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Firmly Grasp the Party's Fundamental Viewpoints on Theoretical Work

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[Editorial]

[Text] The party Politburo recently issued Resolution 01-NQ/TU on "Theoretical Work in the Present Stage" in order to raise the theoretical standards of the entire party and help the theoretical work of the party to advance.

As we know, once an operating sphere of man has become the target of research and once the conditions have been created to do the research, that sphere can become an independent science. Because of this, there will be requirements that will be summarized in the form of a theory for that sphere. And theory itself is a science, the science of thinking.

As a political organization, the party must have a political theory and regard that as the theoretical center of the party. Stated another way, the party's theory is revolutionary theory. Furthermore, because it holds power and leads all of society, our party must constantly give attention to the theoretical aspects of other activities, particularly economic theory and cultural theory.

The revolutionary theory of our party uses Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought as its foundation.

In the history of world theoretical thought, the birth of Marxism was a revolutionary turning point. Marx and Engels imbued theory with a new element that was different from the thought systems of others: The problem is to reform the world. Using the dialectical law of historical materialism, they asserted that communism, the first stage of which is socialism, was not a pre-existing condition for society or a human moral ideal to which society must bend. Instead, communism is, and only is, a real movement of history, a movement toward the annihilation of the system of exploitation of man by man and the creation of a system in which all people are friends. The unity between the scientific and revolutionary characteristics in the theoretical viewpoints of Marx is manifested in the works of Marx and Engels and in the lives of those two men.

With the credentials of scientists and of revolutionary activists for the rights of the working class and for the liberation of man, Marx and Engels were not at all mechanical, dogmatic, sluggish, or rigid in their theoretical thinking. In the "Dialectics of Nature," Engels wrote: "The theoretical thinking of each age, including the theoretical thinking of our age, is an historical product bearing very different forms in the different ages, and because of this, the contents will be very different. Thus, just like every other science, the science of thinking is an historical science, a science having to do with the historical development of human thinking." [Footnote 1] [F. Engels, "The Dialectics of Nature," Su

That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 50] Following Marxism, Lenin did just that and so he made a great contribution to Marxist theory, creating Leninism. Ho Chi Minh, following that example, creatively and successfully applied Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam's situation. In that process, Ho Chi Minh thought was formed.

Firmly grasping Marxist view on theory, Politburo Resolution 01-NQ/TU has reviewed the theoretical situation since the sixth party congress and put forth primary tasks, guidelines, and measures to promote theoretical work in the new period and strengthen the party's leadership with respect to theoretical work.

The resolution mentions the party's viewpoints on differences and unity in the relationships between science and politics, between scientific characteristics and party characteristics, and between theory and practice. At the same time, the resolution regards closely coordinating things between the social sciences and the natural and technical sciences and manifesting freedom of thought and creativity in theoretical research as very important formulas for stimulating the theoretical work of the party.

Lenin said that "continuing the work of Hegel and Marx entails dialectically constructing the history of human thinking and of science and technology." [Footnote 2] [Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing house, Moscow, 1981, vol 29, p 156] Based on this Leninist spirit, the resolution states that "for many years now, the training of the ranks of theoretical cadres has been limited to Marxist-Leninist science. Little attention has been given to studying other currents and accepting the scientific achievements of the world." Based on this, the resolution requires that in thoroughly understanding the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought, people must inherit the intellectual essence of the nation and the experiences and scientific achievements of the world.

The resolution ties theoretical work to ideological work on one ideological-theoretical front so that theory is not the work just of theorists and full-time research cadres but the daily concern of the party committee echelons and of each party member. Ideological work does not always have a theoretical nature, but it cannot be separated from its foundation, the ideological system, meaning the basic theoretical system of the party. If party members must regularly engage in ideological work, they must also give regular attention to theory. Only in this way will ideology and theory form a front.

In the fierce struggle at that time, Engels mentioned three struggles: the economic struggle, the political struggle, and the ideological struggle (that is, the ideological-theoretical struggle). We are living in a very complex age. Today, the enemy is constantly launching attacks from many directions against socialism and Marxism-Leninism. In such a period, revisionism and opportunism have appeared in many guises. The resolution states that carrying on the ideological-theoretical

struggle is a requirement of the renovation work of the party and people. In this struggle, the theoretical work of the party must overcome dogmatism and empiricism and, at the same time, oppose opportunism and revisionism.

In order to relate theory to practice, the resolution gives much attention to reviewing the experiences of the echelons, sectors, and central echelon. The resolution reserved an important section to propose the main directions of research starting from the realities of our country. For example, a multifaceted socialist-oriented commodity economy; a state-managed market mechanism; ownership and distribution systems in the transitional period; social structure and social policy; classes and the class struggle in the transitional period in our country; renovation of the political system and the construction of socialist democracy; party building in conditions in which the party holds power; Vietnamese culture and Vietnamese man in the new age; and so on.

The resolution makes the party committee echelons responsible for giving real attention to theoretical work. The leadership cadres must have measures for regularly studying things and raising their theoretical standards. At the same time, the resolution mentions primary and synchronized measures concerning organizational and cadre aspects in order to stimulate theoretical work and generate excellent results in theoretical work.

The prestige of a leading party is manifested on three fronts: theoretical standards, the ability to lead, organize, and manage society, and the moral quality of the cadres and party members. Today, the party is striving to raise the leadership of the party to the level of the revolutionary tasks in the new stage. Along with raising the economic, cultural, and social management standards of the cadres responsible, improving the moral quality of the cadres and party members, and resolutely struggling against corruption, Politburo Resolution 01 is also aimed at raising the theoretical standards of the entire party and pushing the theoretical work of the party to a higher level.

Theoretical Work in the Present Stage

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[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, in the "Socialism—Theory and Practice" section]

[Text] It can be said that never before was theoretical work as *necessary and important* as it is at present. This is because the reality of the Vietnamese revolution and the development of Vietnamese society as well as developments throughout the world are posing a host of complicated, pressing, and thorny problems for theoretical workers.

The next five or 10 years will mark a turning point on the path of advance of our country. Besides the advantages, our party and people will have to overcome many difficulties and challenges. To fulfill its mission as the leader and bring up its leadership and fighting strength to the level of the new requirements, the party should renovate and reorganize itself. First of all, it should enhance its intellectual standard and its *theoretical vanguard character*, because "only a party guided by a vanguard theory can fulfill its role as a vanguard militant." [Footnote 1] [V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Vol 6, p 2] That is the *raison d'être* of Political Bureau Resolution "On Theoretical Work at the Present Stage."

The seventh party congress stressed: A question of paramount importance is that we must continue to renovate the party's thinking and elevate its intellect to a new level of development. To take the renovation process to success, now more than ever before our party must enhance its knowledge and capability to organize practical work including its ability to discover and grasp the laws governing the development of our society's life and the party itself, and must also improve to its knowledge of the world and our era.

The party must enrich its intellectual power by ceaselessly heightening its theoretical standard, firmly grasping and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought while constantly reviewing its lively practical experience. Developing the party's theoretical work by reviewing its practical work and the new things that are cropping up everyday and every hour in the life of our country and of the world as a whole, and taking in the intellectual achievements of all mankind—that is the fundamental orientation for enriching the party's intellectual power and for refining and developing the party's line.

I. Achievements and Remaining Problems

Since the late 1970's and early 1980's, particularly since the six party congress, noticeable progress has been made in the field of theoretical work. This progress consisted in the steps forward in the direction of renovating

theoretical thinking on socialism and on the path to socialism in Vietnam; in overcoming dogmatism, subjectivism, and voluntarism; and in closely linking theory to practice and the characteristics of our nation to the characteristics of the world at the present stage.

The first change in the renovation of theoretical thinking was marked by the Resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the Fourth Party Central Committee in 1979, a resolution that everyone remembers well and often mentions by a simple but essentially accurate name: "The Resolution That Causes Production To Break Out." The resolution of the fifth party congress (held in March 1982) marked another step forward in theoretical thinking, especially on the question of economic structure, with agriculture considered to be the foremost front. With the sixth party congress (December 1986), a fundamental turning point finally materialized. This congress has gone down in history as the "Congress of Renovation"—a complete renovation of social life and activities carried out through the taking of appropriate steps, with the renovation of theoretical thinking, particularly the renovation of economic thinking, serving as the prerequisite for renovation in other domains.

Quickly making its way into life, the new thinking of the sixth party congress has not only been proved to be totally correct by reality but has also been further concretized, developed, deepened, and enhanced by new experiences. On this basis, the general outlines of the path of transition to socialism in our country were drawn, a fact principally reflected in the Platform for National Construction in the Period of Transition to Socialism and the Strategy for Socioeconomic Stabilization and Development Until the Year 2000, which were adopted at the seventh party congress. The report by the party Central Committee at the seventh party congress clearly pointed out: "Naturally, what our cognition can attain today will be supplemented and developed further along with the development of reality and theoretical thinking later on." However, the perceptions achieved at the seventh party congress undoubtedly marked an important step forward on the long road of theoretical research, experimentation, and creation of our party. In the common intellectual efforts of the entire party, there are worthy contributions by the contingent of theoretical cadres and social scientists.

Encouraged and guided by the new thinking of the sixth party congress, many theoretical cadres and social scientists have zealously made their way into life, have delved into thorny cognitive and practical problems, have actively participated in the process of renovating thinking and scientific theoretical bases in support of the renovation line, and have coordinated ever more closely with the agencies in charge of guiding practical work in preparing and putting forward policies. Over the past few years, there has obviously been an upswing in our country's ideological and theoretical life. Scientific essays, press articles, and theoretical research projects

have appeared in increasingly greater numbers. Scientific seminars have been held continually. An atmosphere of democracy and freedom has begun to prevail in scientific research, creation, discussions and debates. On various forums and in scientific publications, there have appeared numerous diversified and varying opinions reflecting efforts to research on and renovate thinking and methods of approaching various theoretical and practical issues, and to gradually overcome and do away with dogmatism, scholasticism, perfunctoriness, and the simplistic and singletrack way of thinking.

However, all this is only extremely modest initial progress. At present, theoretical work remains in a state of confusion and disorder. Obviously, more questions are being posed than they can be answered. Achievements have fallen short of expectations. Theory has not yet escaped from the state of backwardness and untimeliness compared to practice.

What is quite visible is that there are no small numbers of theoretical magazines and research projects by individuals and collective of scientists, but there have been very few works of great scientific value capable of creating a sensation and very few long-term projects designed to study a subject thoroughly. Apparently there have been very few works created by ourselves compared to the works translated from foreign languages. This testifies to the fact that our scientific knowledge remains limited, that there are very few scientists of significant stature, and that, generally speaking, our potential in theoretical work remains scanty—so scanty that once somebody has touched on an issue, others almost find it impossible to add anything else on the same subject. In some cases that call for struggle and criticism, we can only write a few articles before "running out of steam." On many issues, there are more than enough criticism of the old but too few fresh suggestions and interpretations. In the past, our colleagues often blamed the party for failing to make use of the contingent of theoretical cadres in the policy preparation process. However, not many such criticisms have been heard recently because, over the past few years, orders for social scientific products have been sent thick and fast by the party and practical organs to various scientific agencies and scientists but our response has apparently been rather meager. This is proof of the inadequacy of the contingent of theoretical workers, a fact that cannot be put differently.

Concerning the review of practical work, we have accomplished too little. There has been a lack of due attention on the part of party committee echelons and practical service leadership as well as the theoretical organs. In what we have achieved, the standard of analysis, synthesis, and generalization has not yet been high and has not reached the level at which reviews could serve as the basis for making necessary forecasts about developmental processes and putting forward sound solutions.

With regard to the struggle on the ideological-theoretical front, many scientific agencies and collectives of scientists have not attached due importance to this issue, have

been reluctant to engage in struggle, and have been inclined to compromise and evasive. The press have launched some commendable drives, but the quality and persuasiveness of some articles should be further improved. An even more important question is that the ideological-theoretical struggle should be waged regularly and with the participation of greater numbers of theoretical cadres. What is sorely needed here is not only intellectual power but also courage and an iron faith.

In evaluating the real state of theoretical work, we cannot not avoid mentioning the contingent of theoretical cadres. Generally speaking, this contingent has good political quality and is loyal to the party's and people's revolutionary cause. For a few years now, it has been substantially reinforced with young blood and trained in a fairly systematic fashion. However, it is still in the state of being large but not strong. This is because of the many weaknesses in the training process—from recruitment to curriculum contents and teaching quality—and because of the deficiencies in employment, advanced training, and special treatment policies and systems, which should have been designed to create necessary conditions for scientific research and the development of talent. The lack of great ambitions, enthusiasm, and intellectual effort on the part of no small numbers of theoretical cadres is also an important cause. The research organization and management system is both scattered and redundant and lacks the division of labor and coordination. Attention has not yet been paid to developing various key scientific branches and a contingent of leading cadres. There is a lack of centralized and unified guidance and too little investment for social sciences and theoretical research.

II. Main Tasks and Research Directions

The duty of theoretical work is to serve the continuing renovation of thinking and the building of scientific theoretical bases for socialism, for the path to socialism in Vietnam, and for the major positions and policies of the party and state; to instill a scientific world outlook and a revolutionary philosophy of life in cadres, party members, and the people, particularly the younger generation; to strengthen the socialist ideological battle position, consolidate people's faith in the socialist ideal, criticize deviant viewpoints, struggle against hostile ideological-theoretical trends, and contribute to the defense of the party's and people's revolutionary cause and the defense of the fatherland and socialism; to develop a contingent of theoretical cadres of good political quality and high scientific standards capable of meeting the requirements of the immediate tasks and, at the same time, prepare the theoretical potential for subsequent development of the country.

Political Bureau Resolution "On Theoretical Work at the Present Stage" stressed in particular: "We must continue to renovate political thinking, go deeply into reviewing practice and developing theory in a creative manner. First of all, we must logically review the fundamental

experiences in the renovation process to serve the mid-term National Conference of Delegates and the eighth party congress. This review is the *central* task of theoretical work in the next few years; it is aimed at further clarifying the scientific and practical basis of the building of a model of the path to socialism in Vietnam."

To satisfactorily carry out this task, the Political Bureau resolution clearly pointed out that theoretical work at the present stage should focus on the following main directions of research:

We must confirm and shed light on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, clarify issues that need to be reappraised and those that we should continue to amend, readjust, and develop on the basis of the review and generalization of the new practical experiences and the achievements of modern science. We must comprehensively and systematically study Ho Chi Minh thought and, at the same time, attach special importance to studying the quintessence of our national intellect. As for other social doctrines (aside from Marxism-Leninism), they should be studied on the basis of an objective and dialectical viewpoint. We must resolutely struggle against dogmatism as well as revisionism and opportunism of all colors.

We must study the historical experience of the more than 70 years of realistic socialism and the lessons drawn from the restructuring and collapse of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and East Europe. We must attach special importance to studying the questions of era, modern capitalism, changes in international relations, and the new world order, and to forecasting world and regional developmental trends in the coming decades.

We must continue to go deeply into studying, developing, and perfecting the system of scientific theoretical bases of the choice of the path to socialism in our country. We must detect the tendencies, binding character, contradictions, moving forces, forms, and steps of this path of development. We must clarify the nature and characteristics of the model of socialism in Vietnam. On this basis, theoretical work must contribute to perfecting the *Platform for National Construction in the Period of Transition to Socialism* and the *Strategy for Socioeconomic Stabilization and Development Until the Year 2000*.

In the research programs we must pay special attention to the issues concerning the socialist-oriented multi-sector commodity-based economy that operates according to the market mechanism under the state management, and concerning the economic structure, the various economic sectors, and the economic management mechanism that coordinates planning with the market. We must also pay special attention to the issues concerning inflation control, finance, money, credit, and price; concerning the ownership and distribution systems in the period of transition; concerning the relations

between ownership and the use of the means of production and the organization of production management; concerning the broadening of external economic relations; concerning the social structure and social policies; and concerning the classes and class struggle in the period of transition.

We must carry out research to shed light on various viewpoints on renovating the political system; on concretizing the forms of correct relations among the party, the state, and the mass organizations; and on building socialist democracy, with the central issues being the building of the party in the conditions of the party leading the state, the building of an administration of the people, by the people, and for the people, the building of the legal system, and the management of society by law.

We must do research on the relations between the traditional and the modern, between development of the national cultural character and absorption of the quintessence of world culture, and on the issues concerning the development of the human factors, ethics, life-style, thought, art, religion, nationality... in the conditions of developing the multisector commodity-based economy and broadening international exchanges. We must build the theoretical basis for the shaping of Vietnamese culture and Vietnamese man in modern times.

We must renovate the curricula, contents, and methods of teaching Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought to turn them into the leading ideology in the spiritual life of our society and to heighten the consciousness of socialist ideal and the faith of party and youth union members and the people.

We must constantly carry out the ideological and theoretical struggle according to the requirements of the renovation process. We must overcome dogmatism and empiricism and, at the same time, oppose opportunism of all stripes and revisionism.

We must carry out theoretical research in support of national defense and security in order to defend the fatherland, firmly maintain and strengthen political stability, and defeat the "peaceful evolution" scheme and trick of imperialism and reactionary forces.

III. On Some Major Guidelines for Theoretical Activities

Political Bureau Resolution 01-NQ/TW [Resolution/Party Central Committee] "On Theoretical Work at the Present Stage" set forth four major guidelines for theoretical activities. Here, I will strive to clarify the most important points of these guidelines:

1. *Thoroughly understanding the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought, achieving at all costs the unity between scientific character and party character and between science and politics in theoretical activities.*

For a long time we seemed to identify politics with theory. In the national democratic revolution, this identification was also wrong, of course. However, there was definite objective reason at the time for such an identification to exist at a certain level without causing any harm to either theory or politics. The crux of the matter is: When the revolution does not yet hold power, political struggle, class struggle, and national struggle can directly rely on the principles of revolutionary theory; conversely, the principles of revolutionary theory may be used to directly resolve practical political issues. For example, the theories of revolutionary situation, revolutionary violence, staging uprisings to seize power, and so forth... were deduced from political practice and may be applied to the practice of politics. We know that it is difficult to determine whether the overwhelming majority of the writings by Lenin are political documents or theoretical works. Of course, there can be no controversy about such works as *"Philosophic Notebooks,"* *"Materialism and Empirio-Criticism"* because their theoretical character is all too evident.

After we shifted to the socialist revolution, there still is an essential relationship between scientific theory and the politics of socialist construction, but these ties are not always as direct and visible in all matters as they used to be. In revolutionary struggle, when we had not yet gained power, things and processes were by no means simpler, of course, but, in the final analysis, the issue still boiled down to nothing but a confrontation between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces. As for the building of socialism, this is an extremely complicated process taking place in all domains of life and social activities. The objects of cognition and action here are various systems and structures; extremely diversified and complicated multileveled, multilayered processes; intricately interwoven and multiform relations.... Therefore, it is required here that countless relevant factors, countless links and stages, and countless different levels of the analytic and synthetic processes must be taken into consideration before a scientific basis for a political decision could be made. In such conditions, identifying politics with scientific theory is harmful indeed to both science and politics.

Yet, the habit developed in the period of the national democratic revolution still continued to pull us back for some time after 1975, and the consequences are now public knowledge. But, it is quite wrong to jump from one extreme to another. Therefore, this matter is worth discussing thoroughly in order to firmly grasp the guideline of "achieving the unity between the scientific character and the party character and between science and politics" as stipulated in Political Bureau Resolution 01-NQ/TW. First of all, we should agree that the theory and theoretical work under discussion here are the revolutionary theory, the theory of socialism and the path to socialism in our country. This theory is the application of Marxism-Leninism—an ideology marked by the unity between the scientific nature and the revolutionary nature as its inherent characteristic—to the concrete conditions of Vietnam.

Lenin wrote: "The irresistible appeal that has attracted the socialists in all countries to this theory lies in the fact that this theory tightly and highly combined the scientific character (which is the zenith of social sciences) and the revolutionary spirit. And this combination was effected not by chance and not because the founder of that doctrine combined in himself the qualities of a scholar and a revolutionary. It was a combination inherent in the theory itself, a combination that was intrinsic and indissoluble. As a matter of fact, the task of theory and the goal of science directly laid down here are to assist the class of the oppressed in the economic struggle that is actually taking place." (Footnote 2) [V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Vol 1, p 421]

Thus, in the Marxist revolutionary theory, there is no opposition between science and politics, between scientific character and party character; there is no—absolutely no—question of sacrificing one to the other. On the contrary, there is a mutual demand for each other, with one serving as the prerequisite for the other's existence, and vice versa. The inherent unity and close affinity between these two elements have created the essential characteristic that is both revolutionary and scientific of theory. Here, "the more courageously and more impartially science is pursued, the more it suits the interests and aspirations of the working class." (Footnote 3) [K. Marx-F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Vol 6, p 422] Therefore, it would be wrong politics and running counter to the interests and aspirations of the working class if politics is practiced without due regard for science. On the other hand, the viewpoint demanding the "liberation of science from politics" is completely baseless, simply because this science is the science of revolutionary struggle. How could such a theory ever be separated from politics?

Therefore, if a Marxist demands the "depoliticization of Marxist science," it is tantamount to a denial of his own Marxist qualifications. Both the practice of revolution and the process of theoretical activities have proved that when theory is divorced from politics, it will no longer be a genuine science.

The party needs scientific theory as a basis for its political line; just as theory can be really scientific only if it benefits from the party's correct political guidelines. Both of these demands are equally important, especially at the current complicated stage. And the two demands are united and constitute the most important expression of the unity between theory and practice.

2. Closely linking theory to practice, immediate requirements to long-term tasks, and basic research to applied research.

Everybody knows that uniting theory with practice is the fundamental principle of Marxist-Leninism and the basic guideline determining the direction of theoretical work. In my opinion, there is no need to say anything

more about the importance of this guideline. The question here is how to understand and apply it in the current situation, in the light of the lessons of experience we have already accumulated.

At present, a situation that is troubling everybody is the fairly wide gap still existing between theory and practice. This gap was even wider before the sixth party congress. At that time, it was obviously that theory and practice were heading in opposite directions. In the late 1970's, the "obstinate and recalcitrant" real life finally raised its voice as it could no longer bear the theoretical patterns imposed on it in a voluntaristic fashion. Life rushed into the meeting hall of the Sixth Plenum of the Fourth Party Central Committee (held in 1979) and squarely put "the urgent socioeconomic problems" as issue number one on its agenda. This event is a profound lesson in the need to unite theory with practice.

Thereafter, "the Directive 100-based contract system" came into being and its monumental emancipatory significance was immediately grasped and illuminated with theoretical elucidation by the scientific circles with unprecedented enthusiasm. Let us recall in particular the gloomy sociopolitical atmosphere prevailing before the sixth party congress and even after the first drafts of its documents were sent to the first-round local party congresses because they could satisfy no one. However, after that, it took only "three major economic viewpoints" to effect a turning point in the renovation of thinking and to radically change the atmosphere. Everybody was definitely in high spirits; from the party to the people, from the lower to the upper echelons, all were filled with a new vitality up to the time of the national party congress and beyond. Faith began to be restored. However, this confidence was not steady but ebbed and flowed. Though it was further strengthened by the seventh party congress, even now we cannot affirm that the socialist ideal and path have completely conquered the hearts and minds of the people of all walks of life. *One of the root causes of this situation is the remaining gap between theory and practice*, although this chasm has been greatly reduced compared to the period before the sixth party congress.

It can be said that, in the final analysis, all the tasks currently facing us boil down to an effort to fill or reduce this gap to the minimum. This requires that theory be closely linked to practice, that practice itself be illuminated and correctly oriented by scientific theory, and that dogmatism and empiricism be overcome.

In theoretical work, we should discard the scholastic and purely speculative research method which can only use one concept to explain another concept, one theory to prove another theory, that is, a method that goes round and round within the realm of pure thought and is thus incapable of attaining the truth. We should oppose the way of thinking that is based on slavish imitation and copying, that is divorced from reality, and that defies the characteristics, traditions, and concrete historical conditions of our country and people. It is not without reason

that many voices were raised recently criticizing the "new dogmatism" for being a tendency that preaches in the name of renovation, anticonservatism, and antidogmatism, but essentially offers nothing new except a carbon copy of what is already available in the theoretical storehouse of opportunism and even repeats verbatim its imported rhetoric. At this juncture, opposing revisionism is as necessary as—if not more so than—opposing conservatism and dogmatism.

It would be very wrong to understand dogmatism as being simply the result of too much book reading. As a matter of fact, dogmatism stems not only from alienation from reality and practice but also from too little reading or from an incomplete reading of books (particularly the Marxist-Leninist classics); or from the fact that one may read and even read a lot, but fail to go beyond the books, that is, to properly digest the knowledge gained from reading, to closely link it to reality, and to further develop it as life goes on.

Reviewing practice is the basic method in theoretical activities and a fundamental approach to overcoming dogmatism and even empiricism, for the purpose of achieving unity between theory and practice. In the final analysis, theory is the summing up, the generalization of practice. No theory is possible without practice and practical experience.

The renovation process in our country is characterized by the fact that it is being carried out simultaneously with the research on and creation of theory. Of course, when embarking on this undertaking, our party has prepared major guidelines for it. Proceeding from these guidelines, we must set out immediately to resolve issues that are ripe for resolution without waiting for the completion of theoretical preparation. In fact, it is not realistic to demand full theoretical preparation in advance because there are things that can be appreciated only after we have started doing them, and there are even problems that can be theoretically summed up and generalized only after we have made mistakes time and again and have gained sufficient experience therefrom. Two years after embarking on restructuring, the CPSU claimed that it had completed its theoretical preparation; but how far has its restructuring process gone now? We will have to pay for any hastiness in making theoretical generalizations and in determining categories and laying down laws when a practical basis is still lacking. In fact, in many matters it is practice itself that has provided a solution before theory could. This was the case of the contract system in agriculture. Several years were spent in never-ending, stalemated debates over whether a single-price or dual-price mechanism should be applied, whether a single-market or dual-market system should be adopted, whether the state should monopolize the grain trade.... But, at the end, it was the realities in the second half of 1989 that provided the definitive answers to these questions.

This perception does not take away from the role and responsibility of theoretical work, nor is it meant as an

advocacy of empiricism. The question is that pure speculation cannot be used as a substitute for practical experience and that utmost importance must be attached to reviewing practice, a basic method of theoretical work.

Reviewing practice is extremely important to those specializing in theoretical work. It should be equally important to—and be a daily habit of—cadres in charge of leading and guiding practical work. Practice without theory is no better than theory without practice. Empiricism is no less harmful than dogmatism. Moreover, there is such thing as the ill of dogmatism—a highly contagious condition—among the empiricists. This is because if we have only limited, empirical knowledge, we are highly susceptible to the ill of slavishly imitating others. This is the thin boundary, a crossover between empiricism and dogmatism.

Our party is now at the point where reviewing the practice of renovation is extremely necessary. It must review practice to develop, concretize, and perfect its lines and policies; to find the answers for problems that are still unsolved or unclear; to bring into full play and multiply the right, to uncover and rectify the wrong, and to raise the theoretical standard and leadership capacity of the party in the highly difficult and complicated renovation undertaking at a time when socialism throughout the world is facing a grave crisis in both theory and practice. The success of the renovation process depends to a large extent on our capability for—and the outcome of—reviewing practice and heightening theoretical standards. This is why Political Bureau Resolution "On Theoretical Work at the Present Stage" made the theoretical review of the fundamental experiences in the renovation process the *central* task of theoretical work for the next few years. This must be a painstaking, incisive review involving close coordination between theoretical workers and scientific agencies on the one side and party committee echelons and practical work services on the other side. This review should be conducted not only in the area of common issues concerning the path to socialism, but also in each basic domain of activity: economy and society, culture and ideology, political system and the democratization of social life, party building, state building, the national united front and various mass organizations, and so forth.... This must be a large-scale review encompassing an analysis of the experiences in restructuring and reform in other countries and even the lessons learned from the 70-odd years of existence of socialism throughout the world. We cannot afford not to take into account these experiences and lessons when we ponder on, compare, analyze, and sum up the experiences in renovation and the path to socialism of our country itself.

To lay stress on the review of practice does not mean to make light of basic research and basic theory. The closer we get to concrete issues, the more steady, common, and basic viewpoints we need. Lenin once pointed out that we cannot resolve particular problems if we have not

illuminated common problems first. A review of concrete, natural practice requires the adoption of a viewpoint acknowledging the existence of problems, the application of a methodology in evaluating them, and the determination of guidelines for resolving them; and that is to say that the role of theory and methodology is indispensable.

It is impossible to go directly into resolving practical problems if the results of basic research are lacking. In its turn, the outcome of the research on immediate problems will serve as an indispensable source of materials for development of fundamental knowledge. The failure of our theoretical work to meet the practical needs testifies to our weakness in both basic research and applied research. A low level of basic science will not only constitute a major obstacle to applied research and other researches carried out to meet the immediate practical needs, but will also deprive us of a steady springboard for further advance on the path of science. However, we would be making a big mistake and divorcing ourselves from reality if we make light of applied research. Therefore, the Political Bureau resolution accentuated the guideline of "closely linking theory to practice, immediate requirements to long-term tasks, and basic research to applied research." Our activities must be deeply imbued with this guideline in order to carry out, with efficiency and high quality, the 10 state-level programs of social sciences from now until 1995. In each of these programs, there are many subjects the outcome of which should not be held off until 1995 for verification and acceptance; reality demands that the researches on these subjects produce results soon, even as early as the last few months of this year. Otherwise, these scientific researches would serve no purposes at all and would obviously be unjustifiable.

3. Democratizing theoretical activities.

As already stated earlier, in our country there was a time when theory was almost identified with politics. All theoretical questions were considered to have been resolved in the lines and resolutions of the party and in the speeches and writings by the leaders; and theoretical work was left only with the simple task of explaining these lines and resolutions. Persisting over a long period of time, this state of affairs had given rise to the habit of dependence and even the belief that truth could only emanate from a few persons. This eventually led to a passive reliance on a "thought subsidy" from the leadership and discouraged research and discovery, which should have been regarded as the real functions, the main *raison d'être* of theoretical science. The same state of affairs also bred the utterly simplistic concept that any statement that slightly differed from what the leadership and resolutions said was considered to be a political offense that might expose its author to all kinds of charges and accusations.... The party's line of renovating thinking has permitted us to overcome this simple mistake, a mistake that had restrained for some time the development of the party's theoretical thinking.

Today, we understand that theory and politics are not the same thing, that there is a distance between them that should be recognized, although such differentiation is very relative. This understanding has opened up a vast horizon for scientific research and creation and has created favorable conditions for bringing into full play the intellectual potential of the contingent of theoretical workers. However, as already mentioned above, the difference between (revolutionary) theory and politics is only of relative significance. If we overstep this boundary or, worse still, oppose these two factors against each other—factors which are traditionally bound to, depend and rely on, and mix with each other—then we would ultimately cause serious harm to both theory and politics. A science that deviates from the party's political orientation is no longer a revolutionary science. On the other hand, the party's politics must be firmly based on scientific foundations. The party must attach utmost importance to theory and theoretical work. Theoretical work is precisely the foremost task of the party itself, particularly the Political Bureau and Central Committee. To fulfill this task, it is very important that the party must develop and use at all costs its own contingent of theoretical workers and must lead science in a scientific manner.

The development of science has its own peculiarities. For example, mistakes may be made in scientific research. If it is hard to avoid making mistakes in politics, then the possibility of erring in scientific research is even greater, and this is something that cannot be helped. If we instantly attribute these mistakes to their authors' political stance, there may be disastrous consequences. Science needs a democratic atmosphere and freedom of thought, because only in such an environment will scientists dare think independently and pursue their research and discoveries to the end. Theory and science cannot develop if thought is not liberated and if discussion and debate are lacking. To science, there is only one supreme authority, and that is the scientific truth, the accord between theory and practice. Administrative power or majority opinion, personal prestige or righteous anger—none of them can resolve the question of true or false in science, and nor can they replace the objective truth. In scientific debate, persons of low scientific standards are often the ones who are easily seized by righteous wrath and fond of hyperboles. On the contrary, those of great scientific potential are full of self-confidence. To them, calmness and reason are the weapons for victory. Naturally, sometimes sparks may fly and shouting may be heard during debate. This is totally permissible (of course, it is better if shouting could be avoided). *The essential thing* is, in any circumstances, such outbursts must be for the sake of science, really for the sake of science, and for no other motives.

In the field of learning in our country, it is regrettable that a tradition of discussion and debate is lacking. We should learn how to debate. Over the past few years we have been doing just that. There must be a debate culture if scientific thinking is to be developed. Generally

speaking, debate culture and ethics in science require, first of all, truthfulness, honesty, and purity—which must be as truthful, honest, and pure as the truth and scientific facts themselves. Falsehood, distortion of facts for devious motives, and opportunism are the worst enemies of science. To attain truth, a researcher must be very impartial and objective. Only by adopting a truth-seeking attitude and a willingness to look squarely at the truth, to cast off old and erroneous concepts, to listen to reason, to do away with prejudices, to be extremely modest, to treat one another with respect, and so forth... can a scientist develop his knowledge and contribute to science.

A leader must listen to "jarring" words. A leader of science must do so even more seriously. He must lead science with a scientific attitude or, better still, by relying on the essence of science itself, if he is a direct leader of scientific activities. The scientists themselves must also listen to one another's views. There is no reason why one should demand democracy for oneself when one refuses to respect the democratic rights of others. In scientific discussion and debate, a freshly conceived idea may often open up a new, highly promising field of research. Sometimes a single sentence reversing a line of argument may prompt everyone to reexamine or readjust the concepts or conclusions thought to be already perfect. A bold, thought-provoking idea advanced when no one else has been able to form an opinion on a certain thorny issue is a view worth treasuring. Even if an opinion is essentially faulty but contains a certain correct element, that opinion should still be treated with due respect. Here again we must also learn from Lenin. Lenin was a meticulous, painstaking, and deferential worker when he was plucking out "the rational kernel" from the extremely mystic and confusing idealist philosophic system of Hegel. Lenin wrote: First, we must decant that philosophy to glean from it the method of dialectical materialism. In doing such decanting, nine-tenths of the product will be turned into sediment. We must pick out the precious kernel of truth inside the mystic skin of Hegelianism. That is, we must "pan for gold" and should not "throw out the baby along with the dirty water in the washbasin." This attitude and work method are extremely necessary for us at this juncture, when theoretical work still remains a disorderly and confusing undertaking.

Since the sixth party congress, theoretical activities have benefited from a more democratic atmosphere, a fact reflected most clearly in the discussions of the draft documents of the seventh party congress. But, things have happened as if they were governed by a law, that is, the relaxation following a long absence of democracy has given rise to the tendency of excessive democracy. Some people understand that democracy means that they can say, write, and disseminate whatever they want, without caring about whether these things are right or wrong, whether they help or hurt the common cause of the people and country. Some people have even taken advantage of democracy to make trouble, to oppose

socialism and Marxism-Leninism, to attack the party leadership, and to distort national history. These phenomena are not numerous, but they must be rectified and suppressed.

With regard to theoretical activities (that is, the revolutionary theory under discussion here), and particularly concerning theoretical cadres who are party members, democracy cannot be separated from the party character. In discussion and debate, democracy and freedom of thought should be implemented to the maximum, but they must absolutely be based on the goal and path chosen by our party and people, and on the resolutions already adopted by the party. Lenin affirmed: "It is wrong to say: Stop debating, period. Theoretical debate is one thing, but the party's political lines and the political struggle are a different kettle of fish. We are not a debating club." [Footnote 4] [V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Vol 43, p 122]

Here, there is the question of whether different schools of thought should be allowed to exist in the Marxist-Leninist theoretical science. If schools of thought are understood as being different approaches to the same specific problem of practical work, or as being different conclusions resulting from the application of different investigative and research methods... then different schools of thought may be allowed. But if we understand schools of thought in strict accordance with their philosophic definitions and with scientific theories, then there cannot be many different schools of thought in the same Marxist-Leninist theoretical current. Among the Marxist Communists themselves, there can be no division of theoretical schools because, theoretically, all of us belong to a sole school of thought, which can only be monism and not pluralism, and that is Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought.

For a long time now our attitude toward the non-Marxist-Leninist social doctrines has been somewhat incorrect. This is an attitude that smacks of sectarianism and that prompts us not to read about, not to study, and to reject all these doctrines even though they may contain rational factors and values common to all mankind. If we know how to select and absorb these factors in a critical fashion, they will help enrich Marxism itself. And this is precisely what the spirit and essence of our doctrine are all about. Marxism does not stay outside or is on the sidelines of the historical current of mankind's thoughts but develops in the middle of it. It is the crystallization of all that is the best of these thoughts. Political Bureau Resolution "On Theoretical Work at the Present Stage" clearly pointed out: "Concerning other, non-Marxist-Leninist social doctrines, we should study them on the basis of an objective, dialectical viewpoint."

We can mention the Marxist school of thought and non-Marxist ones. But absolutely we cannot talk about different schools of thought inside *genuine* Marxism. Among the Communist Marxists themselves, they may draw very different conclusions and form very different

views on the same issue because of the discrepancies in their capability to grasp and apply Marxism-Leninism and because of the difference in their sources of information, in their scientific potential, in their practical knowledge, and in their concrete methods of research. This is natural and nothing to worry about. On the contrary, it is the state of swimming with the tide and not daring to protect the right and to struggle against the wrong that is dangerous and frightening, because this is the symptom of an illness unacceptable in the ideological and theoretical life. Science cannot develop without debate. But it is not true that full-fledged schools of thought must be set up to quarrel and criticize one another if scientific development is to be promoted. Unlike natural sciences, Marxist-Leninist theoretical science is a political science bearing directly on the fate of various classes and nations and of millions and millions of people. Therefore, we cannot not make society pay for the "experiments" of various theoretical schools.

Instead of talking about "schools of thought" or "pluralism of opinion" (because this will serve no purpose, and besides, it may even hurt Marxist-Leninist science and the party's cause), what is fundamentally significant here is that we must realize democracy and freedom of thought, highly develop the capability of scientists and scientific collectives to contribute, and open up the largest possible area and create the most favorable possible atmosphere for intellectual efforts and for scientists to contribute at will. Whether there is democracy or not does not depend on whether there are different schools of thought or not; it depends on whether there is freedom of thought and whether scientific potential is brought into full play. Owing to its large scale, its diversity, and the level of complexity of the theoretical and practical issues at present, theoretical work definitely cannot rely only on a limited number of people. During the past years, in reality the bulk of scientific research was concentrated in only a few comrades who were usually also in charge of management and thus unable to devote much time and energy to research, while many others of their colleagues often suffered from the "minor league" complex, would participate in the common efforts only timidly, and were reluctant to express opinions differing from those of their senior comrades. This state of affairs should be completely eliminated because no realistic scientific progress is possible if freedom and democracy are lacking.

IV. Building the Contingent of Theoretical Cadres

The result of theoretical work depends on many factors such as determination of research directions, organization and management of the research process, investment funds, information conditions, various procedures and policies, and so forth.... Each of these factors has its own role to play, and none of them should be made light of. For example: At present, outstanding problems are the budget for scientific research in general and for social sciences and theoretical research in particular, concern for—and renovation of various policies toward—scientific cadres, theoretical cadres, and so forth.... If

these problems are not resolved, it would be difficult to talk about development of theoretical work and social sciences. All things considered, in the final analysis, the successful building of a contingent of theoretical cadres equipped with good political quality and high scientific skills is the most vital question.

Over the past years, not too small a number of social science cadres were trained both at home and abroad. However, a matter of greatest concern is the question of training quality. We should carry out a far-reaching review of the training of theoretical and social science cadres in the establishments in charge of postcollege training. Our review must begin from the student recruitment stage to ensure that the most gifted and promising people are selected. In particular, we must revise and renovate the programs, contents, and methods of training. With regard to the legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics, we should delve into them more deeply and strive for a firmer, more systematic, and more efficient grasp of these works on the basis of historicism and the viewpoint of creative development adapted to the current conditions. We should attach even greater importance to the history of eastern and western thought and our national thought. We should carry out critical research on the trends of non-Marxist-Leninist thought—and devote a more adequate amount of time to this task. In our research programs, we should not make light of the criticism of anti-Communism and modern trends of opportunism and revisionism.

Of course, the goal of the majority of scientific theses must focus on resolving the issues posed by the practice of revolution and by the socialist path of development in our country. However, theoretical cadres must be people of great learning. Without this basis, they can hardly avoid taking a myopic, superficial, perfunctory, and simplistic approach when they have to resolve concrete problems. To acquire a high level of scholarship, a theoretical cadre can partly rely on the help of his schools and classes, but the bulk of his learning must come from his own lifelong self-teaching, self-improvement process.

Using the contingent of theoretical cadres is also a major issue. First of all, we must not use these cadres individually but together as an organization. Recently, more and more scientific organs were attracted into the process of preparing major decisions and policies of the party and state. No small numbers of orders for products of social sciences have been placed with various scientific collectives. Apparently, the question now is not whether the contingent of theoretical workers is being used or not, but whether this contingent has the capability to contribute and how it should be used to obtain high-quality scientific products. This issue also touches on the question of the management of various research programs and subjects. At present, 10 state-level programs of research on social sciences are being carried out. What would the result of their implementation be? Would the exacting quality requirements be met? Would these programs be able to serve the long-term purposes while promptly meeting the immediate demands? The

answers to all these questions depend on the capability to organize the management and use of scientific cadres. The responsibility for providing these answers rests first of all with the boards of directors in charge of the research programs and subjects.

On their part, the scientific cadres play an irreplaceable role. They must have a sound basic knowledge and a profound understanding of the science they are pursuing, must have a firm knowledge of other scientific branches related to his field of study, and must constantly keep abreast of the knowledge of modern times and relevant social realities. They must also be driven by an inner urge, a craving for truth, and must have ambitious dreams and great aspirations. Every scientific product is the brainchild of each scientific worker himself. No scientific creation is possible without a passion for research, without arduous brain-racking, and without the patience and perseverance to overcome all obstacles. Very often the slightest discouragement one shows and the slightest leniency with which one treats oneself may lead to the abandonment—or a serious drop in the value—of a project, even one that is near completion.

No external factor can substitute for subjective effort in the thinking process of an individual scientist. However, this does not mean that a scientist may dissociate himself from the collective scientific milieu in which he lives and works. This is chiefly an environment for scientific thinking, for developing one's creative power, for improving one's professional standard, and for cultivating one's qualities. A scientific collective in which each individual lives in comfort, mutual trust, and heartfelt comradeship, a collective that is very severe in matters of principle and in scientific requirements and evaluation, but quite open, tolerant, easygoing, and magnanimous in its human relations, will be able to multiply the strength of each individual member manifold.

Realities have shown that any scientific collective that are well organized and live in solidarity, friendship, democracy, and equality in scientific activities will give rise to an efficient scientific research movement in which the whole collective act as if they give wings to each individual. On the contrary, in any unit that is poorly organized, the strength and creative capability of the whole collective as well as each individual member will be markedly reduced. Wherever an unhealthy psychological atmosphere develops and people are bogged down in trivial personal matters, achievements in scientific creation are hardly possible.

We must develop collective intellect, but in science there must be pacemakers. If competent leading cadres are lacking, the professional standard of the collective will stand still and gradually drop. In science, there can be no such thing as "three tanners are equal to one Chu-ko Liang" [statement attributed to Mao Zedong. Chu-ko Liang was a noted military strategist of the Shu Han Kingdom in Imperial China], and quantity cannot make up for poor quality. At present, in the theoretical

domain, it seems that we do not have more than a few leading specialists of national stature, let alone those of a greater stature. Therefore, we should strive to train at all costs a number of competent specialists selected from among every scientific collective, large and small alike. Special measures should be adopted to open some special courses to train really promising young cadres to be the pacesetters in a number of principal fields of theoretical science.

We should renovate at an early date the various policies of remuneration for theoretical cadres and scientific cadres in general. In reforming the wage system, we should give up the method of classifying scientific cadres according to the administrative grades and scales, because this practice would only encourage people to become "mandarins," not to do scientific work.

Providing more information, broadening international exchanges, and creating favorable conditions for scientific cadres and scientific agencies to make broad and quick contact with new developments in the world—these are the indispensable conditions for the building of a contingent of competent theoretical cadres.

Political Bureau Resolution 01-NQ/TW is the lodestar for our theoretical activities in the present stage. To acquire a deep understanding of the ideological viewpoints, tasks, orientation, and guidelines stated in this resolution is to provide a basic guarantee for our circles of theoretical workers and social sciences to achieve success in their theoretical activities, thereby making worthy contributions to the renovation undertaking in the current decisive stage of our country on the path to socialism.

Social Sciences and Renovation

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[Text] The renovation movement, which is aimed at building a prosperous and strong Vietnam having a socialist orientation, requires urgent renovation of the social sciences.

The social sciences have the task of studying and clarifying the economic, social, cultural, national defense, security, and foreign affairs viewpoints put forth at the seventh party congress and providing scientific arguments for formulating lines and policies and actually implementing the lines and policies.

In the face of the collapse of the socialist system in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, our country's social sciences have the task of providing high-quality and persuasive scientific works, scientifically proving the correctness of the path to socialism that was chosen by our party and people, arousing a spirit of patriotism, national pride, will power, and self-reliance in building

and defending the fatherland and defending socialism, and actively contributing to the struggle on the ideological and theoretical front.

The world is experiencing profound changes and bitter upheavals. The modern scientific and technical revolution has given rise to and is constantly developing new technology and high-technology production and changed the labor formulas, organization, and way of life of people. A new civilization is appearing, but man is also facing urgent universal problems and great challenges. The social sciences must study the problems of the age, contribute to clarifying foreign and internal affairs strategy in accord with the new situation, enable our nation to gradually approach modern civilization, and, at the same time, maintain and exploit the national culture in order to build a prosperous and strong country based on the socialist path and contribute to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

In the face of the development trends of the world social sciences and the great tasks posed by the task of building and defending the country, the social sciences must overcome their sluggishness and renovate themselves in order to grow and contribute to the all-round renovation of the country.

During the past several decades, the social sciences in our country have grown and scored achievements of which we can be very proud. We have an adequate objective basis to affirm the great achievements scored by Vietnam's social sciences.

Most of the works of Marxism-Leninism have been translated, introduced, and published in large numbers. Along with the works of President Ho Chi Minh and other party leaders, textbooks, teaching materials, and many theoretical research works have contributed to propagating Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Inheriting the military and strategic ideas of previous generations, Vietnamese military science has been raised to a new level. Many social science sectors have studied the country's economic and social problems and contributed to explaining the lines and policies of the party and state. The human sciences have made many discoveries, and there are a number of scientific works on history, archaeology, ethnography, literature, and linguistics that have won high marks both here and abroad. The research results reflect the new ideas about the history, culture, society, ethnic minorities, language, and people of Vietnam, and they have contributed to raising the people's standard of culture and inculcating a sense of patriotism and national pride in the struggle for national independence and socialism.

During the past six years, since the sixth party congress, with a spirit of renovating theoretical thinking, many social science sectors have studied the basic and pressing socioeconomic, cultural, and ideological problems, supported the work of formulating the party's program and the strategy for stabilizing and developing the country's

economy and society, and contributed to searching for solutions to the burning economic and social problems.

The human sciences have striven to overcome the previous situation in which research was carried on in a diffuse and unsystematic manner and concentrated on studying the major problems in the legacy of Vietnamese history, culture, and civilization. In particular, more detailed studies have been conducted on the man Ho Chi Minh and on his work, ideas, morals, and humanism, and these have confirmed the great significance of this spiritual legacy with respect to the renovation movement in Vietnam and today's international problems.

However, as compared with the renovation requirements of the country and with the development of the social sciences in the world, Vietnamese social sciences still have many limitations, and they have not satisfied the urgent theoretical and practical requirements of today.

Although the number of social sciences cadres has increased, there is still a lack of synchronization, and there are still many limitations with respect to standards, especially concerning theory and methodology. Our country's social sciences have not carried out many theoretical research tasks. They have not adhered to or summarized practices, discovered the truth, or provided forecasts and scientific arguments for formulating the lines and policies of the party and state. The research works are not characterized by discovery and creativity. Instead, they are concerned mostly with illustrating the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party and state. Even though they have scored notable achievements, the human sciences have few basic works of high scientific value. Many works stop at gathering and systematizing data and do not go on to summarize and evaluate the major issues of historical movements and culture. They have not helped correctly explain the problems of ideological and cultural work today. The human sciences left many empty spaces in many spheres that have not been studied or that have not been studied in depth.

Instruction in the social sciences, especially Marxist-Leninist subjects, has the nature of the old order. It is not persuasive. Few results have been achieved in teaching a world view and scientific methodology and in strengthening the new outlook and new morality. Methodology issues and the specific methods of the social sciences have not been studied in depth. Many of the theories and new research techniques that have been used effectively in many countries in the world have not been studied or used in our country. Providing the information, data, and books needed for research work and exchanging social sciences information with the world is still limited. Although the management of science has made a number of improvements, it still has an administrative nature and has not satisfied the need

to develop science in the present situation. The sluggishness in promulgating regulations to implement democracy in scientific activities has limited exploiting the creative abilities of the scientists.

In renovating the social sciences, the first thing is to renovate understanding concerning the tasks and functions of the social sciences. After that, the method of selecting research problems, organizational methods, research methods, management forms and methods, and cadre policies can be renovated in order to enable the science cadres to manifest their abilities and contribute to renovating the country and developing science.

Science and technology, along with education and training, are leading national policies aimed at developing the economy, culture, and society and improving the management standards of the state and the leadership capabilities of the party in order to make the people prosperous and the country strong.

The main task of science is to serve society through theoretical knowledge and theoretical studies and satisfy the needs of economic and social development, of material production and technical advances, and of man, who is the subject of the activities.

In the present stage, in Vietnam the social sciences must perform the following basic functions:

a. Formulate scientific arguments for the path to socialism in Vietnam and for the major decisions, from setting guidelines for economic and social development strategy to specific problems such as policies, plans, investment projects, and so on at all leadership echelons of the party and state.

b. Serve as a special tool to help renovate management and technology and raise the production forces to a new level of development with high productivity, good quality, and good results in order to modernize the country.

c. Raise the people's standard of culture, train manpower, inculcate a scientific outlook, develop the intelligence and creative abilities of the Vietnamese people, and build our country's progressive science.

Thus, the social sciences are not a "non-economic" element. And their task is not simply to explain the lines and policies. Those are necessary tasks, but doing research is even more important in order to put forth scientific arguments to support formulating lines and policies. Only in this way will the social sciences really become an internal motive force of economic and social development and make practical contributions to strengthening the leadership role of the party and the management of the state.

Based on the guiding viewpoints of the seventh party congress and on the spirit of Politburo Resolution 26 (6th Term) on science and technology in renovation, in the coming years, the social sciences must concentrate on studying the following main issues:

First, they must study and make creative use of Marxist-Leninist theory and Ho Chi Minh thought in order to solve the problems stemming from the realities of the country and the present age. They must concentrate on systematically studying the life, work, and works of President Ho Chi Minh and thoroughly understanding his ideas, theories, character, and morals in order to support the present renovation campaign.

Second, they must study the problems concerning the special characteristics of the present stage, the new civilization, modern capitalism, socialism, and the period of transition to socialism in our country. Based on reviewing the practices and developing theory using arguments having an adequate scientific basis, the important issues mentioned in the proceedings of the seventh party congress must be supplemented and clarified.

Third, they must study the problems having to do with a socialist-oriented multifaceted commodity economy, the ownership system, and the system of objective economic laws in conditions in which a commodity economy is operating based on a market mechanism under the control of the state. They must study the paths, forms, and steps of the industrialization process in conjunction with modernization in our country, and based on the achievements of the modern scientific and technical revolution, make structural changes, renovate the economic management mechanism at the macrocosmic and microcosmic levels, and expand and improve the results of foreign economic activities.

Fourth, they must conduct surveys and study the social classes and social policies. They must propose guidelines and measures to strongly exploit the human factor, solidify all-people solidarity and ethnic minority and religious solidarity, and implement family, population, and population and labor distribution policies in building and defending the fatherland.

Fifth, they must study the basic problems in renovating the leadership of the party and building a law-governed state that is really a state of the people, by the people, and for the people. They must strengthen the effect of the laws and regulations and participate in building the political and judicial systems, particularly laws concerning economic and social control. They must study the role, functions, and tasks of the people's mass organizations and social organizations.

Sixth, they must continue to promote penetrating and comprehensive studies on historical, literary, and linguistic issues and on Vietnamese people through the ages. In particular, attention must be given to studying the mobilization of national cultural values through the ages in conjunction with the striking aspects of the age. They must compile major works having review value and high scientific quality and provide correct understanding in order to inherit and exploit the valuable spiritual values of our ancestors, build a foundation for improving the national culture, and at the same time

accept the cultural essence of man and contribute to building the new Vietnamese culture and civilization. They must compile a number of important books and tools to support cultural and social sciences research and instruction.

Seventh, while emphasizing the synchronized expansion of all the social sciences sectors, including the human sciences, the immediate thing is to concentrate on quickly expanding the philosophy, economics, sociology, law, political science, cultural, and managerial science sectors, particularly the science of economic management and state management.

For the period 1991-1995, the Council of Ministers has listed 30 state-level scientific and technical research projects (Decision No. 246/CT of 8 August 1991). Among these are eight social science projects:

1. Theoretical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam.
2. Ho Chi Minh thought
3. Renovating and perfecting the economic policies and economic management mechanism.
4. Renovating the social policies and the social management mechanism.
5. The political system in the period of transition to socialism in our country.
6. Culture and civilization for social development and progress.
7. The Vietnamese people, economic and social development targets, and motive forces.
8. All-round economic and social development in the rural areas.

Along with implementing the targeted projects and topics and solving the burning problems of social life today, each institute and research center must determine its basic research orientation in order to constantly increase its intellectual potential and be prepared to complete the immediate and long-term research tasks. Without basic research, there can be no theoretical reserves. Thus, basic research is the basis for the all-round development of our country's science. The deeper the basic research, the more effective its application will be in actual practice.

In order to complete the above tasks, there must be many measures. The following are a number of principal measures:

1. Providing information: Success in any scientific sphere is determined to a great extent by scientific information. The task of the information organizations, above all the Social Sciences Information Institute, is to inform our country's social scientists about the main guidelines and new achievements of the social sciences in the world and the newest theoretical research both here

and abroad. Regulations must be implemented so that the sectors and echelons provide social science researchers with accurate and adequate information on the real situation in the country so that they can conduct studies in order to make accurate and profound theoretical generalizations.

2. Going into reality and reviewing practices. Theories put forth based on reality are the result of generalizing actual experiences. As Marx said, these will become material forces when they penetrate the masses. Our party and people must look for and determine the path to socialism in accord with the special characteristics of our country. Studying and reviewing Vietnam's revolutionary practices and the new experiences of the world with the aim of making penetrating generalizations and transforming these into scientific knowledge in order to guide actual operations is the responsibility of the entire party and the various echelons and sectors, including the ranks of scientific and technical cadres. But varied and rich reality requires a correct methodology and scientific methods if good results are to be achieved in reviewing things. Social science researchers must coordinate things with the cadres who manage the sectors and localities and receive unified guidance based on the plans and targets in order to carry on this work well.

Based on reality, the social sciences will be able to review the augments, effectively overcome dogmatism, raise the theoretical standards, discover the laws of movement of our society, and put forth concrete steps and measures in accord with the special characteristics of the country, nation, and Vietnamese people. The immediate thing is to give attention to reviewing practices based on the the main aspects of our society since the sixth congress in accord with the party's renovation viewpoint.

3. Democratic rules must be formulated and implemented in social sciences research and management activities in order to manifest creative freedom in the process of searching for and discovering the truth. Engels pointed out that "all of you, that is, the party, need a socialist science, and it's impossible to have a socialist science without the freedom to grow." [Footnote 1] [Marx and Engels, "Selected Works," Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, vol 6, p 754] For a rather long period of time, our country failed to satisfactorily resolve the relationship between politics and science. Because of this, the creative freedom of scientists has not been manifested well. Thus, formulating democratic rules in scientific activities is essential. Democracy must be expanded in scientific activities, scientific debate and argument must be encouraged, and it must be ensured that different ideas are all equal before the truth. Authoritarianism and dogmatism in scientific activities must be opposed. At the same time, scientists must always fully understand their responsibilities and not use their democratic freedoms in ways harmful to the interests of the fatherland or people.

4. International cooperation must be expanded. International interchanges must be strengthened in order to

come in contact with and study and good things of the world and to enable the world to gain a correct understanding about us. Attention must be given to varying the forms of international cooperation. The important this is to make good preparations so that the cadres who have sufficient professional capabilities and foreign language skills and who are politically secure and sensitive can receive the experiences of the world and support the needs of our country. International cooperation must be managed well, dispersion and localism in this sphere must be overcome, and, at the same time, international sources of information must be handled well in order to effectively serve activities in our country.

5. Investment in the social sciences must be increased. Because of the special nature of social sciences activities, the main source of capital for these activities is the state. The social sciences must be allotted a suitable percentage of the budget funds when the state allocates funds for science and technology. There must be suitable policies to look after things and create material conditions so that scientific cadres in general and social sciences cadres in particular can engage in scientific activities with their minds at ease.

6. The leadership of the party must be renovated and strengthened, and state management regarding the social sciences must be improved. Today, party and state leaders have directly entrusted the social sciences with the task of studying many important topics. Giving attention to using the research results as a basis for formulating and perfecting the policies is a very important condition for setting guidelines and creating a firmer foundation for developing the social sciences in our country. Those in the social sciences hope that the party organizations, authorities at the various echelons, sectors, and organizations will give more attention to training and using the ranks of social sciences cadres and create favorable conditions so that they can complete their tasks, contribute to successfully renovating the country in all respects, and satisfy the constantly increasing requirements of our country's revolution.

Relationship Between Theory and Politics

92JED014C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 92 pp 21-23

[Article by Associate Professor Le Huu Nghia, M.A. in philosophy, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] The issue of the relationship between theory and politics is one that has been posed in many different historical periods. However, for us today, this is still a major issue. Recently, in many socialist countries, including Vietnam, the failure to understand and handle this relationship correctly has led either to holding back the development of theory, causing theory to be backward and dogmatic, or to separating theory from politics, making it impossible for it to actively support the political tasks. In the end, this has harmed the revolution. Thus, in order to manifest the role of theory,

renovate theoretical work, and improve the quality and results of scientific research activities, we must go deeply into and clarify the nature of the relationship between theory (primarily the theory of Marxist-Leninism subjects) and politics. We will then have a scientific basis for handling this relationship correctly in management and leadership.

In the past, a number of bourgeois thinkers intentionally concealed the relationship between theory and politics and intentionally presented their theories outside politics. But history has shown that in every age, theory and politics have a direct and indirect relationship in one form or another. In particular, in Marxism, there is a close and unified connection between theory and politics. Thus, this can be viewed as a theory and science concerning the politics of the working class. In Marxism, ideology and science are in harmony. They do not oppose each other as in a number of other ideological systems. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were both thinkers and scientific theorists. Thus, breaking the correlation between theory and politics in Marxism will have a negative effect on both the theory and politics of the working class and masses of laborers.

The relationship between theory and politics is a complex issue, and extremist viewpoints often arise.

A phenomenon that used to be rather widespread in many socialist countries was that theory and politics and philosophy and politics were viewed as being synonymous. Because of this, theory and philosophy were subordinate to politics. Theory lost its original creative role and its role in making discoveries and predictions, and the scientific nature of theory declined. In the end, identifying theory with politics resulted in theory having only one function, to illustrate the resolutions, viewpoints, and political lines of the party and state. Theorists were simply "followers." Here, it must be affirmed that the task of theory is to scientifically explain the correct policies and resolutions of the party and state. However, that is not the only task or even the main task of theory. Unfortunately, in many instances, the party and political nature of philosophy and theory is understood so superficially that theory is identified with the resolutions of the party committee echelons and the ideas of higher echelons. The result is that theorists don't dare voice their opinions out of fear that they will come under ideological attack. People who voice other views or views contrary to those of the party committee echelons and higher echelons are regarded as "lacking a party nature" and of having "poor political concepts." Thus, the general atmosphere in theoretical activities is one in which everyone tends to agree and there is great passivity. Theorists lack vitality and a combative nature. They do what the leaders say, with few daring to think or voice ideas contrary to those of the leaders and higher echelons.

With the lack of democracy in the party and in theoretical activities, which was the case in many socialist countries in the past, the above situation is rather

widespread. It's easy for leaders to develop a psychology of wanting everyone (including theorists) to obey them absolutely. Theoretical concepts that support politics are distorted to such a degree that they are forced to praise the political viewpoints even though those viewpoints may be wrong. In order to embellish a particular viewpoint, people intentionally "put a theoretical cloak" over it using philosophical language, classical phrases, and "transcendental" arguments. People demand that theory not only support the political lines of the party but also explain specific and temporary political measures. Theory and philosophy no longer have a scientific nature. They have been transformed into tools to defend things (including bad politics).

In order to overcome this error, the idea that theory and politics are synonymous must be eliminated. Theory cannot be replaced by politics (although Marxist-Leninist theory is closely tied to the politics of the working class and the Communist Party). Theory has a system of concepts, categories, and laws and its own internal logic. It is relatively independent as compared with politics. This independence of theory must be respected. It must be independent, but it cannot oppose the party's correct politics. The party should not require theorists to have complete arguments for each specific and immediate political measure. The strength of theory is its ability to provide an orientation in order to understand the nature and laws of reality. Theoretical thinking is above all high-level thinking about the major problems and strategic problems of politics rather than thinking that is concerned about every specific political measure. Based on the changes of the age and situation, political viewpoints and measures can be modified in accord with the specific situation. If theory runs after specific political measures, it will be difficult for it to avoid making mistakes and tarnishing its image. If that happens, it will be difficult to maintain stability and continuity in the development of theory.

In the final analysis, proletarian politics is both a science and an art. But in order for it to really become a science and an art, politics must have a strong theoretical foundation, particularly the law of Marxist dialectics. The political concepts and practices of the party must be reflected in scientific theory, but that does not mean that they can replace or stand above scientific theory. Removing scientific theory from politics will lead to blindness and spontaneity, and because of that a high price will have to be paid.

Politics is a very complex social phenomenon and so it cannot be contained in a single general formula. Nor is politics a straight road. According to Lenin, politics resembles algebra more than arithmetic, and it is more like high-level mathematics than basic mathematics. Thus, no matter how outstanding it is, a theory cannot provide a general purpose prescription or pre-existing answer for all political activities or for all social development issues now and in the future. However, Marxist-Leninist theory can and must serve as the basis for advancing arguments and setting guidelines for studying

reality, studying the situation, and analyzing the relationship among the classes in society, the heart of politics. They must provide a scientific foundation for the lines and resolutions of the party. Scientific theory cannot be lowered just because of politics. That would just damage both politics and scientific theory and give rise to subjectivism and self-contentment among political leaders.

Along with the tendency to identify theory and politics, another extremist tendency is the desire to separate theory from politics and place them in opposition to each other. This tendency, which is a negative reaction to the first tendency, will cause theory to lose its orientation. It will invalidate theory and limit the role of theory in reforming society. If Marxist-Leninist theory is separated from the politics of the working class, it will lose its vitality. Thanks to being tied to politics, theory has attractive power with respect to reality and through this can play a role in reforming the world and escape the realm of "pure thought" and come into the real world. According to Hegel, politics brings expression to the philosophical principles of truth. Through politics, philosophy and theory can be tied more closely to life and have the strength of reason and fairness. If proletarian politics and theory are separated from each other, it will be impossible for them to avoid falling into the "hands" of other types of politics. Theorists are not outsiders who can only criticize things. They must be a part of life and enthusiastically participate in the political practices of the country. The critical nature of theory is actually self-criticism. Today, real theory does not stand outside the process of social renovation launched by the party. It must support the targets of the renovation movement in accord with socialist guidelines. In the final analysis, that is the reason for the existence of revolutionary theory in our country.

In order to deal with the relationship between theory and politics correctly in order to manifest theory's role in renovating our society today, the following problems must be solved:

Real attention and respect must be given to theory. There must be confidence in theorists, and erroneous preconceptions concerning theorists must be eliminated. There must be correct mechanisms and policies in order to exploit the ranks of theorists in many sectors (not just a number of people). Honest and loyal scientists who are men of conscience and talent must be used. There must be policies to train, assemble, and use excellent specialists in order to create a rank of scientists whose function is to give advice on and examine the major policies of the party. Scientific research must become an essential and leading element in the process of formulating the lines and policies of the party and state. Based on the reasons, explanations, and predictions of theorists, politicians must select plans to solve the practical problems.

Democracy must be expanded and manifested, and there must be a mechanism to implement democracy in theoretical research so that everyone can think and debate

things freely and approach the truth. Political leaders should not be afraid to listen to "strange things." The complexes of the scientific theorists and their fear of being criticized and of placing themselves in danger when giving their opinions must be eliminated. Today, the great majority of those who study and teach Marxist-Leninist theory are party members. What steps should be taken to resolve the relationship between the need to "speak and act in accord with the resolutions" and freedom of thought in conducting scientific research? When teaching and spreading propaganda, propagandists adhere strictly to the resolutions of the party. Researchers can express their individual opinions during scientific activities and seminars within specific spheres. There may be internal notices in theoretical circles that should not be published in mass-circulation publications. The party must look for many formulas (including regular formulas) to use the ideas contributed by theorists on the various problems in the different spheres.

A mechanism must be established to effectively coordinate things between theorists and party and state leaders. On one hand, theorists must be provided with accurate and timely information concerning the viewpoints and policies of the party. They must be helped to improve their political concepts, and conditions must be created so that they can relate to the practices of their localities and sectors. On the other hand, attention must be given to educating, training, and raising the general theoretical standards of leaders and managers. They must be helped to grasp the new theoretical issues. In activities, political leaders must be guided by scientific theory. This does not mean that they have to grasp the full truth. Leaders should not think that they have a monopoly on the truth or think that position and prestige can replace scientific truth. They must listen to and respect the opinions of the theorists and make effective use of them as specialists and advisers.

Ho Chi Minh Thought: The Merging of the Two Great Revolutionary Currents of the Era

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in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 92 pp 24-28

[Article by Associate Professor Major General Bui Phan Ky, Institute of Strategic Research]

[Text] Reality is the standard of truth and the starting point and measuring stick for every true theory. This principle was verified during the long and vibrant life of President Ho. He investigated and tested this on many fronts throughout the world and in international organizations and in the revolutionary movements in many European and Asia countries before returning to guide the revolution in Vietnam. Thanks to those practical activities of great value to an Eastern revolutionary leader, President Ho Chi Minh was able to select and deal clearly with Marxist-Leninist principles in accord with Vietnamese realities. Ho Chi Minh thought was not formed all at once. It was formed gradually and developed during the 60 years that he carried on activities,

particularly during the 20 years that he lived in his native country, years that were filled with courageous acts and ups and down. Ho Chi Minh thought can be viewed as a major method—the Ho Chi Minh method—to examine and answer a question related to the fate of the nation and the lives of the people.

The work of Nguyen Ai Quoc cannot be regarded as accepting Marxism-Leninism like an empty garden receiving a new seed. This must be regarded as a process of merging two revolutionary currents: the rising tide of Asian peasants against feudalism and imperialism and the rising tide of European workers against great industrial capital. This is also the merging of two cultures and two philosophies and of the essence of ancient Eastern sociology with the highpoint of modern Western sociology—Marxism-Leninism. These two currents not mutually exclusive. Instead, they supplement and solidify each other. Naturally, what is modern always has the advantage and plays the guiding role.

As we have seen, President Ho manifested rare precision each time he had to set a target, make a decision on a task, determine the next step, deal with strategic situations, choose a solution, and propose ideas to solve problems in many spheres related to the Vietnamese and world revolutions. Naturally, that was the result of a brilliant and far-sighted intellectual who had undergone many experiences that would have been difficult for others to have.

From the very beginning, Nguyen Ai Quoc decided that he had to go to Paris to find a way to save the country. That was the beginning of a correct method: the method of directly observing the country that directly ruled his people in order to gain understanding and have correct measures to deal with this. And as reality has shown, there was one important point that his ancestors, who were loyal and wise, had failed to notice. In the country that was oppressing his people, Nguyen Ai Quoc, with his rather precise knowledge about Eastern principles, discovered that there was not one but two French countries. There was the "overseas" France with its policy of cruel administration and its "colonial nature." But that was very temporary and tiny next to the other France, the eternal and great France, the France of the 1789 revolution and the Paris commune, and of the resistance against Germany. This France had a brilliant culture that had matured in the longing for human liberation.

This general view attracted Nguyen Ai Quoc to the revolutionary movement of the French working class and helped rid him of his nationalist thinking, a racial attitude held by scholars and intellectuals in the country. From that, he made the leap from wanting to liberate his race to wanting to liberate man, particularly the "down-trodden" in the colonial countries.

That initial truth helped Nguyen Ai Quoc to view and evaluate the enemy in a more accurate manner. He did not equate them with the entire nation. He learned how

to isolate and distinguish them without confusing them with the majority of honest people of conscience in that country. That outlook had a rather special effect on all the activities of President Ho: He never had two rivals that he had to deal with at the same time.

Within him, the class struggle viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism was deftly merged with a traditional Vietnamese principle: "Use the great cause to defeat the cruel and use humanity in place of brutality." Thus, in confronting him, the enemy was usually defeated by an integrated strength, not by the material and military strength that he could mobilize but by spiritual strengths: principles, laws, and psychology. This strength affected the rear and the families of the enemy. It caused them to commit cruel acts and to lose faith in their ideas and work. President Ho used violence only as a last resort. Once the conflict posed by history ended, he was imbued with the spirit of Eastern philosophy: let go of hatred, and there are no eternal enemies. Within the nation, except for those who intentionally resisted, Ho Chi Minh thought tended toward merger and coming together rather than division and opposition.

With this viewpoint and strategic outlook, Ho Chi Minh held great attraction and had the ability to assemble very large forces. Above all, he assembled friends among the various peoples in the same situation, friends among the ranks of the enemy and in the imperialist capitalist countries, and friends among all people of conscience in the world. From that, he formed a broad people's front and assembled a force that could win and that could be turned into a great and effective strength to hit the target. That strategic idea made the Vietnamese revolution part of the world revolution and placed the liberation of the Vietnamese people within the orbit of the broad struggle to liberate man, the struggle between the progressive and the backward, between a love for peace and justice and an abhorrence for war, and between the path to socialism and the path to capitalism.

His direct observations in Africa, Latin America, and Europe and the vital documents that he received through the activities of the "Alliance of Colonial Countries" helped Nguyen Ai Quoc see the forces that could be mobilized for the broad struggle, the forces that Lenin, by the time of his death, had just come to appreciate through logical thinking and the requirements of the workers movement subordinate to the Third International that had to be fully supported.

Only by investigating things and gathering materials in a scientific way could a youth such as Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was not yet 25 years old, point out, right from the first years of the 20th Century, the great strength of the oppressed nations throughout the world. "The colonial and semi-colonial countries...have an area of more than 15 million square km and a population of 1.2 billion people.... Even though their populations can make them strong, those oppressed nations have never really tried to find the path to liberate themselves. They do not understand the value of international solidarity.... They have

within themselves a great strength of which they are unaware." [Footnote 1] [Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, vol 1, p 210] Through his practical activities, Nguyen Ai Quoc, together with the oppressed peoples, searched for a way to liberate themselves and did everything to transform the "value of national and international solidarity" into reality, bring them the "great strength of which they were unaware," and turn Lenin's slogan "the proletariat of all countries and all oppressed people's must unite" into reality.

As the Japanese scholar Singo Shibata has written: There are few Marxists like President Ho, because he was born in a colony or lived as if he were living in Vietnam or some other colony. That enabled him to expand the theory on the national and colonial problems.

It would be a mistake to think that Ho Chi Minh thought is simply the application of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnamese realities. In a report given at the Second National Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Eastern Nationalities on 22 November 1919, Lenin said: "All of you have a task that communists throughout the world have never had before. While relying on the general theory and practices of communism, you must do things in accord with the particular conditions not present in the European countries and study ways to apply this theory and these practices in places where the masses are composed mainly of peasants and in places where the task is not to carry on an antibourgeois struggle but to carry on a struggle against the vestiges of the medieval age." [Footnote 2] [Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, vol 39, p 372]

Ho Chi Minh satisfied that requirement. He developed Marxism-Leninism in successfully carrying out "a task that communists had never had to do before" in a "place where most of the people were peasants," and in "special conditions" that were completely different from those in Europe.

As a person from an ancient agricultural country, Nguyen Ai Quoc recognized early on that the essence of the problem of liberating the colony was liberating the peasants. But Ho Chi Minh thought never became infected by a peasant view when examining and handling the relationship between the social classes, particularly the role and position of the peasant class in the revolutionary process.

At the First International Congress of Peasants in October 1923, he put forth a principled argument concerning this matter: "In the present age, the working class is the only class with the historical mission of leading the revolution to final victory by forging an alliance with the peasant class. Opportunistic currents, flattering the peasants, view the peasants as the main force, as the motive force of the revolution, and as the most revolutionary rank. That will lead to adventurism and anarchic extremism and to a betrayal of Leninism."

[Footnote 3] [Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, vol 1, p 26, 27]

It can be said that what attracted Nguyen Ai Quoc to the Third International was Lenin's thesis on colonial peoples. What turned Nguyen Ai Quoc into a communist was Marx's argument that "a revolution must be carried on in order to make the environment more humane for man" and to enable each person to grow freely.

Through Ho Chi Minh, Marxist-Leninist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was aimed at liberating the laborers and liberating man, was applied like a struggle between the good and the bad and between humanism and non-humanism in order to gain power over the non-humanism of the ruling exploiters and enable the righteousness existing among the laboring people to grow freely. Violence and dictatorship were never pushed to an extreme as was done elsewhere.

Adhering to the Vietnamese tradition of "loving others as you love yourself" and imbued with the idealistic humanitarian ideals of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh thought, in which the red thread running throughout is altruism, is not restricted to the humanism of gentlemen as Confucius said "Gentlemen can adhere to right humanism; common men can't" (meaning that only gentlemen can be imbued with humanism). The altruism in Ho Chi Minh thought contains both the ideals of communism, which are to liberate man and eliminate injustice, and the virtue of the Vietnamese nation, which is to "use humaneness in place of cruelty." And it is colored by Eastern culture, that is, compassion and fraternity.

The central expression of Ho Chi Minh thought is boundless love for the people, not only for the people of his own country but also for all people everywhere, for people across all national borders, in all nations, and of all factions. He even opened a path so that those who were being manipulated by the reactionary imperialists could reform themselves and receive forgiveness. President Ho once reminded a combat cadre that he should not use the phrase "wonderful attack" (because of killing many enemies). If it is necessary to kill many people, that should not be regarded as something wonderful.

Prior to 1991, very few people knew that on 19 December 1946, after reading the "Appeal for National Resistance," he immediately sent an appeal to the French people (which was recently disclosed in the book *Ho Chi Minh: From Indochina to Vietnam* by D. Emory, which was published in November 1990 in Paris): "Frenchmen! We have great respect for you and hope to cooperate with you based on a spirit of close friendship—because we share the same ideals. The colonial reactionaries are soiling France's good name.

"French soldiers! There has never been any hatred or rancor between us. It is the interests of the colonial reactionaries that provoked hostilities and made us enemies..."

On 22 September 1946, in a letter of response to Social in the French Women's Federation, President Ho sent warm greetings to all French women who had loved ones fighting in Indochina. This response can be regarded as the basic policy ever since with respect to the people with whom we have been in conflict. President Ho wrote: "If French youths come to Vietnam as workers, technicians, or scholars, I can assure you that they will be warmly welcomed like friends and brothers. But if they come as armed soldiers to conquer us, there will be fighting. This fratricidal war must stop. Based on the spirit that all people are brothers, I love French youths just as I love Vietnamese youths. For me, the life of a Frenchman and the life of a Vietnamese are equally valuable. I sincerely hope that French and Vietnamese youths can understand each other and love each other like brothers."

Frenchmen have come to Vietnam in both ways, and they have been received in both of those ways. There has been very little "deviation" from the pledge given by President Ho to French mothers almost 50 years ago.

With the experience of a person familiar with doing research, Ho Chi Minh aimed at his target and pursued the ideals of socialism. He was gladdened by the great victories won in the homeland of the October Revolution and in the fraternal socialist countries. But by the 1940s, he had still not found a model that was really in accord with the future system in Vietnam. At the beginning of 1941, in "Cadre Training Materials for the Liberation Movement," he outlined a model for a new democratic society (new democracy). According to President Ho, this society has three main goals: national independence, civil rights and freedoms, and the welfare of the people. This is completely different from the fascist dictatorship of the English and American financial bourgeoisie, and it is different from the "Sovietism" of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and the corrupt parliamentary system in France. The nature of this is completely Vietnamese. This created a strong and progressive Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Clearly, Ho Chi Minh thought eliminated the capitalist path, but it did not use the soviet system in Russia in 1941 as a model for the future social system in our country. He advocated a progressive social system that was completely Vietnamese, a system that uses Man as the central character. Besides the target of national independence, he stressed civil rights (freedoms) and the welfare (happiness) of the people, and he gave much attention to improving the people's standard of culture. Socialism is a "progressive social system," but it must be "completely Vietnamese." This means tying socialism to national independence, increasing the will to be self-reliant and independent, and not slighting international aid.

Regarding man as the central character and turning the people into the masters of society, Ho Chi Minh thought requires that all tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat must fulfill their function as loyal servants of the people and not become "revolutionary mandarins." At a

time when world socialism is encountering a serious crisis, in many places, after pushing the doctrine of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat to an extreme position, people are terrified that "we have lost the human quality in socialism." If that has been lost somewhere, the people there should calmly take steps to get it back. In Ho Chi Minh thought, from words to positions and policies, communist humanism is always elevated and overcomes all territorial and racial boundaries. In his book *Influences and Styles in the Lines and Practices of the Communist Party of Vietnam* (Westview Press, Colorado, 1980), the researcher George Budaran recognized that "the Communist Party of Vietnam is perhaps the only party never to have become the laughing-stock of everyone with respect to internal struggles." Internally, Vietnamese Communists may have had serious arguments, but those have never developed to the point of opposition and open attacks on individuals. The great solidarity of Ho Chi Minh is the leading tactic."

Closely tied to the spirit of "all people are brothers and a harmonious world" of Eastern philosophy, the workers internationalism in Ho Chi Minh thought bears no speck of envy or xenophobia. President Ho pointed out many times that national selfishness is a form of individualism on a national scale. He asked all Vietnamese who loved their fatherland to respect all people and other countries. "Helping friendly countries means helping ourselves. We must elevate our international spirit and respect the rights, practices, and people of friendly countries." (Letter sent to units engaged in helping friendly troops, 3 April 1953).

Five years after the Soviet regime was established, in 1922 Lenin had to make an appeal to protect the non-Russian peoples from attack by Russians and Great-Russian chauvinists, who were actually mean and cruel people. [Footnote 4] [Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, vol 45, pp 408, 411] He made a distinction between the nationalism of the large nations and the nationalism of the small nations and between the nationalism of the ruling nations and the nationalism of the subjugated nations. He affirmed that nothing can hamper the growth and strength of proletarian solidarity like national inequality. [Footnote 5] [Ibid.] Today, in those places where the statute of Lenin has been removed, the great-nation and small-nation "chauvinism" criticized by Lenin has sprung up again like a mushroom. The broad unanimity with Vietnam's policy of wanting to be friends with all countries shows that the integration of true patriotism with internationalism in Ho Chi Minh thought has sustained the revolutionary movement in this country.

The State Using the People as the Basis, the Guiding Point in Ho Chi Minh Thought

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in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 92 pp 29-32

[Article by Tien Hai]

[Text] Many centuries ago, Confucius made a famous statement: "The people encompass the realm" (the

people are the root of the country) and "the state uses the people" (the state uses the people as the root). Later on, that idea of Confucius was supplemented and further developed by Mencius, who said that the people are what is precious, the country comes second, and the emperor should be ignored." Following the ideas of Confucius and Mencius, President Ho Chi Minh often affirmed similar ideas.

In the process of carrying on revolutionary activities, particularly when approaching the democratic and civil rights ideas of the European and American bourgeois revolutions and then Marxism-Leninism, those ideas in Ho Chi Minh were supplemented and developed in a perfect way. On many occasions, he clearly affirmed that "the state must use the people as the root" [Footnote 1] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985, vol 5, p 77] and "the revolution is the work of the masses and not the work of heroic individuals." [Footnote 2] [Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, vol 2, p 183]

1. According to Ho Chi Minh thought, the phrase "the state using the people as the root" means that there must be a firm belief in the great strength and creative abilities of the people. The role and forces of the people must be evaluated correctly, and the revolution must be regarded as the work of the masses.

It is the masses that create history and that push history to move forward constantly. Lenin affirmed that truth very early and very completely. He said that "only if people have faith in the people and immerse themselves in the living creativity of the people will they be able to seize and keep power." [Footnote 3] [Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, vol 35, pp 68, 69]

President Ho often said that "nothing in the world is as precious as the people. Nothing in the world is as strong as the united forces of the people." [Footnote 4] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1987, vol 7, p 544] "In the fight to build the nation, the main forces are the people." [Footnote 5] [Ibid., vol 5, p 77] "Only if a tree has strong roots will it be strong. The building can be built successfully only if the people are the foundation." [Footnote 6] [Ibid., p 79] He pointed out that the strength of the masses is very great, and that these forces are inexhaustible. Every task requires the support of the masses. Without the masses, no matter how small or easy the task, it will not be possible to complete that task. With the masses, no matter how difficult or large the task, it can be completed. No matter how hard the task, with the support of the people, it can be accomplished.

Based on general evaluations of the great strength and creative capabilities of the masses, President Ho deeply and scientifically analyzed the mass forces in Vietnam

during the revolutionary period and affirmed the leading position of the working class and the main-force role of the working and peasant classes. Thus, in the revolutionary process, the working class, under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and his vanguard party, formed a close alliance with the peasant class. Based on that, he assembled the other strata of laboring people and progressive forces to form a broad front, a great revolutionary mass force. It was this force that performed historical miracles and determined the success of the revolution.

The revolution is the work of the masses. The masses have great strength and unusual creative abilities. But President Ho also pointed out that those great strengths and creative abilities can be exploited only under the leadership of a real revolutionary party. The leadership responsibilities of the party include arousing, organizing, and exploiting the great strengths of the people.

2. According to Ho Chi Minh thought, the phrase "the state uses the people as the basis" also means that people must thoroughly understand the viewpoint "all for the interests of the laboring people."

This viewpoint cannot stop at phrases, resolutions, and documents but must be manifested in actual tasks and actions such as truly loving the people, giving adequate attention to the material and spiritual lives of the people, and formulating effective and positive plans to improve the people's standard of culture.

Our party wields power. The party is the vanguard unit of the Vietnamese working class and the loyal representative of the interests of the working class, laboring people, and all the people. The state is a state of the people, by the people, and for the people. Thus, the party and state are responsible above all to the people. President Ho said that the party and government must give much attention to the lives of the people. "If the people are hungry, the party and government are to blame; if the people are cold, the party and government are to blame; if the people are illiterate, the party and government are to blame; and if the people become ill, the party and government are to blame." [Footnote 7] [Ibid., vol 7, pp 260, 261]

The basic target of our country's revolution, in the simple and easily-understood way in which it was expressed by President Ho, is to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous, and strong Vietnam. That is the model of a socialist Vietnam. President Ho's model has been supplemented and developed in a more concrete manner by the party in the "Program for Building the Country in the Period of Transition to Socialism." The program states that "the socialist society that we are building is a society in which:

"The people are the masters.

"There is a highly-developed economy based on modern production forces and public ownership of the main means of production.

"There is a progressive culture and deep national color.

"The people have been freed from oppression, exploitation, and injustice, they work according to their abilities and are paid according to their labor, they are prosperous, free, and happy, and they can grow in all respects as individuals.

"The ethnic minorities in the country are equal, there is solidarity among them, and they help each other to advance.

"There are friendly and cooperative relations with the peoples of all countries in the world." [Footnote 8] ["Program for Building the Country in the Period of Transition to Socialism," Su That Publishing House, 1991, pp 8, 9]

Regardless of how it is expressed, a major issue is that the people must be the masters of society and must enjoy real freedom and happiness.

In caring for the lives of the people, particularly in conditions in which our country is still poor, an important factor that must be given much attention is fairness. President Ho often said that in distribution there are two important points that must always be remembered: Never fear shortages, only injustice, and never fear poverty, only unrest among the people.

Looking after the lives of the people and showing love for the people must be manifested by specific actions and not just empty words. President Ho required each cadre and party member to set an example with respect to this. President Ho himself carried this out very seriously.

He said that the "party must formulate a very good plan to develop the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the people's standard of living." [Footnote 9] [Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, vol 2, p 542] According to him, good plans (positions and policies) must always be based on the interests, hopes, and standards of the people. In evaluating our positions and policies and determining whether they are good or bad, we must look and see if the majority of the people are enthusiastic and in agreement and if they are implementing these enthusiastically. We must see if production is being promoted, if the economy is growing, if the lives of the people are stable and gradually developing, and if national defense and security are being maintained. If the positions and policies have not been involved in daily life, are not in accord with the wishes of the people, and have not been received enthusiastically by the people, their scientific basis and correctness must be reexamined. After correct positions and policies have been implemented, the cadres and party members must advocate awareness, launch the masses, organize and lead the masses, unite the masses around the party, and transform the determination of the party into the determination of the masses in implementing the lines and policies of the party.

3. According to Ho Chi Minh thought, the state using the people as the basis also means that leadership methods and work styles must be in accord with a mass viewpoint.

The mass viewpoint here has a very specific meaning: to respect and manifest the ownership rights of the masses, to study and listen to the views of the masses, to penetrate deeply and form a close relationship with the masses, to engage in frank self-criticism and accept criticism from the masses, to set an example for the masses, to refrain from imitating the masses, and to oppose all manifestations of individualism. In short, there are two striking points in the mass viewpoint to which President Ho gave much attention: First, to respect and fully implement the ownership rights of the people, and second, to elevate revolutionary morals and oppose individualism and bureaucratism.

Respecting and manifesting the ownership rights of the masses means to ensure the ownership rights of the masses in all spheres of social life and to exploit their political and social activeness and creativity in the revolution. In agreement with the views of Lieu Ton Nguyen, a famous scholar during the time of the Tang dynasty, who said that people who serve as officials are servants of the people (who work for the people) and not "masters of the people" (who can force the people to work for them), President Ho often reminded cadres and party members that they must "really respect the ownership rights of the people. You must not issue orders and show your authority like 'revolutionary mandarins.'"

In order to guarantee the ownership rights of the people, laws must be promulgated, and actions that violate the laws and oppose the people must be suppressed resolutely. In places that tolerate those who abuse their powers, those who engage in corruption and theft, speculators and smugglers, and hoodlums who disrupt security and social order, the ownership rights of the people are not being guaranteed. Without laws and discipline, the people's ownership rights will be just a slogan. It will not be possible to put this into practice.

To respect the ownership rights of the people, the people's understanding concerning democracy must be improved. This means that "steps must be taken to ensure that the people enjoy democratic rights, use their democratic rights, and dare to speak and act." [Footnote 10] [Ibid., p 225] Democracy is both a human value and a social mechanism. Democracy has both a human and a class nature. The level of democracy is closely linked to the level of civilization. Without civilization, there is no democracy, and the purpose of democracy is to advance civilization. Our country's democracy is a socialist democracy. It is a democracy of the majority and a real right of the laboring people. Bourgeois democracy is linked to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie while socialist democracy is linked to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The evaluation of the democracy of a social system is not based just on its slogans but also on how it implements those slogans. Capitalism mouths very

attractive slogans about democracy, but that is just a trap and a way to trick the exploited and poor. The masses must be provided with basic knowledge about democracy. When the masses don't have a minimum knowledge about democracy and the law, this often leads to two things. First, they won't know that they have ownership rights and so when those rights are violated, they won't wage a struggle to demand those rights. Second, the enemy can easily make use of them and arouse them, which leads to unprincipled struggle and violent actions.

For President Ho, the mass viewpoint was also an issue of revolutionary morals and revolutionary feelings. According to him, this was not something lofty that came down from above but something quite ordinary and very specific and easy to understand. But implementing this is not easy "without the will power to train and the persistence to struggle."

People with a mass viewpoint are people who always place the interests of the party, people, and nation above all else and who can correctly resolve the relationship between individual interests and the interests of the party, people, and nation when conflicts arise in that relationship.

People with a mass viewpoint are people who have a close relationship with the people, who listen to the ideas of the people, who are skilled at organizing and leading the people, who can gain the people's trust, support, and love through their words and actions, and who can then propagandize and effectively mobilize the people. President Ho often advised cadres and party members to "adhere to the mass viewpoint, follow the mass line, learn from the masses, resolutely rely on the masses, and educate and launch the masses in implementing the positions and policies of the party and state. You must be honest and upright and not try to conceal your ignorance, shortcomings, or mistakes. You must be modest. You must stick close to the masses and not be arrogant, and you must remain objective and never be subjective." [Footnote 11] [Ibid., pp 156, 157]

People with a mass viewpoint are people who have a lofty concept of organization and discipline. They are not dogmatic or do not think that they are above the organization or that they stand outside discipline. The concept of organization and discipline must be manifested in both thought and action, in the person's manner of speaking, and in his daily relations with the people.

People with a mass viewpoint are people whose actions match their words and who act more than talk. The people usually evaluate cadres and party members based on what they say and do every day. Saying one thing but doing something else is something that revolutionary cadres must avoid. If there is distrust about one thing, there will be distrust about everything. If cadres are not trusted, supported, and loved by the people, "they will be useless and won't be able to accomplish anything."

People with a mass viewpoint are people who have a lofty concept of self-criticism and criticism. Criticism must be linked to self-criticism. President Ho said that a disease often seen in our cadres is that they know only how to criticize others but don't want to listen to others' criticism of them. They don't engage in self-criticism or don't do so in an honest or serious way. He said that "We are not afraid to make mistakes. All we are afraid of is making mistakes and not taking resolute action to correct those mistakes. To correct mistakes, we must be ready to listen to the criticism given by the masses and engage in honest self-criticism. If we refuse to listen to criticism and do not engage in self-criticism, we will become outdated and regress. And if we are outdated and regress, we will be rejected by the masses." [Footnote 12] [Ibid., pp 112, 113]

People with a mass viewpoint are people who live a pure and wholesome life, who do not live extravagantly, who are not degraded or corrupt, and who do not want special rights and privileges. During the first years after we seized power, President Ho seriously pointed out the degeneracy of a number of cadres and party members. What he was referring to was that "some comrades are still concerned about status and intentionally strive to become a member of this committee or a chairman of that committee. Some comrades are worried about eating and dressing well. They want to convert public property to private property and use their positions and duties to grow rich. They are more concerned about their own personal activities than their public duties. Some people are still in the habit of 'helping all family members once they become officials.' They put their relatives and friends in this or that position without regard for whether they can do the job. If something goes wrong, the mass group will take care of it, with their only purpose being to ensure that their relatives and friends have a position." [Footnote 13] [Ibid., pp 31, 32]

People with a mass viewpoint are people who always set an example for the masses. They mingle with the people but do not imitate the masses. Because: "We can't simply call ourselves 'communists' and expect the people to love us. The masses will respect only people who have qualifications and morals. To guide the people, you must set an example for them." [Footnote 14] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1985, vol 5, p 184]

The revolution is the task of the masses. The revolutionary renovation movement launched by the party is also a task of the masses. If the country is to get out of the present economic and social crisis quickly and if the renovation movement is to succeed, there must be mass forces under the leadership of the party. Thus, President Ho's concept of "the state using the people as the basis" is still a very current idea that is of great value in guiding our renovation movement today.

Further Discussion on Regulating Planning and Markets

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 pp 33-35; 38

[Article by Hoang Dat; not translated]

The Market Mechanism, Opposing Ideas

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 pp 36-38

[Article by Hoang Anh Nguyen; not translated]

The Social Environment of Science and Industry in Our Country

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 pp 39-41

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Tuan; not translated]

Renovating Methods of Teaching Marxist-Leninist Theory in Colleges and Higher Schools

923E0014F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 92 pp 42-43, 47

[Article by Tran Duy Khang and Dinh Xuan Ly, Marxist-Leninist Center, Hanoi University]

[Text] Since the sixth and seventh party congresses, many scientific seminars on theoretical instruction have been held for the purpose of formulating scientific arguments for today's renovation process. Recently, there have been many profound changes in the world, and many changes have taken place in the country. However, theoretical instruction in the colleges and higher schools has not made much progress in order to keep pace with life. Thus, analyzing the real situation and looking for paths and solutions in order to accelerate the renovation of this task have become urgent problems.

Above all, there must be a correct understanding concerning the role and position of Marxist-Leninist theory in social life in general and in the schools in particular. This is the factor that will open the way for renovating this work. But for a long time now, the management echelons and a number of instructional cadres have failed to understand this fully.

Naturally, theoretical instruction must be aimed at establishing a political orientation based on science. But identifying the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory with the teaching of politics and even regarding the task of this as simply illustrating and repeating things for specific, immediate political tasks has "vulgarized" the role and position of theoretical subjects and created a psychology of "sighting" this subject.

The above incorrect understanding has led to many other problems. Many schools have arbitrarily reduced the number of periods and arranged the instructional structure of the theoretical subjects at their own convenience. Also, attention has not been given to investing in and creating conditions for scientific research and the training of instructional cadres. Few of the theoretical classes in the schools have been equipped with book-cases, materials, and other means to support instruction.

Recently, the collapse of socialism in many countries has had a great effect on the thinking and feelings of the cadres and people. The doubts that a number of people have about the scientific nature, persuasive character, and role of Marxist-Leninist theory are eroding the position of theoretical subjects in the minds of the people responsible and among students.

Thus, to renovate the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory based on the spirit of Politburo Resolution 26 (sixth term) "On Science and Technology in Renovation" and Politburo Resolution 01 (seventh term) "On Theoretical Work in the Present Stage," the immediate thing is to renovate understanding and foster correct understanding concerning the role and position of Marxist-Leninist theory in society in general and in the schools in particular.

The research programs that have been disclosed and the party's viewpoints have pointed out a number of the reasons that led to the defeat and collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. That involved a process of moving away from and finally rejecting the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. It was the collapse of a socialist model that was filled with shortcomings and that had been built on the basis of subjective voluntarism in disregard of the objective laws. Those shortcomings are not shortcomings of scientific socialism or Marxism-Leninism but originate from the subjective errors made by communist parties.

The renovation movement in our country since the seventh party congress has been examined in actual life and shown that the above observations are correct.

Through our historical experiences, with the results achieved in the various spheres in the national democratic revolution and in the period of transition to socialism, particularly in the renovation movement, and through activities to contribute ideas to formulate the proceedings of the seventh party congress and the revised constitution, our people have shown resolute will power in continuing to move the country along the socialist path under the leadership of the party.

The party's political program has stated that the key point for leading the people in successfully building socialism is to "use Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought as the ideological foundation and compass for action." The "Marxist-Leninist world view and the ideas and morals of Ho Chi Minh must hold a guiding position in social life."

Thus, the propagation and teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory and Ho Chi Minh thought in society and in the schools has become a particularly important task.

Thoroughly understanding and developing the above ideas and viewpoints of the party for the echelons and schools is essential and urgent. On one hand, this is aimed at eliminating the doubts about the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, and on the other hand this is aimed at unifying understanding concerning the role and position of Marxist-Leninist theory in social life in general and in the schools in particular.

Second, another very important requirement of the renovation process is to re-edit the system of theoretical books, from the textbooks to the research materials.

These books, as previously edited, contain various historical limitations and the limitations of the old, one-sided way of thinking, and they are not in line with the results of theoretical research or the realities of life. If instructors "teach by the book," students are forced to "respond" based on what their instructors have told them. This has made theory "dry" and insipid and put it into conflict with reality. As a result, instructors are afraid to teach and students don't want to study. This has created doubts about the revolutionary and scientific nature and role and effect of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Everyone knows about or is affected by the achievements scored by the all-round renovation of the country, particularly in the economic sphere, the correct positions and policies of the party and state in recent years, and the initial results in theoretical research concerning socialism since the sixth party congress. But to what degree have those things been reflected in the textbooks? Furthermore, we have not systematically reexamined the arguments in the classics or in the textbooks written earlier in order to see which arguments are correct, which need to be supplemented and developed, and which ones are no longer correct and "belong to history."

In our view, another important task is to bring forward a number of other lessons or topics related to the new intellectual achievements of man in order to help students clearly understand how the birth and development of Marxist-Leninist theory is closely related to the general intellectual essence of mankind.

The time has come when we must scientifically expand research on the legacies of Marxism-Leninism and the problems of renovation, which has been affirmed by reality. We must make choices and include these in the subjects in order to create a basis for compiling and supplementing the theory textbooks and materials that support teaching theory.

Third, improving the quality of the cadres who teach theory is an important factor in the renovation process. For a long time, the "inputs" of the ranks of the instructional cadres have not given proper attention to their technical capabilities or ability to teach. Providing training and improving their quality has not been regarded as an urgent and constant need. Self-improvement has lacked conditions and motive power, particularly with respect to this subject, which has many special characteristics. Not enough attention has been given to and not enough has been invested in scientific research work, which is an important activity for instructional cadres in general and those who teach theory in particular. State-level, ministry-level, and school-level topics on theory and theoretical instruction have not been expanded to the instructional cadres. The college and higher school sector has more than 100 schools and thousands of cadres who teach theory, but there is no official forum for presenting research programs or exchanging information on teaching contents and methods.

The situation in which instructors simply teach what is in the books, in which they receive little training and are not provided with information (particularly new information), and in which there is little dialogue or discussion about the problems that have arisen in teaching has caused people to view Marxist-Leninist theory as a rigid dogma that is remote from life and "difficult to grasp."

Retraining and improving the standards of the cadres who teach theory is one of the urgent requirements of the renovation process. We cannot systematically retrain them all at once. Thus, short-term training classes should be opened immediately in conjunction with providing post-graduate training in theoretical subjects. At the same time, scientific activities must be strengthened, with this viewed as a necessary condition for those who teach theory at the college level. A scientific forum must be opened immediately so that instructors can publicly discuss the research projects and exchange opinions on contents and methods of teaching theory.

Five years ago, at a scientific seminar on teaching theory that was organized by GIAO DUC LY LUAN, some people said that theoretical instruction was "in a crisis." (Footnote 1) [See GIAO DUC LY LUAN, May 1988 pp 61, 62] This view is rational and is almost correct. Clearly, the era and the sudden events that have taken place in the world have increased the seriousness of this crisis. Thus, renovating the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in the present situation is a very urgent and important task. A great effort must be made, and there must be a spirit of responsibility on the part of the management echelons, research organizations, and ranks of cadres who teach theory.

Valuable Experiences

923E0014G Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 92 pp 44-47

[Article by Huy Hung]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City is a strategic location in the south. It is one of the areas in the country with great economic potential and a good outlook for developing the economic sectors in all respects and creating a large volume of commodity products for the entire country.

In five years of implementing the resolution of the sixth national party congress, the city has made fundamental changes on the economic, cultural, and social fronts. By 1990, the city had 6.1 percent of the population, 4.2 percent of the laborers, and 21 percent of the commercial production assets of the entire country. And it had made great contributions as follows: 32.8 percent of the gross value of industrial production; 32.8 percent of the gross volume of commercial sales; 17.2 percent of the gross volume of construction and installation; 35.1 percent of the gross volume of commodity and passenger transportation; 54.3 percent of gross post and telegraph revenues; 24.6 percent of gross budget receipts; 16.6 percent of the gross social product; and 19 percent of the national income.

Thanks to stabilizing and developing the economy, the city has been able to expand investments to develop the cultural, educational, and public health sectors and gradually improve the standard of living of the laboring people.

From the graphic realities of the city, a number of initial lessons on renovating economic management can be mentioned:

1. Determining a rational economic structure is a factor for ensuring that the economy develops in the right way and in all respects.

Building the economic structure of a region, province, or city must be based on the economic and natural conditions, practices, and traditions. Only if this is done will this have an objective nature. With the city located in the middle of Nam Bo, a rich economic region, the economic structure of the city must be linked in a perfect economic whole with the economic structure of Nam Bo, with the core being the economic triangle: Ho Chi Minh City-Bien Hoa-Vung Tau.

In accord with the economic development strategy of the country, the city has decided that the current and long-term economic structure must be industry-commerce-services. Along with expanding agriculture in all respects, the city is promoting intensive cultivation in conjunction with the processing industry, expanding the sectors, and creating jobs for the laborers.

Determining a rational economic structure will, on one hand, point out the direction for the economic sectors based on the existing potential and traditions of the locality and region and determine the supplementary economic sectors in a unified whole. On the other hand, this will create a basis for determining the allocation of investment capital and the technical and industrial structure in order to make the best use of the capabilities of the city and region to support the requirement of developing the economy in all respects.

The economic structure is not some abstraction but the existing hidden capabilities of a locality and territorial area. However, those capabilities cannot manifest an effect on their own accord but require the intervention of man. People must discover those capabilities and select measures to exploit them and turn them into reality.

It can be said that in a locality or territorial area, the economic structure can be compared to an axle around which the other measures revolve. Thus, based on a rational economic structure, the city has determined the scale of the production sectors (mainly medium-sized and small scale sectors with a division of labor and synchronized production cooperation and with high product quality and high economic results). It has determined the technical and industrial structure and the pattern of investment capital, selected rational forms for organizing and managing production along with using a system of attractive economic policies with the strength

to attract economic elements and get them to participate in building and expanding the economy of the city.

The attractiveness of the measures for implementing the above economic structure is that they can mobilize the integrated strength of the city and of Nam Bo and the entire country, and they have the ability to forge links with other countries through economic projects and plans that have a scientific basis and that are sufficiently attractive.

2. The urban markets must be tied to the markets of Nam Bo and to domestic and world markets.

To talk about commodity production is to talk about markets. If a product that is produced can't be sold, that is, if there is no market for it, that product can't be regarded as a commodity. Thus, today, the main concern of commodity producers is markets. The needs and tastes of consumers on the various markets is the decisive factor in choosing the industrial process and scale of product production. Adhering to this key factor, in recent years the city has actively looked for measures to adhere to and expand the markets. Above all, it has looked for ways to create the necessary factors in order to ensure the formation of a unified market in Nam Bo, expand to national markets, and link the city's markets to foreign markets. Looking for the key factors to provide the capabilities to adhere to and obtain markets is not easy. City leaders and businessmen have been fairly successful in studying and creatively analyzing the basic factors of the markets, including commodities and services, currency and capital, labor strength, and so on. With their experience and active style of guiding things, they soon discovered that the key element of the markets is the capital market. Many of the city's businessmen have said that the essence of commercial production can be summed up in the single word "capital." Creating capital and making effective use of sources of capital are the factors that will determine the success or failure of a business. The realities of Ho Chi Minh City have shown that approaching and expanding the capital markets, particularly the capital markets in the capitalist countries, can't be done just through the resourcefulness of a number of units and individuals. Rather, this must be done through the general mechanism, that is, through the commercial banking system, the financial and foreign exchange systems, and the bond market. Market research and forecast centers must be formed, and information on domestic and world markets must be compiled and processed. Although we have just begun to form these systems and more work must be done to perfect them, they have created very basic management means and tools and provided city leaders and businessmen with the materials and data needed to form a basis for formulating policies to expand the markets and attract investment capital both here and abroad.

As a result of the creative way of thinking and doing things discussed above, in recent years, even though the city has had to deal with the general domestic economic and social difficulties and bear the complex effects of the

world situation, particularly the situation in Eastern Europe and the (former) Soviet Union, it has been able to prevent trade with domestic and foreign markets from declining and has even been able to expand trade. The city's commercial and services strength has constantly been exploited. The city is becoming a currency and technical transfer center and the hub of the country's international relations.

3. Reorganizing the state economy must be tied to expanding the private economy.

The state and private economies are integral elements of the city's economy. From a broad perspective, all of the products and revenues of the city are created by these two economic sectors. In 1990, the private economy accounted for 45.2 percent of the national income produced in the city. Although it accounts for a high percentage, in general, the state economy suffered huge losses.

Reorganizing the state economy also means enabling the state enterprises to use and save materials, capital, and so on to maintain effective commercial production. In a multifaceted commercial economy, the commercial production results of each economic element is affected by the other economic elements. The state and private economies are both the precondition and condition for the expansion of both. For example, switching a number of state enterprises that are operating at a loss from state ownership to collective or private ownership will reduce the burden on the state economy and strengthen the production and labor factors for the private economic sector. In the specific situations discussed above and in many other relationships, the reorganization of the state economy must be related to stimulating the expansion of the private economic sector.

Realizing the importance of the above relationship, in recent years, the city has concentrated its efforts on reorganizing the state economy. At the same time, it has implemented correct and bold policies to encourage the private economic elements to invest in expanding commercial production. Some people have said that in a market mechanism, the markets should be allowed to reorganize the state economy. The city's leaders and managers have not followed that advice completely, because they think that with the proper effects of the laws of man, every objective thing can reach the goal faster. The city has actively analyzed the state enterprises and affirmed which production installations in which sectors must be maintained (even if they are suffering losses) and which sectors (if they continue to suffer losses) should be disbanded or transferred to other economic elements. Naturally, when handling specific cases, things must be done very carefully and gradually. After they have been reorganized, the state enterprises must be enterprises "with owners" and effective businesses.

In order to encourage the private economic elements to expand greatly with the proper orientation, the city has

concretized the commercial law, the share corporation law, and the investment law, clearly defined the legal setting, and stipulated unified and simple administrative procedures with the power to attract investment by economic elements in order to expand and develop production. The city has taken the lead in applying new economic forms such as: share corporations (shares may or may not be issued), joint venture corporations and enterprises, agent and contract ordering corporations and enterprises, and processing zones, central and free economy industrial zones, and other duty-free forms. Varying the economic forms has created the preconditions for handling the ownership, management, and distribution relationships in a flexible and optimum manner, made it possible to attract all strata of people to participate in the production and commodity exchange process, and made the city's markets even more lively than they were before.

Correctly handling the relationship between reorganizing the state economy and encouraging the growth of the private economic sector is a very important problem. This will decide the all-round growth of the economy and ensure that jobs are created and that the standard of living of the laboring people is stabilized and improved. This is the lesson that has been learned from the realities of renovating the economy in the city.

4. Renovating the management mechanism must go hand in hand with improving the management results of the state apparatus.

The renovation process in Vietnam in recent years has given us vivid lessons on the relationship between renovating the economic management mechanism and improving the management results of the state apparatus.

In renovating the economic management mechanism, the first thing is to build a system of economic policies and laws that inherits and exploits national traditions and that accepts the essence of the age. However, no matter how perfect, a system of economic policies and laws cannot become involved in life without a very effective state management apparatus.

State management of the economy means that the state manages the economy using laws, not by directly interfering in the commercial production work of the economic units. As the proceedings of the seventh party congress state: "State economic management is aimed at setting directions, guiding the economic elements, and creating a favorable environment and favorable conditions for production and business activities based on a market mechanism". (Footnote 1) ["Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991 pp 66, 67]

In Vietnam, the various echelon authorities have long been familiar with command-type management methods. They are use to imposing planned norms from above. Because of this, familiarizing them with and getting them to carry out the new management functions

well will not be easy. It can be said that in the resolutions of the party and government, the general principles on determining the functions between state economic management and production and business management are fairly clear, and people accept these. However, because of habits and reasons having to do with "interests," many people are intentionally using the old statutes and principles, and they continue to interfere crudely in the affairs of other people. In order to virtually overcome this situation, in the guidelines for developing the economy and society to the year 2000, Ho Chi Minh City has raised fundamental issues concerning deciding between state management and business management. The administrative echelons will engage only in administrative management functions and will no longer be an investment management echelon of the commercial production installations.

To talk about the effects of the state apparatus is to talk about the effect of administrative management (based on the administrative laws). Taking the initiative in having the city's administrative echelons perform only administrative management functions is in accord with the development of a law-governed state. This state must have a unified, thorough, and efficient administration that can act quickly. Thus, there must be a rank of administrative cadres (including primary-, middle-, and high-level cadres) who have been trained based on the functions and standards decided on and who are used and compensated accordingly. Standardizing and "functionalizing" the ranks of civil servants is a basic condition for reorganizing the various-echelon administrative cadres of the city and guiding the activities of the administrative echelons based on their actual functions—state economic management functions.

Exploiting the management effects of the state apparatus can include many elements, but the important thing is

that city leaders found the key elements (administrative management effects) and assembled effective measures to bring about a synchronized change between renovating the economic management mechanism and improving the management effects of the state apparatus in the city. In short, looking for the key element and dismantling things from the key element is a dynamic and creative way to think and act that shows the originality of the city.

The time that I am writing about these initial experiences of Ho Chi Minh City is a time when the city is facing serious difficulties on many fronts. Besides the long-standing economic and social problems that have also been confronting the rest of the country (lack of capital and materials, a deteriorating infrastructure, difficult living condition, and poverty), the city also has its own special problems. In particular, the serious and extended shortage of electricity is creating huge losses for production and creating additional difficulties for the lives of the people.

With the existing traditions and experiences of the people of the city and with the concern and help of the various echelons, sectors, and localities in the country, the city that is named after President Ho and that has a market mechanism with state control will certainly overcome the difficulties very quickly and soon become a prosperous and beautiful city that is attractive to people both here and abroad.

Agricultural Cooperatives in Quang Nam-Danang: A Picture That Is Becoming Clear

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 pp 48-50

[Article by Hung Nghiem; not translated]

Youth Strive To Join the Party

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[Article by Pham Dinh Dang and Tran Mieu]

[Text] Editor's note: In order to contribute to preparing for the third plenum of the party Central Committee (seventh term) on party building and the sixth national congress of the Ho Chi Minh Youth Union, the editorial staff of TAP CHI CONG SAN and the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Union Union recently organized a scientific and practical seminar in Hanoi on the topic "Youths Strive To Join the Party." Many youth work and party work research cadres from the youth union Central Committee, the TAP CHI CONG SAN research institute, central organizations, and organizations in Hanoi attended the seminar. Ha Quang Du, a member of the party Central Committee and the first secretary of the youth union Central Committee, and Nguyen Phu Trong, the editor in chief of TAP CHI CONG SAN, presided at the seminar.

The following is a summary of a number of the main topics discussed at the seminar.

I. The Importance and Urgency of the Problem

Many delegates attending the seminar said that expanding the party and giving the party new vitality is a constant task of the party organizations. In the present situation, reducing the average age of the ranks of the party is particularly important and an urgent requirement. This is because:

First, our country's revolution is entering a very important stage: We have begun to form a multifaceted commodity economy that operates based on a market mechanism with the management of the state; democratic activities in society are increasing; foreign economic relations are expanding; and the party must quickly grow to keep up with the new requirements. Youths are the assault forces of the revolution, and they are taking the lead in carrying on renovation. The youth union is the heroic and trustworthy reserve unit of the party. More than ever before, the party must implement effective measures to organize, educate, and exploit the great potential of youths and bring the outstanding youths into the party in order to increase the intellectual strength and youthful power of the party and make preparations for having youths take over the revolution of the party and people in a loyal and outstanding manner.

Second, an important lesson learned from the collapse of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Eastern Europe and the (former) Soviet Union is the matter of building and preparing the generation that will take over the revolution. In today's conditions, particularly as we head into the future on the path of socialist construction, this work is not only of immediate importance but also of great strategic importance.

Third, the international situation, which has undergone profound and complex changes, is having a great effect on our country and youths. Outside enemy forces are working with reactionaries and bad elements in the country in an attempt to implement their plot of "peaceful change" in an attempt to implement political pluralization and a multiparty system, the real aim of which is to eliminate the leadership of the party and topple our system. On the other hand, they are spreading reactionary ideas, a degenerate and harmful culture, and an immoral way of life in order to damage and eventually win over and attract the youths of our country. Protecting and maintaining youths has become a very important task.

Fourth, the ranks of party members are "growing older." The average age of all party members is over 42. Thus, reducing the average age of the ranks of party members and making the party more dynamic and stronger by recruiting many more outstanding youths into the party is a very objective and pressing need.

II. The Real Situation Regarding Youths Joining the Party and the Recruitment of Youths Into the Party During the Past Period

Whenever this problem is mentioned, people have many different views, and things are evaluated differently depending on the position and point of view of the people looking at the matter. Most people say that "generalizations" shouldn't be made about the "aging of the party" and that it shouldn't be said that youths don't want to join the party. Instead, each specific target should be analyzed clearly, and standards should be determined in an objective manner.

A number of reports that have surveyed the real situation during the past 10 years (1981-1991) show that:

The 1981-1987 period: There were 529,414 youth union members who joined the party, accounting for 78.7 percent of the 672,471 new party members. The peak year was 1981, when 86,828 people joined. The year when the fewest joined was 1987, when 64,947 youths joined the party. It should be noted that the percentage of new party members who were youth union members as compared with the total number of new party members has changed. In the year with the highest percentage (1983), the percentage was 93.35 percent. The percentage in the lowest year (1987), was 62.8 percent. On the average, about 75,630 youth union members were recruited into the party each year.

The 1988-1991 period: A total of 157,845 youth union members were recruited into the party out of a total of 227,641 new party members. The peak year was 1988, when 60,891 youth union members, or 72.2 percent joined the party. The lowest year was 1991, when only 17,676, or 63.7 percent, were recruited into the party. On the average, 39,461 youth union members joined the party each year.

However, in each zone and at each youth target, the situation was different. In the military, the percentage of youth union members who were recruited into the party was 85-90 percent of the total number of new party members. But at the colleges, the percentage did not exceed 3 percent. In Hanoi, in 1991, the number of youth union members recruited into the party accounted for only 38 percent of the total number of new party members. In Thai Binh the percentage was 50 percent.

As for the recruitment of youths into the party by the party committee echelons, a number of reports show that the percentage of youth union members recruited by the party as compared with the total number of outstanding youth union members recommended by the youth union has consistently been low. The yearly average for the entire country has been 22 percent, with the highest place being Quang Ninh with 32 percent and the lowest place being Thai Binh with 4.5 percent. If this percentage is increased to 50 percent, at the very least, each year the party will have an additional 800,000 young party members.

In general, the number of youth union members joining the party has declined every year. In 1990, the number of youth union members joining the party was equal to only 37.44 percent the number joining in 1981, with the number declining by an average of more than 2 percent a year.

III. The Reasons for the Above Situation

Those attending the seminar said that there are many reasons for the above situation, but the four main reasons are as follows:

First are factors having to do with the party. This is the main reason. The party directly leads and guides the youth union. Thus, it is the party that is responsible for its reserve unit.

Many party committee echelons do not fully see the importance of expanding the party among youths and so they have been lax in this work. They have not given attention to building the youth union and have slighted training, educating, and strengthening the generation that will take over the revolution. The Politburo of the party Central Committee has issued a resolution on youth work, but many party committee echelons have been slow in putting forth specific measures to lead youth work. The organizational contents and methods of youth work are based on the old experiences. Feudal thinking, paternalistic behavior, narrow-minded views, and incorrect evaluations concerning youths have limited the active nature of youths.

Many party committee echelons and leading cadres in the party have failed to respect the independence of the youth union with respect to organizational aspects or given the youth union a "blank check" in recruiting youth union members into the party. In Hai Hung, there are 52 primary level party organizations that have not carried on party development work for 10 straight years.

In Dong Da Ward in Hanoi, there are 600 party chapters that have not recruited any additional party members for many years. In Ba Dinh Ward in Hanoi, up to 65 percent of the party members do not engage in mass work. There are dozens of outstanding youth union members who have held the position of district youth union secretary or an equivalent position and who have been targets for recruitment into the party for several decades but have still not been recruited into the party. In a number of places, this work is done, but it is done in a "factional" or "clannish" manner.

On the other hand, in the new conditions, the party has not formulated a model of a suitable party member. A number of cadres and party members do not set an example for youths. Their moral qualities and intellectual standards have not kept pace with the situation. Some are degenerate and degraded and have set a bad example for youths. This has made youths hesitant, and they have not actively studied or followed the example of party members.

This does not mean that youths have lost all confidence in the party or that they do not want to join the party. But it does show that whether youths are active in wanting to join the party depends above all on the party.

Second are reasons having to do with the youth union. In recent years, the youth union has been slow in renovating its work contents, forms, and methods. It can even be said that things have eroded and become outdated and boring. As a result, youths find the youth union "insipid" and "boring." The number of youth union members has declined and so has its quality. At the same time, the number of inferior youth union bases is still very high, exceeding 30 percent of the bases. There is a shortage of good-quality youth union cadres in many sectors, and many union cadres are not at ease in their work. Bureaucratism and formalism are still serious problems. The forms used to assemble the various strata of youths are monotonous. Many youths "remain outside" the youth union and federation. Many youth union members skip activities.

There are divisions among the youths. Along with the progressive youths, there are also a sizable number of youths who do not fully see their responsibilities and who do not have a concept of striving to grow in order to take over the revolutionary work of the party and nation. Some are wavering in their ideas, and their understanding of the values of life are backward. They are indifferent to their social responsibilities and lazy, and they lead a pragmatic way of life and believe in superstitions. They are morally degenerate, they get into fights, and they violate the law. Some rural youths practice corrupted customs, drink heavily, and are superstitious. Some students and young intellectuals have liberal bourgeois ideas, lead a foreign and unwholesome way of life, belittle the wonderful national cultural life, and are indifferent to politics. Youths in the Armed Forces don't want to become officers, and lack of discipline has increased among a number of cadres and

soldiers. Many laboring youths and young manual workers have abandoned production in order to engage in trading. They engage in tax evasion, commit fraud, and put on airs. The lives of ethnic minority youths are in general still very difficult. They suffer shortages and contract diseases, and illiteracy and backward practices are still serious problems. A large number of youths who belong to various religious groups still have complexes in social activities, and cultural life is still low. Unfortunately, in the face of this situation, we have not taken appropriate action and have not done very much.

Third, the commodity economy based on a market mechanism has created rather deep divisions in society and among the youths. This, added to the economic and social difficulties that have been piling up for a long time, have caused many serious problems with respect to youths: a lack of jobs, low incomes, illiteracy, school dropouts, poor health, and social evils. But the state has not promptly promulgated laws, measures, and policies, and there is a lack of investment needed to satisfy the development needs of the young generation. We have been sluggish in formulating regulations in harmony with the youth union and other youth organizations, and there is no organizational structure in order to coordinate the forces well in youth work. The fact that some of the people who have preceded them have become degenerate and degraded and the lack of responsibility of the families, schools, organizations, units and places of residence have had a bad effect on youths. On the other hand, the information "explosion," the entry of non-socialist ideas, the pragmatic bourgeois way of life, and the contrary aspects of the market mechanism have confused the youths and so they do not have a correct understanding concerning the party and socialism.

Fourth, as mentioned above, the world political situation has undergone profound and complex changes, and this has had a powerful effect on the youths of our country. The enemy has implemented a plot of "peaceful change" and is disseminating reactionary ideas, a degenerate and harmful culture, and an immoral way of life in an effort to attract and damage the youths of our country. In particular, the effects of the economic and social crisis have led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist countries in Eastern Europe and to the disintegration of the Communist and Workers Parties in those countries. As a result of this, many of our youths have doubts about socialism, the party, and the youth union.

IV. Proposed Solutions

Many of the delegates at the seminar proposed concrete solutions in order to overcome the above state of affairs.

1. On the party:

In reorganizing and renovating itself, the party must give attention to renovating its knowledge of and the themes and methods of educating youths, actively give attention to solidifying youth union construction, and view building the youth union as building the party. Building

the youth union must be led based on improving its quality so that it is worthy of being the trustworthy reserve unit of the party, the political nucleus of the youth movement, and the true representative of youths. The mobilization formulas and the forms for assembling youths must be varied in order to hit the "prosperous people, strong country" target. Studies must be done in building a party member model in the new conditions.

Along with orienting ideals, the party must lead and coordinate activities in the political system in order to strengthen the youths and turn them into good citizens who love their socialist country. All-round attention must be given to the needs of youths, particularly their legitimate material and spiritual needs, and to their progressive hopes. At the same time, attention must be given to satisfying the interests of youths and guiding them in actively satisfying their aspirations.

Research and studies must be conducted and information must be obtained in order to correctly evaluate youths and, based on that, implement policies, plans, and measures on party development work among youths. Work measures must be formulated between the party committee echelons and the youth union executive committees in a democratic way, and the necessary conditions must be provided in order to implement those policies and plans.

The party must be purified, and the inferior party members must be expelled immediately. At the same time, the party bases must be solidified so that they are strong and pure. Each party member must be responsible for carrying on youth work and recruiting new party members.

The procedures for recruiting new party members must be examined and revised as appropriate. Those regulations that are no longer suitable must be done away with.

There must be measures to review, make preliminary summaries, and promptly criticize party organizations with respect to this work.

Not only the party committee echelons but also the party members who are heads of units, organizations, enterprises, and schools must coordinate things and personally participate in guiding party development work.

2. On the youth union and youths:

Improving the quality of the Ho Chi Minh Youth Union so that the union has the strength to serve as the political nucleus and assemble all strata of youths in the Vietnam Youth Federation holds a very important position in youth work in general and in educating youth union members who will join the party in particular.

Youth work in the new situation is a matter of harmonizing the obligations and rights of youths and educating the youths to manifest the wonderful traditions of older generations and participate actively in renovating the country. At the same time, this will contribute to satisfying the legitimate needs of youths, such as the need for

jobs, education, entertainment, and recreation, and create favorable conditions for youths to develop their talents and make great contributions to the country. This is the best environment so that youths can understand the party, and it will provide the basic conditions necessary for youths to approach and join the party.

Under the leadership of the party, the youth union must strive to strengthen itself and give attention to quality so that it is really worthy of being the trustworthy reserve unit of the party, a socialist school for youths, the political nucleus of the youth movements and organizations, and the representative and protector of the interests of youths.

A matter of great importance is that the youth union must find forms and measures to provide political and ideological education and launch action movements in accord with the special characteristics of youths in the new socioeconomic conditions. Based on paying attention to and satisfying the legitimate needs and interests of youths, the youth union must get more and more youths to participate in the activities, arouse them, and gradually raise the standards of the young generation.

The apparatus and operating formulas of the youth union must be simplified, bureaucratism must be overcome, and the emphasis must be on the primary level, with attention given to solidifying the youth union chapters. The operating formulas of the union must be renovated in order to provide timely and accurate information, close attention must be given to the realities of the youth movements, the key tasks must be grasped, and problems must be solved in a timely, concrete, and efficient manner.

Attention must be given to developing a model in building the organizations and revolutionary action movements of youths, and the youth union organizations must be enabled to manifest their role in participating in party building, which includes recommending outstanding youth union members for examination and recruitment by the party.

Youths must self-consciously strive to grow and see their responsibilities in inheriting the revolutionary work of the party and nation. They can't wait or rely on others or shift responsibility to or lay blame on others. The youth

union has a very important role to play in developing forms to assemble youths by occupation, tastes, and operating needs.

3. Regarding all of society:

Educating youths and creating favorable conditions so that youths can make contributions and grow is the responsibility of all of society. Thus, the political and social organizations, agencies, and mass organizations must coordinate things closely and effectively in assembling and educating youths based on the following guidelines:

The party and state must implement policies to train and make efficient use of the youth union and federation cadres and practice democracy in selecting cadres to carry on youth work. The ranks of youth union cadres must be suitably compensated. Materials and equipment must be invested for youth union activities and for youth education.

Along with promoting research and promulgating a number of laws, such as the labor law, the youth law, the education reform law, and so on, to ensure that youths develop in a wholesome way, a suitable organizational structure must be formed in order to build and coordinate things with the various echelon administrative organizations in implementing the social policies on youths.

Regulations must be formulated on coordinating activities between the administration and the youth union so that the union can perform its functions in an adequate manner.

The mass organizations and social organizations must have specific programs to coordinate things with the youth union in order to carry on youth work. The sectors, particularly the educational, cultural, information, and labor sectors, the agencies that broadcast information, the publishing houses, and the press must focus their activities on educating and training youths, particularly concerning moral qualities and a wholesome way of life.

All of those attending the seminar stressed that the basic measures mentioned above must be carried on in a synchronized, speedy, and appropriate manner. Only in this way will we be able to gradually involve youths in renovating the country, direct their attention to the youth union and party, and encourage them to actively join the party in the present situation.

Praise and Blame for the Present Age

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 p 56

[Article by Nguyen Van Loc; not translated]

On the New World Order

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 pp 57-58

[Article by Professor T.Q.D.; not translated]

Modern Liberal Economic Currents in the West
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 92 pp 59-63

[Article by Du Pham Can; not translated]

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