



JPRS Report

East Asia

Southeast Asia
Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN
No 8, August 1992

East Asia Southeast Asia

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No. 8, August 1992

JPRS-ATC-92-013

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16 November 1992

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Editorial

The Present Situation and Our Tasks

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, August 92 pp 3-10

[Article by Do Muoi; published in FBIS-EAS-92-133, 10
Jul 92 pp 46-53]

Urgent Issues With Respect to the Ethnic Minority Areas

933E0003A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 11-14

[Article by Nong Duc Manh, member of the Politburo
and head of the Nationalities Department of the Central
Echelon]

[Text] In recent years, in renovating the country, fraternal nationalities who have shown solidarity in helping to move toward socialism have scored initial achievements. There are many new capabilities for the development of the nationalities. However, the process of searching for suitable forms, measures, and steps for each area and each nationality so that they can become more and more prosperous through their own strengths is a very difficult and complex process. This is both a basic and long-term process and a very urgent process. There are many things that must be done, but in the coming period, efforts must be concentrated on solving the following problems:

1. Proper attention must be given to the minimum needs of people, and the help given by the state and society must be strengthened in order to stabilize the material and spiritual lives of the tribesmen.

For each person as well as for each nationality, the key point is to ensure that their needs concerning food, clothing, health, travel, and education are satisfied. Anything related to these urgent needs of human life must be the leading concern in our society in general and of each nationality in the country in particular.

For many reasons, among the nationalities living in Vietnam, there are a number of ethnic minority groups that are still living in poverty. They are backward, and they face countless difficulties in their lives. In many areas, hunger is a constant problem, and disease is pervasive. There is a shortage of the minimum means of life (such as housing, blankets, mosquito nets, and water), and sanitation is poor. This has a direct effect on the health of the people and on production.

Because they are hungry, the tribesmen have to destroy the forests to engage in slash-burn agriculture. They live as nomads and continue to engage in outmoded practices and habits. With respect to material and spiritual life, there is a huge gap between the regions and ethnic minority groups, and this affects solidarity and equality. It is difficult to avoid making comparisons and developing an inferiority complex.

Our party and state have made and are making an effort to find new mechanisms and use positive measures to encourage the sectors and localities concerned to promptly satisfy the needs of tribesmen in remote areas for food, clothing, medicines, and writing paper. Regarding these areas, economic accounting should not be implemented in a pure form but in a way that will hit the target of serving the people. In remote, highland areas, former revolutionary base areas, and key zones, the state must implement a special investment policy, stabilize living conditions, and create trends so that the nationalities can develop. It must be understood that this is a strategic viewpoint: The immediate target of improving living conditions of the nationalities must be linked to the long-term target of the socialist revolution, which is to build and defend the fatherland.

2. Each area and nationality has its own special characteristics, difficulties, and advantages. The strength of the tribal areas in our country is that these are large natural areas, with some areas having very fertile soil (such as in the Central Highlands). There are rich forests and abundant natural resources and minerals. In many places, short- and long-term industrial crops and special crops of high economic value can be grown. There are favorable conditions for raising livestock, and hydroelectric sources on a small, medium, and large scale can be developed in many places.

Along with the advantages, there are also quite a few factors that are hindering the economic development of the ethnic minority areas. A widespread situation is a lack of capital and labor, particularly laborers and specialists in the economic and technical sectors. The infrastructure (such as communications routes, the information and signal system, bridges and ferryboats, docks, and so on) is very backward. The complex and difficult terrain and severe climate makes exchanges between areas very difficult.

In recent years, the initial experiences in the renovation movement have helped us find a number of new directions, overcome some of the difficulties, effectively exploit the potential and strengths, create a foundation, and develop the economy in the tribal areas.

First, the mechanism for turning over land and forest areas to families has been renovated in order to ensure the long-term economic interests of the laborers.

Based on reexamining and rationally adjusting the arable land fund, land and forests must be turned over to laborers. The state farms and forests and state economic units that are not making a profit can turn over their right to use the fixed assets (including land and forests) to the members of the state farms and forests and tribesmen in the area. The state farms and forests and state economic organizations can switch to performing services having to do with capital, material, and technology, ensure the processing and distribution of products (input and output), and help and stimulate production for the households. The work of concluding

agreements and turning over responsibilities among the economic elements must be organized carefully. The form used to contract out (both quantity and quality) the work of planting trees and looking after the forests must be changed. Those who undertake contracts must clearly know what share they will receive. If the people truly regard the forests as belonging to them, they won't destroy the forests but will protect the forests.

In places that lack farm land, the local authorities must formulate preparatory plans to enable the people there to produce and survive. Free migration must be limited as much as possible, because that can cause difficulties for both the people moving in and the local people. The nomads must be settled based on an integrated, synchronized, and firm viewpoint. Settled farming must be tied to a settled life and serve as a basis for a settled life. Settled life requires a stable life from the very beginning in order to expand production. Settlement of the nomads must be dealt with as part of building new economic zones, transferring land and forests based on a suitable mechanism, and gradually improving the standard of living.

Second, each area and nationality must correctly determine its economic structure in order to expand production. Based on doing studies, the natural conditions, climatic, arable land, and labor conditions, and the natural resources must be fully understood in order to determine suitable guidelines for building the economic structure. Each tribal area must arrange a forest economy in coordination with an agricultural, industrial, and service economy. The traditional occupations of the localities must be restored and exploited. New sectors must be opened depending on the capabilities and on domestic and foreign market demand. Industry must be expanded, particularly small- and medium-sized processing industries.

The guiding role of the state economic sectors must be manifested with respect to the local economy. The state economic organizations must guide, help, and stimulate the other economic elements so that they expand. The scientific and technical advances must be used. Necessities must be circulated and provided. The people must be given help in borrowing capital, and attention must be given to the public welfare in the locality.

Attention must be given to expanding the collective economy based on having people participate voluntarily in accord with the production and managerial standards of the people in each area. Each economic element, each family, and each person must be encouraged to participate in commercial production. In agriculture and forestry, the family must serve as the basic production unit. The production policies and orientation must be in accord with each area's general plan based on developing a commodity economy. The nationalities in the areas that have many difficulties must have suitable forms in order to gradually move from a natural self-sufficient economy to a commodity economy.

Studying the various aspects of the situation will help decide the economic and social arguments. The special tribal and population characteristics and the natural conditions must be understood in order to build strategic economic zones such as the Central Highlands, the northern mountainous area, the Nam Bo Delta, and, in particular, the border areas.

Third, the state must use a variety of forms and suitable mechanisms to mobilize many sources of capital, and it must have a synchronized investment policy, with the key point being to expand production.

Today, tribesmen are not producing enough to eat, and they are not accumulating enough for reproduction. Without the investment and help of the state, fraternal peoples, and the various economic elements, achieving self-sufficiency will remain an empty slogan. The tribesmen do not have the material conditions necessary to expand commercial production. They have stood still, and sometimes they have even regressed with a natural, self-sufficient economy that destroys the environment.

Mobilizing many sources of capital from domestic and foreign economic elements, strengthening the state's sources of investment capital, and mobilizing the sources of capital among the people is decisive for economic and social development in the tribal areas. Given that orientation, particular attention must be given to the aid policy of the state budget in order to invest in a synchronized and focused manner, based on the projects and plans, in the important spheres and tribal areas.

The state must give priority to investing in the construction of a number of infrastructural bases for the tribal areas. Midlands and mountain area economic and social development plans to the year 2000 must be formulated, and solutions for stabilizing the economy and society of the poor tribal areas that have many difficulties must be drafted. The Ministry of Finance must increase budget subsidies to the tribal areas, and a number of favorable measures in distribution and circulation and in credit banking must be stipulated. The various investment plans of the sectors and localities have been, are being, or will be implemented.

The important thing is to manage and use the investment funds (even though still very limited, these are very important) carefully, promptly, and effectively in accord with the objective (the right people and the right task) and create a basis for the people to stabilize things in order to expand production and improve living conditions.

3. The cultural standards and the level of political awareness of the tribesmen must be raised.

Whether the nationalities development process succeeds or fails depends on the human factor—educated people who have scientific and technical knowledge, who are patriotic and kind, and who will show solidarity with and help each other.

Today, in many tribal areas, the enemy is using religious activities to band together with a number of evil elements, putting out propaganda to distort the lines and policies of the party and state, and using ideological tricks in an effort to win over the tribal masses. The arbitrary mining of valuable and rare minerals has had a serious effect on public order and security and the environment. Drug addiction is spreading and becoming widespread among youths and children. There are many reasons for this situation, but the main reason is that the cultural standards of the tribesmen are low, their political concepts are weak, and they have not kept pace with the rapid changes of society and the age.

Raising the people's standard of culture will contribute to the division of social labor. This is actually a process of gradually changing people's ideas from narrowminded thinking in a natural, self-sufficient economy to a preference for commodity production.

Improving the people's standard of culture is also a process of maintaining and exploiting the traditions and cultural colors of the nationalities and blocking the encroachment of degenerate and alien cultures that could affect the thinking, morals, and way of life of the tribesmen. Maintaining tribal cultural colors does not mean viewing your own people as superior to other people, which could lead to isolation and conservatism and prevent people who having dealings with other nationalities. The strengths of each nationality will be increased by the capabilities and potential of that nationality, but at the same time, they must absorb the valuable factors of other nationalities.

4. A rank of cadres must be built in order to satisfy the socioeconomic development needs of the tribesmen.

Today, there are very few tribal cadres, and their quality is poor. Training has not satisfied the requirements. They are not being used efficiently, and the results have been poor. One of the main obstacles in training and building ranks of tribal cadres today is that the educational standards of cadres in general are too low. The policies of the party and state on tribal cadres have been slow to renovate things, and there has been a lack of planning and a lack of regular investment based on a common strategic target.

First of all, it must be fully understood that building a rank of tribal cadres must start from the socioeconomic development targets in the tribal areas. There must be unity in three main spheres: general education to raise the people's standard of culture and create sources of cadres; vocational education to train specialists and technical cadres; and advanced training to have managerial and leadership cadres at the various echelons and in the sectors and localities. In each of these "spheres," the key point is to improve the quality of the training so that when they finish their training, each person will have sufficient capabilities to handle the tasks assigned

him. Renovating training must be carried on in everything from selecting students to developing the contents of the programs and the teaching methods.

Training projects must be formulated at the schools, and training tribal cadres at the macrocosmic level must include leaders, specialists, scientists who do research on ethnic minorities, and local and village level cadres. The contents of the training must be varied for all of the above targets. Investment must be increased in order to expand cadre education and training. In investing in this, attention must be given to building ranks of tribal cadres who have prestige in the locality (such as village elders and village headmen). There must be better policies so that cadres from other places will work enthusiastically and use all their energy and intelligence to support development in the mountain and tribal areas.

Socioeconomic construction and development in the tribal areas requires more and more cadres, particularly economic leadership cadres and technical workers. The time has come to turn training into a central task that is carried on like a major revolutionary movement among the people and among the cadres and party members. This movement must be aimed at three targets: 1. to solidify the educational foundation, with the first thing being to eliminate illiteracy using every means and form available; 2. to make primary education universal among the people, with special attention given to the children of school age; and 3. to fulfill the obligation of studying culture and improving the standards of the cadres and party members. This is actually the decisive factor for eliminating poverty and backwardness. Naturally, this is a very difficult and complex movement. Thus, things must be organized in a careful and synchronized manner, education must be propagandized, and there must be suitable policies to encourage and motivate people. Attention must be given to concentrating the domestic and foreign aid on this movement.

The state must invest in opening centralized schools, providing long-term training, and preparing key cadres for the tribal areas. In order to have ranks of instructors and doctors and cadres in general who have the capabilities to work in these areas, in the training programs, attention must be given to providing instruction in ethnology and mass agitation and teaching students about the special characteristics of the natural economy in the mountain areas and about the cultures of the ethnic minorities. Only in this way will it be possible to gradually forge a concept of awareness and a feeling of closeness between the party's cadres and the tribesmen.

The 7th National Party Congress Resolution and Trade Union Activities

93E0003B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 15-18

[Article by Nguyen Van Tu, member of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and chairman of the Vietnam Labor Federation]

[Text] The Seventh CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress showed great unanimity on all the issues having to do with the viewpoints and lines of decisive importance to the fate of the country. The congress affirmed the socialist path and pointed out the main features of a socialist society and the basic orientation guiding socialist construction in our country. At the same time, it determined the targets and tasks that must be hit and carried out during the period 1991-1995. The congress also established basic viewpoints on party building, affirmed the working class nature of the party and the need to build a socialist state of the people, by the people, and for the people, and clearly defined the functional role of the fatherland front and mass social and political organizations in order to gradually build and perfect socialist democracy.

Workers, laborers, and trade union organizations are in full agreement with the party's resolutions and pledge to do everything they can, together with the people, to successfully implement the party's resolutions. Above all, the worker and trade union movements must concentrate on carrying out the following key tasks:

1. They must actively contribute to expanding the multifaceted, socialist-oriented commodity economy. This is the path for exploiting the production potential of society, eliminating poverty, bringing the country out of its underdeveloped state, and gradually advancing to socialism. With their functions, the trade unions must actively participate, together with the state, in formulating laws and policies, creating the conditions and environment in which the economic elements can grow, and limiting the negative effects of the market mechanism on the laborers as much as possible.

The state economy is the strength of the state and an important environment and site of trade union organization and activity. Thus, the worker and trade union movements must give priority attention to enabling the state economy to implement the guiding role and macrocosmic management functions of the state. The state must have concrete policies on management mechanisms, on reorganizing the state production installations, and on reorganizing labor in this sphere. The trade unions must support these policies, but on the other hand, they must promptly spot the policies that are not in accord with reality and make specific suggestions in implementing the legitimate rights of the laborers. The trade unions must give special attention to the social factors and laborers in commercial production. This attention must be focused on the issues of participating in formulating and implementing policies to encourage material and spiritual interests in order to stimulate the dynamism and creativity of the millions of workers and civil servants and get them to take a real interest in the results of commercial production, which will enable the state economy to stand firm and expand in a competitive environment. The trade unions must participate with the management organizations and enterprises in improving skills and providing training suited to the new production technology. They must also participate with the

state in renovating the management mechanism and manifesting the ownership rights and responsibilities of the laborers at the production installations. They must implement the rights and responsibilities of the trade unions based on the Trade Union Law and struggle against manifestations of losing democracy, trampling on the masses, and violating the Trade Union Law. Jobs, a good standard of living, democracy, and social fairness are the targets of the trade union activities and the condition for having a revolutionary mass action movement. Thus, synchronized attention must be given to all these factors.

The trade unions must actively participate with the state in creating the conditions and environment necessary for the non-state economic elements to develop. Only if this is done will we be able to mobilize the potential of the people to expand production, provide jobs for the laborers, and increase the national income in order to eliminate poverty. During this very important initial stage, the trade unions must make suggestions to the state to continue revising and perfecting the policies so that citizens will willingly invest capital in production and business. In particular, the trade unions must understand things correctly and have correct methods in order to participate in handling the owner-worker relationships in accord with the laws and to protect the interests of the laborers and the legal interests of the owners of the enterprises. The trade unions must actively participate, together with the state, in soon promulgating social insurance policies for the workers, laborers, and civil servants in all the economic elements. The trade unions must actively carry on a movement to ensure labor safety at all the production installations, particularly at the private production installations and the small industry and handicraft installations and in agricultural production.

2. The trade unions must actively participate in formulating social policies and protecting the legitimate and legal rights of the workers and laborers. Under socialism, with correct social policies, the happiness of the people is the target of the economic policies and the main motive force for exploiting the capabilities of the people. The social policies cover many types of varied and complex issues. Some problems stem from our history and from the consequences of the war. Other problems have arisen from our backward and undeveloped economy. And some problems have arisen just recently in a multifaceted commodity economy. It will take time to solve the problems, and they must be solved based on coordinating economic growth with social progress and coordinating the capabilities of the state with those of the people and those of the central echelon with those of the localities. Carrying out their function of protecting the interests of the laborers, the trade unions must actively participate in formulating, revising, and perfecting the social policies and monitoring the implementation of those policies. At the same time, they must become involved in social activities, manifest the tradition of solidarity and mutual affection in order to unite the

laborers and get them to join the labor unions, and actively shoulder, together with the state, the burden of resolving the common difficulties of society. Based on this spirit, the trade unions must concentrate on the following:

They must participate with the state in providing jobs for the laborers. This is both an urgent and long-term problem that can gradually be solved only by strengthening the economy, expanding production and services, and coordinating the responsibilities of the state with those of each person, each production installation, and each locality. In expanding a commodity economy that is tied to the markets, we do not think that jobs are tied just to the state rolls. Jobs are activities within the framework of the law that are of value to society and that enable the laborers to earn an income that they can use to support themselves and contribute to society. With this understanding, the trade unions must participate, together with the state, in formulating and implementing a national jobs program, formulating labor and occupational training policies, and formulating measures to manage the population centers. The job training centers must be expanded, information on jobs must be provided, and guidance must be provided on labor contract procedures. International help must be sought in order to implement the job creation programs. In places that are able, the trade unions can assemble laborers to voluntarily organize production, business, and services in order to create additional jobs for laborers. The trade unions must get the workers and laborers to participate actively in varying the products produced in order to create additional jobs. The trade unions must give attention to handling the policies on surplus laborers and create conditions to help them study, retrain themselves, and find new occupations and jobs.

They must continue participating with the state in gradually implementing wage reforms and enabling wages to ensure the reproduction of the labor strength and serve as a lever to encourage laborers to pay attention to the result of production and business and the results of the work. It must be seen that reforming wages is not an easy process. Thus, the trade unions must have a general outlook, see all the budgetary difficulties and capabilities of the state, remain calm instead of becoming impatient, and concentrate their efforts on solving the priority problems, such as reorganizing the production and business organizations, reorganizing the apparatus, reducing the size of the administrative and professional staffs, and so on. Social policies must be separated from wages, social aid and charitable funds must be established, and the housing policy must gradually be reformed. The public health policy must be renovated, and a social insurance fund must be established. Education must be expanded in all respects, with priority given to echelons and regions.

Based on reviewing the experiences of the past 30 years in managing the social insurance sector, the trade unions must actively participate with the state in formulating new social insurance laws based on the spirit of the

resolution of the Seventh CPV Congress. At the same time, labor protection laws must be formulated, and a labor safety and environmental protection movement must be promoted.

The trade unions must do more to promote the population planning movement. Attention must be given to guiding the movement to build the new cultural family.

3. The trade unions must serve as the activists in building a strong working class.

Building and expanding the ranks of the working class is a matter of decisive importance to the success of the movement to renovate the country based on a socialist orientation. This task, which depends on the economic and social policies, is the common responsibility of the entire political system. The trade unions are the broad organizations of the working class. They have a responsibility to serve as activist, assault organizations in this. We think that building the working class in a multifaceted commodity economy means building a working class that adheres firmly to socialist ideals, that will master the progressive and key production sectors and adjust to modern technology and the markets, and that will be active and creative and lead the way in the renovation movement. Adhering to this target, we must concentrate on looking after the ranks of workers in the key sectors and the ranks of young workers, skilled workers, and female workers.

Attention must be given to political and ideological education and to building the new man and the new labor collective. The educational curriculum must be renovated so that it is in accord with the production and occupational conditions and the lives and aspirations of the target workers. The revolutionary action movements and the social, cultural, arts and letters, and press activities of the trade unions must focus on that target.

As the broad political-social organizations of the workers and laborers, the trade unions must be a positive factor in building an alliance between the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. The workers and laborers at the economic installations must be mobilized to renovate the business formulas to satisfy the needs of the peasants, and the cadres and laborers in the scientific research, education and training, public health, and cultural sectors must be mobilized to actively contribute to building the new rural area. The trade unions must expand the forms used to attract and assemble intellectual forces. On the other hand, together with the state, they must look after and protect the legitimate interests of these people and enable them to engage in creative labor. The trade unions must strive to serve as the bridge between the intellectuals and the party and state. Narrow preconceptions about intellectuals must be overcome in the activities of the trade unions, and steps must be taken to ensure that the creative labor projects are put to use and that the wages deserved are paid.

4. The trade unions must make positive contributions to renovating the political system and building socialist democracy.

The target and motive force in renovating the political system is to implement socialist democracy in our country. The contents of this renovation include reorganizing things, improving the leadership capabilities of the party and the management results of the state, manifesting the role of the fatherland front and mass organizations, and exploiting the potential and strengths of the various strata of people. The renovation of politics is a complex sphere that requires that we proceed cautiously. We must carry on renovation and maintain stability and resolutely prevent turmoil. The basic task in renovating the political system is to renovate the relationship between the various elements in the system. Trade unions are an element in this system. Thus, when renovating organization and activities, there must be a thorough understanding of the viewpoints, targets, themes, mottoes, and steps put forth by the party in renovating politics. On the other hand, we must be on guard against opportunists, malcontents, and reactionaries who want to use renovation to stir up the masses.

In order to make the most positive contribution possible to renovating the political system, the trade unions must renovate themselves. The target in renovating the organization and activities of the trade unions is to have large number of workers and laborers in the economic elements (including retired trade union cadres and members) voluntarily struggle on behalf of the interests of the laborers and for democracy and social renovation. An organizational system in accord with the new production mechanism must be formed, the capabilities and effectiveness of the trade union apparatus must be increased, and a rank of cadres with the capabilities and skills necessary to perform the functions of the trade union must be built. The trade union organizational system must be expanded and made more varied in accord with the types of production forms and economic elements. It must be ensured that the primary level trade unions are really places for assembling and organizing the masses of laborers at the primary level. Formulating a new trade union organizational model is a problem that requires careful study and urgent and positive steps. Renovating and strengthening the training of the trade union cadres is an urgent task. Trade union cadres include popularly-elected cadres, specialists, and trade union officials. The elected cadres must be people who have matured in the movement, who are trusted by the masses, and who have been selected by the masses. Specialists and officials who have worked for a long time in the trade union organizations must be people who meet the standards. These cadres must understand the renovation viewpoints and lines of the party, understand economic management and the functions and tasks of the trade unions, and know how to carry on activities within the reality of the worker and social movements. In order to have such a rank of cadres, the trade union schools must concentrate both on providing training and on doing theoretical

studies on worker and trade union movements. Renovating cadre management activities and clearly defining the responsibilities of each type of cadre is an urgent requirement. Studies must be done on improving the system of compensating the various types of trade union cadres.

The trade unions must actively contribute to building and defending the party, and they must play the role of a bridge between the party and the workers and laborers. In order to fulfill these requirements, the trade unions must actively participate in the movement to purify the party and recommend outstanding workers for party membership. The trade union echelons must make suggestions to the party committee echelons on renovating the leadership regulations. They must be independent in carrying on activities, but they cannot remain aloof from the leadership of the party committee echelons. All of the cultural, arts and letters, press, and publishing activities of the trade union system must aim at spreading propaganda concerning the party and socialism and at strengthening the influence of the party among the workers and laborers.

A regular task of the trade union organizations is to participate in building and defending the administration and struggling to overcome bureaucratism and corruption. The trade unions, together with the state, must properly implement the new trade union law and formulate regulations to coordinate things between the trade unions and the state organizations at each echelon, particularly the primary echelon. The inspection and investigation work of the trade unions must be renovated and strengthened in accord with the laws. Legal advisory and service centers must be formed to help the workers and laborers use their right to file complaints and make accusations and enjoy their rights and fulfill their obligations as citizens.

The trade unions must coordinate things closely with other mass organizations in organizing mass movements and in implementing the obligations and rights of the laborers. They must actively contribute to strengthening solidarity among the various nationalities, classes, and political and social organizations in the Vietnamese Fatherland Front.

Social: Theory and Practice

The Ruling Party: Concept and Leadership Patterns

933E0003C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 19-22, 27

[Article by Nguyen Phu Trong]

[Text] In studying party theory, we have talked a lot about the issue of the ruling party. But perhaps because this is a very new and difficult problem for us, there have not been any projects to conduct a basic and thorough study on this. To date, there are still various questions

about this issue, even about such basic questions as: How does the party rule? Is the party a power organization? Can it be said that our party is the ruling party? Are the party and state two parallel power systems or is the party "embodied" in the state and "become" the state? For a ruling party, what is the difference when there is just one party as compared with when there are many parties? How does a ruling party in a socialist country differ from a ruling party in a capitalist country?

Clearly, answering those questions is not easy. Answering those questions requires very diligent and serious study by many people. In this article, I want to present a number of initial ideas in the hope of contributing to the study of a very confusing issue.

For a rather long period, just as in the other socialist countries, in our country there have been incorrect views concerning the "ruling party." That has led to inappropriate actions, especially in the relationship between the leadership of the party and the management role of the state, and limited manifested democracy. Society's political system has not really manifested or implemented the people's ownership rights. A widespread situation is that the party has carried out the work of the administration and become overly involved in the work of the state and economic organizations as if the party were a state power organization standing above the state. Anti-communists and other enemies have used this to charge that the Communist Party means "one-party rule" and a "party-state" and that the "communist system is a totalitarian system."

Recognizing the weaknesses and shortcomings, we have advocated renovating the leadership methods of the party as well as the entire organization and all of the activities of the political system based on truly respecting and manifesting the role of the state and protecting and implementing the ownership rights of the people. But that has generated a tendency to slight and reduce the leadership role of the party. Some people, imitating other countries, have mouthed demagogic slogans such as "all power belongs in the hands of the people," "return power to the state," and the party should "move to the rear" and "move backstage." At a number of organizations and enterprises, there have been manifestations of slighting and rejecting the leadership of the party organizations. Some people have said that the leadership role of the party should not be affirmed in the constitution and that we should not use the phrases "the ruling party" or "the party leads in all respects." They say that the party should only lead politics, set broad guidelines, and so on and so on.

Not all of those who have put forth such ideas are evil people or reactionaries. Except for anti-communist thinkers, enemy reactionaries, malcontents, protesters, and a number of people whose understanding is wrong, almost everyone in our ranks wants to study things to contribute to the renovation movement. We must respect and listen to each other. Because these are very difficult and complex issues, and there are many theoretical and practical aspects that have not been reviewed

and clarified. There are many tasks about which we are gaining experience even as we do them. Recently, for example, in the face of the collapse of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, some people said that the party's leadership methods must be changed and that the powers and responsibilities of the state must be increased. Conversely, others said that the party's leadership must be strengthened and that if the powers of the state are emphasized, the leadership role of the party and the ownership rights of the people will be lost.

Ever since the Sixth CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress, we have gradually gained a clearer understanding of and made certain renovations in the leadership methods of the party. This has improved the quality of the party's leadership, strengthened the effectiveness of the state, and manifested the integrated strength of the political system. A start has been made in defining the relationship and work style between the party, state, and mass organizations. In a number of places, a number of spheres have formulated work regulations. The National Assembly and the various echelon people's councils are operating in a less formal manner and have more real power.

However, in many places, particularly at the primary level, there is still much confusion, and no clear distinction has been made between the functions and tasks of the party and administration. When general guidelines are set and general viewpoints are formulated, there is unity, but when things are concretized and specific regulations are formulated, problems arise. There have been many cases in which it has not been determined which problems are to be handled by the party committee echelons and which are to be handled by the committees, if the party committee secretaries are to handle things differently from the chairmen, for which problems the party committee echelons should only provide guidelines, if the party committee echelons should only mention qualitative aspects and let the authorities discuss the quantitative aspects, and so on. Many of the resolutions of the party committee echelons are similar to those of the administration and vice versa.

In cadre work, we do not have an efficient mechanism and process to ensure that the party unites the leadership and management of cadre work and at the same time exploits the role of the administrative organizations and coordinates things between the party committee echelons and the authorities and between the party organizational committees and the administrative organizational committees.

What should the party's organizational system be like? If the state has to have ministries and services, does the party have to have corresponding committees and offices? How can the party committee echelons use the apparatus of the administration? Should the party committee secretaries hold leading administrative positions?

There are many different opinions about these questions. Many committees and offices that are "established" are "abandoned" and then "reestablished." There have been cases in which things have been "separated and then rejoined" without any real basis.

Why is the reason for this disorder? There are obviously many reasons. But in my view, a fundamental reason is that we do not have an adequate and unified concept concerning the matter of a party holding power.

"Ruling party," "the party assuming governmental powers," and the "party holding power," are all phrases that have been in use for a long time, including in the capitalist countries, in order to point out the role and responsibilities of the party once there is an administration and to distinguish the party in power from the parties that do not have power or that do not have any role with respect to the administration. In a society with many classes and strata of people, there can be many parties (because parties are the organizations of people who voluntarily share the same aim for the benefit of a certain class or strata). In such a society, there is a party that holds power and parties that do not have any power. Depending on the conditions and specific comparison of strength, in each country there can be just one ruling party or a coalition of ruling parties. The phrase "ruling party" means that the party leads and controls the administration to enable the activities of the administration to manifest and implement the ideas and lines of that party in accord with the viewpoints and interests of that party. At the same time, the party will use the administrative apparatus and lead all of society through the administration.

The state, according to the root meaning of this term, is the tool of rule of a class or alliance of classes to protect the interests of the class. The political party of a class is organized in order to lead the class in the struggle for power, and it uses that power to transform society in ways beneficial to its class and to serve the interests of its class. In the world today, there is no state that is not led and controlled by one or a number of parties. Even though bourgeois thinkers have intentionally tried to conceal the class nature of the bourgeois state and raised the deceptive mask of a "democratic state" and "people's state," they cannot avoid the question: Which party controls their state and government? Who has seized control (using either force or parliamentary methods and "free elections")? And whose interests do they serve?

In Vietnam, regardless of how things are expressed, the Communist Party of Vietnam is truly the ruling party. Furthermore, it is the only party holding power. This is not something natural but is the result of countless years of difficult struggle by the entire party and all the people. Our party was established in 1930. Fifteen years later, in 1945, after making countless sacrifices and facing difficult challenges, in which large numbers of cadres, party members, and other people, including many outstanding party leaders, were killed, the party finally succeeded in leading the people in seizing power. After that, for 30

years, after two terrible wars, we finally managed to solidify and establish power throughout the country. Party leadership with respect to the state is the decisive factor for ensuring that the state is really of the people, by the people, and for the people and that the country moves toward socialism. Our people have accepted the party's leadership both emotionally and intellectually. Even when the party has exhibited shortcomings and made mistakes, the people have shown understanding and been ready to help the party overcome the shortcomings and correct the mistakes. The people realize that their interests are tied to the work of the party and that the idealistic goals of the party are the hopes and dreams of the people. To date, there has never been any other political organization besides the CPV that has had the capabilities or prestige to lead the country.

Clearly, just because it is necessary to overcome shortcomings in the party's leadership methods, that does not mean that we should let go of or reduce the leadership of the party. The fact that we must cure the disease of "taking the place of others" does not mean that we must reject the idea that our party is the ruling party and that the party is the leader of the entire country. The recent experiences in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe show that a moment of indecision and disorder in party leadership will give enemy and opposition forces a chance to destroy the party's leadership, seize power, and put the country on a different path. On the other hand, only by affirming that the party is the ruling party can we correctly determine the leadership themes and methods of the party, exploit the advantages, limit the weaknesses, and prevent the danger of the party assuming governmental powers.

The term "ruling party" means that the party must adhere to its role of leading the administration and all of society and be responsible to the people and nation. As President Ho said, the party must be concerned not only about the major tasks such as transforming the economy and culture but also about the smaller matters such as "fish sauce," that is, things that are essential in the daily lives of the people. If the people are hungry, cold, and sick, it is the party's fault. It can't be said that the party simply leads politics in general and does not bear any responsibility to the people and nation. Once it became the ruling party, the party became the representative not only of the interests of its class, that is, the working class, but also of the interests of all the laboring people, and it became the political vanguard unit of the entire nation. The important point is that the party must have correct leadership methods that are in accord with its functions and tasks.

The highest and heaviest responsibility of the party is that it must put forth correct programs and lines in order to lead and guide the entire country. No one but the party can shoulder this responsibility, particularly in transitional periods such as today when the country and world are undergoing very rapid and complex changes. There are many theoretical and practical questions that must be clarified and answered correctly. Thus, the party

committee echelons, particularly the CPV Central Committee, must concentrate time and energy on leading theoretical research, reviewing practices, grasping the new problems, closely following the things that are happening, understanding the aspirations of the people, and predicting in which direction the situation will develop in order to draw essential conclusions, affirm the viewpoints, and set the direction for moving forward.

For example, the party must clarify the issues concerning socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam and gradually concretize and complete the matters mentioned in the program and strategy. It must conclude a number of the long-standing issues about which there are still disputes, such as ownership, exploitation and working for others, the results of the state economy, planning and markets, a market economy and social fairness, and so on. It cannot stop at setting a general orientation but must go deeply into specific models and concrete solutions.

After putting forth a correct program and line, the party must provide leadership in order to include that program and line in the operating contents of the state and turn the ideas and viewpoints of the party into state policies and laws. Every ruling party must do this. This is the reason for its existence, and this is a very important function of the ruling party. To put it another way, the programs and lines of the ruling party must be transformed into the policies and laws of the state. They must be "fully absorbed" in the policies and laws of the state. When the people implement the policies and laws of the state, they are also implementing the lines of the party. When the courts try a case, render a verdict, or pronounce sentence, they do so based on the laws of the state, which are a manifestation of the viewpoints, ideas, and attitudes of the party. The party does not need to guide the daily work of the state, and it does not issue directives or orders to state organizations.

As for how the programs and lines of the party are transformed into the policies and laws of the state, that has to do with the leadership mechanisms, methods, and arts of the party. One method of decisive importance is that the party must appoint talented party members who have prestige and a lofty party spirit to carry on activities in the state organizations and hold key positions in the state apparatus. At the same time, it must have a mechanism to control the activities of these party members. In countries that have a multiparty system, the parties must compete for election, with the party that wins the most seats taking power. In a number of capitalist countries, the leader of the ruling party is usually appointed premier. The party members working in the state apparatus are responsible for mobilizing and persuading the state agencies to implement the viewpoints and lines of the party and for making the party's lines a reality. Each party member must obey the decisions of the party and submit to party discipline.

In our country, the party advocates selecting and recommending educated, capable, and good-quality party

members who have a lofty party spirit to carry on activities in the National Assembly. A number of department heads or deputy department heads of the Central Committee can participate on National Assembly committees. In the localities, the secretaries or deputy secretaries of the party committee echelons can run for the position of chairman of the people's council. A number of party committee members can be recommended to head the agencies that manage administrative sectors (naturally, they must meet the standards of each position and must be elected or appointed based on state regulations). Things must be done this way in order to strengthen unity between the party and state and to maintain the leadership role of the party and strengthen the effectiveness of the state.

Some comrades worry that if the key cadres of the party are appointed to key administrative positions, that could easily lead to dictatorship, and so there must be a mechanism to actively inspect and control things and prevent this. It's true that there must be a mechanism. Besides the educational and managerial activities of the party chapters and criticism by the people, in my view, one of the mechanisms for leading and controlling the activities of the party members in the state apparatus is the party group (in the elected organizations) and the party affairs committee (in the executive organizations). The party must work through the party groups and party affairs committees in order to lead the state organizations (including having them thoroughly understand and implement the party's resolutions, organizing and managing the cadre ranks, and controlling the activities of the state organizations). At the same time, it must guide and control the activities of the party members in those organizations, ensure that each party member adheres to the party's resolutions, and include the party's ideas and viewpoints in the activities of the state apparatus and transform them into reality. This mechanism is a manifestation of and will create the conditions for implementing the principle of democratic centralism in party activities and the essence of democracy and persuasion in the leadership formulas of the party with respect to the state organizations. This will limit and overcome the laxity in party leadership or limit and overcome the pressure put on the state organizations.

Another very important measure is that the party must adhere to and rely on the mass organizations. Through the mass organizations led by the party, it must mobilize and organize all strata of people to participate in building and solidifying the state, carrying out the work of the state, monitoring and controlling the activities of the state and of the cadres and party members working in the state apparatus, defending the state and the laws, helping the state operate more effectively and efficiently, and struggling against and overcoming bureaucratism, corruption, and other negative phenomena in the state apparatus. Party leadership with respect to the state is aimed at enabling the state to truly become a state of the people, by the people, and for the people and a strong and effective state that carries on activities in accord

with its functions and powers under the law based on the lines and viewpoints of the party and in close conjunction with the people. The basic difference between a socialist state and a bourgeois state is that the socialist state is not a master standing above and ruling the people. Rather, it is the highest organization in which the ownership powers of the people are centralized, with the core being the working class, the peasant class, and the intellectuals led by the Communist Party. The fact that the party leads does not mean that it replaces the state in managing society or that it replaces the people in controlling the state. The party leads in order to arouse and exploit the creative potential of the people, to arouse and organize the people in building their state, and to use that state to improve society and involve the country in socialist construction. Both the party and state are tools for protecting and implementing the ownership rights of the people, and both struggle for the benefit of the people. The party is not a state power organization. The party and state should not be viewed as two parallel power systems, and the party and state should not be separated or viewed as opponents. The party leads the state and the political system, but at the same time, it is part of the political system and a member of the fatherland front. The party provides leadership in formulating the constitution and the laws, but at the same time, it must operate within the framework of the constitution and the law. Cadres and party members are not above the law, and they cannot operate outside the law.

If we grasp the basic viewpoints of the party on renovating the political system and clearly understand the nature, functions, and tasks of a ruling party in building socialism, we will have a basis for renovating the leadership methods of the party in a correct and effective manner.

Representative Democracy, the Main Formula for Implementing the Powers of the People

933E0003D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 23-27

[Article by Chu Thanh, M.A. in Law]

[Text] In talking about democracy, we must also talk about the two methods of implementing democracy, the direct method (direct democracy) and the indirect method (representative democracy). Montesquieu, John Locke, and Voltaire praised representative democracy. According to Montesquieu, "the people don't have to administer things themselves but can do so through their representatives." Unlike Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau praised direct democracy and thought that "will power" and sovereignty (of the people) could not be delegated. Thus, from the very beginning, the bourgeoisie, with its practical nature, saw the problem that had to be solved: a mechanism to implement democracy.

The history of the development of democracy confirms that representative democracy and direct democracy both have advantages and disadvantages and that both contain rational and irrational factors.

The advantage of direct democracy is that it is a non-bureaucratic mechanism, because the will of the people is implemented directly. Its basic shortcoming is that its capabilities for implementing things is limited, particularly in conditions in which the country has a large area and the population and the people's standard of culture is low.

To date, representative democracy has been regarded as the method of implementing democracy that has fundamental advantages: It manifests rationality and the ability to implement things, and it ensures clear-sightedness in solving the important problems of collective life. In reality, the various classes representing the various democracies have all used representative democracy as a means to manifest and implement the democracy that they represent. In the initial stage of bourgeois democracy, representative methods held an absolute position. That was the golden age of parliaments. Through parliament, democratic mechanisms were installed and gradually perfected. Today, even though the bourgeois class has reduced the powers of parliament, in many places, representative democracy is still the primary means used to implement bourgeois democracy, and it still holds the upper hand over the direct method.

Recognizing the objective position of the representative method in implementing democracy, Lenin affirmed: We cannot imagine a democracy, even a proletarian democracy, without representative organizations.

It is very important to present a scientific explanation concerning the theoretical aspects of the primary formula for implementing socialist democracy. For a long time, many people said that direct democracy—which was thought of as using and expanding a system of self-government for all the labor collectives and social organizations—seems to fully manifest the powers of the people and to be a higher form than representative democracy.

Even though direct democracy (including the national referendum form) has major advantages and must be used correctly, that viewpoint, like the main formula, is not superior in actually implementing socialist democracy. In reality, that view is one of the reasons why representative democracy has not been given the proper amount of attention. For many decades, the organizational and operational models of the representative organizations in the socialist countries were not really renovated. Representative democracy became just a formal mechanism that had lost its ability to manifest and implement its true social function as the primary means for implementing the rights of the people.

Democracy is a concept that is closely related to the state. Socialist democracy means that the people's powers are implemented through and by the state.

Lenin said that in a democratic republic (a socialist state), all powers are unified and indivisible in the hands of all the people. Even though the people are divided into different classes and strata with different interests, they are, at the same time, a unified bloc. They live together and form one nation with one common interest. Here, political power (the power of the working class) and people's power (the common power of the collective) are unified, which, in principle, is something that had not existed in prior states.

However, in the unity between the people and the socialist state, there are also conflicting factors. The source of state power is the power of the people, but the bureaucratic centralism of the state has, from the very beginning, tended to separate the state from the people, particularly when the state apparatus is not designed and built in a rational way and there is no control mechanism. In order to preserve the democratic and popular nature of the state, the state apparatus must be reformed based on the guideline "the state is really of the people, by the people, and for the people." [Footnote 1] [Proceedings of the Seventh National CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p 91]

Historically, the idea of a "state of the people, by the people, and for the people" was raised by the bourgeois class. In the United States, Abraham Lincoln stated this formula under the pressure of the need for freedom. This was fruit of the civil war, which led to the abolition of slavery. In France, that concept was recorded as a constitutional principle. But in terms of its nature, in bourgeois societies, that concept could not overcome the limitations of bourgeois democracy. According to that concept, a state can really have that only after there is a foundation for unity between the people and the state.

The factor "by the people" reflects having the people organize and build the state. "By the people" has a decisive effect on the "of the people" and "for the people" factors. Only if a state is really determined by the people will it have a firm basis for preventing deviations from the goal of "for the people" and blocking the tendency to transform the state into a tool to look after the separate interests of certain people. Only by relying on the "by the people" and "for the people" factors will the state be accepted by the people as theirs, and only then will the abstract concept of "of the people" become something concrete.

Concerning contents, the concept of "by the people" above all includes the following: 1. The people directly and freely elect their representatives and representative organizations. Using this method, the people will themselves organize the state. 2. The important tasks of the state, country, and society are determined primarily by the representative organizations on behalf of the people. Actually, that refers to formulating and implementing the powers of the people using a representative mechanism, which is a centralized reflection of the concept of democracy.

Defining representative democracy as the main means of implementing the powers of the people is based on the capabilities and social values of the organizations representing the people's powers in socialism. In the world today, there are two types of representative systems based on two different principles of state organization: the bourgeois parliamentary system that is based on the principle of a division of powers and the socialist representative system that is based on the principle of unified power. However, as reality has shown, if the concept of a division of power has a completely bourgeois nature, it will limit accepting its rational technical factors.

The idea of a division of power appeared very early. Aristotle talked about this in ancient times. After that, when preparing for the bourgeois revolution and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, contemporary thinkers such as Locke, Kant, and in particular Montesquieu, expanded this into a perfect theory that manifested man's achievements in political and legal thinking. That was a reaction against and rejection of absolute monarchy. After that, the idea of a division of power had a great effect on the formation of the bourgeois state, and it became a basic organizational principle of this type of state.

The concept of a division of power is understood in different ways. If the division of power is thought of as a division of political power (class-class coalition power), because political power cannot be divided, there can be no division of power in this sphere. In reality, in capitalist society, state power is always in the hands of the bourgeoisie and cannot be shared with other classes or strata. This is true even though this state, when carrying on operations, is influenced by this, and because of this, it must consider the interests of the other forces and classes in society.

Another way to understand the concept of a division of power is to regard this as a division of power within the state apparatus. When this first came into being, the division of power was regarded as an achievement of the bourgeois class in finding a way to organize a new type of society in place of the dictatorial feudal state. This was regarded as a method having the ability to prevent dictatorship. However, this way of understanding the principle of a division of power exposes certain shortcomings. J.J. "So-va-li-e," a bourgeois scholar, said that if the three opposing powers block each other, the administrative apparatus will come to a stop. Thus, the tendency to integrate these powers is viewed as being more efficient in organizing the state power mechanism in the capitalist countries today.

In a third sense, the concept of a division of powers reflects the technical and scientific nature of organizing an efficient state apparatus and manifests the division of labor based on specialization in the state mechanism. This way of organizing things allows the state to manage and control society effectively in a scientific way by determining the functions and powers of each type of state organization. Engels pointed out and gave high

marks to this rational factor of the principle of a division of power. Understanding the principle of a division of power this way, the parliamentary system has certain advantages. The representatives will work in occupational fields in which they have capabilities and experience, and their responsibilities will be clear. The representative organizations will be specialized and so they will be able to accumulate much experience in promulgating laws and creating a mechanism for democratic activities (holding debates, questioning people, and discussing various ideas in parliament). During the initial stage of bourgeois democracy, parliament was the central state organization. In later stages, the bourgeoisie looked for ways to change the key position of the state and turn it into an administrative organization, which put a new limit on the development of democracy in capitalism. However, even in this stage, the parliamentary system revealed some very basic shortcomings. The division of the power mechanism limited or blocked the representative organizations from interfering in the activities of the management organizations and transformed the activities of parliament into the special rights of certain people.

When they said that socialist democracy was a higher type of democracy than bourgeois democracy, the classicists were not simply making logical inferences. Besides the socioeconomic basis of socialist democracy, Marx and Lenin saw the effective means of implementation of this democracy when proposing and affirming that unity of power was the basic organizational principle of the socialist state. Determining the superior and all-powerful position of the highest representative organizations (the Soviet and National Assembly) "filled in" the gap created by the bourgeois principle of separation of powers by not allowing the representative organizations to interfere in the activities of the administrative and judicial organizations.

The realities in organizing the socialist state apparatus during the past decades have proven that the principle of unified power has not been understood correctly. The tendency to simplify this principle has led to the design and construction of a state apparatus that cannot ensure the division of labor and division of functions among the state organizations. The result is that while the representative organizations are in concept all-power organizations, their organization and operations have been designed in an "amateurism" manner. Because of this, these organizations have lost their ability to implement their powers. The arguments of Marx and, in particular, those of Lenin on building a socialist representative system have not been given enough attention. Lenin's brilliant idea of "incorporating the good points of the parliamentary system" was not accepted. The rational experiences of representative democracy in capitalism have not been given much attention or studied. There is reason for people to say that the form of representative democracy that has appeared in past years has never gone beyond the embryonic stage of representative democracy. In the past, when affirming the superiority of

the people's representative (Soviet) form as compared with the bourgeois parliamentary form, Lenin did not agree with the idea of exaggerating its superiority. According to Lenin, that way of thinking was dangerous and could destroy this form of democracy.

In order to implement the powers of the people, the key problem of socialist democracy is to renovate the operating mechanism of the representative organizations.

In Vietnam, the representative organizations include the National Assembly and the various-echelon people's councils. Today, renovating the organization and activities of the representative organizations really means building a mechanism to implement the powers of the people more effectively. This is related to the following issues:

First, based on the principle of "implementing uniform power but having a clear-cut division of labor and decentralization" [Footnote 2] (Proceedings of the of the Seventh National CPV Congress, Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p 91) and clearly understanding the functions of the National Assembly as the highest representative organization, the new constitution of 1992 stipulates several important points related to the functions of the National Assembly:

1. It is the only organization with the power to promulgate laws. All laws must be passed by a majority of the delegates using democratic procedures. Except for the National Assembly, no other organization has the right to make laws. There is no distinction between the National Assembly formulating a constitution and the National Assembly formulating laws.

2. It is the National Assembly that issues decisions on the country's basic policies concerning internal and foreign affairs, on major policies concerning economic and social matters, and on the organization and activities of the state apparatus.

The powers of the National Assembly are also manifested in making decisions about the key human affairs of the state organizations. Above all, the National Assembly delegates directly elect the people to head the state (the president) and the state organizations (the chairman of the National Assembly, the premier, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and the chief procurator of the Supreme Organ of Controls). This is different from the way things are done in many modern bourgeois states. There, the key human affairs activities of the state apparatus are rarely handled or decided on by parliament. This is also different from the previous concept about the complete power of the representative organizations in deciding human affairs. Previously, the ministers had to be directly elected by the National Assembly.

3. The National Assembly has supreme supervisory power. In principle, this power has no limits in terms of scope, targets, or form of implementation. However, in order to overcome the confusion, which could reduce the

effectiveness of the supervision, the primary targets of supervision of the National Assembly have been designated as the high-level executive and judicial organizations. The contents of supervision are above all the documents promulgated by the government and provincial-level people's councils and the activities of the government and supreme organs of control and prosecution.

Second, overcoming previous shortcomings, the National Assembly, as stipulated in the 1992 constitution, operates based on specialization. Above all, the State Council has been replaced by the Standing Committee of the National Assembly. This form satisfies the requirements mentioned above and is in accord with the experiences and traditions of representative democracy in our country. The position of president has been reestablished. Each committee must have a number of full-time delegates and excellent specialists. The number of delegates removed from special work and production has been made more rational so that they can carry on professional activities in their positions as delegates. The National Assembly will set aside much more time than at present for doing work at the sessions.

However, in renovating the National Assembly and the various-echelon people's councils, there are still a number of questions that must be clarified in order to form a basis for the next step in renovation.

1. The regular activities of the National Assembly differ from the professional activities of bourgeois parliaments. Thus, issues such as the allocation of delegates, the percentage of full-time delegates, work times at sessions, the operating measures of the delegates, and so on must continue to be studied and "quantified" more concretely in order to maintain the professionalism of the National Assembly and ensure that the mistakes of bourgeois parliaments are not repeated.

2. Although they are both representative organizations, the National Assembly is different from the people's councils. The 1992 constitution stipulates that the people's councils are the state power organizations in the localities. This must be studied and made more concrete in order to avoid creating too many layers of power in state management, which could hinder our ability to disperse and localize things in implementing unified state power.

3. It should not be thought that the standing committees of the National Assembly are just staff and advisory organizations. In order to make the activities of the National Assembly more specialized and improve the quality of the decisions, should the National Assembly simply discuss and make decisions on the issues that have been discussed and presented by the standing committees in accord with their powers? The number of full-time delegates on the committees must be increased, with the minimum number being one-third the total number of delegates. If necessary, after one-third of the National Assembly's term has expired, the delegates can

be rotated. During the time that the National Assembly is in session, group activities should be replaced by committee activities.

Moreover, consideration must be given to making more efficient use of the mechanism of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly for promulgating laws. This must be done by stipulating which laws must be debated by the National Assembly at the next session and which bills need to be passed into law or revoked in order to maintain the unity of the law.

Culture and a Number of Issues Concerning the Development of Our Country's Economy and Society

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 28-32

[Article by Pham Xuan Nam; not translated]

Marxism-Leninism and the Victory of the August Revolution

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 33-35

[Article by Bui Ngoc Trinh; not translated]

Research-Exchange of Opinions

The New Stage of Socialism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 36-39

[Article by Quang Can; not translated]

The Ownership Issue: A Systematic Approach

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 40-45

[Article by Luu Ha Vi; not translated]

Opinions and Experience

A Number of Issues Concerning the Relationship Between Theory and Politics

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 46-48; 52

[Article by Nguyen The Phan; not translated]

The Operation of the Non-State Economy in Ho Chi Minh City

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 49-52

[Article by Le Vinh Danh; not translated]

Formulating a Unified Management Model for the State Budget*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 53-56*

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Tung; not translated]

Investigation**The Life and Work of Tribesmen in Our Country***00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 57-59*

[Article by Nguyen Phuong; not translated]

Ideological Activities**Why Are You Sad?***00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 p 60*

[Article by Duong Vu; not translated]

Letters to the Editorial Staff**To Renovate and Reorganize the Party***923E0015A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 92 pp 61-62*

[Article by Phan Van Dang, Hanoi]

[Text] The Third Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee (Seventh Term) discussed and issued a resolution on a number of party renovation and reorganization tasks. The resolution discussed the party building problems in a basic manner. In order to put this resolution into practice and bring about new changes in the activities of the party, I would like to contribute a number of ideas.

The process of renovating the party in recent years has shown that there has been a rather fierce conflict between the new and the old and between what is right and what is wrong. This has certainly not been an easy process. This has also shown that true values must be protected and elevated and that what is degenerate and backward must be eliminated. Only by renovating thinking will it be possible to have a correct ideological viewpoint, depth in thinking, and a new orientation in work methods, to match word and action, to prevent pessimistic vacillation, and to see the prospects and have confidence on the path of development. In order to do this, people must not only be intelligent but also brave and confident.

Party building is a science. Ideological work is an important part of party activities and is closely tied to the survival of the party and the party's leadership with respect to society. Ideological work is a highly scientific and profoundly revolutionary activity. Because of this, if

this is carried on in a simple, subjective, arbitrary, authoritarian, or hurried manner, results will not be achieved. Ideological work is a continuous process of education and self-education and training and self-training. In particular, at the present turning point in history in which we face various challenges, ideological work must continue to play an important role. Ideological work must enable people to thoroughly understand the ideological viewpoints and lines of the party, to have a deep understanding of political independence as it relates to economic independence, and to remain vigilant and not chase after what is new at the cost of curtailing the country's sovereignty.

It must be realized that if questions are not answered and phenomena are not illuminated by the correct viewpoints of the party, this will easily lead to insecurity, and the enemy will make full use of this in order to distort things and attack the party and state. Because of this, we cannot ignore the problems that have arisen or ignore the questions that need to be answered, and we must not try to mobilize people by making empty promises. Our main enemies in this sphere are dogmatism, opportunism, formalism, a wavering attitude, and even laziness in thinking.

No one denies the importance or urgent necessity of party renovation and reorganization. If there are, they are just avoiding things in carrying on activities. Because of this, today, not only is there a general need to hurry but we must also solve the problems in an all-round manner. We must be specific and carry on things in a synchronized, unified, and steady manner. In the renovation process, each party organization must make high demands of itself. The same is true for each cadre and party member. And they must have a lofty sense of responsibility with respect to the tasks of the country, locality, and unit.

To achieve results in renovating and reorganizing the party, each echelon, sector, and person must have a correct attitude in self-criticism and criticism and probe the nature of the problems in order to analyze and criticize things. At the same time, they must have specific and practical measures to overcome the weaknesses of individuals and the entire party. Criticism and self-criticism are the standards that indicate the strength and combat strength of the party and that manifest the party's leadership role in the present situation. Self-criticism and criticism must be closely tied to renovating the work. If they are separated from corrective activities, this will be just an empty promise. Words, no matter how wonderful they sound, can never replace action. The result of action is fair judges. All changes must pass through painful turmoil and bear a price. Only when we collide with stern reality can we clearly see the right and wrong of ideological views and people.

Reality shows that improving the practical organizational capabilities of the party and state apparatus is an urgent problem today in order to strengthen the leadership of the party with respect to all of social life. Having

a correct line is of decisive importance, but by itself, that is not sufficient. There must also be broad organizational work in order to mobilize and make full use of the social forces and material capabilities and a spirit directed at handling the specific tasks.

In renovating the leadership methods, the one-sidedness and imbalance in putting forth and handling the socio-economic, political, and ideological tasks must be overcome. This is because one-sidedness and localism are not in accord with a scientific nature in leadership. We have many concrete examples concerning disorder in work because of the lack of synchronization and unity. Besides this, in controlling the implementation of things, we can see that there have been many cases in which it has been "easy" to agree with the explanations given for not completing the tasks. It is usually acknowledged that the situation is the cause of the shortcomings without mentioning who made the mistakes or who is responsible for the shortcomings. Or if people have sympathy for someone, they tend to disregard his faults, but if someone is detested, his faults are multiplied. Cases in which people have shown a lack of responsibility and lack of discipline are not evaluated in a principled manner.

The issues of democracy and discipline in the party are issues of great theoretical and practical importance. Democracy is a principle and a measure and form for concentrating the intelligence of the entire party. As democracy increases, discipline must become stricter. Unity of action, freedom of discussion, and criticism—those comprise Lenin's definition of democracy. Democracy and discipline are manifestations of the principle of democratic centralism, and they are the basic organizational principles of our party. The nature of organization is unity of action, unity in practical activities. In order to maintain ideological unity and unity of action, we must wage a resolute struggle against undisciplined liberal activities. Reality shows that in places where the collective relationships are handled correctly and where self-criticism is used as the main source of strength, activities will proceed favorably, the principle of democratic centralism will be maintained, and solidarity and unity will be strengthened.

As for behavior, leading cadres should not think that they can use the powers entrusted to them by the party and state in order to crudely exert pressure on other

people or lower echelons. Lenin often reminded cadres that they should not lead lower echelons by using their powers but by using their prestige, capabilities, great experience, and work skills. Besides this, when people suffer failures in work, they should not put the blame on lower echelons or the bases. They should not think that everything that higher echelons do is right and that all the shortcomings rest with lower echelons. Real leading cadres must clearly understand and correctly carry out their tasks with respect to both lower and higher echelons. They must not try to shift the blame or avoid taking responsibility.

The lesson "the revolution is the work of the masses" was very important in the past. It is even more important today. This is a priceless lesson in every revolutionary stage. During the resistance against America in the south, party members adhered to the masses using various forms of organization, including "taking deep root in the ground." Through that, they launched and led struggle movements against the enemy. It was through those movements that the revolutionary strength of the masses was expanded, and the party was able to select people respected by the masses and recruit them into the party. Because of that, there were party chapters that had been "skinned" several times (whose members had been captured or killed by the enemy), but the party bases continued to exist in the hamlets, villages, and wards. During that period, those party members who did not adhere to the masses were called "stupid" and those party chapters that did not organize the masses were called "claw-less crabs." Although things are now different from during the period of resistance, if party members at the bases go deeply into things, they will be able to assemble and adhere to the masses, and they will be able to launch a mass movement to build the new life. Of course, this is related to many other problems that must be solved, among which are problems that are the responsibility of higher echelons.

From Foreign Publications

The Memoirs of Erich Honecker

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 8, Aug 92 pp 63-64

[Article not translated]

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DATE FILMED

27 Nov 1992