an early date and unanimous agreement concerning them must be reached. With regard to important matters of theory, we should arrange for debates, with guaranteed freedom of thinking, among scientists and managers, leaders and persons with specific coordinating responsibilities. When necessary, broad surveys can be conducted among the people.

It is also necessary to closely tie efforts to organize the performance of socio-economic tasks to the campaign to purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations, to purify and increase the management effectiveness of the state apparatus and make social relations wholesome. Practicing democracy, practicing greater openness, waging a relentless struggle against negative phenomena and restoring social order and discipline, these are the decisive prerequisites to a revolutionary movement of the masses to support and act in accordance with resolutions.

We still face many difficulties. However, the direction we are taking has been clearly defined and the foundations are being laid. The entire party and all the people are determined to turn 1988 into a year of important socio-economic change, a year that will serve as a springboard for completing the 1988-1990 plan in an outstanding fashion and actively preparing for socio-economic development in subsequent years.

#### Footnotes

1. The Proceedings of the Sixth Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1987, p 125.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 124.
3. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 11 1987, pp 6 and 7.

### **Revamping the Party's Leadership of Literature, Art and Culture**

42100006c Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 19-24

[Text] On 28 November 1987, the Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee issued the resolution on revamping and raising the standards of the leadership and management of literature, art and culture, tapping creative capabilities and bringing literature, art and culture to a new level of development. The resolution assesses the situation surrounding literature, art and culture since the reunification of the country, points out the reasons for the achievements that have been recorded as well as shortcomings and weaknesses, defines the direction to be taken by literary, art and cultural activities and sets forth policies for revamping the party's leadership in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Congress in this important field.

Vietnamese culture, literature and art have their origins in the nation's fine cultural traditions. The factors of the new age found in this literature and art blossomed in the 1920's, the seeds of which were sown by Nguyen Ai Quoc. He said: "When a nation is oppressed, its literature and art also lose their freedom. For literature and art to be free, they must participate in the revolution."

In fact, when our party was born and began leading the revolution, a contingent of artists, writers and cultural and social activists supported and struggled for the revolution in covert, semi-covert and overt ways. In the August revolutionary movement and in the flames of the nation's two great wars of resistance, generations of writers and artists, in response to the party's appeal, followed one another into the struggle for independence, the struggle to reunify the fatherland, the struggle for socialism and established revolutionary literature and art, thereby making positive contributions to the creation of the party's line on literature and art. This line, which has constantly been refined and developed, has lighted the way in the cause of building and developing our country's socialist realist literature and art.

Our literature and art experienced a period of glory and were "worthy of taking their place in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist literature and art of today's age." Since 1975, when we embarked on the new stage of the revolution, our country's literature, art and culture have continued to develop. However, under the new conditions that exist and in the face of the new demands, cultural, literary and art activities, besides recording praiseworthy achievements, have exhibited more than a few weaknesses and shortcomings. The resolution points out that the achievements and shortcomings of cultural, literary and art activities over the past 12 years have been "closely tied to the strengths and weaknesses in leading, managing and building the corps and even theoretical realizations within the context of the new conditions."

Our party's nearly one-half century of experience in leading culture, literature and art proves that the two determining factors in the creation of literary and art values are writers and artists and the leadership provided by the party. Literary and art values are created by no one other than writers and artists with their life experience, talent and skills, with their steadfast adherence to the view on creativity, with their high personal qualities and high sense of responsibility to the people and the revolution. And, the various party committee echelons and the management agencies of the party and state must allow writers and artists to be free, to take the initiative in creating these values, must support the immense creativity of writers and artists materially and spiritually.

At the Second National Literature and Art Congress (February 1957), Truong Chinh, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, acknowledged the party's shortcomings in its leadership of literature and art: "In the leadership of the creation of works of literature and art, there have been simplistic and shallow views concerning literature and art serving politics,<sup>1</sup> views which have led to giving light attention to personal accountability, to giving little encouragement to the individual to think and inquire in the process of creating works of art and to restricting the subjects and forms of art in a narrowminded and one-sided manner... Many works of art have tended toward embellishment and praise, praise which has actually not been very profound." He stated the party's view concerning the relationship between politics and literature-art: "Literature and art serve politics, that is, serve the fatherland, serve the people, serve the struggle to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, serve the cause of socialist transformation and socialist construction. The ways in which they serve are very diverse. Writers and artists must approach the creation of works of art on a totally voluntary basis and at their own initiative... Literature and art serving politics means that they serve class politics, not general politics or an individual politician. Our literature and art stand entirely on the side of the interests of the nation, of the working people and both recognize and follow the leadership of the party..." He strongly criticized the practice of providing leadership by means of administrative decree, by pressing literature and art into the mold of other fields (including politics) and by requiring the "mouthing of political slogans," which do not respect the independence and creativity of writers and artists. He reiterated Lenin's view: "In this field, there definitely must be room for personal creativity, for individuality, for thinking and imagination, for form and content."<sup>2</sup> General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, in a meeting with writers and artists in early October of this year, also said: "...In your field, you, no one else, must act..." "Stand up for yourselves." "Be tough on yourselves." "When you feel that you are right and are constructive in your intention, you must defend the truth resolutely, be brave

and never slant your writing. If you are unable to write, it is better to immerse yourself in the reality of life and gain more knowledge rather than write in the style current in vogue."

For many years, but not recently, a number of leaders and managers, including some writers and artists and some theorists and critics who did not fully understand the leadership views of our party, acted in a manner contrary to the views of the party, practiced convenient thinking, violated the freedom of writers and artists and, in practice, distorted the correct views of the party. But, worthy of mention is the fact that many of these persons, whose qualifications were very limited and who did not even understand the field of which they were in charge, held "authority" and always proclaimed themselves to be "the person implementing party leadership." Conversely, some writers, artists and critics, obsessed by the fear that something would be "imposed" upon them, did not conduct research, lacked courage and did not take the initiative on the basis of their lofty responsibility. They were unable to distinguish between the party's political line and the management cadre directly above them, between the political line and leadership of the party and politics as one of the forms of social consciousness, such as philosophy, science, literature and art, ethics, the law, etc. This confusion led to vague concepts concerning the leadership of the party and the inability to accurately discern the nature and causes of the shortcomings and weaknesses in a brilliant stage of development of our country's literature and art as well as the achievements and the shortcomings and weaknesses of our country's literature and art over the past 12 years.

There has never been another period in our nation's culture similar to the stage from 1945 to 1975 when, in the space of only several decades and against the background of a bitter war, our country achieved a system of literature and art that respects the values of our forefathers, has selectively incorporated the values of world culture and has created new values that have had a far-reaching impact upon the thinking and feelings of our people and a major influence upon many nations in the world. Our nation and our party have a corps of writers and artists who are trustworthy and deserving of pride, some of whom have achieved international recognition in works of true artistic value. Clearly, in our country, regardless of how great the difficulties and hardships might be and despite immature views and crude methods, the dominant trend has been the trend of the genuine literature, art and culture of the party at all times and places. All cultural activists, artists and writers of conscience, courage and talent have been respected and forever remembered by the people. Every talent and every work of art which, for one reason or another, has been incorrectly evaluated will, sooner or later, be correctly evaluated by history. Without truth there is no revolutionary literature or art. The truth belongs to our party. Our party's line on literature, art and culture respects the truth, encourages expression and reflects the truth in a comprehensive and uncensored manner in the

process of its revolutionary development. Therefore, our party advocates building a system of socialist, realist literature and art and considers the socialist realist method to be the best. Our party always attaches importance to the role of culture, literature and art, to the persons who create cultural, literary and art values, namely cultural activists, writers and artists. If, at one time or another, light attention is given to a number of matters regarding culture, literature or art, if these matters are not properly resolved and these shortcomings in the areas of realization, qualifications, methods of leadership, regulations and sometimes arbitrariness by an individual occur, they do not stem from the nature or the content of the party's line.

The recently promulgated Political Bureau resolution on literature, art and culture confirms and develops upon the basic views that have been consistently held in our party line on literature and art, and are the basis for setting the direction for the development of culture, literature and art in the new stage.

These views are:

1. Vietnamese culture, literature and art are an integral part of the Vietnamese revolution. "Culture is a vital part of the ideological and cultural revolution, is a strong moving force behind and a major objective in the cause of building socialism."<sup>1</sup>
2. "Literature and art are especially sensitive components of culture. They express man's thirst for truth, goodness and beauty and have the effects of cultivating the feelings, soul, character and abilities of all generations of citizens, establishing an ethical environment in society and molding the new socialist man and woman."
3. Artists and the character of the artist: "Literary and art activists must be the militants of the party on the cultural, literary and art front. They must cultivate the Marxist-Leninist world view and revolutionary philosophy of life and display a high spirit of responsibility to the country, to the people. They must cultivate the spirit of socialist cooperation and unite with one another in a sincere and thorough fashion. They must respect one another's talents and contributions. They must denounce and correct opportunism, factionalism and an immoral way of life. They must delve deeply into life, constantly raise their cultural and occupational standards and boldly adopt the new approach in their thinking and creative activities."
4. Socialist realist literature and art: "The voice of Vietnamese socialist realist literature and art must be the voice of responsibility, loyalty and freedom, the voice of truth, of conscience, of communist humanitarianism and must express the deeply held aspirations of the people and the party's determination to bring the renovation campaign to victory." Literature and art must continuously cultivate a greater party and popular character and contribute to the performance of the two



strategic tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland. They must expand their functions of learning, discovering, forecasting and creating. They must keep closely abreast of changing realities, bring to light and praise the new, confirm the rudiments of the new that are emerging in life and criticize, in an uncompromising manner, negative phenomena, conservatism and stagnation. They must create living models of new persons who are loyal, brave, dynamic and creative in combat and construction, are the militants of the renovation campaign."

5. A multi-ethnic culture: "The essence of the unique cultures of the fraternal ethnic groups within our country must be combined in a harmonious fashion and enhanced."

6. The nation's cultural heritage must be respected. We must carry on and build upon the fine traditions of the nation. Modern cultural, scientific and technical achievements of the world must be selectively incorporated. "Questions pertaining to the national and the international, the traditional and the modern, ideology and technology and the immediate and the long range in cultural, literary and art work must be correctly resolved."

7. Creative freedom and the leadership of the party: "Creative freedom is the vital prerequisite to the creation of true values in culture, literature and art and the development of talent. In our history, the party has led all the people in winning independence and freedom and has restored genuine creative freedom to writers and artists. The essence of the creative freedom of the writer and artist lies within the revolution led by the party and is defined by the responsibilities and obligations of each person to the fatherland and socialism."

8. Literary and art criticism: "Creative freedom goes hand in hand with the freedom to criticize... We must heighten the theoretical nature, the scientific level, the aesthetic level and the knowledge of the realities of the creative effort and the realities of life in the criticism of literature and art... Criticism must be objective, unbiased, serious and highly militant. We must correct the practices of being indulgent or crude and eliminate those kinds of criticism that are one-sided, superficial, formalistic or based on textbooks."

9. The close relationship among professional literature and art, the mass literature and art movement and amateur literature and art activities: each type activity occupies its own position and has its own mode. We must "avoid making mass literature and art and amateur literature and art professional as well as reducing the requirements upon professional literature and art. Every effort must be made to create the conditions for professional literature and art to reach pinnacles of art."

10. The ideological struggle: "A determined struggle must be waged against the vestiges of feudal, colonial and bourgeois culture. We must put a stop to the trend toward commercialization in literary and art activities, struggle against those types of literature and art that are pornographic and encourage crime and defeat the schemes and activities employed by hostile and reactionary powers in a vain attempt to turn culture, literature, and art into means for sowing the seeds of pessimism and a decadent way of life. We must eradicate superstitions and immoral customs."

The objectives of revamping and raising the level of the leadership and guidance of culture, literature and art are to vigorously tap the creative potentials of writers and artists and uphold their right to be the master. Leadership must be provided through correct policies. The resolution stresses that "the common spirit of policies and measures must be to provide the conditions needed for culture, literature and art to fulfill their social role well through their noble functions. There must be a deep understanding of the fundamental view of our party, namely, attaching importance to the human factor and considering man to be the most important force behind and the highest objective to serve and cultivate in each socio-economic activity." There must also be a thorough comprehension of the party's view concerning socialist intellectuals and this view must be applied in a manner consistent with the unique nature of culture, literature and art."

The resolution sets forth specific positions and measures:

—Promulgating policies aimed at encouraging cultural, literary and art organizations to tap economic and financial potentials; moving toward the establishment of a Vietnam cultural fund; cultural, literary and art organizations must be given the independence to establish funds and resources and use these funds and resources.

—Fully implementing the rights of writers and artists and quickly promulgating regulations on remuneration for artistic labor, regulations which insure that professional artists can live and continue to create works of art primarily through what they earn as writers and artists.

—Encouraging public discussion and debate.

—Bringing the effort to establish the new way of life and the effort to build families of the new culture to success throughout society.

—Establishing a suitable leadership and management mechanism; establishing national art councils, local art councils and art councils on the basic levels.

The establishment of art councils is a very important measure aimed at correcting and preventing gross intervention by party committees in matters pertaining to literature and art and individuals acting as they see fit



and determining the fate of works of art. These are frequent phenomena which harm development of culture, literature and art and create misunderstandings of the party's leadership. These misunderstandings have been with us for many years. Since the Sixth Congress, amidst the growing atmosphere of democracy, writers and artists have boldly revealed their true thoughts. This is something very good which increases the confidence that writers and artists have in the party's line on literature and art and in the leadership provided by the party. The resolution states: "Works of literature and art which do not violate the law, are not reactionary (oppose the nation, oppose socialism or sabotage peace) and are not decadent (encourage crime, are lewd or assault human dignity) have the right to be circulated and subjected to the evaluation and judgment of public opinion and to criticism." This stipulation is necessary because reaching a conclusion concerning a work about which there are differences of opinions, particularly differences between comrades of high responsibility and position within the party and state and authors and critics is usually a very complex matter. The accuracy of a conclusion depends very heavily upon the democratic atmosphere of society.

—Improving the quality of the elementary and advanced training of writers, artists, and cadres who manage culture, literature, and art; establishing socialist culture faculties in the colleges, academies, and management schools.

—The education sector, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and related sectors must coordinate with the culture, literature, and art sectors to teach aesthetics, culture and art to youths, teenagers, and students.

—Strengthening the organizations of the party within the fields of culture, literature, and art.

—The Ministry of Culture must revamp its organizations, corps of cadres and style of work and properly fulfill the function of a state management agency in the fields of culture, literature and art.

Our entire country is changing in keeping with the spirit of renovation of the Sixth Congress. However, this change is coming slowly. It is not uniform or widespread. However, in the fields of economic, cultural and social activities, encouraging, positive factors have emerged. We are living in a period of history filled with difficulties, but one which is also a very glorious period for our nation. As the Political Bureau resolution is implemented and in conjunction with revamping the leadership and guidance provided by party and state agencies and the mass organizations, creative forces must respond through concrete creative results.

Creativity is synonymous with renovation. In view of their noble duty to "bring new light to the ideological perceptions and the sentiments of society...." let our writers, artists, and cultural activists abandon their

groundless complexes, boldly "join the fray" and dare to undertake the role of serving as "the militants of renovation" through works of value and effective activities. Works and more works, this is the only precise reply that artists and writers can make to the resolution of the Political Bureau. Let theorists and critics bring theory and criticism closer to creative practice and the realities of society, closer to the party's political line and cultural line and courageously raise questions, courageously debate and find answers to them. The cultural and art associations must quickly abandon state subsidies, abandon their administrative approach of being preoccupied with day to day details, unite with creative forces and critics and focus their efforts on the cause of creativity.

The resolution of the Political Bureau will create the conditions for literature, art and culture to reach a new stage of development. We confidently await this new stage.

#### Footnotes

1. Politics is to be understood here as the political line of the party and, more broadly, as the leadership provided by the party as the vanguard political corps of the working class and laboring people.

2. Truong Chinh: "On Culture and Art," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985. Volume 1, pp 216 and 217.

3. To make it easier for our readers we have systematized the views set forth within the resolution. The passages contained within quotation marks are excerpts from the original text of the resolution.

4. "The Documents of the Party and State on Culture, Literature, and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 86.

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#### Some Thoughts on Building Micro-Industry in Our Country

42100006d Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 88 pp 25-29, 39

[Article by Pham Van Nghien, PhD in Economics]

#### [Text] Part I

In contrast to many European countries which carried out industrialization in the 18th and 19th centuries, when their agriculture had developed (on the average, about 50 years after the start of industrialization), our country began to carry out industrialization within the context of a backward agriculture and very low labor productivity. Thus, it belonged to a type called forced industrialization. This economic phenomenon, of course, does not constitute a favorable condition for industrialization in our country. Our underdeveloped

agriculture does not fully meet the needs of the people for grain and food products, does not meet the demands of light industry for raw materials, has not created significant sources of foreign currency for the economy and has not created a market for the consumer goods industry. Thus, under the conditions of our country, the policy on developing agriculture toward intensive cultivation and higher labor productivity, thereby guaranteeing that the needs of humans and livestock for grain are met, creating abundant sources of raw materials for the light industrial sectors, diversifying our processed agricultural exports and so forth, is an important measure in creating sources of initial capital within the economy, thereby laying an important base for industrialization. The development of agriculture must be based on the principles of achieving economic returns and avoiding waste, including in the mechanization of agriculture. We must use all the resources we have at our disposal, most importantly our abundant labor force.

Closely tied to the development of agriculture is the development of small industry and the handicraft trades toward modernization. The development and modernization of small industry and the handicraft trades will make full use of our abundant labor, not only in the cities and towns, but also in the vast rural areas with their tens of millions of agricultural laborers (whose work time is less than that of 3.3 million laborers). By processing agricultural products and producing goods for agricultural areas (work tools, consumer goods), the development and modernization of small industry and the handicraft trades will effectively contribute to the creation of integration between agriculture and industry and stimulate the development of agriculture.

Within the economy of our country (as well as many other countries), a traditional system of production and a modern system of production (although not highly developed) exist side by side. This characteristic is clearly seen in the traditional industrial sectors, namely small industry and the handicraft trades, and the modern industrial sectors. These are the important components of the national economy. We must give special attention to building a stable, essential and logical relationship between these two components.

When talking about building large-scale, socialist production, some persons think about large-scale production, modern factories, large projects, etc. These factors are necessary within a system of modern production with high labor productivity. However, of foremost importance in large-scale production are the efficiency of production and returns from capital. We will never achieve large-scale with high labor productivity if, within the economy, we maintain a system of basic industrial production units that utilize only 40 to 50 percent of their capacity, if we build many costly projects and if construction time is long but projects do not produce practical returns at a time when we are experiencing a serious shortage of capital. Thus, in order to carry out industrialization successfully, the steps we take must be

consistent with our country's capabilities with regard to capital, capital formation, labor and natural resources and we must never stray from the principles of practicing frugality, avoiding wasteful investments and making truly efficient use of what we have, including the material-technical bases of the production sectors, labor and natural resources.

On the basis of these principles, developing and modernizing small industry and the handicraft trades and building micro-industry are an important strategic economic guideline. This is the wise path to follow to build the economy in the face of a very serious shortage of capital and surplus labor. Micro-industry exists not only within a given stage, but also over the long range beside modern industry and creates a single entity within industrial production (large scale, medium scale and small scale). It is shallow and mistaken to say that we are currently attaching importance to developing small industry and the handicraft trades in order to meet the needs for consumer and export goods, which are in very short supply, thus, only these traditional production sectors occupy a position of importance in the initial stage of the period of transition.

One important and pressing matter in our country's current socio-economic strategy is that of providing jobs to millions of laborers in the cities, millions of agricultural laborers who still have idle time and a considerable number of retired cadres and workers who are still able to work. To create jobs, we need to have a minimum amount of capital. As we know, under the conditions of science and technology today, equipment is becoming increasingly modern and fewer workers are needed. Therefore, even if we import many modern factories, we still will not solve the problem of surplus manpower (we are, of course unable to do this). The experience of the countries of the Mid-East shows that opening many oil rigs and refineries also does not solve the unemployment problem. Thus, there is but one path to follow: to create those types of jobs that require little investment capital (the lowest possible investment per work place) and thereby absorb much labor, solve the unemployment problem and create much wealth for society. According to calculations made by experts of the International Labor Organization, only \$300 to \$1,200 need to be invested per new work place in small industry and the handicraft trades while \$100,000 to \$250,000 must be invested in a large-scale and modern work place.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, investing in the development of small industry and the handicraft trades can yield direct results:

—Providing millions of jobs;

—Providing many goods for consumption and exportation;

—Providing high returns from capital and the quick turnover of capital.

Raising the question in this manner does not mean that we should consider industrialization to only be concentrated in the development of small industry and the handicraft trades. We can never give light attention to measures designed to bring about industrial development on different scales, including within some key heavy industrial sectors.

In summary, wherever there is labor, wherever there is a need for goods and wherever raw materials can be found, commodity production must be organized on an appropriate scale. And, this is the function and task of small industry and the handicraft trades. If the simple principles mentioned above are implemented nationwide and millions of laborers are put to work, it is clear that we will be utilizing an enormous potential of the country.

However, if the expansion described above is carried out, production will still be traditional in nature and not approach modern production due to the following reasons:

a. Small industry and handicraft production is not closely tied to modern industrial production (from the standpoint of production technology, the contract production of components, the sale of finished products, the use of surplus raw materials, finished materials, equipment and so forth).

b. Production is not mass production.

c. Specifications, quality and so forth have not been standardized, consequently the products of the small industry and handicraft sectors cannot be used within the modern industrial sectors.

d. Material-technical bases are poor and outmoded (the state has yet to give attention to investing in this area). The supply of raw and finished materials and energy is inadequate and unstable and there are no material reserves.

e. Production technology is being improved slowly.

f. The production and marketing of products are still subsistent in nature. Trade is mainly within the locality and production is not large-scale commodity production.

g. Products are being improved slowly and no effort is being made to research customer tastes (especially with regard to export goods). There is no grasp of how products must be changed when shifting an economy from the traditional stage to the modern stage.

h. The organization of production and management is being revamped slowly.

i. In many cases, product quality is not maintained. Poor product quality is a large waste of social labor because both human labor and materialized labor are consumed for no purpose whatsoever, create no significant use

value and harm the consumer. It cannot be said that the main cause of poor product quality is the shortage of raw materials. Rather, it is caused by weaknesses in the organization of production and production discipline, in the quality control system and in producers who lack concern for the results of their labor, and lack a sense of responsibility to the customer.

The primary way to overcome the shortcomings and weaknesses described is to build micro-industry. Below, allow me to mention a few of the aspects of the process of forming micro-industry.

1. In conjunction with developing the small industry and handicraft sector, it is also necessary to gradually modernize this sector.

—Small industry and the handicraft trades must be equipped with the necessary technical equipment (particularly on strenuous jobs) and raise the level of mechanization of the various sectors and trades. To meet this objective, it is necessary to have capital to invest in the other industrial sectors.

—Advanced technology must be applied in a number of production sectors which demand high technology, such as the assembly of electronic equipment, the production of semiconductors, etc.

As our party has frequently stressed, attention must be given to the key role played by the scientific and technological revolution. The main issue here is not only to apply the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the building of a number of projects that are modern, expensive, large-scale and so forth, but also to apply these achievements in the production of tens of thousands of large and small basic units. Even if not of high scientific value, inventions, discoveries, technological improvements and retooling at basic units within small industry and the handicraft trades can yield very large economic returns, such as replacing imported raw materials with domestic materials, improving product quality, increasing the use value of goods, satisfying the tastes of customers, etc. Micro "creativity" at tens of thousands of basic production units, although small, is the birthplace of the results of the scientific-technological revolution applied in production and creates the conditions for science to become a direct production force. If there are technical and industrial coordination and assistance between large, state-operated basic units (whose scientific and technical potentials are many) and small industry and handicraft cooperatives, if there is integration between scientific agencies (institutes, colleges) and cooperatives for the purposes of researching sources of raw materials and ways to improve industrial processes, improve product quality, introduce new products, improve organization and management and so forth, it is clear that the basic units of small industry and the handicraft trades are fertile ground for the application of the achievements of science and technology in production on a broad scale.



Improvement is not only limited to technical and industrial aspects, but must also be carried out in the organization of production and management. Standardization, unification, specialization, cooperation and so forth are steps that must be taken together with installing technical equipment and retooling. In addition, the basic principles of production management must be implemented, such as establishing labor quotas, establishing material consumption ceilings, formulating production plans, calculating revenues, expenditures, profits, etc. Through this approach, the millions of laborers working at small industry and handicraft cooperatives will gradually become familiar with the use of machines, with equipment maintenance, with calculating and utilizing raw materials and energy in an economical fashion, will familiarize themselves with economic accounting and so forth and thus begin thinking and working in the industrial style. This will bring them close to the methods of organization and work of large-scale, mechanized production.

2. Close integration must be established in many areas between state-operated industrial units and small industry and handicraft cooperatives. This is a relationship centered around supplying raw materials and selling finished products and manufacturing spare parts and components for basic state-operated units under contract. On the other hand, there is a transfer of new industrial and technical knowledge, raw materials, finished materials, equipment, discarded materials and so forth from basic state-operated units to cooperatives. This relationship must be based on economic contracts and be mutually beneficial.

3. There is also the need to research forms of organization that are as rational and economically efficient as possible. The development of small industry and the handicraft trades toward modernization and the building of micro-industry can be effectively achieved through the following two forms of organization:

a. Centralized production organizations with the necessary equipment and anywhere from a few to a few thousand workers.

b. Industrial production organizations at households, also called decentralized industrial production at households, the labor force of which comes from the members of the family who want to increase their income and make full use of their idle time. This method of organization does not require much space and is not costly from the social standpoint (child care centers, public health stations, etc.). Of course, this method of organization does require necessary equipment but the technology used is not complex and production is mass production. Such a form of organization is not only appropriate in the cities, but can also be widely used in rural areas for millions of laborers (of course, in terms of production space, this organization might be different than in the cities). And, this organization of production

guarantees progress toward modernization with technical equipment, management cadres to provide guidance, attention to improving technology, upgrading products, etc. Thus, a system of industry will also emerge in the countryside in the form of small-scale production units which develop at the same time as agriculture.

The development of industrial production at households and the expansion of the household economy will have a far reaching social impact by creating a large and highly skilled corps of laborers (the corps of household laborers). From the perspective of the entire nation, this will be a large production force, a labor force that has an occupation and will not become a heavy burden to the state.

The matters presented above are not merely economic measures, but are tantamount to a socio-economic program, one related to many segments of the economy, to millions of families in the cities and the countryside through changes in how work and the way of life are organized and the expansion of integration among production units of different sizes and types of production. This socio-economic program will open the way for making full use of all surplus labor in order to produce much wealth for society, not only by traditional methods, but gradually by methods that utilize modern technology and industry as well, thereby fully meeting domestic needs for consumer goods, maintaining product quality and satisfying customer tastes. This program will also meet the requirements concerning export goods with strict quality control, products that are constantly upgraded and production costs that are low so that these goods can compete on the international market.

The implementation of the above program will create the factors of a dynamic economy, an economy that makes full and effective use of its labor and natural resources—which is the necessary prerequisite to building a system of large-scale socialist production.

However, the building of micro-industry in our country can only become a reality if the state promulgates a system of policies and establishes a management mechanism that are consistent with the nature of small industry and handicraft production within the context of an economy that still consists of many segments. The objectives of this system of policies and this management mechanism are to mobilize the labor force and the people to contribute capital, organize production in every form and develop diverse and decentralized natural resources in order to produce much wealth for society and to insure that these participants benefit in a manner consistent with their contributions.

#### Footnote

1. NHAN DAN, 3 July 1986.

### **Increasing the Knowledge of and Respect for the Law Among Cadres and Party Members**

42100006 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 44-47

[Article by Vu Duc Hien, MS in Jurisprudence]

[Text] One matter of very important significance to a party in power is the need to lead the state apparatus in codifying the lines and policies of the party in the form of state laws and organizing the strict implementation of these laws. For this reason, with our party being the party in power, practically all the positions and policies of the party are in the form of laws and "obeying the law is complying with the lines and policies of the party."<sup>1</sup> However, it is regrettable that there are still more than a few cadres and party members (including leadership cadres) on all levels who do not realize this. As a result, they have little regard for the law and sometimes even seriously violate the law. The statistics on cadres and party members who have violated the law or committed crimes in past years prove this. Each year, as many as 16 percent of the persons who commit crimes are cadres, party members and state personnel. Deserving of attention is that this percentage is significantly higher for some types of crime. For example, in one border province during the first 6 months of 1987, 62 percent of the persons who committed the crime of black marketing were cadres, party members or troops currently serving in the army. In some localities, cadres and party members who commit economic crimes make up 50 percent of the total number of persons committing crimes of these types.

Recently, many cases involving cadres and party members of position and power who have seriously violated the law, by verbally assaulting and intimidating the masses, engaging in misappropriation, speculating, accepting bribes and so forth, have been reported in the press and other mass media. Many degenerate and deviant elements within party organizations and state agencies have taken advantage of weaknesses in our economic management to practice corruption, take property of the state and the people and make themselves wealthy through trade. At present, the actual situation in our country is as follows: "Negative phenomena are spreading within society. Social justice is being violated. Law and order are not strict. Abuse of power and corruption on the part of some cadres and state personnel, the activities of persons who earn 'air living illegally' are not being harshly or promptly punished."<sup>2</sup> We have "allowed the law and order of the state to be violated more widely with each passing day."<sup>3</sup> One of the important reasons for this situation is that we have not correctly implemented management of society in accordance with the law.

It must be recognized that the socialist legal culture in our country has been developing slowly. The legal cultural standards of the majority of cadres and party members and the people are still low. It was not until 35

years after the successful August Revolution that the Hanoi College of Law was established and not until our state was 40 years old that the first criminal code, our only complete code of law, came into being.

Life has shown that persons who are highly educated or highly specialized in their occupation are not always persons who possess the necessary legal cultural standards. Because, to achieve these standards as well as knowledge of the other fields of the common civilization of modern society, we must be educated and trained. Deserving of attention is that within many of our party organizations and state agencies today, there are more than a few key cadres of the various sectors and levels who do not possess the necessary knowledge of their specialized field or knowledge of the law as it relates to the task assigned to them. Because they do not clearly understand the nature and role of socialist law, more than a few cadres and party members, including leadership cadres on all levels, have little regard for the law and maintain that laws are obstacles that tie their hands in the fulfillment of their duties and tasks. There are even some persons who contrive ways to view the lines and policies of the party as conflicting with the laws of the state. They set up illegal businesses that are not part of the function or task of their unit as defined under the law, thereby causing price chaos on the market, disrupting order within distribution and circulation and adversely affecting the lives of workers but maintain that these actions are "dynamic" and "creative."

On the basis of the actual situation described above and the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the current stage, the Sixth Congress of the Party established the task for "the leadership and management cadres in key positions from the central level to the provinces, districts and villages, from general directors to the management cadres of basic units to attend periodic training classes with examinations based on a practical and systematic program in lines, policies, the new management mechanism and new management knowledge, in their specialized field, their profession and the law."<sup>4</sup> Managing the country in accordance with the law demands such a corps of cadres.

To manage the country in accordance with the law, we must make laws, organize the implementation of the law and inspect and supervise this implementation with the aim of promptly bringing to light and harshly prosecuting persons who violate the law. Here, it is necessary to emphasize the need to organize the implementation of the law, part of which includes providing education to increase the knowledge of and respect for the law among cadres and party members. This emphasis is very necessary for two reasons. First, it is only through organizing the implementation of the law that we can fully achieve the role and impact of the law in social life, that we can turn the law from provisions on paper into the actions of everyone. Secondly, cadres and party members are the persons who bear the primary and most important

responsibility in insuring that the law is implemented. They must set the example of strictly complying with the law for the masses to follow.

It must also be recognized that "drafting and adopting laws as well as issuing major decisions, although important, are only the first steps in this work. The greatest difficulty is introducing them in life. Turning them into the everyday actions of the broad masses."<sup>5</sup> Because of our failure to clearly realize this, we have allowed the abnormal situation to occur in which many laws and regulations that have been promulgated are not being seriously enforced or even enforced at all. Here, of course, mention should be made of those laws which are still in effect and do meet the requirements of the renovation campaign but which, although not outmoded, have yet to be revised and have caused the phenomenon of "tearing down fences." Recently, there have been many reports in the press about cadres and party members (including high ranking cadres) who have violated customs law, the laws on the protection of socialist property, on finances, on the inviolability of the person, on complaints and suits by citizens... Clearly, these were willful violations of the law, were actions that showed disregard for the law and certainly no one can use the excuse that the "law is outmoded" to defend these illegal actions.

The abnormal situation described above can be quickly corrected when everyone knows the law and wages a determined struggle to insure that the law is strictly and uniformly enforced. The Sixth Congress of the Party frequently stressed the need to mobilize the large forces of the people, truly rely upon inspections and supervision by the masses and combine the strength of the functional agencies and the struggle of the masses to eradicate violations of the law. Widespread propaganda to explain the Criminal Code among the masses has begun to increase the knowledge that many persons have of criminal law. As a result, they have been actively participating in the struggle against violations of the law and helping to promptly bring to light, stop and prosecute many violations of the law. In numerous localities, many agencies, factories and enterprises, as a result of mounting successful propaganda and educational campaigns concerning the law and then launching a movement among the masses to struggle to defend the law, have experienced few complex changes in the maintenance of social order and safety.

In the months ahead, we must make more effective use of all available means in order to do a good job of educating everyone in the law, including cadres, party members and the delegates on the people's councils on all levels. The work of educating cadres and party members in order to increase their understanding of and respect for the law demands that we further intensify instruction in the law within the system of schools and classes of the state, the party, the mass organizations and economic and social organizations. In recent years, our party and state have given attention to this work. In

1981, the Central School of Administration was established. By the end of 1985, this school had held 10 advanced training classes in the law for 1,676 cadres, from precinct and district people's committee secretaries to vice ministers, general department chiefs and a number of other middle ranking cadres within the state apparatus. Within the systems of party and Youth Union schools on the various levels, instruction in the law has also begun. The education, judicial, college and vocational middle school sectors have also made efforts to incorporate instruction in the law in their primary curricula.

However, we are currently experiencing difficulties in writing textbooks and training a corps of teachers to provide instruction in the law. The establishment of Phap Ly Publishing House is a positive step toward overcoming these difficulties. Although newly established Phap Ly Publishing House has provided readers with many specialized books and newspapers of value in helping to increase the knowledge of and respect for the law among cadres, party members and the people. But we also lack books on the laws currently in effect so that we can understand these laws and observe and supervise implementation of them by everyone, including cadres, party members and state personnel. Nearly 30 years ago, President Ho called for the agricultural cooperative statutes to be printed in the form of an attractive, pocket-size book to be distributed to cooperative members for this very purpose. Although we are experiencing many difficulties with printing materials, we cannot allow state agencies and the masses to lack the legal documents they need for their everyday work and lives.

In the work of educating cadres and party members, in particular and the masses, in general, in order to increase their knowledge of and respect for the law, one obstacle is being encountered. It is that some basic level cadres do not dare disseminate knowledge of the law among the masses for fear that if everyone understands the law they will use it to struggle against the violations of the law by these cadres. This phenomenon must be harshly criticized because it is contrary to our policy that "the people know, the people discuss, the people act and the people inspect."

To successfully perform the work mentioned above, we must also promptly bring to light and prosecute in a fair but strict manner every cadre and party member who violates the law. More than 40 years ago, President Ho harshly criticized the practice of protecting cadres who made mistakes. He wrote: "There are some comrades who should be punished but because of the feeling that they should be indulged, they are only given cursory criticism or a warning and the matter is closed. At some places, comrades even cover up for one another, tolerate each other's mistakes, lie to their superiors and conceal what they do from the mass organizations. When discipline is enforced in this fashion, it not only prevents these comrades from knowing how to correct their mistakes, but also shows contempt for discipline."<sup>6</sup>



When violators of the law are not discovered and prosecuted, disregard and contempt for the law arise among persons who clearly know what they are doing. This situation is even worse if the violator is a person who holds a public position and authority and is known by many people. More than 60 years ago, Lenin instructed the Soviet court to punish communist party members three times more severely than persons outside the party who commit the same crime. When he learned that the Moscow Municipal Party Committee had been "lenient" toward several party members who had committed crimes, he wrote: "This is truly a humiliating and odd situation: a party in power is protecting 'its' rogues."<sup>7</sup> A survey of public opinion showed that 83 percent of the persons questioned feel that the management effectiveness of our state is not high because we do not promptly uncover or seriously prosecute violations of the law.

In the prosecution of cadres and party members who violate the law, there are still many cases of "public service" compensating for "crime." This is improper and does not conform with reason or sentiment. In our country today, it is true that "there are persons who at first engaged in spirited struggle, were loyal and were not afraid of danger, hardships, or the enemy, that is, they served the revolution. But, as soon as they acquired some measure of authority, they became arrogant and extravagant, became corrupt, wasteful, bureaucratic and unaware. As a result, they turned into persons who committed crimes against the revolution."<sup>8</sup> This is the phenomena of degeneration and deviancy that we see among some cadres and party members. As regards these persons, we still must harshly prosecute them under party discipline and state law. During the past 10 years, we have expelled from the party or prosecuted under the law more than 190,000 party members who have committed mistakes or shortcomings. The public and strict but fair prosecution of every cadre and party member who violates the law not only teaches respect for the law among cadres and party members, but also strengthens the people's trust in the party.

#### Footnotes

1. The Proceedings of the Sixth Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1987, p 120.

2. Ibid., p 18.

3. Ibid., p 26.

4. Ibid., pp 122-123.

5. Nguyen Van Linh: "Widely and Fully Implementing Socialist Democracy Is the Key to the Adoption of New Political and Economic Thinking," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 7 1987, p 9.

6. Ho Chi Minh: "The Party as the Party in Power," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, p 23.

7. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 65.

8. Ho Chi Minh: "The Party as the Party in Power," ... pp 58-59.

7809

#### Investigative Report: A Surplus or a Shortage?

42100006f Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 48-52

[Article by Vu Ngoc Lan]

[Text] Are we currently experiencing a surplus or a shortage of college-educated specialized cadres? We can only answer this question by establishing a cadre training plan that is consistent with the actual situation and sets guidelines for the correct development of the college sector in the years ahead. We need to conduct an overall investigation, one requiring the input of many sectors and research agencies if we are to acquire the argumentation needed for a truly complete answer. However, let us try to shed some light on this question by examining the distribution and utilization of graduates during the past several years.

Today, no country in the world is indifferent to the vigorous development of science and technology. Every country is running to "catch the train of history" into the 21st century. To rapidly free themselves from hunger, poverty and disease, the underdeveloped countries must make an even greater effort to acquire the scientific and technical achievements of the world in order to move ahead. The key force undertaking this work must be cadres who have been trained at colleges, academies, etc.

At present, the number of years of college training per worker in the developed countries averages from 0.23 to 1.05. In our country, it is only 0.038. Ordinarily, the labor productivity of a worker who has received occupational training is 1.5 to 2 times greater than that of a worker who has not been trained. Yet, during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, we put on state employment rolls approximately 840,000 persons, 67 percent of whom (560,000) had not received occupational training. Overall, 86.6 percent of the workers in our country (18.3 million) have not been trained. This is one of the causes of very low social labor productivity. The average number of doctors per 10,000 persons of population in our country is also among the lowest in the world. In many mountain areas, the Mekong River Delta, the Central Highlands and so forth, there is a serious shortage of college educated, specialized cadres. If the scale of training remains as it is today, the number of cadres trained over the next several decades will still not be enough to compensate for the number currently disappearing, retiring or leaving their occupation, not to mention provide cadres for the positions and jobs required in the future

development of the country. In summary, we are currently experiencing a very serious shortage of college educated, specialized cadres.

Despite this, there is currently a very large "surplus" of graduates from colleges at home and abroad and some are finding it very difficult to obtain a job. Many opinions have been expressed to the effect that we are experiencing a surplus of engineers, MA's and so forth and must suspend training for a while so that we can "consume" the large number that have been trained first! According to incomplete statistics compiled by the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, 2,464 persons who graduated from the schools under the ministry prior to 1986 have yet to find a job, some of whom graduated 5 to 7, even 10 years ago.

Name of School	Number of Graduates Awaiting Work as of 1986
Polytechnic (Hanoi)	206
National Economic	115
Construction	76
University (Hanoi)	291
Geology	49
Thai Nguyen Industrial	134
Foreign Languages	105
University (Hue)	11
Economics (Da Nang)	65
Communications-Transportation	172
Agriculture 1	257
Agriculture 2	45
Agriculture 3	172
Industrial Arts	110

As of November 1987, the number of graduates who had yet to receive a job stood at 3,162. This number might be much higher because many persons were assigned jobs but did not report to or accept them. For example, in 1987, the sectors and localities requested 272 graduates from Hanoi University. However, as of November 1987, only 3 persons had accepted jobs in response to these requests. Also at this school, the number of graduates out of work is always equal to the number of students in nearly three training classes (each class consists of 300 persons, currently 782 are out of work).

Prior to 1984, the State Planning Commissions annually assigned norms on the distribution of students to 150 places, which included 50 agencies and sectors on the central level and the 40 provinces, municipalities and special zone. However, since 1984, due to many different reasons, the schools usually have not received norms on the distribution of graduates and have had to "try to sell their merchandise." Graduates have had to go out and look for jobs. Because we have not had a socio-economic development strategy or because training plans have been subjective and not consistent with reality, students find that the needs of life have changed 5 years after they were trained. For example, several years ago, we

intended to establish a college of petroleum and natural gas but subsequently downgraded this plan to two petroleum and natural gas faculties at the College of Mines and Geological Projects and the Polytechnic College. Yet, there is currently a "surplus" of persons graduating within this sector and it is difficult to find them jobs. There is also a significant "surplus" of graduates in the agricultural economic, economic planning and economic information sectors (the National Economic College), the basic sciences (the universities), the Russian, Chinese and Japanese languages (the College of Foreign Languages)... These persons could become good instructors at the middle schools, academies and colleges of the Ministry of Education but the ministry has not accepted them even though there is a shortage of educators.

Although "agriculture is the front of foremost importance," the Ministry of Agriculture (former) has hired virtually no graduates for several years. The four colleges of agriculture continue to graduate from 1,200 to 1,400 students per year but in fields today, due to the incorrect implementation of the contract policy, due to limitations upon the scientific-technical cadre staff at cooperatives and so forth, agricultural technical cadres who have a college education are still absent. The judicial sector currently employs about 7,000 to 8,000 persons but very few of them have received training. Many persons who hold important positions on the local level have only graduated from 5th or 6th grade. Yet, some 300 students of the College of Law continue to graduate each year without being able to find a job.

One rather widespread situation is that when writing their official correspondence requesting a graduate, practically every locality sets conditions that the graduate be a local person and an above average student, that the graduate be a local person, a party member, a male and so forth. These are legitimate desires because such students will meet needs and be content with their work. However, not every locality has enough students enrolled in all the different colleges. Moreover, if things were done entirely this way, cadres could not be transferred from one locality to another, one place would have a very serious surplus while another would be experiencing a very serious shortage and the thinking of localism would easily emerge. Many localities do not want to accept persons from other provinces or regions even if they need college educated cadres. Many mountain provinces, rather than requesting graduates, usually assign persons to on-the-job training provided under contracts. When receiving graduates from the North, some provinces in the South assign them to jobs that are not in their sector or trade or do not assign them to the correct position, even though they possess all the necessary qualities and skills.

Due to the mechanism based on bureaucracy and state subsidies, we long failed to see the price we had to pay to train one college educated cadre. Because "gray matter" is still considered to be very cheap, whether it is used or not, whether it is used in the right or the wrong sector are

not considered to be very important. Agencies and sectors receive incoming graduates without spending a cent. The large municipalities and the sectors easily "earn a living." All they need to do is "spread the word" that they need people and hundreds of applicants are standing in line asking for work. There was a time when schools could recruit as many students as they wanted because training funds were supplied by the state. To train one college graduate at today's prices, it costs from 300,000 to 400,000 dong. The food and tuition costs paid by the state amount to 81,320 dong. Each year, expenditures on the 7,000 students at the schools managed by the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education amount to more than one-half billion dong (569,240,000 dong). Because the sectors and levels need not spend money on training, the use and distribution of students are very wasteful and haphazard.

One no less important reason for the seeming surplus but actual shortage of college educated, specialized cadres is that the quality of training is steadily declining. The product of the college sector, generally speaking, is of poor quality and does not meet the rising demands of society nor is it compatible with the strong development of science and technology.

The schools usually provide specialized training that is very narrow, not broad and frequently work at cross purposes and are rigid in their approach. Meanwhile, reality demands cadres whose qualifications in a specialized field are relatively comprehensive. For example, on the district level, a doctor who is a general practitioner can care for patients in many fields of public health. Meanwhile, an agricultural engineer usually only specializes in a plant or animal of one specie.

The students of literature at Hanoi University are trained as though they are to become researchers or literary critics but many of the places that need them are propaganda, press or publishing agencies. Generally speaking, today's college graduates lack dynamism in their work, are passive in their thinking, are weak in practical skills, lack basic knowledge and are slow to adjust to changes in production and everyday life. Many students are "half-teacher, half-worker." Some are only worthy of being "level IV general school students."

In addition to the quality of students being poor, the distribution and use of students are marked by disorder, convenience and many negative phenomena. And, such distribution and use makes the quality of instruction and learning even poorer. Because incentives are lacking or inadequate, because there is no true fairness in the assignment of jobs to graduates, the thinking of egalitarianism, of hoping for good luck, of looking out for oneself is widespread. Because, in actuality, many poor or average students who are adept at "looking out for themselves" land better jobs. When students are allowed to "look out for themselves," they usually head straight for the cities, towns and lowlands. Not many head for the

mountains! Many agencies and sectors do not hire graduates because they "didn't meet a norm" but when students approach these sectors on their own, they are hired. There have also been cases of students being assigned a job at one agency but actually working at another. For example, one graduate of the Polytechnic College in Hanoi was assigned a job at the Hoang Thach Cement Plant but actually worked at the Central State Bank in Hanoi. Many students will take any job provided that it is a job in the city. The phenomenon of students of literature at Hanoi University working as a dispatch cadre at a bus depot or as the "assistant" to the party secretary of a small factory with only a few hundred employees is not rare. And, it is not an exaggeration to say that 50 percent of college graduates are not working in the sector or trade for which they were trained.

At a time when many eligible students have not been assigned a job, I challenge you to find one child of a person who holds a public position and authority who is waiting for a job. When the youngest daughter of a certain vice minister received word that she had been assigned a job in a province far away, he used his "prestige" to get her a "good" job in the city. One telephone call or hand written letter from an official is enough to immediately change the entire life of a graduate. At the National Economic College, the "mandarin's sons" of a certain minister or female leader, although yet to graduate, already have places reserved for them within the foreign trade sector! Upon graduation, some persons who came to Hanoi from Lai Chau and Hoang Lien Son to study had jobs in the lowlands arranged for them by their province because their parents had already served for many years in the mountains. Many students who are members of an ethnic minority remain in the city upon graduation. As a result, the shortage of ethnic minority cadres continues. Phenomena of this kind are very numerous. Besides legitimate cases, there are also many unreasonable and unjust cases that cannot be tolerated. In summary, it is not being a good student or a good person that give you priority to a job or the right to select a suitable place at which to work. Rather, it is more important that you have money, that you rely upon your parents, upon relatives, upon cunning and deception. Thus, it can be concluded that we are experiencing both a surplus and a shortage of college educated, specialized cadres.

Clearly, the above situation cannot be allowed to persist. We must restore order and discipline in the distribution and use of college students. This can only be done well on the basis of a truly correct and full understanding of the role of science and technology, of "gray matter" in bringing the country beyond the severe difficulties it faces today. This is a matter of pressing importance not only to the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, but to all sectors and localities, to all society as well. In our opinion, the following steps must be taken:

First, our party and state must adopt a socio-economic development strategy, one that defines which sectors are



the leading sectors and to which fields priority must be given. On this basis, a plan must be adopted for the training of scientific and technical cadres. The college education sector must set training objectives in a manner consistent with the needs of society, diversify the forms of training and give special attention to improving the quality of training, the quality of theory and practice, the quality of politics and thinking, in summary, improving skills as well as personal qualities.

Second, strict and clear state regulations must be enacted concerning the hiring of college graduates to guarantee that graduates are used and used in the sector or trade for which they were trained. Current regulations should be revised so that students can "join" agricultural cooperatives and the collective and household sectors of the economy. When the economic management mechanism has been revamped and production must turn to science and technology, to scientific-technical cadres, should it not be required that each sector and locality pay an appropriate training fee to the college sector when hiring graduates?

Third, truly appropriate and timely regulations and policies must be adopted with the aim of encouraging students to enthusiastically study and research science. An obligation to serve in the mountains, in areas deep within the hinterland and on the islands must be established by regulation and a policy must be adopted that is strong enough to "attract" graduates to these places. Students who do not accept a job assignment must be dealt with in an appropriate and strict but fair manner, such as taking back their diploma, requiring them to repay the cost of their training, sending them back to their locality, etc. In particular, efforts must be made to combat "special rights and privileges" and negative phenomena in the distribution and use of graduates.

By taking the steps mentioned above, we will surely solve the current problem of having both a surplus and a shortage of college educated, specialized cadres and bring our country abreast of the times.

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### Research-Exchange of Opinions:

#### Inflation and Anti-Inflationary Price Measures in Our Country

42100006g Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 58-61

[Article by Luong Xuan Quy, Doctor of Economics]

[Text] Some of the primary features of the price situation in our country in recent years have been related to inflation:

First, we are managing the national economy under conditions in which two markets exist: the organized market and the free market. Due to difficulties in many

areas (production, distribution and trade), the organized market has yet to assume the dominant role. In recent years, unwholesome trends on the social market (speculation, hoarding...) have increased somewhat. Thus, price changes on the social market have been very complex and it has become increasingly difficult to manage prices. The practices of maintaining and "freezing" prices for far too long (through the periods from 1964 to 1975, 1976 to 1981 and 1981 to 1986) caused prices to become divorced from value and no longer consistent with the actual purchasing power of the dong. Procurement prices and selling prices are lower than actual costs. As a result of setting the selling prices of all types of means of production (both C1 and C2) too low, the state must annually pay a very large sum to compensate for losses. This is a heavy burden upon the national financial system and has become a source of pressure for a budget deficit.

Secondly, because money has constantly declined in value and prices have soared and come to include many non-economic factors, full attention is not given to the level of prices in production and trade, but only to the relationship between one price and another. This has led to the following situation: at all places and in every aspect of the reproduction process, special importance has been attached to the trend toward materialization in trade relations. The stimulative impact of prices has been limited. Economic development, the development of production and price adjustments in our country in recent years have not been closely tied to one another. Because raising or reducing prices have not caused the real income of the producer to rise and producers cannot live on their wages alone, they have "sought on their own initiative" additional sources of income that are not subject to the constraints of the system of directed prices of the state.

Thirdly, gold has recently been increasingly used as a means of circulation on our country's market. As a result, the situation has become even more complex. The price of gold has been soaring with each passing day. The volume of cash "supporting" and "searching for" gold has steadily increased. Although gold is relatively "cheap" compared to virtually all other products, the "monetary expression (paper money)" of the value of these products has also soared. Therefore, the volume of money that "needs" to be in circulation each day has steadily risen. At first glance, this could lead us to the mistaken impression that there is a "shortage of money" in circulation. In actuality, however, the dong has become inflated as a result of our state's very lax management of gold and other precious metals in recent years.

From the above mentioned characteristics of the situation, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. In previous years, especially during the periods from 1964 to 1975, 1976 to 1981 and 1982 to 1986, the system of directed prices existing within the administrative

mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies not only failed to effectively combat inflation, but also became the direct cause of hidden inflation during those periods, which has not become manifest inflation.

This price system (consisting of procurement prices which did not provide sufficient incentive for production and selling prices which did not have the effect of actively regulating demand: "buying things at prices that are a steal, selling things at prices that are a give-away!") did not actively help to eliminate the imbalance between supply and demand and did not create a real capability for avoiding a conflict between production and the market.

2. In the two major price adjustments (1981 and 1985), because "the specific solutions concerning the level of prices and the management of prices... concerning the steps to be taken in the adjustment of prices, wages and money were not thoroughly prepared,"<sup>1</sup> we still failed to achieve the objective of returning prices to their proper position and function. Our state has still not been able to free itself from what economists call the price-price spiral (that is, price increases for one type of product requiring an immediate increase in the price of another product and ultimately an increase in the entire system of prices). For this reason, the process of adjusting prices (especially the relationship between the selling prices of industrial goods and the procurement prices of agricultural products) has not only failed to achieve the desired objective, but has also been constantly undermined as a result of not allowing "input" and "output" prices to float, not to mention by inaccurate calculations.

It can be said that by the end of 1986 the system of directed prices of the state and social market prices reflected manifest inflation and contained the factors of hidden inflation as well.

Thus, in the immediate future as well as over the long range, it is necessary to proceed on the basis of combating the causes of prices containing the factors of inflation.

It must also be emphasized that, in the case of our country, we cannot and should not hope to find a measure that has the effect of combating inflation (temporarily) and also accelerating economic growth.

Our country's price system must be aimed at the objectives of guaranteeing the development of production, helping to tap each production capability, guaranteeing that the circulation of goods is unimpeded and guaranteeing that the life of the people is stable.

In view of these objectives, one point must be made: the view of "freezing prices" for fear that adjusting prices upward will cause inflation to worsen is an unacceptable view. The essence of this view is a desire to return to the system of largely administrative and subsidized prices.

This system of prices, which was established and applied in keeping with the view of "freezing prices," embodies the factors of hidden inflation and creates extreme disparities in the distribution of income among the various strata of the people and among the different economic zones.

To help reduce the rate of inflation, the price system should, in our opinion, take the following direction: in all cases, we must strongly reduce and eventually eliminate the use of subsidies within the national economy, tear down the wall between producers and consumers and correct the problem of 1 dong in Vietnamese currency and 1 dong in foreign currency (exports, imports) having several different levels of purchasing power. Only in this way can we eventually establish a unified and rational price system that is closely tied to the socialist accounting and business mechanism, thereby helping to fight inflation.

To move in this direction, it is necessary to take a host of well coordinated measures in the establishment of prices with a view toward perfecting all the primary prices within the national economy: wholesale prices (trade prices), the procurement prices of agricultural, forest and marine products and retail prices.

To truly put accounting and business procedures into practice and have a correct measurement of economic efficiency, we must shift from the current two-price mechanism to a one-price mechanism—a business-commercial price. This price must be established in accordance with the following principles: it must cover all reasonable production costs on the basis of fully calculating input and correctly calculating the legitimate income of the producer, provide a profit in order to carry out reproduction and fulfill obligations to the budget, reflect the relationship between supply and demand and the actual purchasing power of the dong and restore the inherent relationship between the producer and the consumer in the formation of prices, a relationship which has long been severed.

If we continue to maintain low raw material prices (C2), we will not only fail to guarantee that we carry out the capital formation needed for economic activities within the context of financial autonomy, but will also create a very heavy burden upon the central state budget. If we fear that inflation will be caused by adjusting the prices of these types of goods, we will not be able to extricate ourselves from "artificial profits, real losses" and society will continue to lose the standard of the returns from the application of advanced production methods and the application of advanced technical achievements in the mining and use of raw materials. Therefore, it is essential that input costs be fully calculated. The only remaining problem lies in determining the steps that must be taken to free ourselves from the price-price spiral into which we were drawn in the preceding across-the-board price adjustments. In our opinion, we should define which sectors have output prices that exert a very large impact

upon the prices of other sectors, cause sudden changes in prices and obstruct production and circulation throughout the national economy. These sectors are the machine sector, particularly the agricultural machine sector, the electric power sector, the coal sector, the cement sector, the fertilizer sector, the soda sector... In the correct and full calculation of "input" and "output" prices, should these sectors go one step farther than to... sectors and carefully calculate relationships to the budget, to the capital of the production sectors and to the product business-commercial prices of the other sectors to insure that their prices meet the requirement of not disrupting business prices?

Perfecting the system of the procurement prices of agricultural, forest and marine products is of major significance in stimulating production and actively helping to reduce the inflationary shortage of the products of these sectors. We must move toward it being necessary to shift to uniform procurement prices for primary agricultural products and commodities, prices based on the necessary social costs of products produced in centralized production areas, or in areas that have been specialized. The procurement price scale must create a close relationship between price adjustments and the development of the production of these sectors, that is, must insure that their real income is earned through procurement prices that are closely tied to productivity. However, it is also necessary to emphasize one principle: agricultural, forest and marine product procurement prices cannot be higher than retail prices. The movement of procurement prices must be determined by the movement of retail prices, not by changes in the production costs of agricultural, forest and marine products. This must be given special attention in view of the fact that our system of material consumption ceilings and labor quotas is not well based.

Complying with the above principle will help to reduce and eventually eliminate subsidies and help to reduce the budget deficit.

As we know, retail prices are a very complex issue. They affect the interests of each and every person. They have a direct influence upon the real level of welfare of the citizen. On the other hand, retail prices are an important economic tool of the socialist state in balancing the economy and regulating the level of capital formation.

In view of the above analysis, retail prices must, generally speaking, become business-commercial prices. The effort to eliminate the difference on the scale of the whole national economy between the directed prices of the state and market prices must be a steadfast effort that is guided with determination.

The retail prices of some essential consumer goods sold by the state to cadres, manual workers and civil servants must be uniform nationwide. When goods are in short supply as they are today, rationing is necessary. The shift to commercial-business prices for these products and a

number of other products governed by social policy must be combined with measures to protect (through social allowance funds from the budget, for example) such persons as cadres, manual workers, civil servants, members of the armed forces and laborers whose income is very low.

Retail prices must reflect true concern for the pocket-book of the consumer. At the same time, they must satisfy the specific needs of the consumer better and more rapidly.

Within the entire price system, the state must strengthen its control of prices on the basis of price ceilings and a reasonable assignment of price management responsibility. Due to the characteristics of our country's market, the state cannot be lax in its management of prices but neither can it "freeze prices." If it does either, it cannot fight inflation.

#### Footnote

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the Sixth Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1, 1987, p 27.

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#### Letter to the Editorial Board:

##### What Should We Write? How Should We Write? For Whom Should We Write?

42100006h Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 62-64

[Letter to the Editorial Board from Minh Chi, Hanoi, 3 December 1987]

[Text] As a contribution of a constructive opinion to TAP CHI CONG SAN, permit me to repeat the famous words of Gorky: "What should we write? How should we write? For whom should we write?" To the writer of literature and the journalist as well, at this time when paper is as expensive as white gold and particularly in the case of the Editorial Board of such a major journal as TAP CHI CONG SAN, it is even more necessary to "think twice" before putting pen to paper!

I am a former economic cadre. It is my feeling that our production enterprises made a mistake by thinking that, in the period of transition, the whole problem is to produce goods. What these goods are, whether their quality is high or low, how they are priced and how they reach consumers are not the concern of the enterprise. The people and cadres must stand in line to buy whatever they produce. That is, the producer is the master, the salesperson (at state stores) is the master while the buyer is treated as though someone is doing him a favor, is giving him alms.



A similar situation exists in the field of journalism. Anything will do as long as a newspaper is produced and articles are obtained. There is no need to know whether these articles were read or what readers are thinking. That is, the editorial board is the master, the agent who sells the paper is the master. There is no need to know whether readers read the paper or not.

Fortunately, there is a movement these days to combat negative phenomena. Some papers are publishing rather exciting reports on scandals, consequently, the number of persons reading the paper has risen. There are also more persons listening to the radio. But it must be acknowledged that this situation will not last forever. How can a journal such as TAP CHI CONG SAN, the theoretical and political organ of the party, which specializes in in-depth articles, be a part of this trend among the mass of readers?

TAP CHI CONG SAN is the voice of the party. It is not the daily voice, as NHAN DAN is, but the voice of theory and research. It is a monthly journal of depth and importance. An article in NHAN DAN can be perused. Sometimes it is only necessary to read the headline. But an article in TAP CHI CONG SAN might take hours to read and sometimes might have to be read again, cut out and retained in the reader's personal files.

Of course, not every article carried in TAP CHI CONG SAN is read so carefully. However, the Editorial Board and the authors of articles must endeavor to include within each issue one or two articles of quality and interest, articles that are truly the wholesome spiritual food for which we readers hunger.

Among the forms of contact between readers and collaborators, in addition to those already being used by TAP CHI CONG SAN, I would like to suggest that a reader and collaborator club be established and that regular meetings be held between readers and collaborators. Of course, there will be some costs associated with taking this approach. However, even if it is somewhat costly, I feel confident that the Editorial Board will not mind incurring these costs if the journal is improved, if its prestige is increased and if its wholesome and positive influence among party members and the masses nationwide is spread. Of course, I am assuming here that the readers' section of the journal consists of persons who know how to do their job, are skilled and know how to relate to collaborators and readers.

One question being faced is that TAP CHI CONG SAN is the voice of the party but does the party have one or many voices? In my opinion, TAP CHI CONG SAN can be two voices of the party. One is the official voice as expressed in resolutions and in articles written by leaders of the party, the government and the Front. These are articles that guide and direct us in our work and reflect the official views and line of the party, articles which should be published in section I of the review.

However, section II, under the heading "Theoretical Studies," can reflect the unofficial voices of the party, reflect the views and opinions of the mass of party members concerning matters of importance at home or current events. I suggest that the Editorial Board adopt a relatively broad-minded attitude toward these articles. It can even publish articles containing views and opinions which the journal does not endorse but which are serious and constructive. All the Editorial Board need do is publish an appropriate explanatory note.

Thus, the review could publish articles containing differing views concerning a number of scientific matters that are currently being hotly debated. This would impede nothing and only serve to be beneficial. If the review were to publish an article by a well known scholar, consider it to be the "last word" and give no one else the right to say anything further on the subject, the danger would arise of this scientist becoming an "old crony." This would serve no purpose, only harm the state's cause of developing science. When the review recognizes a scientist as the ultimate authority in a particular field of knowledge, it is, although seemingly placing this scientist in a praiseworthy position, actually harming him and impeding the normal development of the related field of knowledge.

Lenin once said that the light of truth emanates from debate. In other words, to strangle debate is to strangle the truth. And now, more than ever before, in order to quickly overcome the difficulties and challenges of the initial stage in the period of transition with the least possible harm, our society, our people and our party need the truth very much, need the truth in each and every sector and field. It is my hope that TAP CHI CONG SAN will provide a forum for serious debates of a constructive nature concerning matters of importance in our country and our times, key issues which, if handled well, will lead to the elimination of numerous difficulties and bring about a basic turning point in the development of our cause of socialist construction. To resolve such issues well, we must tap the collective intelligence and experience of the entire party and all the people through well organized debates and seminars on the radio, in newspapers and especially in TAP CHI CONG SAN, the official organ of research and theory of the party.

I would also like to take this occasion to suggest an organizational mechanism for the plenums of the Party Central Committee, one designed to survey, to the maximum degree possible, the opinions of the party and the people concerning matters of national importance. These, of course, are the economic, social, cultural, political or military matters with which the entire country is concerned. The Political Bureau or the Secretariat could first assign a subcommittee the task of making preparations, a subcommittee which could consist of only a few persons but must include a number of specialists who are well versed in these issues. This subcommittee could then conduct studies and propose a

draft report on the issues that need to be addressed and a plan for resolving these issues. Then, this report could be published in newspapers and presented on the radio so that all the people and the entire party could discuss it and offer their opinions. And, the newspapers and radio must present to the public all the opinions offered, be they brief or lengthy, provided that they are constructive and concern the issues for which public opinion was surveyed. Of course, depending upon the article, some can be published in daily papers and some in the reviews or journals while others can be read over the radio, etc. The objective would be to create a spirited atmosphere in which all party members and all the people contribute their intelligence to the party concerning issues of importance in our country and our times, thus implementing a mechanism for drafting party resolutions that is truly dynamic and making these resolutions products of the entire party and all the people.

On the one hand, draft resolutions could be publicly announced in papers and on the radio so that they could be discussed by the people and all members of the party. On the other hand, the drafting subcommittee could be permitted by the Political Bureau or the Secretariat to apply its plan on a pilot project basis within a number of localities and sectors. The experience and results gained from this pilot project should also be recorded in papers and over the radio to keep the people and party members informed. In this way, plenums of the Party Central Committee would be well prepared in two respects. On the one hand, the proposed plans of the research subcommittee will have already been applied on a pilot project basis in a number of localities and sectors, thus providing some preliminary experience concerning the good and bad aspects of these plans as manifested in practice. The subcommittee would be able to begin to revise a few points in its draft plans and, at the same time, correct weaknesses in these plans on the basis of the opinions expressed by the broad masses and by party members on the radio and in newspapers. On the other hand, members of the Party Central Committee would be prepared to participate in a plenum, not only with their own intelligence and experience, but also with the intelligence and experience of the entire party organization and all the masses within the locality or sector of which they are in charge. At the same time, they would be able to survey the opinions and experience of other localities and sectors as reported in papers and over the radio.

I am confident that, with such a mechanism for organizing and holding party plenums, plenums will produce better and more practical results. And, if this approach is taken, the impact of newspapers and the radio, of the mass media and especially the role of TAP CHI CONG SAN, the theoretical and political organ of the Party Central Committee will be very large.

I extend to you communist greetings.

#### Articles Not Translated

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