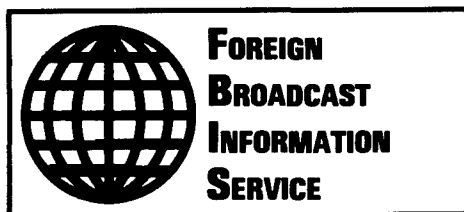
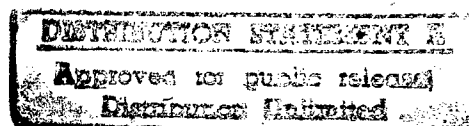


JPRS-ATC-93-004  
31 March 1993



# ***JPRS Report***



## **East Asia**

***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 12, December 1992***

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# East Asia

## Southeast Asia

### Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

#### No 12, December 1992

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31 March 1993

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**Special Communique on the Death of Kaysone Phomvihane**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 3-4

[Article not translated]

**Coordinating the Economy With National Defense To Build and Protect the Fatherland in the New Situation**

933E0008A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 92 pp 5-9

[Article by Senior General Doan Khue, member of the Politburo and minister of national defense]

[Text] Since the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the (former) Soviet Union, the international situation has undergone rapid and complex changes. Imperialists and reactionary forces are trying to implement their plot of "peaceful change" in order to eliminate the remaining socialist countries, which includes Vietnam. Even though the situation in this zone has become more favorable, there are still many complex aspects that affect our country. Vietnam has a great opportunity to expand cooperative economic relationships, but we are also facing great challenges.

During the past several years, we have scored very important initial achievements in the renovation movement. New development capabilities have appeared that have helped our country stand firm and move forward. However, along with these achievements, we are still facing great difficulties, and we are still in a socioeconomic crisis.

The above situation means that the entire party, all the people, and the entire military must work to maintain our independence and sovereignty and create a favorable environment for the country to advance to socialism.

The Seventh CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress affirmed once again that "building socialism and defending our socialist fatherland are the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution." Along with building an economically prosperous country with a socialist orientation, we must strive to build a strong all-people national defense. Coordinating these two strategic tasks reflects the law of survival and development of our nation in the present period.

Every independent and sovereign nation that wants to survive and develop must give attention to building and defending the country. Making the country prosperous has been the target and struggle motive of many generations of Vietnamese. This is also the target and motive force in building the economy and solidifying national defense in our country today.

In our era, moving to socialism is an essential law, and so building the economy and solidifying national defense must be examined based on the concept of "for the sake

of building and defending our socialist Vietnamese fatherland." This is the strategic task of our country today.

The task of building the economy and the task of solidifying national defense have separate laws of movement but they are also dialectically united in common laws of movement.

To talk about building the economy is to talk about producing material goods to satisfy people's needs concerning food, clothing, housing, travel, education, and cultural and artistic pleasures. The basic requirement of economic construction activities is to use various measures (managerial and scientific and technical measures) and make excellent use of the capital, labor, resources, technology, geographical and environmental advantages, and so on in order to keep expenditures to a minimum, achieve the best results possible, and ensure prosperity and social fairness.

To talk about solidifying national defense is to talk about maintaining the independence, sovereignty, freedom, and territorial integrity (land, air, and sea) of the country, protecting the fruits of the revolution, and maintaining and solidifying stability, peace, and security. To do this, there must be knowledge about military science and technology, military arts, and other sciences, and effective measures must be implemented to make the best use possible of the country's people, resources, material strengths, and natural geographical conditions in order to satisfy the requirement of defending the fatherland in all situations.

Overall, the two tasks of building the economy and solidifying national defense and defending the fatherland are unified by the common goal of making the country prosperous. If one of these tasks is missing, it will not be possible to ensure the country's interests fully.

Building the economy will create the important material preconditions for gradually developing the potential to solidify national defense and defend the fatherland. And solidifying national defense will protect and create a safe environment for building the economy. At the same time, the process of carrying out the task of solidifying national defense will create factors that will contribute actively to building the economy. In the final analysis, solidifying national defense is aimed at protecting the economic interests of the country.

The party and state have many policies and resolutions on coordinating the two strategic tasks of building the economy and solidifying national defense, and coordinating the economy with national defense. The various echelons and sectors (both civilian and military) have striven to carry out the tasks, and they have begun to achieve important results in each sphere, such as building national defense fronts and turning the provinces and cities into strong defense zones. The economic, social, scientific, and technical sectors of the country have contributed to satisfying the national defense needs and helped maintain and further solidify the national

defense industry enterprises and military units engaged in economic work in the strategic areas. However, in the past period, there have been limitations in coordinating the economy with national defense at both the macrocosmic and microcosmic levels. There have even been erroneous ideas and actions because of the failure to see the dialectical relationship and mutual effect between building the economy and solidifying national defense. People have put building the economy in opposition to solidifying national defense and said that solidifying national defense places a great burden on the economy. There are many specific issues that have not been systematized by the legal documents of the state. In particular, we have been slow in formulating suitable mechanisms and policies to uniformly manage and control the work of coordinating the economy with national defense in market mechanism conditions. This is a problem that must be solved in the coming period in order to implement the policy put forth by the Seventh CPV Congress: "The economy and society must be developed along with strengthening the national defense and security potential. The economy must be coordinated closely with national defense and security, and national defense and security must be coordinated closely with the economy in the economic and social development plans."

The target in coordinating the economy with national defense is above all to transform economic potential into national defense potential in order to implement the two strategic tasks of building the economy and defending our socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In guiding the work of coordinating the economy with national defense, the following concepts must be understood thoroughly:

1. Economic strength and potential is the basis of national defense strength and potential. This is a basic concept in guiding the work of building and defending the fatherland and closely coordinating building the economy with national defense.

In the present situation, we are no longer receiving aid as in the past. Our country's economy must be capable of satisfying all the needs of solidifying national defense, from food and military equipment to various types of weapons and relatively modern and modern technical means for our armed forces. This is manifested on two fronts: One, the personnel, resources, and material power that the economy has set aside to satisfy the regular needs of national defense. Two, the economic potential that is ready to be exploited and converted for national defense needs if war breaks out based on different situations. This is a new and burning requirement with respect to our country's economy.

2. The spirit of self-reliance and concept of responsibility must be elevated with respect to defending the fatherland. We must fully exploit our integrated strength and make full use of our country's strengths in order to coordinate the economy with national defense. This

must be carried on not only at the central echelon and on a nationwide scope but also in each locality, in each economic and technical sector, and at each scientific research, training, and educational installation and not only for the units and spheres subordinate to the state but also for other economic elements. Wherever there are socioeconomic activities, attention must also be given to the requirements of solidifying national defense and creating the factors (direct or indirect) to be ready to support national defense. This must be determined and systematized by the legal documents of the state for each specific sphere. On the other hand, wherever national defense tasks are being carried out, the goal must be to protect and create a favorable environment for building the economy. Coordinating the economy with national defense is an important standard in evaluating the results and effects of socioeconomic activities and national defense activities.

3. Coordinating the economy with national defense must create a structural system (based on using a specific source of personnel, resources, and material power) with the capabilities to rapidly transform economic potential into national defense potential so that in any situation (even fierce warfare) the economy can continue to function to satisfy the needs of the people and support national defense and with the capabilities to manifest the integrated strength of the entire national economy, support the requirements of solidifying national defense and being ready to fight to defend the fatherland, and transform the economic potential into national defense strength in a flexible and effective manner. To do this, there must be unity and harmony between building the economy and solidifying national defense. Each step in developing the economy and increasing the economic potential must also be a step forward in increasing the national defense potential and putting the country in a state of high economic readiness to support national defense and defend the fatherland. Solidifying national defense must be aimed above all at protecting economic interests and creating a favorable environment and safe conditions for building and developing the economy. Economic activities that give attention only to profits and purely economic interests and that slight the national defense tasks must be opposed and blocked. Conversely, in carrying out the national defense tasks, thought must be given to economic interests and to creating the environment and conditions for economic development.

4. In coordinating the economy with national defense, each step must be planned in accord with the implementation of the economic and social development strategy and the national defense-security strategy of the country. The economic and social development strategy must satisfy the burning economic and social requirements and gradually create an economic and social basis for national defense strength and potential. In the economic and social development contents and process, it must be ensured that the country has adequate national defense strength. In accord with the economic and social development steps and capabilities, the economic and

national defense potential must be built up, and preparations must be made to transform that economic-national defense potential into national defense strength so that we will be able to deal successfully with any combat situation that may arise. Based on the rate of economic development and the economy's ability to support national defense and on strategic forecasts regarding defending the fatherland, steps and solutions for coordinating the economy and national defense must be chosen in accord with each specific sphere.

Economic potential is the basis of national defense strength. However, having a prosperous economy does not necessarily mean that national defense will be strong. In order to transform the economic potential into national defense strength, scientific and realistic measures must be used in accord with the contents of building an all-people national defense and preparing the country so that it is ready to defend the fatherland based on the motto "people's, all-people, and all-round war; all sectors and territorial areas waging war even if the battlefields are separated." According to the military line and national defense and security strategies of the party, the national defense organizations must actively put forth requirements concerning defense lines, strategic positions, and industrial products (including special technology) needed for the national defense industry, provide technology, food, medicines, and so on, and satisfy the need for scientific and technical cadres and technical workers who may have to be mobilized to support national defense depending on the situation. Also, the national defense organizations must actively propose solutions to defend each project and important economic sector if war breaks out.

Based on the requirements of building all-people national defense fronts and carrying on a people's war to defend the fatherland and based on the geographical and environmental conditions, terrain, and economic and social development capabilities, plans must be formulated to coordinate the economy with national defense to provide good support for the plans to build defense zones, particularly in the key areas and at the strategic positions along the border, at the mouths of the rivers, on the islands, and at the important economic and political centers. Economic potential must be created on the spot for solidifying national defense. At the same time, strategic rear areas and strategic rear services must be built based on specific plans. Balance and harmony must be created among the regions and air and territorial zones in establishing production installations and military bases, and it must be ensured that the entire country is a perfect system for carrying on economic and social activities based on the requirements of the economic laws and that it is a unified and strong strategic defense system that is prepared to defend the fatherland based on the requirements of the laws and arts of people's warfare. The system of coordinating the economy with national defense based on territorial area must include many connected lines that are closely related to each other in organizing defenses, organizing material and technical

reserve forces, preparing to defend the people, and so on. In particular, national defense industry enterprises and military units engaged in economic activities that have the ability to serve as the center of operations in a unified structure must be established in each zone to provide effective support for both national defense and the economy.

As for the economic and social sectors, depending on their special characteristics, needs, and ability to support national defense, suitable contents and solutions must be determined to coordinate the economy with national defense:

For the industrial sectors, particularly heavy industries (such as metallurgy, heavy machinery, precision machinery, basic chemicals, petrochemicals, and so on), concrete plans must be formulated to prepare the factors concerning technology, equipment capacity, and so on that can be mobilized based on the plans for mobilizing industry to satisfy the requirements of providing military technology and producing weapons and equipment for the armed forces. To do this, the plans to build and expand these industrial installations must be formulated in accord with the plans for developing and expanding the country's national defense industry. The national defense industry installations must be built so that they have sufficient capabilities to serve as the activist in mobilizing industry when required by war.

Factors must also be prepared at a number of light industrial plants so that when necessary, they can quickly start producing military equipment and processing food to satisfy military requirements.

With respect to the communications and transport and post and telegraph sectors, coordinating the economy with national defense must be examined in detail when formulating plans to upgrade, improve, or build new railroad lines, roads, bridges, water routes, ports, airports, storehouses, and signal and liaison networks, buying and allocating communications and transport and post and telegraph means and equipment, and so on. It must be ensured that during peacetime, these provide good support for economic construction and that they also satisfy the requirements of supporting the country's defense plans in each region and along each line. If war breaks out, these will be very important factors for military transportation and signal and liaison activities.

As for other economic sectors such as agriculture, forestry, and marine products, in carrying on their activities, they, too, must have a concept of coordinating the economy with national defense, from formulating plans to organizing things to implement the plans. The broad rural areas and mountain areas must be the strong rear base if the country gets into a war. The coastal economy strategy is becoming more and more important to our country's economic and social strategy. The fishing activities in our territorial waters and in our special coastal economic areas are activities that affirm the sovereignty of our fatherland at sea. Coordinating the

economy with national defense in the coastal areas of the fatherland is a requirement that is now more essential than ever before.

The concept of an all-people national defense is not limited just to military and economic aspects. It must also be manifested in the scientific and technical, cultural, educational, and public health spheres and in the sphere of social problems. Coordinating the above spheres with national defense amounts to expanding the concept of coordinating the economy with national defense. Good preparations for this must be made starting in peacetime. These sectors must contribute to national defense in peacetime and make preparations to switch to supporting national defense in their sector if the country goes to war.

The above issues in coordinating the economy with national defense must be concretized in the all-round (personnel, resources, material power) and industrial mobilization plans of the country to support national defense depending on the situation. These plans must be prepared and managed well. To do this, they must be systematized by the laws, statutes, and stipulations of the state, from general problems to specific problems. On the other hand, measures must be implemented to ensure that the military cadres at the strategic and tactical levels and at the local military organizations are knowledgeable about economic matters (depending on the corresponding standards). At the same time, the military knowledge of the cadres in the economic management sectors and spheres must be strengthened. This is the only way to raise the level of economic and military thinking in order to solve the problems in coordinating the economy with national defense for the economic and military organizations.

Exploiting the full potential of the country in order to build and defend the fatherland is a very important problem. Today, the Armed Forces are managing a rather large force of scientific and technical cadres, repair and national defense production plants, docks, arable land, storehouses, ports, airports, and laborers. This represents great potential that is and will be needed for national defense tasks. But part of this potential can be mobilized to carry on economic tasks—particularly in the situation in which the national defense budget is limited—in order to contribute to maintaining and gradually expanding production and improving national defense, create additional revenues for the essential needs, improve the lives of the troops, and participate in building the country's economy, particularly in building the economy in the strategic areas. Actually, the party and state have had such policies for many years, and the military has actively been carrying on this work.

However, as compared with the requirements of coordinating national defense with the economy and exploiting the national defense potential to participate in building the economy, the results achieved are just the beginning. In order to do an even better job, the following issues must be understood thoroughly:

First, exploiting the national defense potential and organizing things for the Armed Forces to participate in building the economy are objective necessities not only in order to solve the immediate problems but also to carry out the long-term strategic tasks. This has to do with the nature of our Armed Forces, which have inherited and developed the "station troops among the peasants" plan of our forefathers (the Armed Forces both carry out the task of defending the country and participate in building the country). In the present situation, this is an important source of strength to contribute to implementing the strategy to stabilize and develop the country's economy and society, and this is an important measure to coordinate national defense with the economy and the economy with national defense. The state and the various echelons and sectors must give attention to effectively exploiting these important strengths.

Second, exploiting the national defense potential and having the Armed Forces participate in building the economy is aimed above all at solidifying national defense. This must not be allowed to affect the combat strength and combat readiness of the military or the national defense potential of the country, and it must not affect the nature and traditions of the Vietnam People's Army. This must be aimed at improving the material and technical base for national defense, ensuring that the lives of the soldiers, officers, and national defense cadres and workers are free of difficulties, contributing to providing measures and policies and providing jobs for discharged soldiers, and maintaining and expanding the capabilities of the national defense enterprises. At the same time, every potential must be exploited fully in order to produce many material goods for society and contribute to making the country prosperous.

Third, in exploiting the national defense potential and having the Armed Forces participate in building the economy, an effort must be made to achieve good results. These results must be examined in an integrated way by looking at economic interests and national defense, security, and social interests.

For the national defense enterprises, the results are manifested above all in preserving and expanding the capabilities for producing and repairing weapons and military equipment and enabling the enterprises to stand firm and grow within the market mechanism. At the military units engaged in economic work that are stationed in strategic locations, results cannot be calculated simply in terms of profits and losses. Instead, this must be examined from the standpoint of the country's strategic disposition regarding national defense, security, and society. As for enterprises that are engaged in ordinary economic activities, real economic results must be used as the main criterion, and survival and expansion through market competition must be regarded as an important manifestation of the necessity and effectiveness of these units.

Fourth, the Armed Forces that are engaged in economic work must adhere to the economic management mechanisms of the state. But because of the special nature of national defense, the military has many different forms of economic work. Because of this, there must be suitable management mechanisms, specific policies must be stipulated, and the national defense enterprises and military units that are engaged in economic work must be enabled to manifest their creative abilities and strengths. But this must not conflict with the target of exploiting the national defense potential and participating in building the economy. Thus, the state and the various echelons and sectors concerned must formulate policies and measures and create a favorable environment to exploit the national defense potential and build the economy. The Ministry of National Defense will actively coordinate things with the state organizations and echelons and sectors concerned in order to formulate specific plans to promote and improve results in exploiting the national defense potential, participate in building the economy, and exploit the strengths of the military, particularly with respect to a number of major plans such as building important infrastructural bases and strategic communications routes, carrying on afforestation, reclaiming wasteland, planting perennial industrial crops, carrying on fishing activities, and transporting commodities in the strategically important coastal areas.

Coordinating the economy with national defense is an important policy of the party that has profound theoretical and practical contents. If we exploit the results that have already been achieved, overcome the shortcomings and mistakes of the past period, have a spirit of renovation and a concept of self-reliance, and, in particular, review the practices and learn the lessons concerning this, we will certainly be in a better position to complete the tasks and contribute to successfully building and defending our socialist Vietnamese fatherland in the new situation.

### **The World Situation and Our Foreign Policy**

*933E0008B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 92 pp 10-13*

[Article by Hong Ha, secretary of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and head of the International Department of the Central Committee]

[Text] We are living in a world filled with change. The international situation is undergoing rapid and profound changes, and there are many things that can't be predicted in advance. The collapse of the Soviet Union has destroyed the world balance of power that had existed for more almost half a century. Socialism has suffered a great setback. The old world order is gone, and the new world order is still unclear. The international chessboard is being rearranged. Everything is undergoing complex changes, and this will require painstaking research.

The scientific and technical revolution, which is developing like a whirlwind, is carrying away every country and having a great effect on the historical rate of development

and lives of all peoples. Many basic changes are taking place in the spheres of materials, production tools, means of transportation, energy, labor formulas, production management, and discoveries in space and at the bottom of the ocean. Almost all countries have switched to a market mechanism and are in the process of forming a worldwide market. No country can develop if it isolates itself. The internationalization of material production and social life and the international exchanges are being strongly promoted. This is a favorable opportunity for countries that know how to handle the situation to develop, but this is also a serious challenge for the underdeveloped countries, which are in danger of being left far behind as compared with the general development of the world.

The "Cold War" is over, the bipolar world no longer exists, and material goods on this planet are increasing at an unprecedented rate. But the original conflicts in the world still exist. This includes the conflict between socialism and capitalism, the conflict between the ever increasing socialization of the production forces and the capitalist system of private ownership, the conflict between labor and capital and between the people and the bourgeoisie, the conflict and competition among the developed capitalist countries, the conflict between the developing countries and the developed countries within the capitalist system, and the conflict between the independent developing countries and imperialism.

In addition, there are national, ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts that have led to political instability, famine, sudden bloodshed, and civil war in many places. The danger of a war of annihilation has been reduced, but many large countries have not abandoned the arms race and are still selling arms, which has led to serious flare-ups. Regional wars, zonal conflicts, revolts, and uprisings are occurring more and more frequently and threatening the peace and security of many nations. Even in East Asia and the South Pacific, which is one of the most dynamic zones in the world with respect to economic development, there are many conflicts and factors that could cause instability. The conflicts are multiplying rapidly, and they are all interwoven. People in many countries are still waging very fierce class and national struggles.

The highly-developed capitalist countries, too, are encountering many difficulties and facing many limitations. It could even be said that they are in a crisis. Socialist ideals are still dear to millions of people in the world. The ranks of revolutionaries and progressive people are regrouping and entering a new struggle, and in some places they have won back the positions that they had lost. The spirit of independence and freedom and the concept of nationality of many nations have become much stronger.

In international relations today, there are tendencies that are having a great affect on the foreign policies of countries:

Nations are elevating their concept of independence and self-reliance and resolutely struggling against oppression



and interference by other countries for the sake of peace, independence, and development.

The socialist countries, communist parties, workers, and other revolutionary and progressive forces in the world are resolutely opposing the enemy and reactionary forces, adhering to socialist ideals, and striving on behalf of the welfare of the people, democracy, a new and better society, and a peaceful, independent, free, prosperous, and happy life.

Countries with different political and social systems are both cooperating and struggling within the framework of peaceful coexistence. There is now fierce economic competition among countries. This is one of the factors that will determine the success or failure and relative position of each country.

Among the myriad clear and confusing and simple and complex events, there are many things that are incomprehensible, but the world still develops according to its laws. If the party and state adhere to the laws of movement, the real situation, and the trend in the world situation and have a correct foreign policy and strategy, this will certainly create a favorable international environment for the renovation movement to succeed.

The great President Ho Chi Minh, the architect and father of Vietnam's foreign policy, left us many valuable lessons on foreign policy, particularly in very complex situations. This includes coordinating the strengths of the nation with the strengths of the age, defending national independence and socialism, guaranteeing the national interests, coordinating patriotism with internationalism, adhering to principles and implementing a flexible policy, forging solidarity with other forces as much as possible, making more friends, reducing the number of enemies, and so on. We are applying Ho Chi Minh thought to today's foreign policy work based on a spirit of renovation in accord with the new world situation.

Implementing the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress, in just a short period of time, the foreign policy activities of the party and state have achieved very important initial results. These include dealing with the policy of other countries of encircling and isolating our country, actively participating in the process of solving the Cambodia problem, normalizing relations with China, opening and strengthening cooperative relationships with countries in Southeast Asia, developing relations with western and northern Europe, Japan, and a number of other Western countries and with international and non-governmental organizations, establishing cooperative relations with the republics of the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Moscow, promoting talks with the United States, continuing to forge solidarity with the remaining socialist countries, communist parties, workers, and revolutionary and progressive movements, solidifying relations with the countries with which we have had good relations, and attracting much investment capital and technology from abroad.

These achievements in foreign affairs have created a more favorable international environment for us and contributed to ensuring that Vietnam stands firm and develops amidst the raging storm of the present international situation. These achievements are of even greater significance if we consider what our people have had to go through: The Soviet Union, our main source of aid and strategic equipment and materials, and the socialist system in Eastern Europe have collapsed. Our country has been encircled, and an embargo has been imposed on us. Our correct and timely foreign-affairs lines and decisions have created a favorable tendency and opportunity for effectively carrying on foreign activities, including foreign economic activities.

One of the valuable lessons that we have learned is that we must coordinate national strengths with the strengths of the age, domestic strengths with international strengths, and traditional factors with modern factors in order to move the country forward. We must promptly grasp the new changes, new factors, and new tendencies in the international situation and exploit every capability, no matter how small, in order to assemble forces and win friends.

In every period and in every situation, we must use our national and internal strengths as the foundation and good conditions for expanding foreign relations, including foreign economic relations. Internal strengths are always the decisive factor. If we are strong internally, even if the external situation changes in ways that unfavorable to us, we will still be able to survive, stand firm, and develop. In the foreign economic sphere, to attract and make effective use of the foreign sources of capital, we must rely mainly on mobilizing accumulation from within. We must be strong internally. Otherwise, the foreign investment capital will generate just temporary prosperity. Later on, there will be a slow-down, and debts will pile up.

In a world filled with conflicts, our country has great opportunities for expanding international cooperative relations and exchange. But it must also deal with difficulties on many fronts: the "peaceful change" plot and destructive activities of the enemy, their plan to impose unfair "human rights" and "democratic" models on our people, and disputes and "retaliatory measures." Also, there are still many factors that are causing instability, our competitive strength is weak as we struggle to enter the world market, and there are market surprises and international economic recessions and crises.

Our country has solemnly announced its foreign policy to the entire world: "Vietnam wants to be friends with all countries in the world and will struggle for peace, independence, and development." This is the real desire of our people.

We must adhere to and implement the tasks in the foreign policy put forth by the Seventh CPV Congress: "We must maintain peace, expand friendly and cooperative relations, create favorable international conditions

for building socialism and defending our fatherland, and, at the same time, actively contribute to the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress."

The guiding idea behind our foreign policy is to adhere to the principle of independence, unity, and socialism. At the same time, we must be very creative, dynamic, and flexible in accord with the position, conditions, and specific situation of our country and the changes in the international and zonal situation and in accord with the special characteristics of each of the targets with which we have a relationship.

Implementing strategies and tactics in the new international situation in a firm, fair, vigilant, and correct manner is always a very important problem in foreign affairs work. This is even more difficult when we have to weigh the advantages and disadvantages in order to deal with specific situations and relationships. We can't just give attention to using flexible tactics and violate our strategic principles. And we can't adhere to the strategies and principles in a rigid manner and slight tactics. In carrying on foreign-affairs activities, there must be close coordination between principles and tactics in order to hit the targets set.

When dealing with foreign relations matters, we must apply the following mottoes:

We must make creative use of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought, hold fast to the banner of national independence and socialism, protect our real national interests, and coordinate patriotism with the internationalism of the working class.

The highest and most sacred interests of our nation and of our working class are to successfully build socialism in our country, firmly defend our socialist fatherland, defend our independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, develop our economy and society rapidly, and make the people prosperous and the country strong. Foreign affairs work must serve these interests of the nation. This is also the best way for us to practice internationalism. If the renovation movement in Vietnam succeeds and Vietnam becomes a stable and prosperous country, that will be an important contribution to the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, independence, democracy, and development. At the same time, we must constantly develop friendly relations with the socialist countries, national independence movements, the nonaligned movement, and the forces for peace and progress in the world based on our real capabilities and in accord with the changes in the international situation.

In foreign affairs work, we must maintain our independence and self-reliance and promote varying our foreign relations and having multidirectional foreign relations.

Being independent and self-reliant does not mean shutting ourselves in and isolating ourselves. Instead, this is a condition for expanding foreign relations and

increasing the international prestige of the country. We must always be us, think for ourselves, walk on our own feet, and move along the path that we have chosen. On the other hand, if we rely on others, we will become passive and dependent and suffer great damage.

We advocate having varied and multidirectional foreign relations and expanding relations with many different targets: socialist countries, national independent countries, capitalist countries, communist parties and a number of other parties, international organizations, and so on. We must not distance ourselves from one target because of our relationship with another target. We must not allow relationships among targets to conflict but must enable the relationships with many targets to stimulate each other. We must expand foreign relations in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical, educational, and public health spheres with respect to the state, party, people's mass organizations, social organizations, and non-government organizations. Economic themes in foreign affairs activities are beginning to hold a more and more important position. Foreign activities must contribute to quickly expanding our country's economy, promoting imports and exports, and bringing in capital, new technology, and management experience from abroad. Expanding foreign relations must be carried on in accord with the principle of respecting independence, sovereignty, an territorial integrity, being fair, ensuring mutual profit, maintaining production, protecting the economy and resources, maintaining national security, and adhering to and exploiting the wonderful traditions and color of our national culture.

In our relations with targets in the world, we must give attention to both interests that coincide with ours and that do not coincide with ours, to both favorable and complex aspects, and to both capabilities and limitations in order to achieve the best results, avoid loopholes, and avoid disadvantageous situations. At the same time, we must have ways to deal effectively with the plots of the enemy.

We must vary our foreign relations in order to support the development of the national economy based on a socialist orientation, ensure the principle of fairness and mutual profit, create a firm position on international markets, and achieve high economic results.

We must adhere to both cooperation and struggle in international relations.

Reality has shown that between targets in the world, having a relationship with each other does not mean that the interests of both targets will always coincide. When they do not coincide, each target will seek ways to protect its own interests. Thus, international relations with every target always contain two aspects, cooperation and struggle. Depending on the target, the problem, and the period, either the cooperative aspect or the struggle aspect may predominate. One-sided cooperation or

struggle will lead to losses and a disadvantageous situation. We must promote cooperation, but we must also struggle to a degree using forms suited to each target in order to protect our national interests and establish fair relations based on mutual profit and peaceful coexistence. Struggle, however, must be aimed at promoting cooperation and avoiding loopholes that could result in our being isolated or that could cause provocation.

We must actively participate in zonal cooperation and, at the same time, expand relations with all countries.

In the present international situation, the trend is toward greater zonal cooperation. The security and development of a country is closely related to the security and development of the zone. Having cooperative relations with the zone will create favorable conditions for building the country. At the same time, this will promote varying relations with countries in other zones.

The economic changes taking place in the world today are also leading to the formation of zone economic blocs. We must promote friendly and cooperative relations with the other countries in the zone and create an environment of long-term peace and stability. This will satisfy the basic interests of our nation, and it is in accord with the common trends of today.

At the same time, we must expand relations with all countries in other zones, particularly the large countries and large economic centers, the factors that affect the security and development of our zone and our country.

Foreign affairs activities must be carried on under the leadership of the party and the unified management of the state with the participation of the people's mass organizations, echelons, and sectors and with close coordination between foreign affairs and national defense, security, and ideological activities. This will create integrated strength on the foreign affairs front.

An expanded foreign affairs policy demands that we be unified in terms of will power and action based on the viewpoints and lines of the party. We cannot waver or pull back, and we cannot act in an arbitrary or undisciplined manner. There are many urgent tasks that require our immediate attention. This includes expanding foreign information activities, actively gathering timely and accurate information from abroad, strengthening research and predicting the international situation in order to have correct foreign affairs policies, and improving the quality of our representative organizations abroad. The most important thing is to immediately train and retrain the cadres who are involved in foreign affairs work, including those in the sphere of foreign economic activities, so that they have firm political standards and capabilities, broad knowledge, occupational skills, excellent foreign language skills, and good morals.

Our country has a good opportunity, but it is also facing very great challenges and difficulties. Each one of us and the entire nation must have the will power and resolve to

make the people prosperous and the country strong, to create a civilized society, and to make our country equal to other countries in the world.

Foreign affairs work and the ranks of foreign affairs cadres have the glorious responsibility of contributing to hitting that lofty target.

## Research-Exchange of Opinions

### The Problem of Varying Forms of Ownership

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 14-17

[Article by Tran Duc; not translated]

### Human Rights and Citizens' Rights in Economic and Social Development

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 18-20

[Article by Hoang Van Hao; not translated]

### Control and Push Back Inflation by Means of the State Budget

933E0008C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 21-23

[Article by Professor Tao Huu Phung, director of the Finance Department, Ministry of Finance]

[Text] Inflation can cause economic instability and even disrupt economic and social relationships. This is a threat to business, and it hinders elements in production and commodity circulation. During the past four years of fighting inflation, we have learned many valuable lessons. In particular, we now understand the nature and laws of inflation in our country's economic conditions. Based on this, we have formulated plans to fight inflation and gradually reduced inflation to an acceptable level.

In this article, I want to present a number of solutions for controlling and reducing inflation by means of the national budget.

The relationship between budget deficits and inflation is a rather complex relationship of cause and effect. When there is a budget deficit (revenues are less than expenditures), the state must print money to make up the difference. This is a direct and leading cause of inflation, because inflation is primarily a process of putting money into circulation without being backed by commodities. Actually, this is a measure aimed at regulating the income of all of society.

The inflation rate is always proportional to the rate of growth of the money supply to compensate for the state budget deficit. For example, the money supply as compared with total state budget expenditures in 1986 was 23.6 percent, and inflation was 775 percent; in 1988, the

percentage was 26.4 percent, and inflation was 394 percent; and in 1991, the percentage was 2.3 percent, and inflation was 68 percent. The above figures show the organic relationship between a state budget deficit and inflation. At the same time, it can also be said that those two spheres are not identical in terms of rhythm of growth (the rate of inflation is always higher than the budget deficit rate). This stems from printing money for credit and from weaknesses in the currency management mechanism. The important thing is that when the state pumps money into circulation, the balance in the commodity-currency relationship is destroyed, which makes it impossible to control the entire socioeconomic system.

A decline in the value of the currency will lead to a decline in the purchasing power of the currency and to a decline in labor wages. This will also disrupt the system of measuring value and have a serious effect on the operation of the economic system. In particular, the state economy, which operates based on a planned mechanism (a "rigid" style), will not be reorganized quickly. Thus, the state budget, as the subject of many socioeconomic relationships, will have to bear the very serious consequences: a decline in revenues from state enterprises (because of eating into C and not promptly pursuing tax revenues with respect to non-state enterprises), an increase in expenditures for items outside the production sphere and for social targets, and so on. This is without mentioning that local phenomena and disciplinary violations will have an environment in which to grow and cause imbalances in the state budget, which will force the state budget to run an even greater deficit. In this situation, unless effective measures are implemented to deal with this, this will become a vicious circle: budget deficit-print money-price increases-budget deficit.

In order to control and reduce inflation, state budget management must be renovated. We must concentrate on the following things:

1. On state budget revenues:

Revenue policies must be improved. In this, special attention must be given to improving the tax laws so that tax revenues become the principal source of revenues for the state budget. The revenue apparatus and revenue management mechanism must be reorganized based on including all targets and promptly concentrating on the state budget. An effort must be made to increase the level of financial mobilization from the GDP [Footnote 1] [Gross Domestic Product is one of the macrocosmic economic indexes used to evaluate the level of economic development and standard of living of a country as compared with other countries in a market economy] to 18-20 percent by 1992 and to 22-23 percent by 1995. In this, mobilization from taxes as compared with GDP should be 16-18 percent in 1992 and 20-22 percent in 1995. Domestic tax policies must be aimed at strengthening and expanding revenue sources and on fully exploiting revenue sources based on the principle of

ensuring rational distribution between the laborers and the state and ensuring fairness and equality with respect to the sectors and economic elements. The import-export tax policy must stimulate exports by setting rational tax rates depending on the type of commodity in each specific period. Import duties must protect domestic production and regulate and guide imports. Specifically, tax rates must be low for raw materials (with a distinction made between raw materials used to produce necessities, raw materials used to produce export goods, and raw materials used to produce high-level consumer goods), and tax rates must be high for high-level consumer goods and types of goods that are already being produced domestically.

In reality, our level of accumulation from production is in general still low. The main measures for increasing revenues are to expand the scope of tax revenues and oppose shortfalls. The tax laws, particularly concerning tax rates and methods of taxation, must be simplified. Collection activities must be reorganized, and the professional standards of the collection cadres must be raised along with strengthening guidance by sector. Tax evasion must be dealt with harshly using the laws currently in force.

Foreign aid and foreign loans are very important sources of capital for the state budget aimed at bringing about a qualitative change in technology and the production forces and fostering basic economic and social changes. Because of this, foreign economic activities and mobilization and propaganda activities must be promoted in order to strive to obtain aid. At the same time, relations must be expanded with the international currency organizations, banks, and public and private organizations and trust must be created so that we can obtain many loans with favorable terms with respect to interest rates, conditions, and payment periods.

To ensure that these sources of capital manifest an effect, things must be centrally and uniformly managed through the central budget. The localities must not be allowed to take foreign loans or guarantee loans to enterprises. As for the non-government loans taken by enterprises, they must take responsibility for repaying the loans and finding guarantors with jurisdiction from domestic and foreign financial organizations.

2. On managing state budget expenditures:

At a time when revenues are still limited, in order to reduce the budget deficit, the budget index must be revised based on savings and effects. The expenditure management mechanism must be boldly renovated based on reducing line items and expenditure objectives, eliminating state subsidies, and disbursing correct and adequate amounts for the necessary targets and objectives determined.

As for capital construction investment expenditures, investment funds must be allocated for infrastructural projects, and funds must be allotted for the key economic projects based on the principle of ensuring that the

capital is recovered from profits and capital depreciation. Decision 75/CP issued on 27 March 1991 by the Council of Ministers (now the premier) must be implemented strictly. This decision concerning suspending construction on non-production projects in the state sphere, particularly work places, guest houses, and vacation homes.

As for frequently used norms, the targets on reducing the staff must be hit, and the administrative and professional organizations must be reorganized. Based on this, allocations must be made based on uniform rolls and requirement levels in accord with reality. The motto "the state and people working together" must be implemented, and there must be a switch to self-settlement either entirely or in part with respect to forms and organizations that can or could be collected.

In order to have correct and adequate disbursements and unify the system of norms nationwide, the system of expenditure norms must be rebuilt. It must be both standard in nature and in accord with the special characteristics of each region and echelon. Depending on the expenditure objectives, norms can be formulated on a per capita, line item basis, but this must be done based mainly on population.

In reorganizing the economic structure, the state budget must allocate suitable funds for targets removed from the rolls, and expenditures for reorganizing the laborers must be increased, which includes expenditures for moving people to new economic zones. An effort must be made to maintain a stable standard of living for retirees and the infirm and other policy targets.

As for providing aid to state enterprises, state subsidies through capital and prices, including state subsidies through bank credits, must be limited and gradually eliminated. When necessary, the state must provide help to satisfy the needs of the economy, such as compensating losses based on the policies, supporting export prices, and investing in capital construction in sectors that affect the national welfare and people's livelihood. In the sphere of financial sources, money can be recovered from selling shares in share enterprises and selling the assets of enterprises that have been disbanded. After subtracting the expenditure items based on the measures, things must be concentrated in a center. One of the important measures is to have the financial organizations conduct audits before, during, and after allotting funds. The expense items that are ineffective and that go beyond the policies and measures must be resolutely eliminated.

### 3. On dealing with the state budget deficit:

#### a. Shortfalls must be dealt with using positive measures that do not lead to inflation.

Domestic loan sources must be fully exploited using various forms of loans, primarily long- and medium-term loans. Attention must be given to expanding the use of various types of bonds (such as government bonds,

investment certificates, treasury notes, and so on) that pay a rational rate of interest in relation to the rate of inflation. Implementing these loan procedures well will create financial sources, reduce the pressure of the money in circulation, and create a currency-commodity balance in order to bring prices to a rational level.

A great effort must be made to attract foreign capital and aid using many measures to attract capital. These sources of capital must be managed well.

Insurance funds must be formed and expanded rapidly in order to actively avoid risk and have financial sources to make loans when the state budget needs money without causing inflation.

In dealing with things using the above measures, we have the good lessons of 1991. In 1991, the budget was still very large (accounting for 15 percent of gross disbursements). But in order to make up that shortfall, we printed money to cover only about 15 percent of the shortfall. The other 85 percent was covered using the above measures. That helped keep inflation at 68 percent for the entire year, which was a year when the economy was still suffering a serious imbalance.

#### b. The management mechanism must be strengthened and renovated, and a financial reserve fund must be used.

Experiences in many countries have shown that in a very difficult economic and financial situation, the state must have a strong financial reserve fund so that it can intervene in the market when necessary. The fund must be strengthened quantitatively (materials, foreign currency, rare metals, and so on), and concentrate the state reserves on renovating things. On the other hand, the mechanism for using the reserve fund must be renovated. With a suitable structure (with foreign currency and gold being the primary elements) and adequate forces, it will be possible to use the financial reserve fund above all to protect and stimulate production (such as purchasing rice, nitrate [fertilizer], sugar, and so on during the season and sell these items at appropriate times). Along with this, the reserve fund must be used to deal with "fevers" that break out on the market and eliminate negative activities such as speculation, hoarding, spreading rumors, and so on.

Making flexible and effective use of the financial reserve fund like this is a manifestation of the "macrocosmic management" of the state in a market economy. During the first six months of this year, thanks to using the foreign currency and gold reserve funds and selling government bonds on the markets at stable prices, the state "reduced" the "high fever" for gold and dollars.

#### c. The laws and policy mechanisms having to do with state budget management must be improved, and financial and budgetary discipline must be strengthened.

Dealing with and controlling relationships in the state budget system through the laws and budget management policies is very important.

The measures for decentralizing budget management must ensure that the unity of state finances is maintained nationwide based on the laws. It is the central echelon that promulgates the collection policies and expenditure norm measures. At the same time, the responsibilities of the various-echelon authorities must be strengthened, they must be given encouragement in managing the state budget, and financial and budgetary discipline must be improved. The revenues and expenditures of each budget echelon must be determined based on a clear analysis of the economic and administrative management responsibilities of each ministry and locality in accord with the stipulations of the constitution and administrative organization law. In conditions in which revenues are still limited, revenues must be concentrated primarily on the central budget in order to exploit the strengths of the entire country and carry out the strategic expenditure tasks. At the same time, revenue sources must be created in order to help the localities that are experiencing difficulties in balancing revenues and expenditures and ensure balanced economic and cultural development nationwide based on an appropriate structure.

As for expenditures, the central budget will take responsibility for the important and basic expenditure tasks such as national defense and security, large-scale economic and cultural tasks, and state programs. The expenditure items must be unified nationwide. As for local budgets, steps must be taken to cut back expenditure tasks, primarily expenditures for the administrative management apparatus in the localities and expenditures for the infrastructure and public welfare projects managed by the localities. Based on the expenditure tasks that have been determined, the state will set aside a number of stable revenue items for the local budgets and, at the same time, implement a policy of giving rewards to encourage the localities to increase revenues and cut back on expenditures.

In 1992, the government decided to revise a number of points in the existing budget management decentralization system, such as eliminating most of the regulated revenue items among the budget echelons, switching more of the expenditure tasks to the central budget, strengthening the village-level budget, and carrying out tests in expanding the work of turning district-echelon budgets into estimated units.

We are drafting a state budget law and other guidance documents in order to improve the system of basic laws concerning formulating and implementing state budgets. This is being done based on the constitution and on the laws for organizing various-echelon administrative organizations that have and are being promulgated. The budget law and guidance documents will specifically stipulate all contents and relationships in state budget activities. This will be the only legal basis for managing the state budget and the means by which citizens and

economic organizations can fulfill their obligations to the budget based on the constitution and laws. This will gradually reduce violations of financial discipline and expenditures that are not in accord with the procedures and policies or that exceed the unified norms of the state and gradually bring order to financial and budgetary management.

### **The Key Points To Develop the Economy Quickly**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 24-26; 30

[Article by Nguyen Van Phuong; not translated]

### **Opinions and Experience**

#### **The 3d Military Region Coordinates Economy With National Defense in the New Economic Mechanism**

933E0008D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 27-30

[Article by Lieutenant General Pham Van Tra, member of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and commander of the 3d Military Region]

[Text] Situated in the middle of the Red River Delta, the 3d Military Region encompasses many areas that are of strategic importance both militarily and economically and socially and that have great economic potential and a varied economic structure based on an agricultural-forestry-fishing structure in coordination with an expanding artisan industry and handicrafts.

In recent years, the localities have gradually become familiar with the market mechanism, increased import-export sources, and expanded international cooperation. The people in the Red River Delta provinces are simple people. They are diligent and energetic and have a tradition of fiercely opposing foreign aggression. They contributed great human and material power to the revolution and to the resistances, and today they are striving to make their homeland and country prosperous and protect the independence of the country.

In the face of the complex changes in the international and domestic situations, a number of reactionary elements have appeared in the 3d Military Region. These elements have joined forces with outside reactionary forces and drawn in opportunists and dissatisfied people and disseminated documents, anonymous letters, and slogans demanding democracy, pluralism, and a multi-party system in an attempt to topple the socialist system in our country. The northeastern coastal provinces and the border provinces have also experienced complex economic and security changes since the door was opened.

In the face of this situation, with a clear understanding of its important political, economic, cultural, security, and

national defense position with respect to the entire country, the 3d Military Region has made a great effort to do the following: become strong politically, become prosperous economically, strengthen national defense, gradually develop culture and society, and contribute, together with the entire country, to smashing the destructive plots and actions of the enemy forces.

During the past five years, the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Standing Committee and the Military Region Command, together with the party committee echelons and local authorities, have grasped and solved a number of problems having to do with the relationship between the economy and national defense. The military region has continued to implement the traditional slogan of "become prosperous, win victory." Many of the things done in the military region have brought great economic benefits and been of great significance in terms of national defense. Based on the realities in the military region, several initial lessons concerning coordinating the economy with national defense in the new economic mechanism can be mentioned:

1. Maintain order and security in the localities and border areas, ensure that the people carry on production with their minds at ease, and contribute to enabling the local economy to expand:

The military region and the localities in the military region have given much attention to maintaining security and social order, enabling the people to produce with their minds at ease, and being self-reliant and frugal in building the homeland. Because of this, the minimum incomes of the people have been stabilized, the standard of living has improved, the number of people who have become prosperous legitimately has increased, the family economy has expanded well, and many families have become quite prosperous. Cultural life, public health, and education have made progress. A community spirit based on the wonderful traditions of the people has been fostered in many places. Together with the provinces in the area, the military region has solidified and gradually expanded the defense fronts and national defense potential. Within the military region, the provinces and cities have held maneuvers in order to turn themselves into strong defense units. Recently, the military region, provinces, and cities held maneuvers based on the plan to oppose "peaceful change" and oppose the actions of reactionary forces aimed at stirring up trouble and toppling things in coordination with outside forces. Through these maneuvers, the military region and the provinces and cities have evaluated the real results of building defense zones and seen the combat readiness capabilities of the Armed Forces in the military region, and of the border troops and local public security forces in fighting a war and opposing the destructive actions of the enemy. At the same time, this has taught lessons in mobilizing troops and reserve forces and mobilizing the economy in situations in which we must shift from peacetime to wartime along with solidifying, reorganizing, and improve the quality of building the three types of forces (the standing forces of the military region,

provincial and district local forces, and militia and self-defense forces) in the new conditions.

Along with building defense fronts, in the past period, the military region has coordinated things closely with the localities in implementing Directive 135 of the Council of Ministers (now the premier) and launched many campaigns to suppress criminals, reactionary groups, and the assembly points of robbers along the land, water, and rail communications lines from Ninh Binh, Nam Ha, and Haiphong to Mong Cai and Quang Ninh. In 1991 and 1992, the military region discovered 4,898 cases involving 6,166 targets, destroyed 235 criminal gangs and 103 gathering points, confiscated 11 tons of explosives, 35 tons of brass, and 52 tons of latex worth about 85 billion dong, and began to clean up the localities and create the conditions for stimulating the growth of the local economy.

In the 3d Military Region, each year, it has become a custom to organize a primary-level conference to discuss building forces to maintain political and social order and building strong village and subward bases. In addition to representatives from the military region Armed Forces, representatives from the provinces, districts, and a number of key and typical villages also attend this conference. The military region has determined that building bases is one of the key tasks of local national defense work. In order to oppose destructive plots from within and from the primary level, the bases must be developed in all respects. In doing this, attention must be given to two basic elements: cadres and the economy. Reality has shown that some of the turmoil and a number of the "burning points" in the military region in the past several years stem from these two elements. Strong bases will provide a foundation for stabilizing politics and developing the economy. The military region has given particular attention to building strong bases in the cities, religious areas, mountains, and border areas and on the islands. As the bases become stronger, the economy will grow. This can be seen in Hai Hau and Xuan Thuy in Nam Ha Province, Kim Son in Ninh Binh Province, Hai Ninh and Dong Trieu in Quang Ninh Province, Nam Thanh in Hai Hung Province, Nguyen Xa and Dong Hung in Thai Binh Province, Hong Bang Ward in Haiphong City, and the 513th Brigade.

As one of the sites with targets belonging to the country's most important policy spheres, the military region has coordinated things with the localities to quickly solve the problems related to military rear area work, particularly a number of problems left over since the war (such as investigating many disappearances during the resistances against France and the United States and managing things and looking after the war invalids and families of war heroes). In the military region, there are 105,687 war invalids, and of these, 20 percent suffered very serious injuries. Also, the number of war dead reached 246,548, and there are 245,120 families of war dead here. The localities in the military region have organized many cadre groups and veterans groups to



visit the graves of local soldiers who died on the battlefield and whose remains have been buried in war-hero cemeteries in places from Quang Tri to provinces in eastern and western Nam Bo. Eight war-hero cemeteries and 30 memorials (out of a total of 70 districts) and 2,022 village and subward cemeteries have been built. A total of 299 recreational centers valued at more than 2 billion dong have been built for the families of war heroes and seriously injured war invalids, military heroes, and the families who made contributions to the revolution (a total of 57 centers have been built in Hong Bang Ward, Haiphong City, alone). A total of 818 children of war heroes and war invalids have been sent to work abroad based on economic cooperation contracts. Through the movement to "render thanks and repay obligations," the provinces have taken millions of dong from local budgets to aid the families of war invalids and war heroes, providing more than 10,000 bank deposit books, with the smallest deposit being 100,000 dong and the largest deposit being 1.5 million dong. (In Thai Binh Province, bank deposit books have been given to the families of war invalids and war heroes and the families that made contributions to the revolution.) However, there are still "hot spots" in the 3d Military Region. Most of these involve disputes about arable land in a number of places and social evils that must be given attention and handled. A point worth noting is that in the former resistance base areas and remote areas (such as Hoa Binh and Quang Ninh), the lives of the people (almost all of whom are tribesmen) are still very difficult. Their standard of living is very low as compared with that in areas near the cities and communications routes.

2. Reorganize the units involved in economic work, gradually implement profit-and-loss accounting, and monitor the results:

During the state subsidies period, the military region had a large economic apparatus and large number of forces engaged in economic work, but it did not practice profit-and-loss accounting. As a result, economic results were poor, large amounts of raw materials and materials were wasted or lost, a number of the products and projects were of poor quality, use value was low, the apparatus was cumbersome, and technical capabilities were low. Entering the market mechanism, the military region quickly reorganized and strengthened the units engaged in economic activities and replaced the Military Region Economic Department by establishing the Red River General Corporation (with four large corporations: Corporation 319, which specializes in capital construction; the Duyen Hai Corporation, which produces coal; the Dong Hai Border Transport Corporation; and the Export Corporation) and Con Thoi Coastal Reclamation Group 500. Production is first, with commercial activities playing a supporting role. Besides this, there is the Van Chanh cement plant, and there are more than 20 satellite enterprises, including a number of machine, rock quarrying, wood processing, and service enterprises at the provincial and municipal military commands. Almost all of the factories and enterprises of

the military region have renovated their equipment and replaced the industrial production chain. This has lowered production costs, improved the quality of the products, and enabled them to keep the trust of both domestic and foreign customers. The ranks of managerial cadres are smaller, more specialized, and more energetic, and they have quickly eliminated the state subsidies and bureaucratic way of doing things. Since the corporations and enterprises were established, the military region has not had to disband a center because of losses. Instead, it has continued to establish additional new enterprises in order to adjust to the markets and further exploit the existing potential and strengths. Capital Construction Corporation 319 and the Dong Hai Coastal Transport Corporation are the two economic units that have earned the greatest profits. At these two corporations, the average monthly salary is 200-250,000 dong per person. The Duyen Hai Corporation has four coal enterprises. This is one of the leading economic sectors in the military region. Each year, coal mining and coal exports have always fulfilled or exceeded the norms. Thanks to renovating the equipment, Machine Enterprise 189, which specializes in repairing boats, motorcycles, and small means of water transport, now has the capability to build 200-ton river and coastal steamers and repair and build barges, tug boats, and motorcycles. Because of their close ties to two ship-building and repair installations in Haiphong, during the period 1989-1991, the coal mining enterprises, construction enterprises, material services enterprises, and ship-building and repair enterprises in the military region made profits, their volume of production increased, and they contributed billions of dong to the state and military region.

Thanks to renovating production and business organization, the military region can provide rice to the troops using a new formula: Use ships to transport rice purchased in the south; provide low-cost, delicious rice to the troops and to the coal industry zones, help reduce the units' gasoline and oil transport costs, and have sufficient bags.

3. Give attention to exploiting suggestions and improving technology and to improving the technical standards of the cadres and skills of the technical workers so that they can be integrated into the market mechanism:

Talking about economic work, regardless of whether it is an economic unit within or outside the military, attention must always be given to "capital," the key problem of production and business. Creating capital and making effective use of the capital are decisive to the survival of a corporation or enterprise. At a time when there is not enough capital to renovate the equipment and production chains in a synchronized and all-round manner, the economic units of the military region have concentrated on exploiting suggestions, improving techniques, creating investment and loan capabilities, renovating the technical standards in a gradual and basic manner, and reorganizing production in accord with the tasks and



long-term plans. The Van Chanh cement plant, Enterprise 189, the enterprises that supply rice to the troops, and other units have managed to retain the "trust" of their customers. They have done this mainly by exploiting the suggestions of the cadres and workers and constantly improving techniques through holding seminars and testing excellent workers.

From the realities of economic work, the leaders of the production installations are no longer as unsophisticated as they once were. They are accumulating more and more experience and showing greater sensitivity and energy, they have specific knowledge and standards in managing economic matters and in managing occupational techniques, and they are gradually being integrated into the new economic mechanism. Because they understand the laws of the market mechanism and the harsh nature of competition and because they have kept up with information on markets and tastes, the directors of Corporation 319, the Duyen Hai Corporation, the Dong Hai Corporation, and the Export Corporation have made correct decisions in guiding economic activities. Each year, the units engaged in economic activities have attracted a notable number of laborers to work on contract, and this has contributed to providing jobs, which is a pressing social problem today. And through this, they have created a skilled labor force for the country, which is a valuable asset for national defense in both peacetime and wartime.

4. Together with the localities, expand the communications network:

Clearly understanding the great importance of roads with respect to developing the economy and supporting national defense in this strategic area, particularly in the economically undeveloped mountain areas, the military region has devoted much labor to repairing, upgrading, and building many roads. Group 330 has expanded the Kep-Dong Trieu, Chi Linh, and Pha Lai highway 28 km in order to transport goods needed by the Pha Lai thermoelectric plant. The northeastern region of the fatherland has another highway that is bringing cultural light and necessities to fraternal ethnic minority groups. Many military units are participating in opening roads in Sen Village and island roads, opening and improving forest roads, and building water conservancy projects at Quat Dong and Quang Long. In Quang Ninh, 150 km of roads have been built or upgraded. Group 350 from Haiphong is participating in building the Phi Liet, Dinh Vu, Cat Ba Island, and Do Son roads, which have a length of 50 km. The people working on the roads have had to bear the rain, sun, and other harsh climatic conditions and the harsh living conditions. Those who are now using these new and upgraded roads fully appreciate what our beloved soldiers have had to put up with in order to open those roads.

Inheriting the valuable legacies and material and technical bases in the new conditions, the 3d Military Region continues to affirm itself with a spirit of independence and self-reliance, sharpen its combat will power and

revolutionary vigilance, contribute to improving the integrated quality of the Armed Forces, increase the strength of all-people national defense, oppose the plot of "peaceful change" and the disruptive actions of reactionary forces, and defend the integrity of the fatherland. Exploiting the existing potential and strengths and the experiences that have been accumulated, the 3d Military Region is continuing to develop the economy, improving the lives of the troops, and contributing to increasing the combat strength of the Armed Forces and developing the country's economy. Together with the local administrative echelons, the military region will strive to further strengthen the economic and national defense potential and ensure that each locality in the military region becomes a strong defense zone.

### **Can Corruption Be Eliminated?**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 31-33

[Article by Le Van Cuong; not translated]

### **More Opinions on Fighting Corruption**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 34-36

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc; not translated]

### **Improving the Intellectual Standards of the People in the Rural Areas**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 37-38; 41

[Article by Nguyen Quang Du; not translated]

### **Can Tho—The Path of Development**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 39-41

[Article by Tran Van Tu; not translated]

### **The Dai Loc District Party Organization Has Found a 'Way Out'**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 42-44

[Article by Nhi Le; not translated]

## **Seminar**

### **Literature in Our Country Since 1975**

933E0008E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 45-48

[Summary of conference by Van Duc]

[Text] Editorial note: In order to contribute to reviewing the implementation of Politburo Resolution 05 (CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee, 6th

Term) and to preparing for the the Fourth Plenum (Seventh Term) of the CPV Central Committee on cultural and arts and letters work, on 28 October 1992 in Hanoi, the Village Letters Department of TAP CHI CONG SAN organized a conference on the topic "Literature in Our Country Since 1975." Those attending the conference included key cadres of TAP CHI CONG SAN, the writers Xuan Cang, To Hoai, Huu Mai, Vu Tu Nam, Nguyen Ngoc, Vu Quan Phuong, Nguyen Thi Ngoc Tu, Huu Thinh, and Xuan Thieu, and literary critics and researchers Phan Cu De, Do Huy, Nguyen Van Luu, Phuong Luu, Tran Dinh Su, Le Quang Trang, and Nguyen Nghia Trong. The following is a summary of the main contents of the conference.

### **I. On Way to Approach and Methods of Evaluating the Literary Situation**

Those attending the conference said that in order to evaluate the present literary situation correctly, we must have a scientific and objective method of approach and an all-round and dialectical way of looking at things. This means that literature must be placed within the country's general situation and general framework of development and be tied to the other spheres of social life. At the same time, literature must be placed within the framework of its constant and unceasing movement and development. Literature should not be evaluated in a mechanical, metaphysical, or subjective manner remote from specific historical viewpoints.

One of the important characteristics of literary life since 1975 and, in particular, since 1980, is that this has been a period of switching from wartime—with the war lasting 30 years—to peacetime. But this post-war period has been marked by the serious effects of war and serious divisions in social life, particularly after the major upheavals in the world and during the country's socio-economic crisis.

The all-round renovation movement launched and led by the party has profound revolutionary significance. This has created the conditions for moving the country in the right direction, but this has also posed many new and complex questions. A series of problems has accompanied commodity production with its changed economic and social structure and management mechanism. The understanding, way of life, psychology, and spirit of the people have undergone many profound changes. Those who lived in the centralized state subsidies mechanism thought one way. Today, those who live in a market mechanism think another way. People who lived in wartime conditions accepted sacrifice and were united in making contributions to winning victory. Now, in peacetime, they have countless desires and just demands and are living in an age filled with difficulties. They live opposed to nature and worry about social evils. In this situation, literature, with its task of reflecting the reality of life, must experience birth pains and want to mature and renovate.

Some people said that in the past period, literature in our country has been developing in conditions in which the value system and system of social standards have been changing. In particular, many aspects related to moral and aesthetic standards are being reviewed. Many of the old standards are not longer appropriate, new standards have not yet been formed, and there are even manifestations of deviations. The theoretical system for evaluating new literary works is in a state of confusion. Along with the positive aspects, opening the door to international exchange and admitting foreign cultures also have negative aspects, and these have made the situation even more complex.

Many people stressed that when examining and evaluating the literary situation, the important thing is to fully understand the nature and special characteristics of this creative sphere. In particular, it must be clearly understood that literature is one element in social ideology and that it is closely tied to politics and political activities and to the ideological struggle in society. Its good aspect is that it has the power to communicate and touch the hearts of millions of people and push society forward. But its negative aspects also have a great effect on the general atmosphere of society.

Literature is an entity in the close "writer-work-reader" relationship. Today's readers, whose standards are higher and who have new and more varied tastes and spiritual needs, are a notable force in literature. Thus, the question is how to have works that will be acceptable to the market (readers) and that will have real literary value. This is a question that troubles many writers.

In short, since 1975, literature in our country has been greatly affected by events within the country and events of the age at a time when the mood and tastes of the people and social values are undergoing profound changes. Literature is the product of many writers, and it is tied to the public, whose tastes and psychological aspects have changed greatly. Thus, evaluations of our country's literature must be fair and objective, and things must be looked at in an all-round way. This cannot be done in a simple or oppressive manner.

### **II. On the Achievements and the Shortcomings and Weaknesses of Our Literature**

Many people affirmed that renovation is the nature and living law of literature and artists. During the period 1975-1985, literature made initial changes. Writers searched and searched and gradually raised their level of artistic thinking.

In particular, since the Sixth CPV Congress in 1986 and after the promulgation of Politburo Resolution 05 in 1987, literature in our country made new progress, and there was a new heroic atmosphere. Literature merged with the renovation movement of the country. It matured in an atmosphere of democracy with the motto "face the truth squarely and speak the truth." Budding writers had many opportunities and the conditions to make contributions and create. As the poet Vu Quan

Phuong said, "literature in our country made a great leap. It passed through several years of reviewing things in the face of its new appearance." The poet Huu Thinh said: "During this stage, literature suddenly blossomed among youthful writers, in women's circles, and among tribesmen."

Along with the older and familiar writers, there are also many new writers who have their own ideas and feelings, who have pushed their way into many different spheres of society, and who have exploited new themes and subjects. In the past, the tendency was to write epic poetry and philosophical works, with the works of that period filled with valuable materials. Those heroic works reflected the power of our nation's great fight. Today, there is a new tendency, a tendency to deal with ethics and the affairs of the world and illuminate human feelings from different angles. From the family to broad social relationships among people, it's as if everything is being laid bare, revealed, and created. Some writers with their own perspective want to evaluate and interpret a number of problems of the past. Some people have made valid demands concerning the responsibilities of society regarding the fate of individual people. Many writers have plunged into realism, directly confronted many burning economic, political, and social problems, and sought an answer to the puzzling questions of today. A number of writers who have filed reports, done investigations, and written essays on the burning events of today have contributed to tracing the literary picture.

In the present stage, characters have begun to change, too. In the past, characters were inseparable from the collective, and the fate of the individual was examined as part of the fate of the collective. But now, man is like a separate entity, a separate world, that can be exploited in complex interwoven relationships. People are ordinary and honest like life. These are complex people who have to grapple with new difficulties and challenges and deal with good and evil and who even have to deal with themselves and build an ordinary and simple life.

Creative methods and artistic styles in this stage have become more varied and complex, and the tones are those of many strata of writers. A number of writers have written very penetrating short stories, and many people have written simple, graceful, and original poems. Recently, many writers have striven to reach a new level of artistic thinking with independent concepts and tried to engage in a dialogue with readers through their books. It is no exaggeration to say that literature in our country is "breaking apart in terms of tone." That is something that is welcome and that should be respected.

Resolution 05 affirmed creative freedom and the freedom to study and criticize things. The literary achievements mentioned above do not separate the specific contributions of theorists and critics. Many frank and constructive debates using mass information forums and scientific conferences have analyzed the new literary phenomena and discussed the basic problems of

literary theory from a broad perspective and with a more realistic way of looking at things.

Since the promulgation of Resolution 05, the atmosphere between leaders and artists has changed greatly. Much more attention has been given to discussing things openly and frankly. The initial successes in the struggles waged by organizations to deal with problems in a reasonable manner in accord with principles marks a fundamental change in leadership and management with respect to this broad and complex sphere.

It can be said that even though the above achievements are just a start, they have opened up new prospects for the development of literature in our country. They allow us to have faith in our new artists, particularly the young generation of writers.

However, those attending this conference also said that we cannot be content with what has been accomplished. There are still many complex problems. On the path of development, our literature has revealed many shortcomings and weaknesses, and some of these shortcomings have worried and displeased readers. Four major problems can be mentioned:

First, a number of deviate tendencies have appeared in literature. Those that should be noted include:

The tendency to stand aloof from politics and real artistic values, to pander to ordinary tastes, and to commercialize literature. The aesthetic and artistic concepts of a number of writers have declined. Their writing is often sloppy and commercial in nature with no regard for minimum artistic criteria. Along with these, there are also poisonous works. Taking advantage of democratic freedoms, in the name of "brave people," some writers have gone from making vague allusions and insinuations to boldly sully our national history, hurting our country's ideals and path of development, and criticizing the people's most sacred images.

The tendency to reject history, the achievements of the revolution, and the achievements of literature. Some people want to "repent" and "forget" that period of their life that was filled with meaning.

The tendency to "ruthlessly reflect the truth" (an idea of Nguyen Dinh Thi), exaggerate the evils and other aspects of society, sow doubts, and encourage violence and a dishonest way of life. People have argued that in the past, many writers reflected reality by portraying things in rosy colors and showing only "half the truth." Now, it is time to expose the bitter and painful reality of man. These new-style works have caught the attention of readers. But in reality, their aesthetic value is low. Their literary quality does not surpass that of newspaper articles on vicious crimes, and they have done great damage.

Second, in theoretical research and criticism, along with serious creative searches, there have been deviate manifestations of wanting to separate arts and letters from

politics and of emphasizing the eternal value of literature in a one-sided way. During debates, there is often a lack of objectivity and a tendency to praise one's friends. Some people love to suddenly attack and reject others, and this has created a tense atmosphere. There is a psychological tendency to want to voice an opposite view. It's said that saying the opposite is brave and that this is renovation. There is a complete lack of a scientific attitude and culture in carrying on debates. As Phuong Luu said: "The recent renovation achievements in theory have taken place in accord with the law: if you want to say a lot, you have to say very little. Instead of having superficial arguments, there must be diligent and serious programs."

Third, instead of leading and controlling literature in a rigid and undemocratic manner as in the past, during the years of renovation, there has been a tendency to relax the leadership of the party and the control of the state. There have even been right-wing deviations and evasions, particularly during the initial stage of implementing Resolution 05. Because of this, the literary process has at times seemed to be on the brink of tottering, and the struggles on a number of fronts have been superficial and ineffective. At the conference, one person (Le Quang Trang) said that "there is a mechanism. But people have either ignored it or acted in collusion. Evil works and evil people have been allowed to participate openly in our cultural and literary life." From publishing to printing, there is great confusion, but the means used to manage and deal with things are uncertain and unclear. Social laws here are very weak. Many crimes are covered up or ignored.

Fourth, in the face of the new and very energetic changes in the literature of our country, the activities of the Writers' Association are in a state of confusion, and the association has failed to attract members. Members do not view the association as an organization that can set guidelines, provide training, foster unity, and defend their rights. Examining the role of the association, some people have asked: What is the association doing to help the more than 600 members of the association? Some people have remained aloof from and even abandoned the association.

### III. Suggestions and Solutions

With a lofty sense of responsibility, those attending the conference voiced many practical suggestions and solutions. The most important point, as To Hoai said, is: "There is no sense in talking about the situation if we aren't going to do something about it. That is, it makes no sense to say one thing but do another." The various suggestions and solutions can be divided into the following two major groups:

#### 1. Writers and the Writers' Association:

Writers are the people who directly create artistic values. In the past, their role was defined. In the hearts of revolutionary people, they were warriors on the cultural front. It is writers, and no one else, who will create the

literary appearance of the country. Thus, they must have conditions and a favorable environment in which to create, study, and criticize. At the same time, they have the same rights and responsibilities as other citizens. Nguyen Ngoc stressed that in the face of the challenges in the new mechanism, writers must renovate their thinking. "The natural path for forming and developing writers is that we must come to grips with things and compete in order to affirm our literary position and in order to live (in literature and in ordinary life) through our talents and labor." What is even more difficult, as Xuan Thieu said, is that "today, the new socialist man, the idealist of the age, has not yet been imagined in complete detail. Opposing spheres in society—good and evil, positive and negative, right and wrong, new and old, the progressive and the backward, construction and destruction, an so on—are still vague and confusing. In the face of this situation, how can writers wait for others to define things for them?"

This is enough to show that today's writers bear a very heavy responsibility and that the cultural standards of our writers must be increased greatly. Writers must study and train themselves in daily life and their creative work. The state must look after them and enable them to get to the center of economic and social life. Only then will they be able to produce works equal to the great revolutionary tasks and problems posed by the age. To do this, writers cannot turn their back on the fact that literature is for people, and it reflects and shares the fate of people. It must also be understood who those people are. Where? How? Where must writers stand to think about sharing things with them? Writers must be clear about this attitude. (Nguyen Van Luu)

Many people said that the Writers' Association should be solidified. Above all, the association must be an organization to assemble forces (including people who have never been in the ranks before). This must be done by organizing sector groups and following and studying the new problems and trends of literature. There must be a clear viewpoint and attitude concerning those trends. By using various means of information and holding discussions, "common thinking" must be created in society concerning the problems. Topics pertaining to literary theory must be studied, including world literature. Attention must be given to the material and spiritual lives of association members. Factionalism and localism must be avoided.

#### 2. The party and state:

A number of people said that the party and state must formulate plans and measures to lead and control things and implement the guidelines mentioned in the Program and Strategy at the Seventh CPV Congress. Clear conclusions must be reached about what is right and wrong in a number of problems concerning viewpoints, principles, and, in particular, a number of specific cases and tasks. Attention must be given to forging solidarity among the forces and opposing the enemy's efforts to

cause internal splits and divisions. A broad "channel" must be created so that literature can develop. (Vu Tu Nam)

Steps must soon be taken to strengthen the leadership organizations of the party and management organizations of the state in the cultural and arts and letters spheres. The publishing houses and organs must be solidified.

A system of synchronized and verifiable policies must be put forth with respect to cultural and arts and letters activities.

Measures must be implemented to resolutely block and eventually eliminate private monopolization of cultural and arts and letters activities. Those who intentionally engage in destructive acts must be punished harshly.

Professor Phan Cu De suggested: "It must be ensured that the press and publishing centers follow socialist guidelines and assemble the activist forces of socialism." There must be a policy of providing suitable aid to these centers in the new mechanism, and particular attention must be given to the creative element and to nurturing talent.

A national organization must soon be established to evaluate cultural values, which includes literature.

### Investigation

#### The Real Situation Regarding the Ranks of Workers in Hanoi

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 49-51; 60

[Article by Truong Xuan Truong; not translated]

### Ideological Activities

#### Landing

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 p 52

[Article by Duong Tung; not translated]

### Letters to the Editorial Staff

#### Readers and TAP CHI CONG SAN 1992

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 53-55

[Article not translated]

### The World; Issues and Events

#### Bill Clinton, the Voice of the 'Silent Majority'

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 56-57

[Article by La Con; not translated]

#### Several Military Trends in the World Today

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 58-60

[Article by Tran Trong; not translated]

### From Foreign Publications

#### Is There a 'Socialist Market Economy?'

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 p 61

[Article not translated]

### Understanding Concepts

#### Politics, Science, Political Science

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 62-63

[Article not translated]

### News on Theoretical Activities

#### The Situation in Implementing the Program to Study "Theoretical Problems on Socialism and the Path to Socialism in Our Country"

933E0008F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 12, Dec 92 pp 63-64

[Article by Trinh Cu]

[Text] More than 300 scientific cadres from dozens of research institutes and colleges and many organizations are participating in the state-level scientific program "Theoretical Problems on Socialism and the Path to Socialism in Our Country," code No. KX.01, which is headed by Professor Nguyen Duy Quy and which is being managed by the Vietnam Social Sciences Institute. This program consists of 15 topics that have been divided into two main issues. The first, which includes nine topics, is studying general theoretical issues concerning views on the formation and development of society, the special characteristics of the present age, and the special characteristics of modern capitalism, on the different development paths of various countries, and on the process of choosing and affirming our country's path of development to socialism. The second consists of six topics to study specific viewpoints and theoretical issues

in determining our country's socialist path in the economic, political, cultural, social, foreign affairs, and security and national defense spheres.

Over a long period, with the great achievements that were scored, socialism in the Soviet Union, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia, and in Vietnam and Cuba affirmed itself and became a powerful system with the strength to attract many nationalistic countries in Africa and Latin America. Because of this, the basic Marxist-Leninist viewpoints on socialism were regarded as points that did not need to be discussed. No attention was given to studying or clarifying the conflicts and problems that had arisen in the process of building socialism, the non-socialist development tendencies that had arisen in many newly-independent countries, or the major adjustments to continue development that were made in the capitalist countries. Only after socialism fell into a serious crisis, which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the East European countries, did we come to understand that the theoretical issues of Marxism-Leninism must be studied more thoroughly and that they must be supplemented, expanded, and made more vital. We failed to understand the real nature of the age or the trend of development of the political and social tendencies in the world. In particular, we did not have a clear picture of socialism in order to determine a suitable model and determine a path to hit the target. On the other hand, after the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, many people began to waver and have doubts about socialism, and some people even rejected the nature of socialist economic and social forms and wanted to choose another development path.

In the face of today's changes, the confusion about theoretical knowledge on the development path, and the crisis of confidence in socialism, scientific program KX.01 was formulated for the purpose of studying and reaffirming the true values of Marxist-Leninist theory, pointing out its shortcomings and limitations in the present stage of development, helping people to understand the nature and special characteristics of the age and the developmental trends in the world, developing Marxist-Leninist theory, clarifying socialist economic and social forms and basic theoretical viewpoints in building socialism, and creating an epistemological basis for our thoughts and actions.

During the initial months of implementing Program KX.01, seminars have been held on the research contents of the topics. The research groups have promoted assembling a rather large volume of material in order to examine the basic arguments of Marxism-Leninism in a careful, systematic, and accurate way, to examine, analyze, and clarify the special characteristics of modern capitalism and a number of development models used in other countries, and to analyze the party's viewpoints on economic and social development in our country. A number of topics have been studied very intensely, and initial results have been achieved. Many scientific conferences have been held to discuss, analyze, and clarify the issues in the topics about which there are still

differences of opinion. Many topics have been expanded in the southern provinces, and some topics have been studied with the cooperation of other countries.

The initial research results of the KX.01 Program have been published in many scientific and theoretical journals. A number of research themes have been presented to the CPV Central Committee and contributed to forming a scientific argument for the decisions in the policies and lines of the party.

Conclusions are gradually being reached concerned the topics in the KX.01 Program in preparation for the important conferences that will be held at the beginning of 1993.

### **Scientific Debate on "Ho Chi Minh Thought and the Vietnamese Revolutionary Path"**

*933E0008G Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 92 p 64*

[Article by Trinh Cu]

[Text] On 29-30 September 1992 at the Institute for the Study of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought in Hanoi, more than 60 professors, people with Ph.D. and M.A. degrees, and scientific researchers attended a conference on the topic "Ho Chi Minh Thought and the Vietnamese Revolutionary Path." The conference was chaired by Vo Nguyen Giap. This is the guiding topic for the 13 topics that are part of the state-level scientific program "Ho Chi Minh Thought," code No. KX.02. Professor Dang Xuan Ky is the head of this program, and Vo Nguyen Giap is serving as an adviser.

The conference focused on three issues: 1. The historical conditions that influenced the formation of Ho Chi Minh thought; 2. The formation and roots of Ho Chi Minh thought; and 3. An outline of Ho Chi Minh thought and a system of the basic themes of Ho Chi Minh thought.

1. Sources of Ho Chi Minh thought: This has been explained in many different ways, but the main gist is that Ho Chi Minh thought originated from Vietnamese cultural traditions and the cultural essence of mankind, in which Marxism-Leninism was a very important element.

Vietnamese cultural traditions: Some people stress that this refers to patriotism and a spirit of national independence. Some say that this refers to collective thinking, solidarity, and unselfishly "loving others as you love yourself." And some people stress the traditions of his native province of Nghe tinh, his family education, and the influence of his mother.

On the cultural essence of mankind: Many comrades have affirmed that Marxism-Leninism is the main root. Some people have stressed the spirit and ideological values of the French revolution in the 18th Century.

Many people have made the generalization that that has been the essence of East-West culture through many periods.

2. Defining Ho Chi Minh thought: A number of comrades have said that a scientific definition must satisfy the following requirements: It must be accurate, perfect, all-round, general and objective in nature and have a regulatory and guiding nature. In defining this, this or that aspect cannot be elevated or made absolute. Defining Ho Chi Minh thought is not simply an academic issue. More importantly, through defining and generalizing Ho Chi Minh thought, guidelines can be formulated for studying, applying, and developing Ho Chi Minh thought. Thus, any definition must mention the special nature, special targets, and implicit characteristics of this and not measures and forms or the formation of ideas.

A number of people pointed out that Ho Chi Minh thought must include the following elements: 1. national independence, the rights and freedoms of citizens, and the welfare and happiness of the people; and 2. the cultural essence of mankind, with the high point being Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

The following are several definitions:

The essence of Ho Chi Minh thought is that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." (Professor Dinh Xuan Lam)

"Ho Chi Minh thought is a system of theoretical views that arose in a backward and undeveloped Eastern country. Its target was to liberate the nation and society, free the people, and build a peaceful, independent, democratic, prosperous, and strong Vietnam." (Professor Tran Nham)

"Ho Chi Minh thought is a system of arguments on the Vietnamese revolution. It is closely tied to the changes in the world in the 20th Century, from the people's national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, in the political, military, economic, social, diplomatic, cultural, educational, public health, scientific and technical, cultural, arts and letters, legal, moral, and religious spheres. It is related to the lives of the classes and people and to the national and international, with the target being to liberate the nation and society and free the people." (Professor Dang Xuan Ky)

3. The basic thematic system of Ho Chi Minh thought: Many people said that this system must be studied and analyzed carefully like a theory, philosophy, and scientific theoretical system. It contains three main elements: ideas, ethics, and methods and style. (Associate Professor Song Thanh)

Those attending the conference affirmed that Ho Chi Minh thought is an invaluable asset of the Vietnamese nation. During the recent complex international situation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognized President Ho Chi Minh as a national liberation hero and as an important cultural figure of Vietnam and the world. Many countries held ceremonies to commemorate his 100th birthday. Foreign scholars have praised Ho Chi Minh as one of the "great men of the age."

This scientific conference, at which more than 20 papers were presented, was just the first step in the process of scientifically studying and examining the theoretical system of Ho Chi Minh thought. It is hoped that there will be valuable research projects on Ho Chi Minh thought. Those at the conference stressed that studying Ho Chi Minh thought cannot be completed quickly. This is a task for many generations. We must study, explain, apply, and develop Ho Chi Minh thought based on the realities of the age in which we live and enable Ho Chi Minh thought to live forever in our work.

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