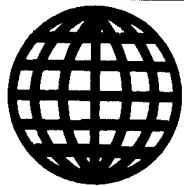


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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Asia**

***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 6, June 1990***

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# East Asia

## Southeast Asia

### Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

#### No 6, June 1990

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## CONTENTS

27 December 1990

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

### Editorial

President Ho Chi Minh and Building the New Man [General Vo Nguyen Giap] .....	1
Continue To Renovate [Ha Quang Du; published in FBIS-EAS-90-183, 20 Sep 90 pp 68-72] .....	5
Ways To Overcome Food Problems in Our Country [Tran Duc] .....	5
Lenin's Legacy on Culture [Le Xuan Vu; not translated] .....	8

### Socialism: Retrospective and Renovation (Research)

Lenin and the Conflicts of the Transitional Period on the Path to Socialism [Pham Ngoc Quang; not translated] .....	9
The Role of the 'Middle Elements' in the Transition to Socialism in Our Country [Nguyen Ngoc Long; not translated] .....	9

### Exchange of Opinions

Thoughts on the Redivision of the Present Social Work Force [Dau Quy Ha] .....	10
A Number of Problems in Implementing the Open Door Policy in Vietnam [To Xuan Dan] .....	13

### Opinions and Experience

When the Press Is the People's Forum [Tran Cong Man] .....	16
Freedom of the Press in Our Country [Hoang Cong] .....	17
Social Justice: A Problem in Our Social Policy [Bui Ngoc Thanh] .....	19
What Should We Do To Further Implement Democracy? [Nguyen Van Nam and Nguyen Hong Son] ...	22
Initial Renovation in College and Vocational Education [Vu Van Tao; not translated] .....	24
A Dynamic and Innovative Private Enterprise [Xuan Phuong; not translated] .....	24

### Letters to the Editorial Staff

Socialize Education [Doan Ngoc Lac; not translated] .....	25
Work Related to Ethnic Minorities [Ha Van Thu] .....	25

### The World: Issues and Events

A New Step in the Plots and Actions of Imperialism in Its Effort To Destroy Socialism [Dao Hong Nam; not translated] .....	27
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### From the Foreign Press

Where Is Reorganization Headed? [Michael Davido; not translated] .....	28
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## President Ho Chi Minh and Building the New Man

912E0029A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 1-8

[Article by General Vo Nguyen Giap]

[Text] In each age, every nation has its own great men, but it's rare to find a great man whose work is tied to the fate of his nation and fatherland and to the history of the age. Such a man was President Ho Chi Minh. President Ho was a great national hero of the Vietnamese people. At the same time, he was an outstanding soldier in the national liberation movement and in the communist and international workers movement.

For President Ho, liberating the country could not be separated from liberating the classes, liberating society, and liberating mankind. In order to achieve success in these liberation movements and to build the new society, there must be forces. These forces are the people, mankind. Once these forces have been awakened, assembled, educated, and organized, they will have the strength to move mountains.

Thinking about man and about the liberation and development of man, to regard man as the decisive factor in the success of the revolution is to fully understand the work of President Ho Chi Minh. President Ho used and developed this concept in the revolutionary process of winning and maintaining power during the resistance against the invading armies to defend the fatherland and in building the country. His concept of man was that "if you have people, you have everything." His view was that you must rely on the people, have confidence in the people, have all-people solidarity, train the people, and exploit the capabilities of each person and of the people as a whole. These ideas were the foundation of our people's strategy, which we are now formulating and implementing.

For President Ho, man existed both as an individual and as a member of a family and of the national collective. Man was both the target of liberation and the revolution and the motive force of liberation and the revolution. "Revolution is the task of the masses." There had to be a revolution in order to win independence and unity for the nation, return the land to the people, and build a new society. Only by achieving national independence would it be possible to have democracy for the people and bring happiness and freedom to the people. President Ho said that "if the country is independent but the people aren't happy or free, independence means nothing." [Footnote 1] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, volume 4, page 35] A new society had to be built in order to improve the material and cultural lives of the people. Thus, all of the lines and policies of the party were aimed at enabling the people to satisfy these needs.

With respect to the people, President Ho was concerned about people in general and looked after things through specific tasks and with respect to specific people of

various classes, from the elderly and young to the disabled and lonely. He visited cooperatives, worksites, enterprises, and gave attention to the material and technical base, work methods, and economic results. But above all, he was concerned about people. He advised cadres at all echelons to "give attention to the material lives of the workers." He told them to give attention to the living quarters and work places of the laborers.

Similarly, President Ho taught his generals that if the troops don't have water, the general should not drink. If the troops don't have food, the general shouldn't eat. If the troops aren't warm, the general should complain of the cold.

When he was still a young man, in the first issue of LE PARIA, President Ho stressed the "problem of man and the liberation of man." And at the end of his life, in his Testament, he said that after the "war comes to an end, the first thing is work regarding man." And first of all come those who have made sacrifices for liberation, their parents and families, the youths, women, and above all, our brave and outstanding soldiers and the victims of the old social system. Following the example set by our ancestors who had made efforts on behalf of the people and with a profound understanding of the people, President Ho said that after victory was won, taxes should be waived for the peasants for one year in order to encourage them and accelerate production.

In the new society, each person must be prosperous and happy, and their needs and interests must be satisfied more and more. But this can be achieved "only with the full awareness and creative labor of tens of millions of people," and "this must be brought about by the people themselves."

President Ho gave attention to needs and interests, regarding these as important factors for stimulating people. At the same time, he harshly criticized individualism. He said that "struggling against individualism does not mean trampling on individual interests. People have different personalities and aptitudes, and their lives and that of their families are different." [Footnote 2] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1989, volume 8, page 246]

President Ho emphasized inculcating the laborers with a spirit of mastery and revolutionary morals. But he did not slight measures for stimulating material interests. Very early, President Ho realized that "the contract system is a condition of socialism. It will encourage the workers and factories to advance. Contracts will benefit both the public and individuals." [Footnote 3] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1987, volume 7, page 612]

He emphasized fully implementing the democratic rights of the people, that is, economic and political democracy. According to President Ho, "only if there is democracy will the cadres and masses be innovative." Only if there is democracy will the people have confidence, dare to

Speak out, and be creative. Only through this will it be possible to create a motive force. President Ho said:

"Our country is a democracy. The people have countless rights and interests. Renovation and construction are the responsibility of the people. Resistance and national construction are tasks of the people. Power and force rest with the people." [Footnote 4] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985, volume 5, page 299]

Thus, we must implement a real, and not formalistic or partial democracy. No one can be permitted to make use of or abuse "democracy" in order to trample on the interests of the state and people.

Guaranteeing the people's legitimate rights and maintaining democracy for them and clearly putting forth rights and responsibilities for each citizen in accord with the constitution and laws will result in each person becoming both the target and the motive force of the revolution. That is the close relationship between "for the people" and "by the people."

The many years that President Ho lived among the downtrodden both here and abroad gave him fierce and boundless confidence in the people. From the "age of prosperity" of colonialism, President Ho came to believe that "in the past, there has been passive submission. But the people of Indochina are concealing something that is beginning to boil over and will soon explode when the opportunity arises." [Footnote 5] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, volume 1, page 10]

According to President Ho, confidence in the masses was one of the basic qualities of communists. That was one of the fundamental differences between him and older intellectuals, who were just as patriotic as President Ho but who did not have enough confidence in the strength of the masses. For President Ho, "in the entire world, there is nothing as valuable as the people. Throughout the world, there is nothing as strong as the united forces of the people. In society, there is nothing as wonderful and glorious as serving the interests of the people." [Footnote 6] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1987, volume 7, page 544] His unchanging belief was that "our people are very intelligent and heroic." Thus, if they are educated, mobilized, and organized, they will be able to do great things, the resistance will win victory, and national construction will succeed.

President Ho believed in the masses. He believed in the wonderful nature of each person, even when that person temporarily went astray and acted in a petty matter. He said that "among the millions of people, there are many types of people, but all of them are descendants of our ancestors." [Footnote 7] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, volume 4, page 140] The key point is that there must be leniency and magnanimity. What is good and virtuous

must be encouraged, and what is bad and evil must be eliminated. Steps must be taken to help people advance.

President Ho had great confidence in the young generation. He believed that only by relying on our youth would we have the strength to carry out the great tasks of liberating the people and winning independence for the country. In his view, "whether the country is prosperous or poor and strong or weak depends to a large extent on youths." Youths are the "heirs to the revolution" who must "take the baton of revolution from the older generation," and they are "responsible for leading the next generation of youths." They are "assault youths in economic and cultural development." They are the heirs of socialist construction and are worthy of those who have gone before them.

President Ho had both great confidence in and a great love for the people. His great love for the people had its source in the nation's traditions, in the Vietnamese spirit of humanity, and, most directly, in the concept of "love for one's country means love for the people." President Ho had boundless love, a love for all those who were suffering and for all the people living in slavery. The striking feature is that that love did not stop with feelings of sorrow for his countrymen and others in the world who were suffering. His love turned into will power and a resolve to liberate the working class and nation, free mankind, liberate people from a life of threats, win freedom, and restore people's human dignity and their value as human beings.

With confidence in and love for the people, President Ho gave attention to the intellectual capabilities of each person and assembled people from different classes, including patriots who had worked under the old system, in an all-people's solidarity front, which was the basis of the great victory of the revolution.

President Ho was a great man because he regarded himself only as someone who was contributing to promoting liberation. He never regarded himself as the liberator of the people. The liberator of the people was the people. With such a viewpoint, President Ho harshly criticized all manifestations of bureaucratic centralism, commandism, remoteness from and scorn for the people, and, in particular, the practice of acting like "revolutionary mandarins," showing one's authority, and doing things that damage the prestige of the party and government. He reminded the cadres and party members that they "must be worthy of being leaders and loyal servants of the people."

President Ho was an incarnation of lofty humanism. He was a great patriot and altruist who had great love for his people and for working people everywhere. He had boundless faith in the creativity and intuitive knowledge of people. He stimulated each person's capabilities to liberate and perfect themselves and worked tirelessly to restore the dignity of his people and restore the dignity and freedom of other peoples. He frequently met with the people, and upheld democratic and collective

behavior. He acted simply and modestly and instilled a sense of comradeship and love for all peoples.

President Ho was a brilliant manifestation of "diligence, frugality, honesty, uprightness, fairness, and selflessness." "Riches could not seduce him, poverty and suffering could not change him, and military power could not force him to submit." He resolutely overcame every dangerous challenge in order to fulfill his ideals. "He was not interested at all in individual fame but was always concerned about the interests of the nation and people."

President Ho was the quintessence not only of a nation but also of many generations of people. He relied on the eternal values of mankind and was a model with respect to the "new man of the new age."

With lofty humanitarian ideas and clear morals, President Ho was extraordinarily persuasive. He was the soul of solidarity for righteousness, all-party, all-people's, and international solidarity, and the struggle for the freedom and happiness of mankind and each person: Solidarity, solidarity, great solidarity. Victory, victory, great victory.

President Ho's greatest wish was "to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam."

National independence, a unified country, and socialism were the ideals of all generations. For President Ho, it was up to the nation and each person to transform these ideals into daily action. The people with that mission could not be formed spontaneously in just a day or two. Rather, they had to be educated and trained, and there had to be plans. President Ho said: "In the interests of the next 10 years, plant crops; in the interests of the next 100 years, cultivate people." "Training the revolutionary generation for the next generation is a very important and very necessary task."

President Ho's concept of "cultivating people" was very scientific and comprehensive in terms of both contents and methods. He said: "In building people, we must have clear intentions just like an architect." We must build people who love their country, who love socialism, who have a concept and spirit of ownership, who have good qualities and morals, and who are intent on serving the people and the revolution. They must be people who have cultural and scientific and technical knowledge, who support the new, and who have a spirit of creativity "on the long path of the technical revolution." They must be people who lead a wholesome and simple life, who have a scientific and urgent work style, and who have an investigative nature. The new man must place work in the forefront. They must have revolutionary and scientific capabilities, they must be loyal and have solidarity, and they must oppose all forms of individualism and opportunism.

In order to build such people, "in educating and training people, attention must be focused on revolutionary morals, socialist awareness, culture, technology, labor, and production." Education must be comprehensive:

moral, intellectual, work, physical, and artistic education. "Study in order to work. Study in order to become a man." "Study and practice must go hand in hand." President Ho frequently stressed ideals, morals, and spirit. He said that "revolution is a very difficult task that requires great resolve and sacrifice." However, subjective views can never be substituted for the objective material conditions. "The revolution's laws of development must be adhered to. The specific conditions and specific methods must be calculated carefully." When the material preconditions are adequate as well as when they are lacking, we must know how to exploit the subjective role of concepts, ideals, and human aspirations. Only when there is a "spirit of creativity and of searching for and implementing the new will it be possible to carry out something." Thus, according to President Ho, inculcating a spirit of self-reliance and independence in thought and action was very important. People must not be dependent on others or act mechanically. They must act in accord with the situation and apply the things they have learned.

President Ho often said that an important educational method was to set an example. He always set an example for others. He said: "Using examples of good people and good work to educate each other is one of the best ways to build the party, build the revolutionary organizations, and build the new man and new life. Teaching younger people by talking to them is just part of teaching them. To educate them, you must enable them to see things. Thus, actual examples are very important.

To educate people well, there must be an effect on their aspirations and feelings and on individual and common psychology in order to influence their will power and ideals and assemble everyone to implement the common ideals. Concerning this, President Ho was a model in understanding the aspirations and feelings of each class of people, including peasants, workers, intellectuals, the religious and nonreligious, the old and young, and men and women. He said that regardless of whether the task is big or small, we must examine things carefully and do things in accord with the cultural standards, practices, level of awareness, combat experience, aspirations, and practical situation of the masses. Based on these things, work and organizational methods can be determined.

The educational process will achieve the best results when it becomes a process of self-education and self-training with respect to intellectual and physical education. That is a life-long task in which President Ho set an example that everyone can follow. He said: "Where can you study? You can study at school, from books, from each other, and from the people. Not learning from the people is a great shortcoming." He was right in saying that we must study all our lives and from every source. "Anyone who thinks that he already knows enough is stupid." That was a very profound observation.

President Ho's thoughts on man and the task of building man are a valuable legacy for our renovation movement.

They form a basis for us to formulate a human strategy in the new revolutionary stage.

Looking back in history, during the past 50 years, under the leadership of the party founded and trained by President Ho, our country moved from a position in which our country did not even appear on world maps to a position of being a vanguard country in the national liberation movement. This great victory shows the great strength of the nation and of the Vietnamese people, and it is a victory in President Ho's task of building the new man. "With the strength of the people, no task is too great."

Today, the nation is facing a new and very serious challenge. Because of the effects of colonialism and the long war and because of the subjective mistakes that have been made, our country's economy and society is still backward and poor. Our standard of living and labor productivity are decades behind those in the developed countries and even those in other countries in this region.

At the same time, complex changes are occurring in the world. Along with the tendency toward international reconciliation and cooperation, the struggle between capitalism and socialism and between the imperialists and the forces of real peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress continues in various forms: political and economic, scientific and technical, cultural and ideological, psychological, and so on.

The question is, in the face of this situation, what can be done to win victory, stabilize the situation, and improve our country's economic and social situation? What can be done to ensure that our nation pulls abreast of the average developed nations in the near future and then the rest of the developed countries in the world? The answer is clear: We must rely on the people and their spirit. If we have the people, we have everything.

The Sixth Party Congress put forth a renovation line and cited the historical lesson of "the country using the people as the root." At the same time, it stressed the need to follow the laws, have all-people solidarity, and follow the banner of national independence and socialism.

After many efforts and much creativity, renovation has achieved initial results of great significance. Along with these achievements, there are also great shortcomings. Social policy has not been coordinated with economic policy. We have occasionally become involved with "simple economic principles" and slighted and even ignored the social problems, particularly the problems of the people. Today, the Vietnamese people are our greatest strength, but we have not fully exploited that strength. There has been regression on many fronts, including the material front and educational and scientific standards. Particularly serious is the decline in morals. The morals of a number of people in positions of power have declined to an alarming level. Also, the work of the laborers is encountering many difficulties.

The pressing problem today is that, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, we must expand the ideas of President Ho, formulate a strategy of man, and regard this as the central problem of our economic and social strategy.

General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh has said that the human strategy is the No. 1 strategy. Thus, the line of the party has often mentioned the need to make a real change, a basic change, and give real attention to the social policies and the problems of the people.

There must be a profound understanding of the decisive importance of the educational, cultural, and scientific and technical policies—the key element of which is the strategy of man. Education is the foundation for preparing for the economic and social development of a country. This is the most important foundation in preparing for mankind's entry into the 21st Century.

Today, the technical revolution is developing very swiftly. Mankind is entering a period of intellectual civilization. Slighting education, science, and technology, which is still happening today, will result in the gap between our country and other countries becoming even wider. The International Conference on "Education for Everyone" that was held in March 1990 affirmed that if there is a decline in intellectual standards, there will definitely be economic and social decline.

Thus, the urgent task is to pose the problem of improving the intellectual standards of the people and training men of talent as a major national policy. Teaching contents and methods must be renovated and tied more closely to the economic and social targets based on combining modern technology with improved traditional technology, relating training and practice more closely, tying academic education to vocational education, relating the schools to the family and society, mobilizing the social forces, and informing the masses to have them participate in formulating plans for regular, continuous, and life-long education.

There must be greater investment in education, science, public health, culture, and projects related to training people. Money must be obtained from the state budget and many other sources. These investments must be regarded as basic investments to expand productivity, develop the economy, and develop our culture and society. Education is partly welfare and partly an implementation of the people's right to study. But it is mainly a means of liberating and developing people, the main production force, and creating new labor productivity and new capabilities to go hand in hand with modern technology, new creative scientific, cultural, and artistic abilities, and new management standards. Thus, education, science, and technology, together with the strategy of man, must be regarded as the central elements of our economic and social strategy and of our economic and social development plans.

Today, we must formulate a plan to study the strategy of man in a basic way. Specific policies and mechanisms must be formulated on building and training people and

using the cadres. Rights and obligations must be ensured through a system of laws based on a spirit of democracy and fairness as President Ho advised.

If this is done, we will certainly be able to exploit the boundless strength of the Vietnamese people and Vietnamese nation. We will be able to stabilize the situation and create the conditions for the development and renovation of the country.

As if foreseeing all the difficulties and complexities of rebuilding the country after the war, in the supplement of his Testament, President Ho wrote: "The above tasks are very large and complex but also very glorious. This is a struggle against what is outdated and evil in order to create something new and wonderful. In order to win victory in this great fight, all the people must be mobilized, organized, and educated, and we must rely on the strength of all the people."

President Ho's concept of "cultivating people" was complete and whole. It was complete and whole like his life. Thus, the lesson that he taught us is even more profound:

"If the roots are strong, the tree will be strong. Achieve victory by relying on the people."

#### Continue To Renovate

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 9-15

[Article by Ha Quang Du; published in FBIS-EAS-90-183, 20 Sep 90 pp 68-72]

#### Ways To Overcome Food Problems in Our Country

912E0011A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 16-20

[Article by Tran Duc, high-level economics specialist]

[Text] In "Van Dai Loai Ngu" [Tower of Language], Le Quy Don cites the words of the ancients: "Grain is the life of the people and the most valuable asset of the nation." Lenin stressed that food is the root of all difficulties in the transitional period. And in neighboring countries, the words "cruelty and disorder" have become familiar to everyone.

Several decades ago, we came to grips with the food problem. At times, we thought that it would not be until the 21st Century that we would be able to solve this problem. But changes in recent years, particularly in 1989, have given us reason to hope that it may be possible to solve the food problem sooner than expected. There are many reasons for this, but the most important one is that we have exploited the potential of the peasant economy and made use of the objective economic laws. Also, the weather has been favorable, and there are factors that we did not expect when we began shifting from a state subsidies to a business enterprise system. However, the situation must be evaluated carefully and objectively. We must consider the difficulties that could

be caused by nature and the complex changes in world politics. We must not think that we have solved the food problem. And just because we have scored initial achievements, we must not think that our country has become a "grain export power."

During the 1980s, rice yields increased. During the period 1980 to 1989, yields increased 5.4 million tons. In 1988 and 1989 alone, the increase was relatively rapid (in 1988, there was an increase of almost 2 million tons as compared with 1987, and in 1989 there was an increase of 1.5 millions as compared with 1988). In 1988 and 1989, the two concentrated commodity grain regions, that is, the Mekong Delta and the Red River Delta, produced more than 23 million tons of paddy, which accounted for about two-thirds of the country's total paddy yield. In the Mekong Delta, the Dong Thap Muoi region (which is located in the three provinces of Dong Thap, Long An, and An Giang) led the country in terms of rate of increase in yields (28 percent), per capita grain yields (1,200 kg, which is four times higher than the national average), and domestic and export commodity grain. [Footnote 1] [Based on statistics of the Statistics General Department]

The striking thing about this region is that because of multicropping and specialized and intensive cultivation, commodity grain has increased rapidly. In the Red River Delta, because of intensive cultivation, rice yields have increased, and the winter corn area has expanded (almost tripling during the period 1986-1989). The leading measure is still water conservancy, but the methods used in each province are different. Because of having the Hong Ngu Canal and because the peasants in Dong Thap Province have invested money to build additional level-two and intra-field canals, in 1988 and 1989 there was an increase of 52,000 hectares. Most of this area, which had been used to grow one crop of floating rice, can now grow two crops, a winter-spring crop and a summer-autumn crop. Long An Province has mobilized tens of thousands assault youths to build water conservancy projects, creating hundreds of thousands of additional hectares of farmland and transforming once poor districts such as Thanh Hung and Moc Hoa into places rich in commodity grain. In Tien Giang Province, the peasants use the "roll the mat" method from Highway 4 into the Dong Thap Muoi area, an increase of thousands of hectares of farmland. Now that water conservancy has been stabilized, the peasants in many areas such as Dong Thap Province have invested money in building fixed pumping stations and moved the mobile pumps to new areas. In 1988 and 1989, the three provinces in the region produced an additional 680,000 tons of paddy, of which 54 percent was due to increasing the area and 46 percent was due to increasing yields. The provinces have coordinated water conservancy with electric power and communications based on the formula "the state and people working together." Because of this, project costs have not been too high, and the projects have been completed. (Using Dong Thap Province as an example, the state invested

only 20 percent in the projects mentioned above. The peasants invested the other 80 percent.) Technical materials have not been issued based on the state subsidies model but have become part of commercial production. Because of this, the peasants can calculate product production costs. They exchange paddy for urea based on the ratio 2-2.4 parts paddy to one part urea depending on the locality. The MTL-58 variety of rice gives rather high and relatively stable yields, but the peasants tend to grow varieties favored by the markets, such as IR-64, even though yields are lower than MTL-58 yields. Some provinces such as Long An have imported rice varieties that produce high yields and that satisfy market demands.

The labor market operates based on supply and demand. In places with few fields but large numbers of people, after they have finished work on their household plots, the peasants go work on water conservancy projects together or hire themselves out in reclaimed areas, where they can earn much more than by working private fields with an area of 2-3 cong (one cong is 1,000 square meters). Thus, a number of households have abandoned the private fields or just work them briefly and then go to work for others. In places with many fields, households directly farm several dozen hectares of land using their own tractors, water pumps, and sprayers along with hiring households to do work. Those are the "seeds" of farms in the future. These are the key points for producing much commodity rice.

Market laws have an effect not only in each locality but also in each zone that is tied to commercial centers such as Ho Chi Minh City. Before the revolution, the free market "encompassed" the rural areas and cities. Even before the rice was ripe, hundreds of junks of overseas Chinese traveled along the network of canals of the Mekong Delta to provide production materials and consumer goods. During the harvest season, they came and transported the paddy to the cities. Today, the "granary owners" come and purchase paddy and other crops directly from the landlords. Under the control of the state, the "granary owners" must contribute to the budget based on the statutes currently in force.

Because of having surplus paddy in the rural areas, the peasants can purchase fertilizer, insecticides, and gasoline and oil for their pumps and tractors. Moreover, many districts in the region are cooperating with Lam Dong and eastern provinces. They are exchanging rice for products made from industrial crops. At the same time, they have expanded the coffee and pepper growing area. Life in the rural areas has improved greatly. Houses with tiled roofs have begun to replace those with thatched roofs. Rope bridges are gradually disappearing and being replaced by cement bridges. The number of inter-village and inter-district roads is increasing.

Commodity grain production requires that the producers follow both domestic and foreign markets closely. In 1989, for the first time, Vietnam exported a rather

large amount of rice (1.4 million tons). But world markets still don't know much about Vietnamese rice. The quality of our rice is low, as is the price, because we lack a plan from production to processing, storage, and marketing. In the coming period, world market demand will continue to increase, and the price of rice will continue to rise (in 1989, the price of grade 2 Thai rice rose to a record high—\$355 per ton). In recent years, the Green Revolution reached its peak and is now changing directions. Rice yields have begun to stabilize and are no longer increasing rapidly as they did during the past 20 years. At the same time, the rice growing area in the world has declined, and the population growth rate in many Asian countries is increasing faster than grain production. According to FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] forecasts, in the next 30 years, the number of rice consumers will double. In order to reach world markets, we must do things in a more planned way. We must no longer export rice like "rice hawkers" subject to arbitrary grading and pricing. We must become involved in planned grain production, with the two key regions being the Mekong Delta and the Red River Delta. We will build concentrated export grain production sub-zones and place the emphasis on the high-quality varieties of rice preferred by world markets. Among these are traditional varieties of rice that give low yields, but these are long-grain varieties of rice that taste delicious. We can also test grow rice in a number of areas without using fertilizer or chemical fertilizers in accord with orders placed by several developed countries.

In the plans, attention must be given to subsidiary food crops. From former times up to the present, it has almost become a law that in years in which rice increases, subsidiary food crops decline and vice versa. In 1981, 1985, and 1989, in the country's grain allocation, rice accounted for 86.8, 87.2, and 88.4 percent respectively. The percentage for subsidiary food crops gradually declined, that is, 13.2, 12.8, and 11.6 percent respectively. In particular, during the 1989-1990 winter season, the production of subsidiary food crops in all the provinces in the Red River Delta declined greatly at a very rapid pace. Nevertheless, the subsidiary food crops potential is quite great, because our country does not lack subsidiary food crops land. (There are many arid areas that cannot grow rice, but they are suited to growing subsidiary food crops. In a number of areas such as the Red River Delta, winter-season subsidiary food crops are a commodity grain strength.) Also, there is a surplus of labor, and traditional varieties are being improved by hybridization in accord with the ecological zones. The problem is how to transport, process, store, and distribute the subsidiary food crops, annual quantities of which may reach 2-3 million tons. If we can do this, we will "rescind" the rice-subsidiary food crops law mentioned above. Self-sufficient subsidiary food crops will become commercial crops involving a variety of processed goods. This will make the grain front even stronger.

In past years, the reality has been that subsidiary food crops have [been produced] based on the method of Hoai



Duc District in the suburbs of Hanoi and not based on an independent and synchronized plan. Instead, there have been spontaneous mass movements. The principal raw materials are manioc and *phrynium parvillorum*. Private individuals in the district rent vehicles to transport the goods from the mountain and midlands provinces (such as Son La, Ha Tuyen, Bac Thai, and Vinh Phu) and sell them to processing installations in Duong Lieu, Cat Que, La Phu, and Minh Khai villages. Here, the processing has become specialized. Some places specialize in producing noodles, and others specialize in processing "nha" and candy. Other places make full use of the by-products and waste products to promote hog rearing. A number of conclusions can be drawn from these spontaneous movements. First, the economic elements must be encouraged so that the wealthy people invest money to purchase equipment and raw materials. The markets must be organized, the rural markets must be expanded, and there must be enough depots for commodity circulation. Joint commercial activities must be carried on between the regions (transferring raw materials from the midlands and mountain provinces and then selling food goods to those provinces). The new problems that have arisen from these spontaneous movements must be solved. This includes supplying coal, cleaning up the environment dirtied by industrial waste water, ensuring sources of water for production and daily life, improving the working conditions of the elderly people and children engaged in processing work, and installing electricity for the processing machines.

The reality of Hoai Duc shows that once the commodity-currency relationship has expanded and the law of value is used to accelerate the commodity production apparatus, this must be coordinated with the plans; otherwise, economic development will not move in the right direction and it will not be possible to solve the economic and social problems. The same is true of exploiting the Dong Thap Muoi region. In order to promote commodity grain production, the leading problem is to formulate plans, not only concerning water conservancy and technical materials but also concerning the economic and social infrastructure.

To switch to a market economy tied to plans, we must do away with the old mechanism and state subsidies in order to enter the "canal" of commerce. This began in 1987, and by 1989 encouraging results had been achieved. The grain corporations have implemented a marketing formula in which there is direct buying and selling between the producers and the consumers based on a one-price mechanism. This is done without going through the province or district, and, of course, there are no market prohibitions. There must be forces (import and south to north transport forces) to provide help when necessary. This is a fierce struggle between the central echelon and the localities, between the localities, between the sectors, and within the leadership. Thanks to the new commercial formulas, in just a short period of time we have reduced artificial needs, put a stop to the unnecessary hoarding of paddy and rice, and enabled the

grain forces at the markets to become relatively prosperous. The state can purchase relatively large quantities to reserve and export.

Finally, attention must be given to the problems concerning macrocosmic policy. Besides the peasants, everyone else in society is displeased by the policies regarding the rural areas. The rights of the grain producers have not been given attention. When prices were raised in 1981 and 1985, the peasants in the rice growing areas suffered great losses. In 1981, the urea sold in the northern provinces and Zone 5 cost 7.1 dong per kg, a jump of 13.39 times the old price. In Hai Hung, according to data of Nguyen Sinh Cuc, it cost 346 dong to produce 1 kg of paddy, but the market price of paddy in September 1989 was only 320 dong. In many places, the peasants are appealing for help, because the price of electricity and insecticides is very high. As a result, "lead in" has increased, but the markets won't accept "lead out." Recently, the price of urea and electricity dropped, but in my view, the basic problems still haven't been solved. It seems that we still haven't learned the lessons of 1981 and 1985. The time has come to review the accumulation viewpoint. Should we accumulate from circulation or production? For the long term, I think that the correct path is to accumulate from production, not circulation. We should not rely on raising the price of the production materials and industrial goods sold to the peasants in order to balance the budget. We have experience in this. During the resistance against France and during the period 1976-1980 after the south was liberated, the south increased the price of agricultural products and also began selling production materials to the peasants at cost or even below cost. The method used since 1981 is just a temporary measure, with the means not satisfying the end. That is definitely not the best way if we want to solve the food problem and build a new and prosperous rural area. Inflation was temporarily reduced in 1989. But we are definitely not out of danger, because the factors that give rise to inflation are still with us. For example, the budget deficit is still too large, the interest levers have not been used correctly, the printing of money for sources of credit capital has not stayed within strict limits, and the accumulation policy is not moving in the right direction. Thus, we must take steps to prevent a new crisis from arising in the coming period.

With respect to macrocosmic strategy, another important problem is that it is essential to point out a rural path for the future. We cannot stop with the family economy but must follow the agricultural economic path taken by Taiwan and South Korea. Only if there are small farms will it be possible to engage in intensive cultivation with little capital, many laborers, and little land. Today, in South Korea, each farm averages 1.2 hectare. To increase this figure to 2.7 hectares by the year 2000, the state has implemented a policy of purchasing land and enabling the peasants to purchase land. At the same time, it is providing aid to those who abandon farming in order to develop occupations. Vietnam must soon implement a policy of allowing farmers to give up

their land use rights at a time when ownership rights have not been settled and make it possible for the land to be concentrated in the hands of people with capabilities. The division of the fields into two funds, as many provinces have done in past years, must be reexamined. Fund 1 includes most of the area for production aimed at satisfying basic food needs. Fund 2 encompasses the remaining area for the production of commodity grain. The thing to note is that the fund-2 land consists mainly of remote and poor-quality land where yields are low. But the quotas for this land are usually 20-30 percent higher than those for fund-1 land (Ha Nam Ninh). Thus, those people who receive fund-1 land have an advantage. As for those with fund-2 land, in addition to the contributions also made by those with fund-2 land, these people must also pay an additional 10-12 percent for the collective. As a result, they often suffer losses. This is something that has come about only recently, and it has occurred in many other localities besides Ha Nam Ninh. For the above reasons (excessively high "lead in," which has resulted in the markets not accepting "lead out"; peasants not allowed to give up their use rights; and

policies making a distinction between fund-1 land and fund-2 land), obstacles have been encountered in expanding the area of the households with capabilities, and people have asked to return fields to the cooperatives, including fund-1 fields. They have retained only a little.

In summary, the way to solve the food problem in our country is relatively clear. But there are many problems that must be solved to actually implement the lines. I think that if we can grasp the secret, have an all-round viewpoint, use the family to have an independent economy, coordinate the plans with the markets, boldly switch from state subsidies to commerce, and promptly implement correct macrocosmic policies, the food problem can soon be solved.

#### **Lenin's Legacy on Culture**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 21-26

[Article by Le Xuan Vu; not translated]

**Lenin and the Conflicts of the Transitional Period  
on the Path to Socialism**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 27-31, 15

[Article by Pham Ngoc Quang; not translated]

**The Role of the 'Middle Elements' in the  
Transition to Socialism in Our Country**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 32-36

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Long; not translated]

**Thoughts on the Redivision of the Present Social Work Force***912E0019A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 37-41, 54*

[Article by Dau Quy Ha, specialist with the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and social Welfare]

[Text] The contents of renovating labor management include a continuous and all-round redivision of social labor in order to fully liberate the production strength.

Transforming the two-element economy into a multi-faceted economy is actually a redivision of social labor. In society, new economic elements and business sectors will be formed. A large number of laborers will participate directly in these activities, and new labor classes and occupations will be formed.

A prerequisite for promoting this process is labor freedom. Only if the laborers have freedom of labor and a real concept of that right will they voluntarily participate in the redivision of labor. Leaders must be fully aware of the labor freedoms of the people. The old and outdated management system must be abolished, the necessary legal basis must be created, and other favorable conditions must be created so that the people can enjoy their right to freedom of labor.

The people's freedom of labor refers to their right to use their labor abilities (physical and mental capabilities) in order to do whatever work they want where they want and with whomever they want without being prohibited by law.

In the private and collective sectors, for many years, laborers had a good concept of this right and enjoyed this right. That was a strength, and it was one of the things that led to the phenomenon: private more than state-operated and collective in commodity business. Thus, there must be labor equality in the commodity economy so that the state and collective sectors can manifest their role.

Politburo Resolution 10 has solved this problem with respect to agriculture labor. Households are regarded as the basic economic unit. These households have the right to use their labor strength to engage in commercial production, and in reality, they have used their labor in a flexible way in order to make the greatest profit.

The greatest difficulties today are still in the state sector, including the production sector, the state management sector, and the business sector. Because they have lived for a long time with a bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism, laborers are not used to taking responsibility for their work. They live and work by relying on the collective and are bound to the collective. Thus, few have any real labor capabilities in commodity business.

For a number of people in positions of power, the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism is more "beneficial." They constantly oppose the new

management system in every way possible in order to protect their special rights and privileges.

In recent months, a number of resolute measures have been implemented with respect to the state economic sector, and they have begun to bring good results. But at the same time, this has generated a rather violent reaction. Resolutely refusing to retreat is the leading requirement in establishing the new management system. In the state management sector and work sector today, the new management system has not yet had an effect, because inertia is still too strong.

The correct direction in the state economic sector today is to completely eliminate bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies by moving ahead resolutely and implementing the rights and responsibilities of commercial independence in a broad and all-round way. Each laborer must take responsibility for his work, for his life and that of his family, and for society. The number of surplus laborers must be reduced. These laborers must be employed in beneficial and useful activities.

In the state management sector, the redivision of social labor entails redefining the functions and tasks of each organization from the National Assembly, Council of State, and government to the various echelon administrative organizations, with particular attention given to the village and subward organizations. In many villages and subwards, a cumbersome bureaucratic management apparatus has existed for a long time. This apparatus, which has wielded almost boundless power, has caused many problems. There has been no democracy for the people, because this apparatus has violated their rights, and this has killed the enthusiasm and creativity of the laborers. Even the cooperatives, mass organizations, and social organizations have gradually become "nationalized" and bureaucratic. The people in charge of these organizations have become civil servants who are remote from the masses and who do not represent the will power or hopes of the people.

Based on determining the functions and tasks of an efficient apparatus, a rank of capable personnel who are knowledgeable about state management, particularly the law, democracy, and human rights, must be formed. By doing this, we will be able to get those who lack the minimum standards out of the state management apparatus at all echelons.

There are millions of people working in the professional sector. The organization of a number of sectors such as public health and education seems to be more efficient. But in general, the organizational system of this sector still has many shortcomings. Because now that all of society is involved in a commodity economy with the results of production and commerce being the operational targets, a number of organizations that have the ability to work independently, support themselves, and prosper continue to rely on the state budget.

The redivision of social labor cannot be separated from the problem of providing jobs. This is a major issue in

society. The population and number of laborers is increasing too rapidly, and this requires that a million new jobs be created each year. The previous bureaucratic management system—the state was responsible for providing jobs for social laborers, but in reality it did not provide that many jobs—has left a heavy burden in this sphere. Millions and even tens of millions of people lack full-time work.

With the new management system, the function of the state is to formulate laws, measures, policies, and a suitable management mechanism in order to encourage and enable the laborers to find work on their own and create jobs for others.

In the rural areas, the shortage of jobs is very serious. About two-thirds of the laborers actually work fewer than 180 man-days (with the fewest being 70-80 man-days). This is the main cause of poverty and backwardness. The struggle target in the coming period is to increase the number of man-days worked by rural laborers to 250 man-days per year. That is the only way to ensure a minimum standard of living given the backward economic conditions and low productivity of today.

The main reason for the shortage of jobs is that we have transformed rural society into a purely agricultural society, with the other sectors being secondary. The great majority of the peasants have joined agricultural cooperatives. They have been given fields and work the fields even though many of these people don't know how to work the fields. This stupid way of doing things has led to an unusual phenomenon in society: the traditional sectors in society that once operated independently of agriculture have gradually sunk into oblivion while new sectors that have the capacity to expand and that are necessary for rural society have not been developed.

The correct guideline for providing jobs, to which the rural laborers are responding, is to develop a multi-sector and multi-faceted economy. Today, the rural areas are no longer synonymous with agriculture. The rural areas must have a variety of sectors. Rural peasants are now developing the following six sectors: crop growing, animal husbandry, product processing, small industry and handicrafts, services to support production and life, and product circulation and distribution, which is a very important sector that can stimulate the development of the rural commodity economy. These six sectors are developing independently of each other, and within a sector there may be many occupations. The laborers and households are free to work in one or more of those sectors in which they feel they can earn a profit. Besides their labor capabilities (physical and mental capabilities), they can use their past labor as business capital and hire laborers in order to create jobs for others. Businessmen in the cities must be encouraged to invest in the rural areas. Each economic element must be encouraged to expand. A new socioeconomic picture will appear in

the rural areas. That is the way to create jobs that will benefit laborers and the redivision of social labor in the rural areas.

In the cities, even though the urban population is smaller than that of the rural population, the population density is high, and the economic and social structure is complex. Because of this, creating jobs is more difficult. The main guideline is to encourage laborers to enter the small industry and handicrafts and service sectors. The party and government have issued resolutions on this problem. The people have invested hundreds of billions of dong to expand production, create jobs for hundreds of thousands of people, contribute to reducing job pressures on society, and stimulate the redivision of social labor. The state must continue to do studies in order to create favorable material and commercial conditions based on the law in order to stimulate all of the economic elements: individuals, collectives, joint enterprises, and foreign investment.

The state sector is also the most complex sector. It is predicted that the reorganization of the staffs in the economic, professional, and service organizations will result in a surplus of millions of people. Hundreds of thousands of people have had to be laid off. The number of people being laid off continues to increase. The main guideline for providing jobs and carrying out a redivision of labor for them is to shift them to jobs in other economic elements. To do this, the initial conditions must be created, that is, labor discipline and capital.

For those who are transferred to a new sector with which they are unfamiliar, there must be suitable policies to familiarize them with the job and provide them with specific capabilities related to their new job. In order to enable them to carry on production favorably, the state can use budget funds to provide them with initial funds, which can be in the form of money, goods, or production materials depending on what the laborers want and the capabilities of each enterprise.

For the past several decades, state-operated economic units have been established on the basis of a self-sufficient economy viewpoint rather than a commodity economy viewpoint. The machinery and equipment is very outdated, productivity is low, and quality is poor. In order to switch to business enterprise, maintain a leading role in the national economy, and reach out to world markets, attention must be given to reorganizing production and production techniques in these economic units. A number of machines and pieces of equipment (and even entire plants) are old and outdated. If these are left in place, they will pose a burden for the state-operated production installations (unused, must calculate depreciation), and this will be a great expenditure for society. These things can be contracted to individuals or labor collectives and regarded as a number of initial assets in order to switch to working in other economic elements. On the other hand, laborers must not be restricted in investing larger sums of capital to obtain means of production than the initial amounts

of aid based on the principle of total voluntariness. This will free things for the state-operated production installations and reduce the difficulties for the state. This policy should also be applied in the other state sectors (state management, professions, and so on). As for scientific and technical research, the technical service organizations must coordinate things closely in doing research along with engaging in commercial production in the form of joint or directly subordinate activities (using commercial production capital with the aim of providing timely and effective support).

A rather large problem that is being solved in the process of redividing social labor is the problem of migration. For a long time now, there has been both voluntary migration and transfers by the authorities. Voluntary migration is manifested in reality by the waves of migration. People have voluntarily moved from one region to another to make a living. This has been most widespread among the people in the northern and midlands provinces. They have voluntarily migrated to southern provinces. Also, people in the delta provinces have gone to live in the mountainous provinces. The great majority of those who have migrated voluntarily have done so successfully. Because before leaving, they have made careful preparations, and they have conducted surveys and made plans on how to organize life in the new area (or at least thought about this).

Transferring people with the aim of implementing a specific strategic plan requires that there be a large number of laborers and many people in one locality. Moving people to open new economic zones based on a state subsidies model without having a unified plan has exposed serious shortcomings. In the case of both the places sending people and the places to which they are being sent, many times, the specific goals are unclear and this is done just to obey the order and fulfill the plan and "norm." Thus, in past years, millions of laborers have been moved, but the specific results of this are not clear.

For migration to be successful, the state must define the goals of migration. Also, for each migration, there must be a suitable form of organization.

If people are moved in order to develop the economy in the areas to which they are moving, the owners of the business items must also be the masters of the migration items. Any organization that undertakes commercial production in an area to which people have moved must be the sole master. It must formulate a plan to accept laborers and other people based on the requirements and speed of commercial production. This organization must implement various tasks such as spreading propaganda, recruiting people, moving people, and so on. It is this master of the items who must organize things to welcome the people to the area in order to quickly stabilize their lives and quickly engage them in commercial production activities. The state will not be in charge of moving people but will just promulgate policies, measures, and

laws and monitor things to ensure that everyone adheres to these policies, measures, and laws and protect the rights of the laborers.

If there is migration for reasons other than commercial production, the managerial responsibilities of the state will be heavier. Here, economic reasons are of secondary importance. It is the political, security, and national defense reasons that are primary. In such cases, the various echelon authorities must take direct responsibility for carrying out things. The central government must formulate long-term and yearly migration plans. The state budget must pay for these movements. The chairmen of the various-echelon people's committee must be the ones who organize and implement the movement of people. These are the masters of the accounts. They are in charge of expenditures at the storehouses and of the materials, raw materials, and equipment at the other storehouses of the state. They must organize the work of sending and receiving people based on a system of contracts between the owners of the accounts at both ends. Those sending the people and those receiving the people must formulate plans to reorganize the population zones (the sender) and organize new population zones (the receiver). An adequate infrastructure must be built before the people arrive. Because people are being moved for other reasons, commercial production will not be the leading requirement. During the initial period, the state must use budget funds to provide aid. The amount of aid will then be reduced gradually.

Migration (for purposes other than commercial production) can also be organized using other forms of organization. Capable cadres can be assigned the task of organizing new population zones. These people must conduct surveys and formulate specific plans for these population zones. This includes the housing zones, production and commercial zones, and infrastructural organizations (hospitals, schools, markets, roads, electricity and water services, information and liaison, and so on). They must also carry on capital construction based on these plans and then move the people there. In recruiting people to come to the new population zones, the decision to move must be completely voluntary. The administrative, party, and mass organizations must not put any pressure on people to move. They can only aid recruitment by spreading propaganda, including encouraging people to go see the place before they move. These organizations should not use the slogan "the state and people working together" in order to push people to move.

In discussing the redivision of social labor, it would be a great shortcoming not to discuss the problem of labor cooperation with other countries.

There are two forms of labor cooperation now being used: engaging in on-the-spot cooperation and sending people to work abroad.

On-the-spot cooperation refers to calling on the people now living abroad (including Vietnamese who are living and working abroad) to invest in the country in some way (based on the recently promulgated investment law) in order to create additional jobs on the spot for laborers in the country.

The second form is to send people abroad to work. This form, which has been in use for many years, has provided jobs for tens of thousands of people. However, in order to do this well, we must quickly switch to a commercial management system based on using labor contracts and ensure that the laborers will have adequate rights based on the labor contracts before they go abroad. The state must manage this through laws, measures, and policies.

### **A Number of Problems in Implementing the Open Door Policy in Vietnam**

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in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 42-46

[Article by To Xuan Dan, MA in economics]

[Text] "Opening the economic door to the world" is a necessary development tendency of every country today, particularly for developing countries. The realities of the past several decades have shown us that implementing an open door policy is an urgent requirement for our country's economy.

"Opening the door" is short for "opening the economic door to the world" or "expanding to the outside." This phrase reflects the policy of tying the economy of one country to that of another country and gradually integrating the national economy with the world economy. Our country's open door policy is based on building an open economic system, which includes opening up things within the country and forming ties with other countries. In an open economic system, the economic structure must get away from self-sufficiency and fully exploit the comparative advantages in order to expand the domestic division of labor and participate more and more in the international division of labor.

Starting from the historical conditions, opening our country's economic door to the world means building a system of policies and laws and an operations and management mechanism and putting forth corresponding organizational measures in order to create favorable conditions to enable our country to participate actively in dividing the labor and exchanging opinions on international trade and enabling our economy to leap ahead, quickly adapt to international markets, have a dynamic structure, and score great achievements.

It should not be thought that "opening the door" will result in our economy losing its independence or self-reliance, that self-reliance will be replaced by foreign aid, or that more attention will be given to "outside directions" than "internal directions." In conditions in which the world economy is becoming a unified entity, whether

we want it or not, our economy will become an element, an open system, within that entity, with the various structural elements constantly conflicting with and struggle against each other. Opening the door is a struggle for international strength in order to multiply internal strength. Thus, more than ever before, we must manifest and exploit all of our strengths.

The basic target of the open door policy is to ensure that our economy has an optimum position in the international division of labor, improve results, gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the people, and, based on making full use of the achievements of the international economy, fully exploiting our country's strengths. Naturally, the above target must be made more concrete by formulating specific steps in each stage in accord with the capabilities and conditions of each sector and locality and in line with the advances of the age. We must ensure that our economy develops rapidly and steadily and achieves good results.

I would like to summarize a number of problems related to implementing an "open door" policy in our country.

#### **1. The relationship between "open door" and control:**

First of all, it must be affirmed that "opening the door" with the necessary laws and regulations includes control elements. The open door policy is not at odds with control. The control requirements must be an element contained with the open door policy. Unfortunately, people sometimes place those two matters in opposition and say that "the wider the door is opened, the less control there is." World economic development has shown that "opening the door" must be tied to maintaining control. The door cannot be opened in an unprincipled manner. Naturally, control must be in accord with international rules and international cultural standards. Thus, there must be specific laws and regulations, and attention must be given to economic control measures in conjunction with administrative control measures. The control elements must be equipped with the necessary technical means. The international lessons concerning this must be studied. Unless this is done well, the pretty talk about "opening the door" will be worthless.

#### **2. Our strengths and our ability to coordinate the nation's strengths with those of the present age must be clearly determined:**

When economic development is mainly extensive, the strengths of a country are related above all to its resources. Today, because of the great development of science and technology and because economic circulation among countries is accelerating, resources no longer hold a leading position in the strengths of a country. Reality shows that countries that are very poor in resources but that know how to use international economic relationships can still reach a rather high level of development. In today's world conditions, looking at our country's strengths, attention must be given to three basic problems: the factor of Vietnamese man, our country's favorable geographical and political position,

and our varied resources. Today, the Vietnamese people have special qualities (great intellectual potential, good skills, and the ability to quickly grasp modern techniques), and they are rated highly by our international friends. As compared with many other countries in this zone, our labor value is much lower. Those are the conditions that will enable us to produce high-quality products at low cost. However, it must also be realized that our rather large labor pool could put great pressure on the economy if it is not used fully and given careful attention. Thus, along with the economic and social development strategy, we must also implement a human strategy.

Vietnam is located in Southeast Asia in the Asia-Pacific region, a very dynamic region that is playing a more and more important role in the world economy. With the improvement in political and economic relationships in this region, we can make use of the international sea and air routes passing our country in order to participate in the international division of labor. What is significant is that we are the bridgehead of the SEV [Soviet Ekonomiceskoj Vzaïmopomosci CMEA - Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA)] bloc in this region, and we have the capabilities to develop direct political, economic, cultural, and social relationships with neighboring countries. Our country's wealth and variety of minerals and forest and marine products and our climate, arable land, scenery, and so on are advantages that will enable us to quickly participate in the international division of labor.

In order to fully exploit these strengths, we must try to attract investment capital and the advanced technology of the world. Of course, loans must be used effectively, and the imported technology must be selected in accord with our country's capabilities and conditions, with attention given to the changing needs of world markets.

When engaging in production cooperation and international trade, attention must be given to the products and services regarding which our country has an advantage. At the same time, we must combine our strengths with those of others.

3. "Opening the door" must be tied to varying foreign economic activities:

Varying foreign economic activities has the nature of a law and is in accord with the richness and dynamism of international economic relationships. This will enable our country to exploit its potential and make use of the strengths of our customers.

Previously, imports and exports consisted mainly of material products—material imports and exports. Today, because economic activities have expanded demand, countries are exchanging both material and non-material services. Moreover, the exchange of non-material services, which are referred to as intangible imports and exports, is playing a more and more important role. Some types of services require little capital and the turnaround time is quick. Because of this, the profit

ratio is high. Thus, attention must be given to expanding these services. Naturally, when expanding things, a satisfactory relationship must be maintained between these services and production activities, and the laws of development of each type of activity must be obeyed.

A strong basis for expanding import-export activities is international cooperation in the investment, production, and scientific and technical spheres using a variety of forms depending on the stage and the factors of reproduction, with different standards of contribution and the participation of two or more parties. This cooperation should not be restricted to the SEV bloc but can be expanded to other countries. Foreign economic activities are encroaching on more and more spheres such as international transport, labor export, international posts and information, international credit, money from overseas Vietnamese, and so on. This is enabling us to create more jobs and obtain large amounts of foreign currency. Building export processing zones or free economy zones is a special form that will enable us to expand foreign economic activities in an integrated way. These zones are bridges linking our domestic economy to other countries. They produce "two-way effects," enabling the domestic economy to respond in a flexible manner to the world economy.

The problem is to learn the organizational lessons of other countries and, based on our country's specific strengths, to choose the key points and determine suitable steps for each period.

4. Clearly determine cooperative zones and market directions:

This is a complex and very important problem, because this is related to the political lines and to relations between Vietnam and other countries in the world. Here, I want to mention just a few basic principles. In a situation in which the economies of countries are becoming more and more internationalized, everything possible must be done to expand economic relationships with all countries based on the principle of sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefit. The "door" can and should be "opened" in all directions. We can cooperate with all countries if we can gain their strengths and exploit our comparative advantages. In some cases, developing economic relations will open the way and promote the development of political and diplomatic relations. Cooperative relations must be established not only with government organizations but also with private-sector organizations, social organizations, private economic units, and Vietnamese living abroad. Today's world permits and requires pluralistic cooperative relations. Thus, to prevent our country's cooperative relations with one country from having a bad influence on our cooperative relations with another country, things must be coordinated so that these cooperative relations develop simultaneously. Of course, this can be done only if all sides respect the basic principles in international cooperation.

It must be affirmed that the relationship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia, the



countries in the SEV bloc, and the other socialist countries holds a very important position. But the cooperative mechanism must constantly be improved, appropriate attention must be given to economic aspects in the cooperative process, the results of this must be improved, and formalism and a concept of dependence in specific relationships must be overcome.

The broad development of cooperative relations with other countries in this region as well as with countries throughout the world is an important condition for gradually entering the world market, a varied market that is already saturated in many spheres.

The open door policy is an invitation to our friends and international customers to work in cooperation with us. This policy can become a part of life only if the necessary environment is provided. In order to expand cooperative economic relations with other countries, we must gradually create the following necessary conditions:

1. Foreign affairs thinking, security thinking, and economic thinking must be renovated. The new thinking must reflect the new themes of the age. This must be dynamic and flexible in accord with the complex changes in international relations. The new thinking must enable us to gain more friends and reduce the number of enemies in order to keep us in line with international rules and to avoid cumbersome and uncivilized procedures and stipulations. There must be new thinking concerning security, collective security, and security in conditions of mutual ties and not separate security. In international relations, the historical problems must be solved in a rational way. Instead of focusing on the past, we must look to the future and use the fundamental and long-term interests of the nation as a basis. And we must respect the existence of other peoples. It must be understood that the national interests are the basic motive force in developing foreign economic relations and that the nation's potential must be exploited in the new conditions. Economic strength is the strong basis for security and for the country's political position in the world. In organizing and managing foreign economic activities, the economic and social results must be used as the basic standard. The new ideas mentioned above must be thoroughly understood by the cadres and by the sectors and echelons from the central echelon to the localities.

2. The economic management mechanism must be renovated in accord with the new economic thinking, and the economic structure must be gradually improved. That is, instead of being backward and sluggish, it must become more dynamic and be self-adjusting depending on the requirements of the actual situation. We must soon establish a clear and effective work order based on a system of uniform laws and clear and concise stipulations. Corruption, bureaucratic centralism, and duplication must be quickly limited and finally eliminated completely. The effectiveness of the management and executive organizations must be strengthened. Economic and financial instability must be gradually overcome, and the purchasing power of the dong must be increased. Initial signals of change in this sphere include paying attention to and actively overcoming the negative effects that could occur.

3. The necessary infrastructure for production and social life must quickly be built, especially for expanding foreign economic activities, in the areas that can attract capital and new technology from abroad. The factors of the infrastructure are quite varied: sources of energy and water, a communications-information-liaison network, commercial service installations, banks, storehouses, cultural, public health, and educational installations, and so on. Efforts must be concentrated on building infrastructural elements at key places such as ports, airports, places with sources of energy, export processing zones, and so on, because they have an effect on the development of foreign economic activities.

4. Ranks of cadres and technical workers must be trained with suitable allocations. These people must have the ability to carry out the foreign economic activities. This problem can be solved only by carrying out the human strategy well. In the final analysis, the success or failure of the open door policy and of our other economic and social policies depends on people. Reality shows that the countries that have achieved "miracles" in economic development are all countries that have exploited the human factor to the maximum. The problem is not one of simply training talented and skilled people but one of instilling in them a sense of organization and work order and concept of discipline in order to create an integrated strength. A rank of cadres with high scientific and technical standards must be trained. They must have business knowledge and capabilities and the ability to handle advanced technology and solve problems related to international economic relationships.

**When the Press Is the People's Forum**

912E0034A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 47-49

[Article by Tran Cong Man, deputy secretary general of the Vietnam Press Association]

[Text] The newest aspect in the renovation of our press is not just that the press is the traditional propaganda tool of the party but also that it is the forum of the people.

For a long time, the press has been regarded only as a traditional tool to transmit and explain the lines and policies of the party. Now, however, the press is also reflecting reality from below, from the primary level. But this theme is not wide of the mark in showing the results actually achieved in implementing the policies and positions of the party.

This is essential, because to mobilize the masses and launch a revolutionary movement, traditional propaganda work cannot be slighted, and in this the press is the most important means. In particular, during a war, in order to concentrate all forces on liberating the country, traditional propaganda work must concentrate on a single target: All to resist victoriously.

But today, in doing things that way, in many cases the press fulfills only half its function. The press must have a public opinion function. It must be a tool in implementing the ownership rights of the people. The press must serve as the means by which the people implement one of their basic rights, freedom of speech and thought, which is guaranteed by the constitution.

Reality has shown that if the press just plays its traditional propaganda role, the information in the press will be one-way information and will not present a varied social picture, including both good and bad aspects, things that are right and things that are wrong, and positive and negative aspects.

If the press fulfills only its traditional task of spreading propaganda, the masses will observe and implement things passively. This will destroy the creativity of the masses, and it will not be possible to implement the viewpoint that the people are the creators of history.

Clearly, ever since the people's forum function of the press was posed at the Sixth Party Congress and then expanded through reality and affirmed, the press has been playing a much larger role. Through the press, the people have expressed their viewpoints, political views, and aspirations in the face of the great changes that have occurred in the country and throughout the world. They have frankly criticized the shortcomings and weaknesses in the party's policies and the state's laws. At the same time, they have contributed many ideas with the aim of revising and perfecting these positions, policies, and laws, including the draft resolutions of the party. With a spirit of democracy and openness, the press has become a powerful weapon in the struggle against bureaucratic centralism, special interests, and corruption among

cadres and party members and contributed to purifying the party and state organizations and making society more wholesome.

With varied contents, the press has become a means of information of constantly higher quality. It has provided information on the situation, on viewpoints and political views, and on scientific and technical theory and knowledge and contributed to raising the intellectual standards of the people at a time when there is an information explosion. Thus, without the press, it would be difficult to propagate the following struggle slogan on the ownership role of the people: the people know, discuss, act, and control.

People often say that the ideas of the party and the hearts of the people are one. That is an observation on unity with respect to revolutionary ideals and targets and the basic lines of the revolution. But with respect to many other aspects, such as views of reality, steps, measures, specific methods, and even a number of elements in the lines, it cannot be said that there are no differences. These differences spring from individuality in the creative thinking of each person, which is something that is very necessary. Unity in a social collective is unity among variety and variety based on a common denominator. This is the unity of a rich and varied social life. This is not rigid unity that lacks vitality like some mathematical problem composed of cold numbers.

Today, we are looking for a socialist model suited to Vietnam's conditions. As Nguyen Van Linh said: "This is a new and complex path, and there are many problems that must be studied. It is not easy to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong. In these conditions, it's easy to understand why there are so many different ideas." It is essential to exchange opinions, debate and analyze the different ideas, and learn which are good and useful in order to mobilize the creative strength of the people in building the country. We can have different forums for exchanging these ideas, but the press is a very important forum because of its great popularity.

Naturally, we cannot mechanically infer from this that because the press is the people's forum, people can say or write anything they want. The people's forum is a forum whose goal is to build socialism and defend the fatherland even though people may express very different ideas, debate things vigorously, and make frank criticisms in this forum. Searching for the truth is not simple. It is not a matter of flowing with the current. Easy agreement is not very useful regardless of whether this is agreement in giving praise or making criticisms. This will not help us to find the truth or find new things.

Some people think that the bourgeois press is freer than the revolutionary press. In the bourgeois press, people are free to express their ideas, including opposing ideas. But that is not true. Every bourgeois newspaper has a particular goal and reflects the viewpoints and interests of different powers and groups. Thus, each newspaper will support the group that it represents and attack other

groups. The private press has never represented the proletariat or working people in condemning and opposing the exploitive ruling powers. Naturally, in a bourgeois society, there are newspapers of the working class. But these newspapers are usually crushed by the weight of the bourgeois press. Furthermore, these newspapers are limited to a certain democratic circle. They can never touch the foundation of capitalism.

With respect to the class struggle, our press cannot allow the reactionary forces to use freedom of speech as a forum to destroy the revolution. The press must be the forum of the people only. It must be the forum in the criticism and self-criticism struggle to clarify right from wrong, eliminate negative aspects, errors, and shortcomings, manifest the positive aspects and strengths, and promote national construction. At times, this struggle will be very fierce, especially when it must oppose deviationist and extremist viewpoints or conservatism, dictatorial practices, and bureaucratic centralism. But in the final analysis, the goal is to build.

It is essential to encourage freedom of expression and freedom of debate. Looking for ways to block freedom of speech, citing the need to maintain unified will power and thinking and maintain stability, will in reality hamper revolutionary development, and it will not be possible to maintain real ideological unity.

However, to enable the press to become a useful forum of the people, the press organizations and journalists must have high political capabilities. When they mention a problem, discuss it from various angles, and make proposals, this cannot be done in an arbitrary or hurried manner. The pros and cons must be weighed, and things must be examined carefully. If there is hesitation and worry and a lack of boldness, the newspapers will become conservative and sluggish and become a solitary and desolate forum without life or the capacity to attract the attention of readers. Conversely, if the only objective is to make the newspapers lively and attractive by printing all sorts of political views without analyzing things, drawing conclusions, or distinguishing between right and wrong, the consequences could be very bad.

The press can be lively only when it is the traditional propaganda tool of the party and a real forum for the people. Thus, more than anyone else, the party committee echelons and press management and guidance echelons must adhere strictly to the press laws and encourage freedom of the press and freedom of speech. The press organizations must manifest their strong capabilities and actively, boldly, and creatively use the press freedoms granted by the law with a lofty spirit of responsibility to the party and people.

#### **Freedom of the Press in Our Country**

912E0034B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 50-54

[Article by Hoang Cong]

[Text] Passing on information through the press is an essential need of society and each person. It is difficult to image the spiritual and behavioral growth of the people

without newspapers and information. The progressive legal standards all state that the right to information is a basic right of man. This is closely related to the rights of citizens. Information through the press, which is considered to be an essential need, originates from citizens' freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Because of this, information and the publishing of information in the press are two aspects of the people's freedom of the press and the essence of press freedom in general. The various stipulations on the press system are, in the final analysis, all aimed at implementing and manifesting citizens' freedom of the press.

However, the specific contents or specific limits of press freedom in various social systems are similar in some ways and different in others, and it is this that has led to fierce disputes. If the minimum boundaries of these contents (which can be referred to as having freedom) are not understood and too much emphasis is placed on individual political and social circumstances, this will lead to excessive limits and even block freedom of the press. Conversely, unless the class nature of the press is realized and it is realized that the press is a tool in the hands of each class in the ideological and political struggle, there will be excessive demands regarding freedom of the press.

Ever since it came into being, the press, with its ability to influence thinking quickly on a broad scale, has been a very effective means in the hands of the classes in the struggle for their interests. In societies in which there is still a class struggle, the press cannot be separated from politics. This can be examined from two angles. One is the desire of the state to use the press to serve the state and use every means available (the law, the economy, and so on) to accomplish this. The other is that every newspaper depends on and serves the interests of certain social forces. One newspaper may be direct and open and have concepts while another newspaper may be more indirect and less open and rarely have concepts. Through publishing information, the newspapers can stimulate the forces having different interests to struggle against each other or, in various stages, to cooperate with each other. Because of this, the press has great influence on social processes.

In view of this, on one hand, the press is viewed as an essential means of information. On the other hand, it is regarded as a special social action sector that is different from other ordinary social action sectors. This means that the press is frequently a target on which the state places restrictions. These restrictions are, of course, meant to protect the state system and the other interests of the class in power. That is a common feature regarding press freedom in both the capitalist and socialist systems.

As capitalist society becomes more modern and has greater bourgeois democracy, the restrictions become so

subtle that some people think that freedom of the press is boundless and absolute. From the standpoint of the law, bourgeois press freedom allows citizens and opposing organizations to publish newspapers and voice their thoughts on every problem (except for eliminating the system of private ownership and overthrowing the state). But that freedom leads to the press being concentrated in the hands of a number of capitalists, which means that there is a monopoly on information. This in turn leads to information being processed based on the needs of a few people or based on monetary interests. This freedom extols the right of individuals to publish newspapers, because without that, it would be difficult for people to express their views in other newspapers. Thus, the people's right to obtain information in the press is actually restricted, and they aren't always able to obtain factual information. This becomes clear if we look at the fact that Americans and people in other Western countries have been misled about the socialist countries and about modern wars, particularly the Vietnam War and things related to Vietnam.

Contrary to the principles of bourgeois press freedom, socialist press freedom regards the right to receive information and participate in providing information to the press as a real and very important right. This right must be guaranteed by specific stipulations and the responsibilities of the state and newspapers, regardless of whether the newspaper belongs to a state organization or some other social organization. Stated differently, this right must be guaranteed by enabling every citizen to participate equally in the information sphere so that the press is really the forum of the people. Newspaper activities must become the work of all the people and not just of a few people or professional journalists. Thus, if the popular nature of the press is regarded as the basic standard of freedom of the press, it can be seen that the problem of private ownership of the press is the main problem.

Our country's new press law, which went into effect in January 1990, is a notable advance in legalizing freedom of the press in our country. The most progressive aspect of this law is that it thoroughly understands the people's character, like a penetrating principle of the press system, meaning that the right to receive information and publish information in the press is the starting point of press freedom and the press system in our country. In our country's present cultural, material, technical, political, and social conditions, in which it is still necessary to limit people's right to publish private newspapers, freedom of the press must be handled based on expanding the conditions that will enable citizens to participate broadly in the press information sphere through public newspapers. The right to receive information encompasses many broad problems, except for the prohibitions in Article 10, in accord with the interests of the system and people. Except for these key problems, press freedom is guaranteed by other general rights for journalists and the publishing of newspapers, for example, no press censorship.

Recently, the appearance of the press in our country has undergone many new changes. Information is more varied and richer, and the press is more active in the struggle against negative phenomena in society. But the press still has basic shortcomings. Along with the subjective reasons of the press, there are also objective reasons belonging to the problem of press freedom. A major shortcoming of our country's press is that there is a lack of up-to-date information and comprehensive analysis regarding the important events of social life both in and outside the country and the most pressing problems of ideology and practice in our country today. Regarding these problems, either the press lacks the capabilities to discuss them, or it has avoided them by providing brief and one-sided explanations. As a result, the press lacks the ability to attract people's attention in presenting information and cannot persuade people. To make up for this, it sometimes tries to attract readers by presenting unwholesome stories. In general, the newspapers in our country are not censored, but they are "reviewed." Out of fear of being silenced, many writers don't express their real thoughts and feelings or those of the masses. With respect to many problems, they have to wait for the "green light" before they dare to write anything. This situation is widespread in both theoretical and social sciences publications. Thus, in general, the press is weak in terms of timeliness and social predictions.

In order to overcome the above weaknesses and shortcomings and implement press freedom even better, immediate action must be taken to resolve the relationship between the press and party leadership and state management, because those are the two basic relationships of the press in general.

In our country, regardless of which organization a newspaper belongs to, it is subject to the leadership of the party and the management of the state. Because of this, we must find a press leadership and management mechanism that will ensure ideological unity and fulfill the need to concentrate on the country's key tasks in each period and that will maintain the ideological freedom and dynamism of the press. Direct interference in the work of the press must be avoided. Writers must not be silenced. There must be varied information and dynamism in analyzing and evaluating events. A lack of preparation concerning information and ideas and a lack of independence and creativity on the part of journalists will reduce the combat strength of the press and make it passive in the face of the offensives launched by the bourgeois press and enemy forces.

To renovate the party's leadership with respect to the press, the first thing is to make a distinction between the different types of publications and their needs in order to have suitable formulas for each type. Scientific and theoretical publications are different from ordinary publications. The publications of the party are different from those of other social organizations. The common framework for all publications today is the law, particularly the press law. Thus, a legal relationship must be

established. The credentials of journalists and the political viewpoints of writers must be determined in relation to the law. Specifically, they are free to write what they want as long as they don't violate the prohibitions on information recorded in Article 10 of the Press Law (do not attack the socialist state, do not destroy all-people solidarity, do not spread war propaganda, do not foster national animosities, do not encourage lewdness, and do not disclose national secrets). Except for these prohibitions, which must be made more concrete, journalists are free to discuss any other issue. The leadership of the party with respect to the press is aimed at creating the conditions and controlling the implementation of the legal relationship stipulated. Naturally, there is more to it than this. Not including the party's organs and the party organizations that have a direct role in managing them, with respect to the publications belonging to other social and political organizations, the party's influence in their information and propaganda work can be maintained. However, it must be clearly realized that in renovating the leadership and influence of the party with respect to the press, this must be done through the law and then through the party members in the newspaper offices and press management organizations. In order to ensure that the powers of the press management organizations over their newspapers do not lead to monopolization, the law has stipulated the rights of the state management organizations with respect to journalists. (Article 12: Press management organizations have the right to appoint or recall the heads of subordinate press organizations after discussing matters with the state management organizations.)

A democratic, progressive, and modern press must be developed. That press is both a product of the implementation of freedom of the press in society and a condition for further expanding this freedom. Freedom of the press exists within the limits of the cultural, economic, and political standards, that is, within the boundaries of democracy. But in its movement, the press stimulates an expansion of these democratic boundaries. This is the tendency of a progressive press. Our press has manifested this tendency, too. It has struggled for democratization of society. Above all, it has struggled against negative phenomena in society, the corruption of cadres and party members, injustice, the lack of democracy in many places, and bureaucratic centralism. That is the glorious social mission of the press and a manifestation of the progressive nature of our press. But conversely, this struggle is also for press freedom, because the lack of democracy has often been synonymous with dogmatism and press restrictions. Because of this, the implementation of press freedoms depends on the democratic atmosphere in society and also on the struggle by the press for democracy in society in general and within the press in particular.

What is democracy in the press? This refers to legal equality among the publications in the sphere of information and propaganda. Each newspaper has the same rights as other newspapers in satisfying the information

needs of citizens and in trying to reach the hearts and minds of readers. The role of each publication depends primarily on how well it meets the rights of citizens to receive information and on how well it satisfies the need for accurate and varied information and for correct and scientific explanations of events.

Democracy in the press also means that no one publication or writer has the right to draw a final conclusion about the issues mentioned in the newspaper. Friction and struggle among the newspapers is normal and necessary. From this, what is right and wrong will be clarified. Truth cannot be imposed but must come from scientific analysis, with each person recognizing the truth in a conscious manner. Only by having newspapers and people who report things honestly and explain things correctly and scientifically will it be possible to reach a final verdict. Of course, the prestige of each newspaper depends on its general tendency, meaning progressive or nonprogressive tendencies.

Our press must be modernized with respect to both content and form. The important thing is that it must be modernized with respect to technology for collecting, handling, and publishing information in order to make information available more readily with lower production costs. To enable our press to compete and effectively oppose the attacks of bourgeois and reactionary publications, we must have modern technology. Modern technology will help our press have an attractive form in accord with the psychology of today's people. It will also help the press transmit its progressive contents quickly and effectively. Of course, the thing to avoid is the tendency to pander to the common tastes of readers. Today's press requires journalists with high professional standards, good knowledge about all aspects, and the ability to use today's publication tools.

In order to have a modern press, the state, particularly the press management organizations, must provide financial and technical help. On one hand, the press must consider the economic results using cost accounting. But on the other hand, it must also consider the help of the state and society, because if attention is given only to economic results, this will push the press in the direction of commercialization. This will lower quality and go against the need for accurate information.

With an increasingly democratic, progressive, and modern press, freedom of the press, which includes the press freedom of citizens, will expand in the interests of the people and for our socialist press.

#### **Social Justice: A Problem in Our Social Policy**

912E0030A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 55-59

[Article by Bui Ngoc Thanh]

[Text] The Sixth Party Congress put forth the guidelines and tasks of our social policy fairly comprehensively.

One of the key points of this policy concerns implementing social justice: "It must be ensured that laborers earn a satisfactory income that depends directly on their labor results and that encourages labor zeal. The legitimate interests of legal commercial and service activities beneficial to society must be respected. The strength of the functional organizations and the struggle by the masses must be coordinated. Those who violate the law, regardless of their position, must be punished. Fairness must be ensured with respect to both rights and obligations for all citizens, and special rights and privileges must be opposed."

During the past several years, on the economic front, things have been opened up, the production strength has been freed, and important initial results have been achieved. But on the social front, the problem of social justice is still a burning issue for many sections of the population.

Peasants make up 80 percent of the population. They produce food and support all of society. There are almost 2 million workers whose annual contributions make up 30-35 percent of the state budget. But the standard of living of these people is very low. In the "Contract 10," only some of the peasants are enthusiastic and have the capital and strength to expand production, thereby improving their standard of living. The great majority have continued to encounter difficulties because of the low price of agricultural products. Many places still experience famine whenever there are natural disasters and during the preharvest lean period. As for the workers, only a few workers in profitable production enterprises have seen their real incomes rise notably. The great majority are still paid a low salary, and they are not paid on time. The tens of thousands of people who were laid off during the reorganization of production are still unemployed. Many worker and peasant families are now in economic difficulty and are poor both materially and culturally. They receive very little social welfare.

The intellectuals, who are playing an assault role in modernizing the country and helping the country overcome its backwardness in order to catch up with the civilized world, lead hard lives and are paid very little. Many people don't have enough money to buy the professional publications needed to keep them up to date on developments in their professions.

The troops defending our borders and islands are suffering many privations, too. They frequently don't have enough to eat. In some places, the men haven't received a newspaper or book from the mainland for more than six months. Even in Ho Chi Minh City, the food ration of the men in the 3d Company of the Gia Dinh Regiment usually consists of just a spoonful of bindweed, a small piece of fatty meat, or a small portion of beans. But at the same time, there are many places of unwholesome entertainment in Ho Chi Minh City, such as the Duong Son Quan. And the same thing is true in other places besides Ho Chi Minh City. There is smuggling and theft everywhere. Some people have grown rich quickly from

engaging in illegal activities. They spend money like water at bars, restaurants, hotels, and nightclubs.

At the same time, the state, with small sources of income from an undeveloped economy, has to worry about balancing social needs. Today, our country has more than 1 million war invalids, families of war dead, and families who scored achievements for the revolution. These people are receiving social subsidies. There are almost 1 million retired cadres, workers, and civil servants who are receiving pensions. There are more than 3 million disabled people, with 550,000 blind people alone. Each year, 1 million babies are born, and about 4 million people are unemployed. The standard of living of all these people is very low. They depend on help from the state and society, but the state budget shows a large deficit, and society is experiencing a serious polarization in terms of wealth and poverty. As a result, theft is much more widespread than it used to be.

Why is it that the social justice themes mentioned at the Sixth Party Congress have not been implemented and that injustices continue to occur more and more frequently? This can be analyzed from many angles, but the main reason seems to be that the formulation of specific social policies is slow and unsynchronized and state control is too loose at a time when socioeconomic life is shifting from a state subsidies mechanism to a new mechanism.

In the outburst of economic elements, many people think only about running after profits in order to help themselves or a small group. Many people are making use of their positions to encroach on the interests of the state, and there are even times when people insult the cultural values of the new man that were formed previously. Statistics show that during the past two years, 10 percent of the households in the country had a good income. But of these, only about nine percent became wealthy through honest labor. The other 91 percent grew rich by using improper methods and even by using shameless tricks. Unless this is stopped and unless resolute measures are taken to correct this negative development tendency, the interests of these people in society will trample on the other elements and other groups in society. This will lead to the destruction of the wholesome social relationships. This poses a great danger to society as a whole.

Can those dangers be blocked and eliminated? Social justice is an historical category that is closely related to the economy and specific social system. At a time when production strength is undeveloped, there are still many economic elements, and the per capita national income is one of the lowest in the world, social justice can be achieved to a certain degree only, and only a few of the needs of the majority of people in society can be satisfied. But we can and must eliminate the great unfairness in the distribution of property so that society develops in the direction of equality and humanity.

Naturally, it will not be easy to solve these problems. Simply repeating the phrases "social policy" or "use the people as the root" in a general manner is like chanting a metaphysical definition. But according to average-ism, if the social products are divided evenly, production strength will decline, and there will be very little to divide. Here, correct social policies, combined with correct economic policies, will play a major role in adjusting social relationships. These policies have the ability to create an open and lively atmosphere in spiritual and social life, and they can quickly free the production strength and enable everyone who is dynamic and talented and who wants to engage in commercial production in order to become wealthy honestly to do so. And those who do not have these abilities will not have to sink into abject poverty. Those who score achievements in building, defending, and developing the country will earn the gratitude and respect of society and receive suitable treatment depending on the state's financial capabilities.

While waiting to formulate specific and synchronized economic and social policies, we should resolutely carry out the following:

1. Revise the state budget based on increasing investments in social welfare activities in coordination with exploiting the charitable activities of the people. Reality shows that even though our ability to revise the state budget in order to increase social welfare is not great, we do have some capabilities and can take effective steps. Last year, with great resolve, a number of places such as Ho Chi Minh City adjusted their local sources of finances and built friendship apartments for the families of war invalids and war heroes that did not have a place to live and whose standard of living was low. This was warmly welcomed by the people of the city. As many people know, at a time when we must stop inflation and implement the motto "use income for expenditures" and do not print money for budget expenditures, at its June 1989 session, the National Assembly decided to print another 200 billion in order to purchase the commodity paddy of the peasants, help millions of people escape the difficulties involving product stagnation, and enable them to improve their lives and continue producing.

With an appropriate regulation in the 1990 state budget, the education sector has the material conditions necessary to expand its work. With 20 billion additional dong to invest in eliminating illiteracy, if the money is used wisely, perhaps 500,000 of the 8.5 million people who are now illiterate will learn how to read and write this year. (And there are reasons to believe that if resolute measures are implemented to recover the tens of billions of dong lost by the banks and to recover the other funds spent improperly by this sector, this will provide a large source of funds to eliminate illiteracy among the youths of our country.)

In the near future, if we resolutely adjust capital construction and stop the construction of more and more offices, we will have much more capital to invest in

developing a number of new sectors such as electronics, in restoring handicraft sectors having great export value, in expanding the silkworm industry, and so on. If these sectors are expanded, this will create jobs on the spot for tens of thousands of people and help stabilize their lives. And the state will have additional sources of income from the profits.

Resolutely regulating things using the budget in order to increase social welfare is a very effective macrocosmic policy. But the new thinking also requires that we go beyond "the bounds" of this regulation in order to have policies to encourage generous contributions by charitable organizations and kindhearted people both here and abroad with the aim of helping the disabled, orphans and widows, and those who are living in poverty. Each production installation and each population unit must be encouraged to organize charitable activities and help each other in accord with the tradition of mercy of "the wealthy helping the poor." These activities will help eliminate the "rich-poor" complex and gradually reduce the gap in living standards between the sections of the population.

2. Regulations of a "special rights and privileges" nature and all their manifestations must be done away with. There must be an individual income tax for people with high incomes. Contributions by populations must be implemented based on the principle of fairness concerning rights and obligations.

Today, many of the regulations on housing, means of work, hospitals, distribution of funds, and so on still give preferential rights to certain people and groups. The difference in nominal wages between those who work for a wage is not great. But the real wages of a number of people are very great because of the special rights and privileges that they enjoy. Large amounts of money go into the pockets of those who work in the economic, finance, banking, import-export, and foreign trade sectors. We don't want the cadres and personnel in these sectors to suffer hardships and difficulties as in other sectors. In our view, mechanical distribution is unacceptable. But what is also unacceptable is the excessively large difference in real income between one sector and another, between one person and another in the same organization and enterprise, or between one organization or enterprise and another. These large differences are one of the main features of the unfairness in the distribution of social products in our country today.

To have social fairness in distribution, the regulations that give preferential rights to some must be eliminated, and there must be harsh economic penalties for those who make use of their positions to engage in corruption. (The punishments for corruption can range in severity depending on the number of times a person has been arrested, that is, a person could be sentenced to three years, five years, 10 years, or life in prison.) At the same time, everyone with a high income must pay an individual income tax regardless of how they earned that income.



Having an income tax in order to regulate the standard of living among the population elements is necessary and legitimate. Almost every country in the world has an income tax. In our country today, to implement this, the state must promulgate specific laws to effectively regulate the incomes of those with high incomes with the aim of increasing social welfare, such as opening more schools in tribal areas and opening more hospitals. But this must not limit the active nature of citizens in production and commerce or their legitimate efforts to become wealthy. The problem is not simple. It is particularly difficult because we are inexperienced in determining the real incomes of individuals. But if we want to have social justice, this must be done.

3. An effective operating mechanism must be built, and the masses must be launched to participate in controlling and monitoring the implementation of things. The first thing that must be mentioned is the formulation of a policy. Almost all of the regulations that give certain people special rights and privileges were formulated by people with management responsibilities. But in eliminating these regulations and formulating new regulations, attention must be given to the interests of these people. There must be a lofty concept of awareness and responsibility on the part of cadres who hold positions in management organizations. They must give priority to the common interests of society and of the country and place others ahead of themselves in order to resolutely do away with the old negative regulations, even if those regulations benefit them, and formulate new positive regulations, even if these new regulations affect their own interests. At the same time, the social science research organizations, the press, and the mass organizations must give suggestions to the state organizations regarding whether specific policies should be implemented or discarded. As the highest representative of the people, the National Assembly is responsible for examining and repealing the irrational regulations of the state management organizations and proposing new principles and laws based on social justice.

After the new policies have been formulated, they must be implemented strictly by everyone directly involved in management from the central echelon to the localities and bases. The public security forces, organs of control, and courts in particular must set at example in implementing these policies in order to maintain discipline and ensure that the laws are obeyed. These sectors must actively oppose special rights and privileges. In particular, they must oppose accepting bribes and bending the laws. In return, the state should implement a system of wages and bonuses or give special attention to these sectors so that they can improve their behavior and maintain their status and so that they actively struggle to implement the regulations on social justice.

In order to help the state organizations eliminate special rights and privileges and implement fair and rational social policies, the supervisory and struggle role of the people must be heightened and exploited well. The state organizations should clarify for the people what social

justice is in conditions in which the economy has many elements and make the people sympathetic to the social policies of the party and state. At the same time, the priority policies of our society must be disclosed to the people, as must the targets and specific material standards that those targets are to enjoy. It is difficult to keep the people from knowing which people are enjoying special rights and privileges in excess of the stipulated standards, which people are extorting funds from the state and collectives, and which people are engaging in illegal activities. They will quickly learn about these people and these cases. When the organizations responsible for upholding the laws learn that something illegal has transpired, they must deal with the matter resolutely, quickly, and fairly. That will reduce greatly the number of negative social phenomena, and social justice will be implemented based on the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress in order to continue perfecting things in the renovation process.

### What Should We Do To Further Implement Democracy?

912E0001A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 60-62, 72

[Article by Nguyen Van Nam and Nguyen Hong Son, Danang]

[Text] The legitimate ownership rights of the people in many circumstances and in many places have been and are being violated, and in some places, the violations are very serious. There have been many cases of human rights violations. The masses have been oppressed, honest people have been attacked, and people have been illegally detained. There have been isolated cases of people being tortured to death, which has generated a strong collective reaction. On the other hand, socialist law and the dictatorship of the proletariat are lax and indifferent in the face of manifestations of extreme democracy and actions that use democracy to slander, divide, and attack the party's leadership and the state's management. Those who have committed crimes, engaged in corruption, disregarded social order, violated civil rights, and shown a lack of responsibility in performing public service activities have not been prosecuted.

Many party organizations continue to impose their ideas on the echelons, sectors, and bases. At the same time, in many places, they are involved in everything and do the work of the administrative echelons and mass organizations. Or higher echelons do the work of lower echelons. The National Assembly and the various echelon people's councils have not shown themselves to be the highest organs of power. Many administrative organizations lack administrative capabilities. They rely on the party committee echelons, and they have failed to perform their administrative functions. Some have even abused their powers and disregarded the laws of the state.

The above shows that the implementation of socialist democracy in our country is insufficient, the political system has not achieved good results, the wonderful



nature of socialism has been tarnished, and the people's confidence has been weakened.

Democracy is the fruit of revolutionary struggle and is closely tied to the development of human civilization. Above all, democracy means ownership rights in the social activity spheres of citizens (who are citizens depends on the laws of different periods and on the decisions made by the different ruling classes). Democracy also means a state system.

Thus, in every country, after the working class has gained power, a new democracy is implemented, socialist democracy, a democracy that is responsible for and that has the ability to create the material and spiritual conditions necessary for gradually eliminating classes in general. This also means eliminating democracy as the form of the state. Under socialism, freeing the laborers from exploitation is the basic condition of individual freedom. Every laborer has an obligation to work and is entitled to enjoy the fruits of his labor. That is the basic condition of equality. The goal of socialism is equality, individual freedom, and the power of the people.

Democracy is the general tendency of the age and the major theme of all-round renovation based on the idea that the "people are the root." The purpose of implementing democracy is to renovate, and there must be renovation in order to implement democracy. The party and state organizations are responsible for implementing socialist democracy.

Socialist democracy is much more democratic than bourgeois democracy. The goal in implementing this "much greater" democracy is to liberate and exploit the potential of the people, particularly the intellectual and spiritual capabilities of each person, with the aim of stepping up economic and social development based on a socialist orientation. Implementing a "much greater" democracy must guarantee the powers of the people with the credentials of masters of society and ensure that each citizen fully implements his rights and fulfills his obligations. The struggle for democracy is a necessary condition for ensuring the victory of the socialist revolution.

The realities of socialist construction in our country during the past years have shown that the most decisive factor for the progress of social life is the millions of people with the credentials of the creators of the new society, which is being created in an organized and guided manner based on the targets already determined in accord with the realities and development needs of the country. How well the self-conscious and active nature of the people is exploited, how well the state, established by the people, manages things, and how much faith the people have in the leadership of the party are all very important political standards for measuring the maturity of a country that has entered the socialist orbit and reviewing the management of the political system.

The operating results of the political system must be improved. The old ways of thinking and acting can no longer be maintained at a time when the economic and

social situation has changed. The operating effects of the political system must be manifested in putting forth lines and policies in accord with the laws and wishes of the people, in hitting the targets set in each stage or in each revolutionary period, in organizing a suitable apparatus, in implementing a scientific work system, in having ranks of good quality cadres, and in mobilizing the masses to actively participate in managing society.

In order to renovate the political system, the party must begin by renovating itself. The party must openly admit the shortcomings and errors that have delayed the growth of the revolution. Based on this spirit, it must again become aware of the leadership role of the party with the credentials as the political vanguard unit of the workers and laborers. The party leads does not mean that the party administers. The confusion between leadership and administration will eventually have serious effects, and one of those effects is that the party will lose its prestige. The party must lead primarily by having a correct political line and its ability to persuade and mobilize all of society. The party's leadership role is manifested in determining the development line of society and in formulating domestic and foreign policies. It is also manifested in carrying on ideological work, educating and organizing the masses, controlling the implementation of its lines and policies, and ensuring that there is a correct cadre line. (The point to be noted in cadre work is that the party only recommends outstanding cadres for the administration and mass organizations. It does not appoint cadres to the administration or mass organizations.)

Democratization within the party is the precondition for democratization in every sphere of social life. In order to democratize the party, it is essential that party members be free to discuss and debate matters prior to issuing a resolution. The scope and depth of the debate and discussion will depend on the nature of the problem. Doing things this way will ensure that decisions are made in a democratic and scientific manner and overcome the one-sided subjective thinking that has existed for so long, that has led to bureaucratic centralism and monopolization, and that has held back the talents and creativity of the social classes.

Democratization is a law of development and an expression of the perfection of the political system. "The construction of a socialist democracy is aimed at exploiting the human factor and the high degree of awareness and great creativity of the people in building and protecting the new society." [Footnote 1] [Resolution of the 6th Plenum of the CPV Central Committee, 6th Term] Under socialism, power belongs to the people through the organization and activities of the state apparatus. The state must truly be of the people, by the people, and for the people. That will become a reality only when the popularly elected organizations have real power and not just power recorded in a legal document. The party's policies must be implemented above all through the elected organizations.

As for improving the organization of the state apparatus, which encompasses a broad sphere, I will stress only a number of problems:

First, the leading requirement in order to implement democracy is that the state must perfect the legal system and regulations in order to ensure production and business freedoms, use rights, the ownership rights to the means of production, property inheritance rights, freedom of speech, and so on. Every person must live within the framework of the law and be constrained only by the law. Every citizen must be equal before the law and must enjoy the protection of the law with respect to their lives, property, reputation, and human dignity.

Democracy can be implemented correctly and adequately only if it is systematized in the form of policies and protected by law.

Democratic themes in the economic, political, cultural, and cultural spheres in each stage of the revolution must be systematized as statutes. Without laws to systematize the contents of democracy, it will not be possible to talk about democratizing social life. A developed democracy must have a lofty legal system, a legal system for the people. The process of formulating laws must be democratized, and the independence and justice of the legal process must be ensured. The people must be taught more about the law.

Second, the functions and tasks of each organization in the political system must be clearly defined. The tendency to bureaucratize party work and turn state activities into mass activities must be stopped, because that will weaken the role and reduce the prestige of each organization and sap the creative energy of those organizations.

Third, in the process of heightening the role of the elected organizations and perfecting the laws, the state must issue documents on opposing average-ism and opposing special rights and privileges and establish a committee to control special rights and privileges. A good socialist system cannot accept a situation in which

people who do much work and who do an excellent job receive little just like those who produce little. And in some cases, inferior people who do little receive more than excellent people.

Democracy must be implemented in order to ensure social fairness and oppose average-ism and special rights and privileges. Our country's political system must immediately eliminate special rights and privileges. Doing that will contribute to ensuring social fairness and contribute to our society having more masters and becoming more humane.

In our country's present political system, there are various mass organizations. Renovating the organization and operating formulas of the political system will renovate these organizations so that they become relatively independent and are worthy of serving as the representative of their members and as the body that protects the interests of their members. The party and state organizations should not view these organizations just as places to mobilize people for a temporary movement. They must realize that these organizations are special assistants and strong supporters for the activities of the party and the management work of the state.

Socialist democracy must be implemented fully. The process of implementing democracy and human rights has a basic unity. For each person, democracy is a right. For society, democracy is a condition for developing and ensuring human rights.

#### **Initial Renovation in College and Vocational Education**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 63-68

[Article by Vu Van Tao; not translated]

#### **A Dynamic and Innovative Private Enterprise**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 69-72

[Article by Vu Van Tao; not translated]

### Socialize Education

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 6, Jun 90 pp 73-75

[Article by Doan Ngoc Lac; not translated]

### Work Related to Ethnic Minorities

912E0001B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 90 pp 75-76, 82

[Article by Ha Van Thu, Hanoi]

[Text] For many years, the ethnic minorities, who have been members of the unified Vietnamese collective, have stood shoulder to shoulder with the ethnic Vietnamese in building and defending our fatherland. The great majority of the tribesmen are peasants who live in border areas of great importance with respect to security and national defense. In the past, these areas were the strong bases of the revolution and resistance. Like the south, the northern mountain areas have great economic potential. And the original cultural features of each minority group are helping to vary and enrich the general culture of Vietnam.

In the stage of the national democratic revolution, we scored outstanding achievements in tribal work and brought about great changes in each region and on each front.

Entering the stage of socialist construction, transforming production relationships in agriculture and building large projects in the mountains have led to the discovery of progressive new men and models in cooperativizing agricultural and improving the lives of the tribal peoples.

But because of the lack of synchronization among the sectors and echelons and because of the lack of measures suited to the special characteristics of each region and tribe, the results are still very limited, and there are gaps between this and that aspect. In recent years, in the mountains there has been a decline on many fronts, especially in stabilizing production and the lives of the people and in carrying on cultural and educational work.

To implement the tribal policies well in the present renovation situation, in my view, the special characteristics of each region and tribe must be studied in greater depth in order to have suitable measures in developing the economy and culture and in handling the relationship between the majority and the minority groups. The social policy must be closely tied to the tribal policy so that everyone, regardless of their nationality, enjoys the same economic, political, cultural, and social rights. Much greater human and material resources must be invested in the tribal areas, particularly the highlands and border areas where there are still many difficulties. Ideologically, we must continue to oppose manifestations of great nationalism and narrow-minded nationalism and ensure real sympathy and cooperation among the nationalities.

All of the organizations and sectors subordinate to the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee, Council of State, and Council of Ministers have a responsibility to the mountain areas and the ethnic minorities. This work will achieve results only if there is a synchronized change in thinking and organization and everyone makes a vigorous effort together. The Nationalities Department of the Central Committee, which serves as a staff to the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee, must implement positive measures to bring about this change. The decline in things in this and that place is due primarily to the fact that not enough attention has been given to the mountain areas and minority groups.

I would like to mention two major tasks that have been underway for many years now. I am referring to the settled farming and settled life movement and the work of moving people to the mountain areas to develop the economy. Why haven't these two tasks achieved the results desired? Could it be that we haven't invested sufficient human and material resources? These two tasks were initially assigned to the Nationalities Department of the Central Committee, but later on this was found to be unsuitable and so they were assigned to the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Forestry. The reason was that because of the great importance of these tasks, each task had to be managed by a general department in order to achieve results quickly.

I think that the CPV Central Committee should organize a symposium on the topic "The Nationalities Problem in the Renovation Situation" with the aim of pointing out specific guidelines and tasks in order to implement the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress and enable the sectors and echelons to thoroughly understand this. From what I understand, this is the hope of many cadres engaged in tribal and mountain area work.

The Nationalities Department of the Central Echelon is renovating its organization and work methods, adding additional young cadres with research standards, and guiding the work. At the same time, the department is also preparing to submit a plan to the CPV Central Committee on organizing tribal work elements subordinate to the sectors and echelons, doing research, and carrying on its work.

The ministries should put a vice minister directly in charge of mountain area work and have a number of excellent specialists to provide help.

At the provincial level, if the nationalities committees are not reorganized, this work should be assigned to one of the vice chairmen of the people's committee, who should have the help of a number of cadres who fully understand the nationalities policy and who are familiar with the local situation.

The Council of Ministers should assign a vice chairman the task of controlling and supervising the sectors and echelons. When necessary, he should guide each sector in carrying out the urgent tasks or require the sectors to join

together in carrying out the common tasks. There should be a small office to help this vice chairman.

As the staff to the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee on tribal matters, the Nationalities Department of the Central Committee should invest more in doing theoretical research and in studying the special characteristics and situation of the ethnic minorities and localities in order to propose positions, policies, and measures suited to each region and tribe. The Nationalities Department of the Central Committee can coordinate things with the Office of the Council of Ministers in studying special topics and regularly examining the work situation in the localities.

The other sectors and committees can serve as the staff so that the guidelines and tasks are in accord with the situation and the special tribal conditions.

An urgent and decisive task is to train tribal cadres. Together with the Organizational Department of the Central Committee and the various sectors and echelons, the Nationalities Department of the Central Committee should make an effort to quickly build a rank of tribal cadres to satisfy the requirements of the political tasks.

With its scientific research function, the Institute of Tribal Studies can contribute to tribal work, including training cadres. It should be tied more closely to the Nationalities Department of the Central Echelon.

**A New Step in the Plots and Actions of  
Imperialism in Its Effort To Destroy Socialism**  
*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese*  
*No 6, Jun 90 pp 77-82*

[Article by Dao Hong Nam; not translated]

**Where Is Reorganization Headed?**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese

No 6, Jun 90 p 83

[Article by Michael Davido; not translated]