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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 4, April 1987

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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LE DUAN, AN OUTSTANDING LEADER OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 1-3

[Article by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee]

[Text] On 7 April this year, our party, people and army commemorate the 80th birthday of Comrade Le Duan, an eminent disciple of the great Uncle Ho, an outstanding leader of our party, people and army, and a staunch combatant of the international communist and worker movement and the national liberation movement. A member of the first generation of party militants, Comrade Le Duan devoted all his life to the cause of national liberation, the happiness of the people and the communist ideal. His nearly 60 years of relentless revolutionary activities, from his participation in the patriotic and democratic movement in 1928, to his last breath, were a bright example for all of us.

Comrade Le Duan was a staunch communist militant and profoundly patriotic. He tirelessly fought against the imperialists and their lackeys for the liberation of the nation, the working class and the laboring people. His lifelong ideal and aspiration were independence, unity and prosperity for the country, a socialist country in which the people are masters and have an abundant and civilized life. This was his *raison d'etre*, source of strength and abundant creativeness. He overcame all trials, however hard. Twice imprisoned and sometimes having his life threatened, he nevertheless upheld the communist indomitability and kept his iron-clad confidence in final victory of the revolution. He operated in all regions of the country, and together with his compatriots and comrades, overcame all difficulties and hardships to fulfill his tasks.

Comrade Le Duan was a strategist and a theoretician of the Vietnamese revolution beside Uncle Ho and other leaders. He made important contributions to building up the revolutionary theory of our country. Together with Nguyen Van Cu and other comrades, he had taken the initiative of rallying the revolutionary forces within the democratic front in the years 1937-1939, basing himself on the experiences drawn from the broad movements of struggle of our population in those days. When the Second World War broke out, he was one of the initiators of the Indonesia anti-imperialist national united front

to replace the democratic front, making it the foremost task to liberate the country, temporarily putting aside the task of land reform, this with the aim of rallying all patriotic forces to overthrow the colonial yoke.

Together with President Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee, he took part in the preparations for the anti-French resistance, and directly led the resistance in the South. He had the great merit of taking part with Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee in deciding the line of the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation, developing the military science and art and leading the sacred resistance of our people and army to its historic victory, accomplishing the cause of national liberation and reunification, and advancing the whole country to socialism.

Proceeding from the guiding ideas of President Ho Chi Minh and the party, he has elucidated many theoretical and practical questions in order to define and perfect the line of the socialist revolution in Vietnam namely to advance from small-scale production straight to socialism, bypassing the period of capitalist development. These are propositions on collective mastery, on the three revolutions, on the mechanism with the party as leader, the people as masters and the state as manager, etc.

Comrade Le Duan always thought out and devised new ways and methods to lead the revolution, especially at the turning points of the revolution or in complicated circumstances.

Upholding the revolutionary ardor and creativeness, he always cared for and safeguarded the purity of Marxism-Leninism and contributed to enriching it with the revolutionary practices of Vietnam.

Le Duan was a talented organizer and leader. During his many years of revolutionary activities, he always set great store by organizational work. During his imprisonment in the French jails at Hao Lo (Hanoi), Son La, Kham Lon in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) and Con Dao (Poulo Condor), Le Duan took great pains building the party cells and uniting the prisoners in the struggle against the enemy's brutal prison regime, organizing political and theoretical courses and training cadres for the revolution.

During the period of the Democratic Front (1937-1939), as secretary of the regional party committee of central Vietnam, Le Duan led the restoration of revolutionary bases and party organizations, propagated the objectives of the revolution, organized the masses in the struggle against the colonialist reactionaries, the local mandarins and despots, against oppression and exploitation and for the right to life and democracy, against the danger of war. Under the leadership of the regional party committee headed by himself, party organizations in the region flexibly used all legal means combined with the struggle of the masses to strengthen the force and influence of the revolution to face a possible worsening of the situation.

During the resistance against the French colonialists as secretary of the regional party committee of Nam Bo (Cochinchina) and then secretary of the Party Central Committee for the South, and as the key leader of the resistance war in the South, together with other party leaders he organized and united

the patriotic forces in the national united front in the heroic struggle of the entire Vietnamese people and army, making a major contribution to the victory over the French colonialist aggressors in the whole country.

During the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation in his capacity as first secretary, then general secretary of the Party Central Committee, together with President Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee he led the entire party, armed forces and people to carry out the heroic war of resistance, and completely defeat the imperialist ringleader bringing the resistance to total victory, achieving glorious exploits in the history of the Vietnamese nation.

After the victory of the anti-U.S. resistance, Comrade Le Duan, together with the Party Central Committee, led our people and army to defend the territorial integrity of our fatherland.

A staunch internationalist persisting in the principle of combining the strength of the nation with that of the era he spared no efforts for the unity of the international communist and worker movement and other revolutionary and progressive forces in the common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. He made great contributions to cultivating, consolidating and reinforcing the solidarity, friendship and special relations between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and the all-round cooperation and militant solidarity between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community.

Comrade Le Duan was a true communist animated by great humanity. He always maintained close contacts with the people, and lived among the masses. His contributions to our party and people's revolutionary cause are really enormous. Our people will forever remember his great services.

Marking his 80th birth anniversary we pledge to dutifully preserve and develop his precious legacy, to continue to advance along the path charted by the party and our beloved Uncle Ho, and strengthen the unity and oneness of mind of the entire party, army and people around the Party Central Committee. We are resolved to successfully implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, and to take the glorious revolutionary cause of our people through all difficulties and trials toward new and greater victories.

CSO: 4210/9

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 4-8

[Editorial]

[Text] In recent years, under the leadership of the party, our country's scientific and technical forces have grown and made certain contributions to the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Our scientific and technical cadres, who are capable of learning and quickly becoming the masters of the advanced technology and industry of the world, have recorded achievements worthy of pride in researching and putting into use crop varieties, breeds of livestock, new industrial processes, new building materials and new products, thus making noteworthy contributions to developing industry and resolving the difficulties with energy, communications-transportation, raw materials, building materials, equipment, spare parts, etc. If organized and utilized very well, this corps can make even larger contributions.

However, the scientific-technological revolution in our country has yet to show itself as occupying the key position in life. Science and technology have not truly become the basis for important decisions concerning socio-economic development. How many persons, how many party committees see the pressing need to use science and technology as an important force in economic growth and in building a civilized and happy society? On the other hand, scientific and technical forces have not grown to effectively meet the large and pressing requirements of the economy and society. Some scientific and technical activities have not focused on our most important socio-economic targets. The impact of science and technology in everyday life has, consequently, not been strong.

The 6th Party Congress once again stressed the key position of the scientific-technological revolution, pointing out that "with the world rapidly entering the new stage of the scientific-technological revolution and on the basis of our country's actual situation, the pressing need to truly make science and technology a powerful force accelerating the country's socio-economic development is increasingly clear."⁽¹⁾

To fully reflect the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, scientific and technical activities must be oriented toward supporting the

three major economic programs: grain-food products, consumer goods and export goods. The social sciences, natural sciences and technical sciences must be closely combined with the aim of achieving the overall goals in the remaining years of the initial stage, namely, stabilizing every aspect of the socio-economic situation and continuing to lay the groundwork needed to accelerate socialist industrialization in the next stage. All forces must be focused on resolving urgent scientific and technical problems in an effective and practical way in order to markedly raise the labor productivity, quality and efficiency of the national economy. Scientific and technical activities must not stop at researching an individual factory or field, but must have the participation of millions of laboring masses. Only by quickly multiplying the number of units that are models in the application of science and technology is it possible to raise social labor productivity and the efficiency of the national economy, possible to clearly manifest the role of science and technology as a "powerful force" and the key position of the scientific-technological revolution in life.

The scientific-technological revolution in the world is entering a new stage, the stage of the revolution in technology, which is having a profound impact upon all fields of activity of mankind.

When formulating the strategy for its development, every country must give consideration to acquiring achievements of the scientific-technological revolution in order to accelerate socio-economic development. The experience of the world has shown that the economic strength of a country today depends primarily upon its ability to learn and apply the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

In the case of our country, the scientific-technological revolution will create enormous potentials that will permit us to move quickly down the path of socialist industrialization, bypassing stages not suited to our times that have already been experienced by many developed countries.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress pointed out: "On the basis of the work that has already been completed, it is necessary to accelerate and complete the formulation of a scientific and technological development strategy to lay the scientific basis for our socio-economic development strategy and set the direction for scientific and technical work to take."

The science and technology policy of the party is, in essence, a policy of socio-economic development by means of science and technology.

This policy involves charting the best course for rapidly abolishing poverty and backwardness and accelerating socio-economic development on the basis of the principle of combining the superior attributes of socialism with applying the achievements of the world scientific-technological revolution. Of decisive significance here is the need to select and become the masters of appropriate advanced technologies in order to quickly overcome our widespread

technical and industrial backwardness so that we can develop the country's natural resources and labor as effectively as possible and actively participate in the international division of labor.

In the work of upgrading and developing the technology of the country, we must combine modern technology with the modernization of traditional technologies. Importance must be attached to utilizing medium and small-scale advanced technologies that consume little or no materials and energy, generate no discarded materials, require little by way of investments and are capable of quickly recovering and turning over capital, creating many jobs, employing many laborers and utilizing local sources of raw and building materials while increasing our export capabilities and reducing our imports.

The basic requirement in the adoption of new technology is that it be efficient and appropriate.

Efforts must be focused on formulating and implementing a unified national technology policy. This policy will provide an important base for our long-term strategy and plans for socio-economic development. It must be expressed in the planning of investments in capital construction, in the structuring of production, in the importation of technology, etc. This policy will be the base of scientific and technical activities.

It is necessary to codify the direct participation by scientific and technical forces in the processes of preparing and making investment decisions, particularly investments in the importation of technology. It is also necessary to implement a technology certification policy; improve enterprise and technical management procedures; orient scientific and technical activities toward the adoption of new technologies; intensify the training of technical labor forces; and increase the laboring people's knowledge of science and technology.

To apply the achievements of the world scientific-technological revolution in the adoption of new technologies and rapidly raise the scientific and technical standards of the country, we must actively participate in CEMA's general program in scientific-technical advances in the fields that have been given priority. At the same time, we must expand and make full use of international scientific-technical cooperation combined with economic cooperation, most importantly with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and create the conditions for scientific cadres and production and business management cadres to come into contact with international information and the latest scientific-technological and economic achievements of the world.

For many years now, poor product quality has been a major problem. The quality of many types of products is constantly unstable and is continuing to decline. Even the quality of some products that have been given the seal of quality has not been maintained. On the other hand, the number of fake consumer goods is continuing to grow as a result of lax management and partially as a result of a shortage of goods with which to meet the needs of society.

Low and declining product quality has made the needs of society, of everyday life more critical, caused the waste of natural resources, materials, energy and social labor and gradually reduced our ability to compete on the world market, thereby having a major effect upon export revenues.

Therefore, a strong and effective policy concerning the problem of product quality must be adopted. Stabilizing and improving the quality of products must be considered a strategic part of the economic policy of the party and state. This policy must include investments in intensive development in order to adopt new technologies, raise technical standards and provide the necessary materials, equipment, energy and capital, most importantly to the important production sectors of the national economy; improve and strengthen economic, social and scientific-technical management; provide appropriate price subsidies for products of high quality and price reductions in the case of products which are of poor quality or outmoded; implement a policy of product quality awards and penalties; promote standardization, weights and measures controls and quality control; and strengthen the party's leadership and the state's management of product quality.

Revamping the management of the economy and the management of science and technology is the prerequisite to the rapid introduction of scientific and technical advances in production and everyday life and has become an internal requirement of production. One of the demands of foremost importance in the adoption of new thinking and the revamping of the economic management mechanism is to discontinue the practice of not attaching importance to productivity, quality and efficiency, not attaching importance to scientific and technical advances within the national economy.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress very accurately pointed out: whether or not science and technology become a moving force depends, to a very important degree, upon the management mechanism. The management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies does not truly attach importance to production efficiency or product quality, consequently, it has impeded the application of scientific and technical advances. Within the new mechanism of economic accounting and socialist business, everything from planning to specific economic policies must consistently reflect the policy of developing the economy and society by means of science and technology. It demands that the manager fully concern himself with economic efficiency. As a result, utmost importance must be attached to technical management, to the economic-technical quotas and norms of production in an effort to reduce the consumption of materials, energy and social labor, stabilize and improve product quality and achieve higher socio-economic returns. This compels the manager to give attention to all economic, technical, social and environmental factors in every economic development plan and apply advanced technologies, inventions, innovations, secret formulas and other scientific-technical solutions.

In conjunction with revamping economic management, we must revamp and improve the management of science and technology by dismantling the bureaucratic, administrative management mechanism and shifting to a new mechanism under which the quality and efficiency of scientific and technical activities are the standards of management. This new mechanism will truly tap the zeal, the

spirit of responsibility and the creativity of scientific and technical forces and spur the rapid introduction of scientific and technical achievements in production and everyday life. It will give research and development units greater independence in the formulation and implementation of scientific and technical plans. It will make widespread use of contracts, economic ties and joint businesses between scientific agencies and production-business units.

Planning scientific and technical work through goal-oriented programs in scientific and technological advances is a progressive mode of management that must be perfected and more effectively applied with the aims of focusing our potentials on rapidly, thoroughly and effectively performing the tasks we face in adopting new technologies, introducing new products, improving product quality and bringing science and production closer together. This planning will correct the practice of allotting funding and materials in a manner not closely tied to the final results and efficiency of scientific-technical research and establish an appropriate mode for mobilizing many more sources of capital in production for scientific and technical work.

Reorganizing the various research and development institutes and agencies from the perspective of the entire national economy is a very pressing requirement. This means that we must no longer deploy or utilize scientific and technical forces on the basis of the view that these are separate, self-contained forces. Each research and development agency must be responsible for development within a specific field of science, support the national economy and be stable in terms of its function and task over a long period of time so that it can build and develop its forces.

Strengthening the leadership of the party in the field of science and technology is the decisive factor in developing the role of science and technology as a moving force in socio-economic development. The various party committee echelons, from the central to the local and basic levels, must consider accelerating the introduction of scientific and technical advances in production and everyday life to be one of the primary elements of their leadership work so that the administrations on the various levels, each cadre, each party member and each laborer, on the basis of fully and deeply appreciating the need to widely apply scientific and technical achievements, makes every effort to do so, thereby gradually establishing strong mass movements on the science and technology front.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN No 1-1987, p 51.

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FULLY MANIFESTING IN PRACTICE UNITY BETWEEN ECONOMIC POLICY AND SOCIAL POLICY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 9-12

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Unity between economic policy and social policy is tantamount to a principle of socialism.

Under socialism, it is impossible to conceive of economic development that is separate from or not related to development within the social field and vice versa. Because, the level of economic development is the material base for the implementation of social policy and social goals are the objectives of economic activities. We cannot demand that needs be satisfied at a level higher than the level of production permits. However, under socialism, the purpose of economic development is to fully satisfy the rising material and cultural needs of the laboring people and the social field is the field in which the results of economic activities, in which the humanitarian character and the superiority of socialism over capitalism are manifested. Long ago, K. Marx highly evaluated the view of ancient times that man is always the objective of production and criticized the capitalist world, in which production is the objective of man and wealth is the objective of production. Moreover, even within each economic activity, social policies related to the vital interests of the laborer have a direct impact upon productivity, quality and efficiency. The relationship between the economy and society, between economic policy and social policy is a dialectical relationship. They have a constant and direct impact upon each other. The unity between them is organic because both focus on man: man is the objective of and the moving force behind production. Only by serving man is it possible to strongly develop the human factor. The better man is served, the more he becomes a large moving force. To give light attention to social policy is to limit or nullify the most decisive force--the human factor in production and social development, in general.

Man is always the primary force behind and the soul of all social progress. This is true even today as the world rapidly enters the new stage of the scientific-technological revolution. Science and technology in the hands of warmongerers are threatening all mankind. Science and technology in the service of man in the world today are doing extraordinary things and creating productivity that is unsurpassed. Science and technology also must truly

become a powerful force accelerating the socio-economic development of our country. Despite this, human labor, man, still remains the decisive factor. The socio-economic development strategy of the socialist countries, therefore, always includes the implementation of positive social policies.

Not only in our country, which continues to wage an exceedingly difficult struggle to build the bases needed to accelerate socialist industrialization and build the material-technical bases of socialism, but even in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, whose economies are developed and based on modern scientific and technical achievements, man remains at the center of social processes: the interests, standard of living and the full development of man remain the values of greatest importance. This is because "socialist society cannot function effectively if it does not find new avenues to develop the creative activities of the masses in all fields of life. The greater historic goals are, the more important it is to have the enthusiastic participation, the conscious and active participation in the spirit of ownership, the spirit of responsibility of millions of persons in the attainment of these goals."(1) Serving man and elevating the role of the human factor must be our foremost concern.

For this reason, the resolution of our party's 6th Congress states: together with the implementation of economic policies, it is necessary to "formulate and effectively implement social policies... To give light attention to social policy is to give light attention to the human factor in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland."(2)

"The purposes of social policy are to develop each of man's capabilities and make serving man the highest objective."(3) Social policy is not miscellaneous, piecemeal and temporary measures, but encompasses every aspect of the life of man: working and living conditions, education and culture, health and relaxation, family relationships, relationships to the class and nation, etc. Social policy is policy related to people, most importantly the laboring people. It directly serves and motivates the laborer, creates an increasingly large moving force behind socialist construction and brings happiness to the laborer. Therefore, it is necessary to enact basic, long-range social policy and define tasks and targets in a manner consistent with requirements and capabilities in each stage.

The 6th Party Congress defined the major elements of social policy in our country as the following five: carrying out population planning and creating jobs; achieving social fairness, establishing a cultured way of life, insuring the safety of society and restoring order and discipline in each field of social life; meeting educational and cultural needs and protecting and improving the health of the people; formulating a social security policy; and correctly implementing the class policy and the nationalities policy.

These are all basic, long-range matters of strategic significance and are areas in which the steps we take must be gradual and selective. However, in recent years, we have given light attention to social policy and committed serious mistakes and shortcomings in economic management and social management. As a result, these matters have become matters of pressing importance. Some are now matters of very pressing importance.

Every society has its own class structure. We, however, have yet to adopt effective plans for building the class structure of the new society. Therefore, it is necessary to promote basic investigations to assess the current class and social structure of the entire country and each locality so that we can adopt effective policies and measures for comprehensively building the working class, the class of collective farmers and the stratum of socialist intellectuals and make the socio-political foundation of the new society increasingly solid. The present situation in which the forces which are the pillars of the new society, instead of being given preference, are actually doing much worse than the other forces cannot be allowed to drag on indefinitely. Countless problems related to the vital interests of every class and social strata await a satisfactory resolution, particularly the relationship among the interests of the various classes and social strata.

The same applies to the nationalities policy. Of rather pressing importance are the needs to increase the level of investments and adopt specific socio-economic policies in order to develop the ability of the mountain region to carry out economic and cultural development and serve the everyday needs of the local ethnic minorities as well as the fellow countrymen coming to the mountains from other places.

The socialist way of life can only be formed and become widespread within society when its material and cultural bases are being steadily strengthened. At present, however, due to many years of lax management, not only are many of the values that we work hard to cultivate being eroded, but even the law and many of the elementary, minimum rules of public life, in general, are also not being respected. Therefore, there is an urgent need to restore the habit of living and working in accordance with the law, restore order and discipline in each activity of the state and in social life, etc.

Among these many pressing social problems especially prominent are those that are of foremost importance in stabilizing the socio-economic situation.

These problems are population planning and the creation of jobs. Our country's current rate of population growth, 2.19 percent, is generating adverse pressure upon the economy. If we do not reduce this rate and achieve zero population growth in the first few decades of the 21st century, our country will find it difficult to emerge from poverty and backwardness. Therefore, the various party committee echelons, levels of administration and mass organizations must very closely and regularly guide the planned parenthood campaign in an effort to reduce the rate of population growth to 1.7 percent by 1990, considering this to be an important prerequisite to raising our national income per capita and achieve the socio-economic targets set for the remaining years of the initial stage.

Providing work to the laborer, most importantly in the cities and to youths, is the socio-economic task of foremost importance today and in the years ahead. The requirement right now is to provide "a full day's work." In the next stage, we must move ahead and provide "rational and productive work." Together with making good use of fixed assets, economizing on raw materials, energy and so forth, making full use of those persons who have a job is a straight path to higher social labor productivity. In our country today, by

means of opening local trades, distributing labor in a rational manner within each region of the country and nationwide, participating in international cooperation in the field of labor and so forth--by means of every method at our disposal, methods of the state and methods of the people as well, we must try to create legitimate jobs so that we truly produce much wealth for society and each laborer can fully support himself by means of his own honest labor.

Tied to the need to provide work is the need to stabilize the standard of living of the laboring people, most importantly of wage earners. The laboring people have pressing material and cultural needs, their own needs and needs of their families. Their material lives alone demand that we take a series of effective and well coordinated measures in production, distribution and circulation with the aim of gradually restoring balance between the supply of goods and the volume of money on the market. In the immediate future, inflation must be stemmed. As long as prices remain unstable, the wage mechanism must be a dynamic mechanism. The wage policy must meet the urgent need to maintain the real wages of the wage earner. On the basis of developing production, the state must control the supply of goods, particularly essential goods, and establish suitable methods of selling goods so that wage earners can buy the goods that they need. Also on the basis of developing production and raising our national income, we must gradually expand the social consumption fund allocated for the development of education, public health and culture, for the construction and repair of housing and for other social welfare items.

Another burning issue is the need to achieve social fairness in a manner consistent with the conditions that exist today. Many difficulties are being experienced in life today and our people are ready to overcome these difficulties. However, they cannot tolerate the continued existence and growth of social injustice. A fundamental principle of social justice is distribution in accordance with labor. It is necessary to insure that the laborer earns a satisfactory income based on the results of his labor and necessary to examine and readjust the distribution policy and consumption policy. We must respect the legitimate interests related to business and service activities that are lawful and beneficial to society. But we must also wage a victorious major campaign against negative phenomena and make society wholesome. We must be determined to put a stop to all illegal income, harshly prosecute those who earn this income and return this income to public funds regardless of by whom it is earned. We must harshly punish each and every person who violates the law, regardless of his position. Everyone is equal in the eyes of the law. The new society guarantees fairness in terms of the interests and obligations of each citizen. Party members and cadres must do even more to set an example in their way of life. The higher their position is, the more of an example they must set. No one has the right to take or enjoy special rights or privileges. Regulations adopted by sectors and localities on supplying or equipping persons with things that they need in their everyday lives but which are contrary to general policy must be immediately repealed. As the noble ideal, the desire and the moving force in the struggle waged by the laboring people for generations for a beautiful society, social fairness must be expressed gradually, be expressed more clearly and fully with each passing day in our society as we advance to socialism.

In economic development, and in order to develop the economy, we must bring about a turning point in the implementation of social policies in the service of man and develop the human factor. Each sector, each locality, each basic unit and each person must take the initiative, solve their own social problems and win victory gradually. Giving light attention to social policy is an attitude that must be corrected. Because, this attitude equates to giving light attention to the human factor in socialist construction. We will surely fully express in practice the new, revolutionary and scientific view of our party concerning the unity between economic policy and socialist policy with the aim of "stabilizing every aspect of the socio-economic situation and continuing to lay the groundwork for socialist industrialization."(4)

FOOTNOTES

1. The Platform and Statutes of the CPSU, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi; Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 32.
2. The Resolution of the 6th Party Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 122.
3. Ibid.
4. Address opening the 6th Congress by General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 128.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR IN SOCIALIST
CONSTRUCTION: THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN FACTOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87, pp 13-16

[Article by Dao Duy Can]

[Text] In the entire course of its activities, our party has always attached importance to developing the human factor, considering this to be a matter of strategic importance related to the success or failure of the revolution. Our party has placed the human factor in a close relationship with the requirements and tasks of the revolution in each specific stage. Today, now that the fatherland has been completely liberated and reunified and the entire country is advancing to socialism, the human factor is an issue which, from every perspective, has reached a new and higher level of development. It has become an exceedingly important force in successfully building and firmly defending the socialist fatherland.

While emphasizing the importance of the human factor, we can never give light attention to or reduce the role played by party leadership. Human beings can only fully develop their role when they make the transition from spontaneous actions to conscious actions, from instinctive actions to actions that are consistent with laws, from being passive to being active and creative. The party, and only a party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, can fulfill this historic role. Consequently, the party must constantly raise its standards in every field, adopt correct lines and policies, be able to effectively implement them and adopt a comprehensive human policy. This is an elementary matter but it is also a matter of principle. In recent years, chiefly because they have not had a correct understanding of this issue, some places have committed shortcomings and mistakes and failed to tap the strength and intelligence of the masses in the effort to overcome difficulties and advance the cause of revolution.

The problem currently faced is this: what must the party do to further develop the potentials, intelligence, activism and creativity of each laborer as well as each stratum and class?

Of foremost importance to our party is the need to correctly and deeply understand the major changes in many fields that have been and are occurring within each group and stratum of society so that it can adopt appropriate positions, policies and measures with the aim of achieving high returns.

Clearly, the masses have made advances deserving of attention in terms of their political, cultural and ideological standards, their economic knowledge, their knowledge of economic management, and so forth. The material and cultural needs of the masses today are very much different than they once were. The philosophy of life, specifically, the *raison d'etre* and way of life of a segment of the population today, particularly youths, is not the same as that of their fathers and elder brothers. The attitude toward work, the view on living a positive life in a revolutionary spirit, interpersonal relations and so forth are not the same as they were 15 to 20 years ago.

It has come time to stop assessing and evaluating human beings in a general manner not based in science. We must conduct systematic research, must conduct sociological investigations into the situation surrounding the various classes and strata and, on this basis, reach correct and objective observations and evaluations concerning the masses. Only in this way is it possible to lay the scientific basis needed to adopt correct positions and policies.

The resolution of the 6th Party Congress provides a very important base for developing the human factor. However, this resolution must be concretized in the form of the following positions and policies:

--The development of production forces must be consistent with conditions and capabilities and avoid subjectivism and impetuosity. At the same time, we must improve production relations in all three areas--ownership, management and distribution--and in both sectors--the state-operated and collective sectors.

--Programs must be adopted to apply specific, practical scientific-technical advances to insure gradual changes in the conditions and nature of labor and raise labor productivity, which is the prerequisite to improving the standard of living of the masses.

--We must research and enact a system of policies that provide material and psychological incentives to the laboring masses. This is a matter that we have been and are continuing to carry out. However, it is still necessary to research and promulgate many sensible and timely policies.

--We must research and apply a social policy that is consistent with our conditions and capabilities. Of utmost importance in the immediate future is the need to stabilize and gradually improve the living conditions of the laboring masses; try to provide jobs to persons reaching work age, particularly in the cities; adopt appropriate policies concerning families who have contributed to the revolution, war invalids, demobilized troops and retired cadres, manual workers and civil servants; achieve social fairness...

--Widespread democracy must be practiced in conjunction with enforcing the law and maintaining strict discipline.

--A determined struggle must be waged against negative phenomena within agencies of the party and state and mass organizations as well as within society.

--We must intensify the education of the masses in politics, ideology, economic knowledge and economic management.

Scientifically concretizing the matters presented above in the form of positions and policies and turning these positions and policies into reality are the material, political and ideological prerequisites to developing the human factor.

All the matters presented above are very important. However, the matter of key, decisive significance in achieving good results is the need to strengthen the organizations of the party. The truth is perfectly clear: no matter how many correct resolutions, positions, policies and measures we might adopt, if we do not build an internal organization that is solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally, if we do not strengthen the organizations of the party, do not improve the standards, qualities and skills of cadres and party members, do not expel parasites, degenerates, deviants, opportunists and so forth from the party, we cannot develop the activism of the masses. Rather, the opposite occurs.

Where must the breakthroughs be made? They must be made in three main areas that are directly related to the masses:

a) We must organize the effective implementation of the resolution of the 6th Congress and the positions and policies of the party and state, first and most importantly economic policies and social policies. These are the most basic, most important ways to develop the human factor and serve the interests of the laboring masses.

b) We must improve the quality and skills of cadres and party members. "Cadres determine everything." These words apply to every job and every matter. They are even more applicable with regard to developing the human factor.

How can we develop the activism, initiative and creativity of the masses at a time when some of our cadres lack democracy, are democratic in form only, are arbitrary and dictatorial and take revenge against persons who forthrightly criticize them, revenge which takes many forms, from sophisticated and cunning to open and brazen.

What effect does it have to teach and encourage the masses to "work as hard as they can and achieve high quality, productivity and efficiency," to "value and do good work during their eight golden hours" and so forth at a time when some cadres and party members are too lazy to work, when their productivity and

efficiency are lower than the productivity and efficiency of the masses but they continue to receive the same wages and bonuses as the masses or higher wages and bonuses.

What will the masses do and what will they think about party members who speak everyday about the need to maintain one's qualities and ethics, about the need to live a pure and simple life when they themselves are enjoying special rights and privileges, are embezzling or stealing public property or go on drinking sprees?

There is still much hypocrisy in very many areas: from compliance with directives and resolutions and the sense of organization and discipline to revolutionary qualities and ethics, from some persons' way of life to their relationships and style, to their attitude toward the masses. This situation has led to adverse consequences: a reduction of confidence in the party, the loss of a sense of direction and copying the mistakes made by party members and cadres.

c) We must improve the leadership ability and increase the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party. The party's basic organizations are the bridge between it and the masses, are where the lines and policies of the party are implemented in detail, are the representatives of and directly uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses. Everyone knows the importance that the quality and effectiveness of the leadership provided by the basic organizations of the party has in developing the activism of the masses. The problem we face is what must be done to insure that cadres, party members and the basic organizations of the party have a positive impact upon the masses in all fields. This is not a simple problem, because our party has issued more than a few directives, resolutions and other documents on how to correct this problem.

Of importance today in developing the human factor is the need to regain the confidence of the masses. Once this confidence is as strong as it was during the national democratic revolution, during the years of the resistance against France and the resistance against the United States, the masses will endure every difficulty no matter how great they might be and join the party in looking for every way to overcome these difficulties and move ahead.

At present, the confidence issue is focused in three areas:

--Adopting correct positions and policies in order to emerge from the current state of socio-economic instability and, on this basis, stabilize and gradually improve the living conditions of the masses.

--Successfully implementing the correct positions and policies that have been promulgated.

--Having a pure, solid and strong corps of cadres and party members to guide and lead the masses.

The resolution of the 6th Party Congress lays the groundwork for solving this key problem. Besides this, strengthening the leadership agencies of the party

from the central to the basis levels will also create the conditions for strengthening the confidence of the masses.

As regards the education of the corps of cadres and party members, it is important to employ comprehensive themes and measures dealing with politics, ideology and organization and to closely combine these measures.

For many years, our political and ideological work has been marked by three major shortcomings related to the efforts to improve the quality of cadres and party members and develop the role played by the human factor. First, we have given very little attention to teaching the stand and views of the working class. Very little has been said about the view toward labor and the mass view. Secondly, revolutionary qualities and ethics and the style of leadership and work (strictly complying with the principle of democratic centralism, practicing self-criticism and criticism, keeping in touch with practice and the masses, doing what one tells other to do and so forth) have also been given light attention and, at some places, have not been closely tied to the requirements of the political task. The spirit of criticism and struggle is very weak and dull. Thirdly, political-ideological work has not been closely linked to organizational work. Mistakes and shortcomings have not been examined or dealt with in a strict manner and appropriate, fair disciplinary action has not been taken.

On the basis of the realities of party building, in general, and the objective of developing the human factor, in particular, it is necessary to conduct a purge with a view toward purifying the ranks of the party.(1) We must take determined steps to expel degenerate, deviant elements who are not qualified to be party members from the party. To prevent unnecessary upheaval, this campaign should take the form of the issuance of new party membership cards. Thorough preparations must be made from the highest to the lowest levels. On each level, besides the party committee, a number of loyal cadres and party members experienced in party building must be selected to form a specialized component in charge of this matter. This component should have the same authority as a party committee in examining the matters mentioned above in order to prevent cases in which the entire party committee or a majority of its members refuse, because of partiality, because of local or personal interests, to forthrightly expel parasites from the party, thereby damaging the party's prestige and name. To further investigate party members, we must thoroughly survey the opinions of the masses concerning party members.

While conducting this campaign to purify the party, it is necessary to closely guide the development of the party and very thoroughly investigate persons seeking to join the party. If they do not meet all standards, these persons must not be accepted into the party.

At the same time, through this campaign to purify the party, we must re-examine the assignment of cadres and strengthen the state apparatus. We must be determined to punish speculators, hoarders and persons who disrupt the market and cause major negative consequences to society. We must strengthen the mass organizations so that the masses actively participate in strengthening the administration and building the party.

We must strengthen the basic organizations of the party in exact accordance with the statutes and latest documents of the party, particularly the basic organizations at densely populated places and basic organizations which are regularly in contact with the masses.

By doing the above well, we will develop the role of the party and of cadres and party members in the development of the human factor.

FOOTNOTES

1. Concerning this point, the resolution of the 5th Party Congress states: we will conduct "a campaign to purify and increase the fighting strength of the organizations of the party."

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CSO: 4210/9

FOR BENEFITS THAT LAST 100 YEARS, CULTIVATE A PERSON

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 98 pp 17-20

[Article by Dieu Huong]

[Text] President Ho Chi Minh taught us: "For benefits that last 10 years, cultivate a tree; for benefits that last 100 years, cultivate a person." Within the scope of this article, I would like to discuss the second of these teachings--"for benefits that last 100, cultivate a person"--and only as it applies to the "cultivation" of children and teenagers. If, like saplings, attention is given to caring for them, if they are educated, they will become model citizens. Conversely, if they are not cared for or educated well, they will very likely be a force undermining the revolutionary gains made by preceding generations.

What is the situation as it relates to the teenagers and children of our country today? It can be said at the outset that among the teenagers and children of our country, good qualities remain their basic characteristics. However, a considerable number is delinquent and the care and education of teenagers and children, in general, also raise some rather serious problems:

According to current statistics, a rather large percentage of youngsters is malnourished. In both height and weight, Vietnamese children are much smaller than other children in the world. In particular, since 1980, the percentage of newborns weighing less than 2.5 kilograms has been steadily rising. In a few localities, this number is as high as 20 to 30 percent of newborns.

This is the situation from the perspective of physical development. What is the situation in other areas? In recent years, the percentage of criminals in our country who are either teenagers or youths has been about the same as the percentage worldwide--70 percent. In addition, negative phenomena among the youths and teenagers of our country are occurring on a rather broad scale:

--Pickpocketing at bus depots, train stations and other crowded places, the theft of materials and so forth are done mainly by teenagers and children. More often than not, these youngsters live the life of a "vagrant."

--Rudeness, not listening to parents or to older brothers and sisters and disobeying teachers are quite widespread among youngsters (the number of youngsters in this category has been steadily rising in recent years).

--Influenced by old ways of life, some youngsters have let themselves go. They have quit school, steal money from their parents, run away from home, join gangs, roam the streets, loaf around, drink, and chase girls.

--A rather large number of youngsters is too lazy to study or does not like to study. These youngsters have no direction in life, particularly those in the countryside and mountains. The number of students dropping out of school at these places has also been steadily increasing.

Why does the situation described above exist?

To begin with, one cause of this situation lies with families. Although the family constitutes the smallest community and is only a cell of society, it plays an exceedingly important role in the education of teenagers and children. Probably everyone says this, but not everyone does his or her part to fulfill this role. Today's family is different from the family of ancient times. The socialist family is different from the feudal and bourgeois family. A socialist family has its own standards, from the relations among the members of the family and the family's lifestyle to the subjects in which children are educated, social goals, etc. At present, however, many families are not giving their attention to these standards. They live without standards, concerning themselves only with their day to day material existence. Many families praise a child when he catches a fish but not when he receives a good grade in school. Many families are prepared to allow their child to drop out of school and then give the child very detailed instructions in how to do business, how to select products and make money because their philosophy of life is "being well educated is not as good as being ignorant and having a lot of money." Many families live a very depraved life. The parents drink, gamble, have extra-marital affairs and so forth without ever thinking about how serious the consequences to their children are.

Secondly, from the standpoint of quality and efficiency, general school education is still weak in many respects. Besides the irrefutable achievements that have been recorded, general school education today is also marked by major imbalances, such as the imbalance between the development of education and socio-economic development; the imbalance between the desire to develop education very rapidly and the education investment policy; the imbalance between the structure of the education system and the structure of the economy and society; the imbalance between training and the structure of the labor force and between training plans and plans for the utilization of persons who are trained; the imbalance between academic education and ethical training; the imbalance between spiritual development and physical development; and the imbalance between knowledge and work skills among students. Most deserving of concern is the corps of educators. They are experiencing increasing shortages in their material and spiritual lives. Their position in society and their prestige are not commensurate with the responsibilities assigned to them by the party and state. Some educators have left their profession. Among some, their revolutionary will has declined and

their professional ideals have lost their luster. There are even some teachers who do not possess the personal qualities or skills required to provide the necessary quality of education.

Thirdly, the education of youngsters through the organizations in which they participate--the Ho Chi Minh Children's Unit and the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers' Unit--has not been given appropriate attention. Many youngsters join these units simply because they are being "good" and trying to please their teacher. Light attention is still being given to teaching the concept of these units, teaching goals and ideals to youngsters and encouraging socio-political activism among them.

There is one other cause that must be mentioned: the economic and social cause. Because economic life is very difficult, some families have been forced to take their children out of school in order to help the family earn a living. These children suffer. Their level of education is low and their ability to contribute to society is limited. More importantly, in their lives, the majority of these youngsters is pushed in an increasingly negative direction. In addition, the current social environment with its unchecked negative phenomena is also having an adverse impact upon the souls of children.

To prepare revolutionary generations for the future, as was the wish of Uncle Ho, our party has pointed out that "teenagers and children must learn and be cared for amidst the love of the family and society. All levels of the party and Youth Union must concern themselves with building the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers' Unit."⁽¹⁾ Thus, it is clear that we must take the following specific steps:

1. We must build families that are truly socialist families in order to lay the groundwork for the education of our children.

The family is an extremely important unit in the education of children. The family is the home, is a very sacred social unit, is an organization recognized by all ethical and legal systems down through the ages.

In our socialist society, the family is considered the cradle of kinship relations, the place where the new and beautiful sentiments of man, genuine revolutionary sentiments, are expressed. It is where the indispensable and sacred obligations to life and the development of our social system are fulfilled. These noble obligations are:

Every family has the obligation of bearing children and practicing planned parenthood in order to create new labor for society.

Every family has the obligation of raising children well and insuring that they grow up healthy and strong and are fully capable in terms of their physical well being to learn well, work well, live a happy life and improve the race.

The family has one other major obligation, namely, to educate children so that they become truly productive members of society, to join with the school and social organizations in training new, socialist men and women.

The family also plays an important role in many other areas of the country's revolutionary cause, in building socialism. However, the family must give special attention to the obligation it has to raise good children.

Thus, what must we teach our children? There is perhaps no more scientific or practical thing we can do than to guide and assist our children in fully practicing Uncle Ho's five teachings to teenagers and children.

These five teachings are broad in scope. Children must be given a truly thorough understanding of and specific instructions in how to practice each of these teachings.

2. We must improve the quality of general school education and meet the requirement that schools be schools, classes be classes, teachers be teachers and students be students. To do this, it must be clearly established that the goals of general school education are to mold every aspect of the socialist character and train persons who possess patriotism and socialist ideals, who adopt the fine traditions of the nation and the very best of the civilization, culture, science and technology of mankind, who possess good aesthetic tastes and personal qualities and who also possess the knowledge and skills needed to practice an occupation, one consistent with the division of labor within the locality and nationwide and with the level of socio-economic development in the initial stage and throughout the period of transition to socialism in our country. The state must invest much more in education with the immediate aim of providing the textbooks and bases needed for teaching and learning. It must constantly cultivate the qualities and skills of education cadres and educators. It must elevate their social position and serve their material and spiritual needs. We must immediately discontinue the practice of owing wages to educators or paying them in product. Only by taking these steps can we give educators a feeling of assurance, make them enthusiastic about their work and help them to avoid negative phenomena. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen school discipline, take stern disciplinary action against educators who are degenerate or deviant and absolutely not allow them to teach classes.

3. The activities of the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers' Unit and the Ho Chi Minh Children's Unit at schools must be intensified. Youngsters must be taught the correct sense of struggling to become a member of these units. They must feel a sense of honor and pride when accepted into these units and, from this feeling, acquire the consciousness of developing and forging themselves better and doing a better job at their studies.

4. We must correctly implement the party's education line. Education policies that have been shown to not be consistent with the current situation must be promptly revised or amended. Several new policies must be promptly promulgated to encourage educators and advance the cause of education.

In addition to the measures described above, overcoming the negative phenomena in socio-economic life and taking steps to stabilize and improve the material

and spiritual lives of the people are also important prerequisites to the care and education of children.

Man is not an abstract concept. When we talk about man, we are talking about specific persons. Teenagers and children are among these specific persons. Developing the human factor entails a continuous process. Caring for and educating teenagers and children well are but the first step in this process. Therefore, appropriate investments of money, intelligence and effort must be made in the care and education of teenagers and children in order to take this first beautiful step of decisive significance in the process of "cultivating a person."

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 71.

7809

CSO: 4210/9

HEALTH CARE IN THE NEW STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 20-23

[Article by Professor Hoang Dinh Cau]

[Text] "The health of the people and the future of the race are constant concerns of our party and state, are the responsibility of all sectors and mass organizations, are the responsibility and a vital interest of every citizen"(1) because health is a person's most precious possession. Health is vitality. Only when a person is in good health can he engage in creative labor and feel love and happiness.

As most recently defined by modern medical science, health is not only the state of being free of disease or disability. Health is an optimum state of physical, spiritual, emotional and social well being that enables a person to quickly adapt to environmental changes and retain for many years the ability to function, to work effectively and in a manner consistent with circumstances.

In keeping with this concept, health plays an important role in social production. It affects labor productivity, the results of production, budgets, the formation of capital and living conditions, and living conditions have a reciprocal impact upon health...

Regrettably, the health of our people today is not good. A comparison of Vietnamese children to Bulgarian children shows:

	Height (cm)		Weight (kg)	
	Vietnam	Bulgaria	Vietnam	Bulgaria
Newborn	49	50.5	3	3.410
12 months	72.8	76.5	8.31	10.11
5 years	100.4	109.5	14.53	19.2
14 years	142.9	160.5	32.26	48.5

Since 1980, the percentage of Vietnamese newborns weighing less than 2.5 kilograms has been steadily increasing. In a few localities, this number is

as high as 20 to 30 percent. Over a period of 30 years, from 1940 to 1970, the height of Vietnamese teenagers either did not increase or actually decreased somewhat. Meanwhile, the height of teenagers increased by 20 centimeters in the space of 80 years in the Soviet Union, by 5 centimeters in the space of 20 years in Belgium, etc.

Through physical examinations, the health of Vietnamese youths has been classified as follows:

	Type A, Good	Type B, Average	Type B2+C, Below Average
1969	68.80 %	31.2 %	
1974	35.47 %	27.93 %	35.58 %
1975	38.6 %	28.9 %	32.4 %

Basic morbidity investigations conducted by the Ministry of Public Health throughout the North in 1973 and 1974 by the random sampling method among 208,076 persons showed:

- Infectious diseases and parasites: 63.97 percent;
- Diseases of digestive organs: 65.72 percent;
- Diseases of the nervous-sensory system: 41.48 percent;
- Diseases of the respiratory organs: 32.16 percent;
- Skeletal-muscular-tissue related diseases: 17.26 percent;
- Diseases of endocrine system and nutritional diseases: 10.67 percent;
- Diseases of the skin and sub-dermal tissue: 9.44 percent;
- Diseases of genitourinary-reproductive organs: 8.42 percent;
- Accidental poisonings, amputations: 4.89 percent;
- Diseases of the circulatory system: 4.22 percent, etc.

Since 1975, the disease model in our country has not changed for the better. To the contrary, it has become more complex as a result of the consequences of war (which include chemical warfare), serious environmental pollution, economic difficulties, a low standard of living, very rapid population growth, the movement by portions of the population to mountainous forests, swampy areas, etc.

Infectious diseases and parasites continue to be most prevalent. Some diseases that were extinguished in the North long ago, such as cholera and plague, have begun to reappear in the North. Some diseases that were brought under control, such as typhoid fever, polio and so forth, have now broken out again. Also found in this infectious disease model are diseases that make up part of the disease model of developed countries, such as heart disease, cancer, occupational diseases, traffic accidents, etc.

In summary, the health of our people is not good, even though it has been greatly improved since the revolution (the average lifespan reached 63 years in 1980; the death rate is 7 percent, the mortality rate among children less than 1 year of age is approximately 34 percent and so forth). Although the efforts made by the people, by the state and by the public health sector have reduced the tremendous harm caused by our lack of economic and technical development, by the long war, by the population explosion and so forth, they

still fall far short of meeting the requirement of constantly improving the health of our people, which is necessary for industrialization, for socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland.

What can we do to improve the health of the people? For many years now, under the party's leadership and with the people's assistance, the public health sector has been recording many achievements in health care. However, as is the case in other developing countries, this sector is experiencing many difficulties:

1. There is a shortage of the material bases needed for everyday services, such as professional space, equipment, implements and materials. There are shortages of items which the industries of many countries have been manufacturing on their own for roughly one-half century and widely supplying to the public health sector, such as syringes, thermometers, manometers, enameled iron products for orderly work, slides and lenses for laboratory work, glass implements for laboratories, etc.
2. There is a serious shortage of medicine which, coupled with the abuse of medicine, has caused much waste and posed dangers, the management of the market is lax, etc. The basic cause of the shortage of medicine is the shortage of energy and raw materials (including secondary materials and packaging) for pharmaceutical enterprises. Over the long-range, the cause is our failure to build the pharmaceutical industry in order to achieve partial self-sufficiency in drugs.
3. The state's investments in public health have been very low, less than 3 percent of the total budget. Meanwhile, in the developed countries, these investments have risen to roughly 10 percent of the total budget. The World Health Organization has calculated that the developing countries must invest about 1 to 10 dollars per capita in public health each year if they want to maintain regular public health services. As public health services develop and the number of hospital bed increases, these investments become increasingly large, too large for any budget to support and the developing countries encounter even more difficulties. Taking the preventive approach and in order to be able to care for the health of all the people while the country is still poor, it has been the policy of Vietnam's public health sector for more than 20 years to develop the basic public health network, which consists of the public health stations at basic units (village public health stations and the stations at basic industrial units, forestry sites, agencies, schools and so forth). Building and maintaining the operation of these stations are not very costly. A village which has a population of approximately 5,000 needs only three permanent, professional medical personnel to serve the initial health care needs of the people, which consist of eight of the health care functions set forth in the 1978 Alma Ata Declaration (providing health education; improving eating and drinking conditions; supplying clean water and cleaning up the basic environment; protecting mothers and children, the basic element of which is family planning; expanding the vaccination program; controlling epidemics; examining for and treating common diseases and injuries; and supplying essential drugs). The make-up of the three-person staff can be:

--One general physician (or one general doctor in localities that have the necessary conditions, such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the provinces of the Red River Delta, etc.);

--One maternity nurse (eventually one gynecologist-obstetrician);

--One doctor of folk medicine (or one general physician).

In addition, one worker can be hired under contract to perform sanitation and cleaning work a certain number of hours each day. The district pharmacy or the district level II pharmaceutical corporation can set up within each village or group of villages a drug sales point.

The basic public health stations will gradually begin performing the ninth function, managing the health of each citizen, that is, opening a file on and periodically checking the health of each citizen and providing in-home medical examinations and treatment, thus serving as everyone's family physician. Under the conditions that exist today, Vietnam's public health sector is capable of starting to manage the health of a number of groups of persons who have been given priority and can gradually begin managing the health of all the people.

Initial health care (and, in future years, health management) demands an investment of approximately 50 dong per year (at the value of money in 1975) per citizen in order to establish a budget for basic public health stations. The state and the locality will fully fund this budget or mobilize reasonable contributions to it by the people.

To operate well, the basic public health network must be guided and assisted by the lines in the rear (the district line, the provincial and joint-provincial center line or the central line). That is, it is necessary to gradually build a network that is both general and highly specialized that extends from the district level upward and is funded by the state budget in order to provide the necessary daily services. In addition, urgent steps must be taken to build the public health industry (the production of drugs, public health equipment, implements and supplies, laboratory chemicals and so forth) to provide the minimum material conditions needed for public health activities.

In our opinion, to "expand the network and improve the quality of public health activities" as called for in the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, it is necessary to urgently take the following four management steps:

1. Practice cost accounting in public health services in order to lay a solid foundation for formulating the budget of each basic public health unit and formulating sector-wide planning;

2. Providing health insurance for each and every citizen in order to lay the foundation for implementing Article 61 of the Constitution of the SRV: "The citizen has the right to have his health protected. The state provides free medical examinations and treatment."

3. Promulgate a health care law to codify public health services and the right of the laboring people to be the masters in this field;

4. Guaranteeing a minimum but reasonable standard of living for public health cadres throughout the sector and their families and creating the conditions for them to perform their jobs well.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 60.

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PHYSICAL CULTURE-SPORTS FOR THE SAKE OF MAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 23-26

[Article by Professor Duong Nghiep Chi]

[Text] Since the successful August Revolution, our party, as President Ho Chi Minh did, has always asserted that physical culture-sports occupy an important position in society. The general line and views concerning the development of Vietnamese physical culture-sports have been recorded in the resolutions of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th National Congresses of the Party.

The major and long-range goal of physical culture-sports is to support the cause of building and defending the fatherland. It is the people who build and defend the fatherland. Therefore, when examining the position of physical culture-sports in society, it is first of all necessary to define the values which physical culture-sports bring to the people.

Physical culture-sports meet rational needs of man. Consequently, they have become an important means for bringing people together and educating them. Among the rational needs of man, there is the need to be active. Participating in physical culture-sport activities and watching sport competitions are indispensable needs of our people today and were even indispensable needs during the years of the war of resistance. In recent years, the mass physical culture-sports movement has developed rather widely and is becoming an important means for bringing people together and educating them. A survey conducted among more than 100,000 citizens of the 4th Precinct of Ho Chi Minh City (1982) showed that sports satisfied the exercise needs of 2.72 percent of the population. Physical culture (including physical fitness exercises) satisfied the need for exercise of 6.6 percent of the population. Sport competitions served 17.5 percent of the population. In Hanoi and Long An in 1984 and 1985, similar situations were observed. Of greater importance is the fact that the needs of our people for physical culture-sports activities are rather large. There are still many potentials for filling these needs. We should avoid mistaken views which hold that because our country is still poor and the economy is still encountering difficulties, few persons enjoy physical culture-sports activities and there is no need to increase our investments in this field. Facts have shown that although the ability to organize these activities and the forms that these activities take are still limited, the number of persons regularly participating in sports in

the 4th Precinct of Ho Chi Minh City has been increasing for the past several years at the average annual rate of 0.8 percent of the population.

Physical culture-sports help to improve a person's health, prolong a person's active life and bring optimism to a person's life. For many years, the concept of human health has been a comprehensive one, consisting of emotional and physical strength, the balanced functioning of internal organs and harmony in the structure of the body. Good health prolongs a person's active life and makes it easy for this person to be optimistic. If continuous measures are taken to improve the health of each person, it will be a minimum of 25 years before we can see the effect of these measures in improving the race. The health of man is dependent upon such factors as the socio-political system, genetics, the environment in which man lives and works, nutrition and lifestyle, public health care and moderate physical culture-sports activities.

Physical culture-sports play a positive, comprehensive role in improving health if the other factors are not seriously violated.

Physical culture-sports help to form the character of man. At the same time, they gradually develop every aspect of the character, that is, develop a person who is a conscious, reasoning entity who is literate and skilled. Physical culture-sports activities are positive, conscious activities. It is in these kinds of activities that the character of a person is most clearly displayed. Because of their dynamic, active and aesthetic nature, the persons mainly attracted to physical culture-sports activities are youths, teenagers and children. At present, the persons in our country between the ages of 5 and 29 who regularly participate in sports make up 81.6 percent of the total number of persons who play sports. Of every 100 persons between the ages of 5 and 29, 6 participate in sports and 8 participate in physical culture exercises (which include rhythmic exercises, military exercises and so forth).

Through conscious, positive, regular and organized physical culture-sports activities, the young generation easily cultivates for itself such fine attributes as a strong will, the sense of organization and discipline, the collective spirit, the spirit of responsibility... These attributes form the backbone of a person's character. Through physical culture and sports activities, the young generation also easily creates for itself the abilities needed for a specialized activity, either in labor or the defense of the fatherland.

The spiritual and physical benefits that persons derive from physical culture-sports are very large. Today, sports activities are also an effective means in foreign affairs work. They elevate the stature and position of the nation, contribute to the struggle for peace and friendship among nations and open relations between nations that have different political systems.

In keeping with the laws that govern the formation of the socialist system of physical culture-sports and on the basis of our country's actual circumstances, we must build a physical culture-sports system that consists of social physical culture-sports, school physical culture-sports and sports for the sake of higher athletic achievements.

After conducting a serious review of the experience gained over a period of many years in the management of physical culture-sports, carefully examining the laws and structure of the socialist physical culture-sports system and examining forecasts on socio-economic development and the development of science and technology in the years ahead, we must reorganize the country's physical culture-sports system. Attention must be given to the fact that our country's current physical culture-sports system bears very few of the characteristics of a social physical culture-sports system. Consequently, it cannot achieve social goals. This situation has led to decentralized, fragmented management, lax discipline and order, a lack of essential legal documents, a lack of suitable policies, etc. With such management, even if much more money is invested, the returns will still be limited and the level at which social goals are achieved will still be very low. However, if the physical culture-sports system is reorganized in accordance with the new requirements that exist, the investments made by the state in physical culture-sports should not remain as low as they are today. From 1983 to 1985, the state invested an average of 0.8 dong per capita in the Physical Culture-Sports General Department. Although they have varied, the investments made by the provinces, municipalities and sectors in physical culture-sports have also been very small. Even the eating standard of our national athletes is very low compared to the energy they need to train and record higher achievements. We also do not have the ability to provide modestly funded centralized training for the roughly 200 national athletes.

To implement the resolution of the party's 6th National Congress in physical culture-sports, efforts must be focused on solving a number of important problems:

1. We must improve the organization and strengthen the physical culture-sports sector from the central to the precinct and district levels, to the subwards and villages of key precincts and districts. On the basis of actual capabilities, we must divide the precincts and districts into three or four types and formulate for each a suitable organizational plan for physical culture-sports activities of the state and the masses. Physical culture-sports must be reorganized along social lines and in a manner consistent with the laws and structure of the socialist physical culture-sports system. On the basis of firmly strengthening the physical culture-sports agencies of the state, it is necessary to rebuild the mass sports associations (within the army, the public security sector and among students). We must gradually expand the sports clubs at general schools and in the countryside in order to eventually establish mass sport teams in one or many sports at schools and in the countryside (beginning on the provincial and municipal level or the precinct and district level). In addition, we should rebuild or establish new federations and councils of a social consultative nature, such as the State Physical Culture-Sports Council, the Council of Directors of Physical Culture-Sports Services (the directors of the services in major municipalities and the representatives of each region), school physical culture-sports councils, federations for each individual sport...

2. It should be proposed to the state that it consider the possibility of promulgating regulations on the management of physical culture-sports to insure the successful implementation of party resolutions on physical culture-

sports. These should include regulations on the organizational system, the training system and athletes (from children to national athletes); the awarding of state titles and the ranking of trainers, judges and athletes. They should include essential legal documents on the training of cadres, the construction of material bases, propaganda-education, the improvement of the forms of organization and the revision of physical training standards. They should also include policies which provide incentives for trainers, physical culture-sports educators and athletes; regulations on physical culture-sports management responsibilities aimed at establishing good coordination between the sector and the territory, between state physical culture-sports agencies and mass organizations, at tapping the initiative and creativity of the physical culture-sports organizations on the basic level...

3. Specific targets must be set for each stage after re-examining realistic socio-economic capabilities and selecting the most positive ways to develop the social physical culture-sports movement, the school physical culture-sports movement and the sports for the sake of recording higher achievements movement. We must review and set the direction of development of each sport and view the various sports as constituting a system. However, attention must be given to the different levels and scopes of management within this system (with priority given to the development of a small number of sports in accordance with the specific requirements of each stage and the assignment of specific responsibilities to the provinces, municipalities and sectors on a scale of management consistent with each stage).

4. We must improve the acquisition and processing of information and improve planning. Current information on physical culture-sports is so distorted as to be unacceptable. Planning is very ineffective. Very many steps must be taken to improve this work. First, we must clearly distinguish between plan norms of a social nature and the plan norms of specialized sectors in order to develop the potentials which the provinces, municipalities and sectors have to contribute to physical culture-sports.

Physical culture-sports confront us with many urgent tasks that must be performed. The potentials of physical culture-sports are still large. Of course, more than a few difficulties still exist. Under the light of the resolution of the party's 6th National Congress, we must try to take a basic step forward in the development of our country's physical culture-sports so that we begin to see important results in 8 to 10 years.

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THE MOLDING OF THE NEW, SOCIALIST MAN AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF THINKING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 26-30

[Article by Professor Le Thi]

[Text] Man as the creator of socialism in Vietnam can only be the product of conscious actions taken by the Vietnamese of today. President Ho said: "To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialists."⁽¹⁾ This is a very correct perception, one based on the dialectical materialist view concerning the relationship between the subject and object. It points out the importance of transforming man and closely ties this effort to the transformation of nature and the transformation of society by means of practical activities. Of course, it is only in the process of transforming nature and society that man can transform himself. However, man must first have the desire to move ahead and be determined to transform himself, elevate his perception and improve his ability to analyze, evaluate and reach conclusions concerning processes that occur so that he can take more correct action and not give up in the face of objective difficulties or subjective weaknesses.

To complete the important tasks with which socialist construction confronts a country that was once a semi-feudal colony, a country that is bypassing the stage of capitalist development, Vietnamese man must undergo strong changes in terms of his culture and thinking. He must make the transition from a traditional agricultural culture to a modern industrial culture, from the way of thinking, the way of earning a living and the lifestyle of the small-scale producer to the way of thinking, the work methods and lifestyle of the worker of large-scale industry. Together with carrying on and building upon the fine values of the spiritual culture of the nation and the revolution, we must erase the serious, negative vestiges of history, wage a determined struggle against the rigid dogmatism, paternalism and class mentality of feudal ideology and be fully vigilant against the development of individualism and the greedy pursuit of money. At the same time, we must struggle against the narrowmindedness, shallow thinking, voluntarism, egalitarianism and fragmented liberalism of the small-scale producer, against behavior that reflects contempt for the law, against giving more weight to feelings than reason, etc.

Therefore, emerging as a matter of enormous importance in the molding of the new man today is the need to cultivate the correct world view and methodology

in how we examine and resolve the problems we face and the need to adopt new thinking and abandon concepts that are incorrect or outmoded. This is a pressing need in the growth of Vietnamese man, especially with regard to cadres and party members, a need that must be met in order to continue to advance our country to socialism in exact accordance with laws. This also entails an exceedingly difficult and hard struggle. The process of performing the tasks of the period of transition is also the process of a sharp and complex class struggle, a sharp and complex struggle between the two paths to transform the old society, build the new society and transform each and every person. Examined from the standpoint of the class and society, the purposes of this struggle are to resolve the antagonisms between the enemy and ourselves and to resolve the contradictions among the people. In particular, at a time when the schemes of sabotage of the imperialists and international reactionaries continue to be intensified and defending the socialist fatherland is a crucial and large task, it becomes a very complicated and difficult matter to resolve the social contradictions of our country because the antagonisms between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people are intertwined and because the calculated hostile schemes of the enemy are intertwined with actions that harm the revolution, actions which are the result of ignorance, a lack of vigilance or selfish personal motives.

The complex changes that have occurred in social life have created different perceptions among cadres and party members concerning numerous issues in socialist construction. This has led to different ways of solving problems and different results. Here, the struggle focuses on thinking, on perception of the old and the new, the progressive and the backward, the scientific and the anti-scientific, of revolutionary dynamism and conservatism-stagnation in the way that we think and work in all fields, particularly in the economic field. True revolutionary good will and zeal are intertwined with personal motives that stem from individualism. The ways that problems are examined and assessed and the ways that conclusions concerning them are reached are impetuous, simplistic, one-sided and subjective. Perception stems from old, habitual ways of thinking. A lack of knowledge or a lack of precise knowledge of socialism exists alongside the maladies of being too lazy to think, of easily being satisfied with existing conclusions, with old, accepted knowledge. Thus, there is a lack of flexibility and response to the new, to the new situation.

Along with the causes that relate to how we perceive things, it must also be said that mistakes in the organization and management of the economy and society have caused enormous harm and impeded the adoption of new thinking, the adoption of a new work style and the molding of the new man. The mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies is both the result and the material base of voluntarism. It has nullified the forces that stimulate the development of beautiful thoughts and sentiments. Worse yet, it created weaknesses that have allowed negative phenomena to arise and allowed the bad habits of the feudal and bourgeois classes to re-emerge and develop. Therefore, revamping our organization and cadre work and dismantling the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in economic and social management are very necessary prerequisites that must be met at the same time as adopting new thinking and a new work style.

The resolution of the 6th Party Congress stressed: "The main task in ideological work is to adopt new thinking in each field of activity of the party and state, most importantly new economic thinking..."(2)

Establishing the scientific method of thinking is an exceedingly important part of molding the new, socialist man, is a matter of combining the skills and ethics of the cadre and party member.

The scientific method of thinking, or clarity of intellect, is not an innate, special attribute of simply a few outstanding minds. The intelligence of man is the result of the evolution of civilization, is the accumulation of increasing knowledge of increasing quality through the struggle against difficult realities. The outstanding minds of political leaders, of eminent scientists go beyond the minds of ordinary persons in their foresightedness and breadth of vision, in the sensitivity and accuracy of predictions and in how rapidly they accept the new and also go beyond prejudices and backward thinking.

The formation of a method of thinking lies within the scope of the category of philosophy. The way a person thinks is determined by many factors: class consciousness, the way this person works and lives, his everyday social relations, his level of knowledge and his concepts concerning the world and human life. From the standpoint of economic thinking, the factors that influence the thinking of our cadres and party members can stem from the following:

- a) From the ways of earning a living of small-scale, fragmented, subsistent and self-contained production, which formed in cadres and party members a habitual way of thinking. When living and working conditions changed, they remained satisfied with the thinking and knowledge of yesterday.
- b) From a lack of knowledge or a lack of precise knowledge of the economic issues of socialism. As a result, economic theory as well as experience of the fraternal socialist countries have been applied in a dogmatic fashion to the actual conditions of Vietnam and necessary new knowledge has been learned slowly.

Some infantile economic views which the fraternal socialist countries, having gained experience from practice, have taken positive steps to rectify have still been adopted by us, such as an incorrect understanding of the impact of the law of value and the need to develop the commodity economy under socialism; the establishment of the system of socialist ownership; and the socialist transformation of production relations.

Numerous other important economic issues must be re-examined from the standpoint of our views and perception. In practice, the adoption of new economic thinking is exceedingly complex. Because, our country's socio-economic situation is, generally speaking, unstable, the old management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies is being denounced but has not been completely replaced and the new management mechanism has, for all intents and purposes, yet to be established. Economic research is still very limited. Criticism, self-criticism and open debate

have yet to become habits. As a result, many difficulties are still being encountered in distinguishing between right and wrong and adopting new thinking.

The conclusions of the Political Bureau and, in particular, the resolution of the 6th Party Congress concerning a number of economic problems, the structure of the economy, socialist transformation and the management mechanism are important lessons for us in the adoption of new thinking.

Thus, what should our guidelines be in the establishment of the scientific method of thinking, in general, and the adoption of new economic thinking, in particular?

--To take correct action and make correct decisions, we must understand the nature of things and the laws governing their movement. Consequently, it is first of all necessary to constantly increase our knowledge in every field. Today, acquiring increasing amounts of new information is a prerequisite to scientific thinking. While we must acquire additional knowledge, we must make an effort to acquire knowledge that is accurate. Because, knowledge that is wrong or one-sided is very harmful. It is the basis for defending practical actions that are wrong.

--The scientific method of thinking is expressed in the ability to grasp, analyze and evaluate the situation and, on this basis, reach accurate conclusions to guide actions. To meet this requirement, it is necessary to cultivate a correct style of investigation and research, one which fully employs the dialectical materialist, specific historic methodology in examining and evaluating things and phenomena.

--Scientific analysis is closely tied to revolutionary dynamism, the desire to make progress and sensitivity to the new. The scientific method of thinking demands independent, creative thinking and freedom of thinking. It is the antithesis of being inclined to go along with everything, of being a "yes man." It demands that we dare to defend the truth and be responsible for our opinions and decisions. Thus, even in the process of searching for the truth, it demands a brave spirit of struggle. The spirit of thinking independently is closely related to revolutionary criticism and the sense of criticism and self-criticism, to struggle against conservatism and stagnation.

--Man's perception is proven to be right or wrong through practical activities. The application of theory to practice provides us with the necessary answers to theoretical questions that have yet to be clarified. Therefore, the scientific method of thinking we formulate must be subjected to one very important standard: testing. Through testing, through reviews and by gaining experience we can acquire new knowledge and abandon perceptions that are wrong.

In summary, the establishment of the scientific method of thinking demands that we possess certain skills and intelligence and also possess the necessary qualities: patiently enduring difficulties, humbly learning from others, being brave and loyal in criticism and self-criticism, etc.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 209.
2. The resolution of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam--
TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 124.

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DOING A BETTER JOB OF BUILDING AND UTILIZING THE CORPS OF SOCIALIST INTELLECTUALS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 30-34

[Article by Professor Le Quy An]

[Text] During the past 40 years, our party has managed to train and build a large corps of intellectuals, a corps which has made large contributions to the bitter struggle to build and defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

At present, we have approximately 400,000 cadres who have an academy or college education, more than 760,000 cadres who have a vocational middle school education and slightly less than 5,300 cadres who have a post-graduate education. There are 93 academies and colleges, which annually supply to the various sectors about 30,000 college-trained cadres. More than 50 facilities can annually accept from 250 to 300 domestic research trainees, the total number of which has now risen to 900. This does not include the system of vocational and other occupational middle schools.

Today, this corps is capable of learning the latest technical and industrial advances of the world for practical application under the actual circumstances of our country. Its ability to organize and conduct scientific research with the aim of solving practical problems has also been markedly improved.

However, the potentials of our country's corps of intellectuals have not been fully tapped with a view toward meeting the requirements of society. Why is this? Some of the reasons for this situation lie with this corps itself and other relate to organization and management.

The shortcomings of the corps of intellectuals are reflected in its lack of a deep understanding of the characteristics and actual conditions of the country. In particular, as regards scientific-technical cadres, limitations imposed by their socio-economic knowledge, industrial skills and ability to organize and manage have made it difficult to apply knowledge that relates to several different sectors and caused the results of research to be incomplete and, in more than a few cases, to be difficult to apply in practice. The number of cadres in some fields of social science and economic and social management is still small. Research on important problems in these fields is being carried out slowly and does not meet the need to gain an understanding

of and analyze the characteristics of economic laws in our country's current stage and lay a solid scientific foundation for the lines, policies and specific positions of the party and state.

The structure and distribution of the corps of scientific-technical cadres also raise many problems that must be studied further. For example, according to an investigation conducted in 1982, there is a lack of balance among cadres who have a college education in the social sciences: more than 38 percent were trained in economic science, more than 45 percent in teaching and only about 16 percent in such fields of study as the law, philosophy, history, art, linguistics, psychology, logic, etc.

The cadres trained in the technical sciences who work in direct production only make up 30 percent of the total (meanwhile, even in Bulgaria, this figure was 48 percent in 1970).

The distribution of cadres by region is also uneven. For example, the Mekong Delta (not including Ho Chi Minh City) only has 7.9 percent of the nation's scientific-technical cadres. This equates to only 4.27 scientific-technical cadres per 1,000 persons of population.

The corps of scientific-technical cadres is the most important factor of scientific-technical potentials. Besides this, there are other factors, such as the system of research and development agencies, material-technical bases, scientific-technical information, investments, policies, procedures and so forth. Scientific-technical potentials should be understood as a combination of these factors. They are closely related to and have an impact upon one another, either stimulating and supporting or impeding one another's development.

The party's policy on intellectuals is essentially a policy of building and effectively utilizing the corps of intellectuals to serve the interests of the revolution. Therefore, specific policies dealing with intellectuals cannot be examined, researched, formulated or implemented in a manner divorced from socio-economic development strategy, from the mechanism and policies that apply in the field of socio-economic management. For example, the economic management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies does not encourage dynamism on the part of basic units nor does it attach importance to the close relationship among research-production-consumption. This has reduced the sense of discovery and creativity of the laborer and caused the producer to have little concern for the needs of the consumer in terms of the types and quality of products. Thus, there is no need to apply scientific-technical advances and the intellectual finds it difficult to play a role.

It can be said that practically all intellectuals have an ardent desire to be given the conditions they need to make contributions through their creative labor, to be trusted and correctly evaluated.

It is necessary to reorganize the corps of intellectuals along lines that are more rational. To accomplish this, it is first necessary to restructure the system of institutes and schools, particularly the colleges, so that research

facilities, training facilities and production units establish close ties with one another and support and stimulate one another's development and investments are concentrated and more effective.

The decentralization and lack of coordination in the utilization of the corps of cadres must be corrected by establishing strong scientific collectives that encompass several different sectors with the aim of solving important, complex scientific-technical and socio-economic problems of the country. In this work, practical experience shows that it is necessary to select and appoint the right persons to serve as management cadres. These are persons who are fully qualified in a special field and are able to bring together, organize and manage forces.

In order for intellectuals to truly be able to undertake their tasks, measures must be taken to correct the weaknesses described above and provide them with training to constantly improve their standards. This work must be carried out in a practical manner through a wide variety of flexible forms, such as long-term training, short-term training, on-the-job training, symposiums, correspondence training and training within organizations established by the people. Measures must be taken to provide additional knowledge related to scientific research, production, economics, sociology and so forth and raise standards in these fields through practical activities.

Measures must also be taken to discover and train talented persons. Efforts must be made to prepare cadres for the long-range future who are compatible with modern trends of development selected for being consistent with the specific conditions of our country.

Although our material-technical bases, machinery and equipment are inadequate, what we do have is not being fully utilized. Rules and regulations designed to achieve full utilization should be adopted. On this basis, steps should be taken to create better working conditions for scientific-technical cadres. For example, arrangements can be made for the cadres of various sectors to use measuring and testing equipment, valuable and scarce production tools, electronic computers and so forth in common.

Our work in the field of scientific-technical and economic information needs to be improved very much. The publication of materials is somewhat disorganized and this has led to a waste of supplies and materials. This is not to mention the contents and quality of these publications. If we re-examine what is being done and provide closer, better guidance, some of the difficulties currently being encountered with information can surely be overcome and higher efficiency can be achieved. Today, this economy as well as the science and technology of a country cannot develop as a self-contained system. What we need to do is boldly create the conditions for a timely and effective exchange of information with foreign countries while preserving national secrets.

The investments currently being made by us in science-technology and education are very low. We should not view these investments as investments in the "non-production" sector, as investments in "consumption." In the immediate future, in keeping with the spirit of Political Bureau Resolution 37,

investments in science and technology must equal 2 percent of national income. However, we should not rely solely upon this capital. Steps must be taken to mobilize sources of capital in production and create the conditions for scientific and technical activities and production to be closely tied to and dependent upon each other in order to develop.

We must also study and promulgate at an early date regulations, rules and policies aimed at mobilizing scientific-technical cadres to participate in production at basic units and localities where they are needed. The conditions must be created for scientific-technical cadres to overcome some of the difficulties being experienced in their everyday lives by means of their scientific labor, thereby tying scientific cadres even more closely to the results of work and production. For example, we should improve the policy and standards on praise and awards for scientific projects, innovations, technological improvements and so forth. The current wage policy concerning scientific-technical cadres is also unreasonable and needs to be examined further.

It will be very difficult to achieve a fundamental solution to the problem of living conditions. Goods are in short supply but we have a surplus of labor. We have potentials in our natural resources but lack capital, energy, equipment, supplies, raw materials, parts, technology... The roughly 1 million persons who are unemployed include intellectuals. Everyone knows that to raise the standard of living, we must develop production and raise labor productivity. But how can we accelerate production when life is very hard and many of the conditions we need are lacking. Is this not a vicious circle? There is no other way to break this cycle than by giving increasing attention to utilizing one of our most important factors, science--the natural sciences, the technical sciences and the social sciences (including management science). This will create jobs and additional products for society. It will create domestic raw materials and building materials and enable us to produce many of the parts and kinds of equipment we need. It is also necessary to practice strict frugality, most importantly to save energy, raw materials, fuel and building materials in the production process, and make full use of the discarded materials of industry and everyday life. We must make the most efficient use possible of resources and capital by adopting a correct investment policy, structuring investments correctly and selecting targets that enable us to turn capital over rapidly, quickly achieve returns, raise short-term crops to support the production of long-term crops and so forth.

In overseas economic work, there is cooperation in the exchange of specialists. This policy is correct and necessary and can be further expanded in the years ahead. However, there are also many problems that have limited the returns from this policy and caused a number of adverse influences at home and abroad. This work must be guided more closely from a political and diplomatic as well as an economic and social standpoint. Goals must be very clearly defined and rational measures must be taken to establish a harmonious balance between the economy and politics, between the domestic and the foreign, between the immediate future and the long-range future, between the private and the public, between the individual and the corps.

Some 99 percent of our country's scientific-technical cadres were trained after the revolution. About 23 percent are members of the CPV. The majority has been challenged and forged in work, production and combat. They are truly a precious asset, a dependable force of the party.

Although the party has, in recent years, given much more attention to scientific-technical work and to this corps, on a long-term basis, there is still the feeling among intellectuals (particularly intellectuals outside the party) that full attention is not being paid to supporting them from the standpoint of their specialized field, their political interests and the living conditions. Leaders do not attach importance or listen to the opinions of intellectuals. At some times and places narrowmindedness and prejudices have been displayed or persons have not been accurately evaluated, particularly in the development of the party.

The intellectual wants to be evaluated on the basis of the results of his work and his contributions to society. We should not place too much emphasis upon an intellectual's diploma or how he gets along with others.

Very deserving of attention in the policy concerning intellectuals are the nationalities question and the women's issue.

The ethnic minorities in our country make up about 12 percent of the population. However, ethnic minority cadres who have an academy education or higher only make up about 3.3 percent of the total number of these cadres nationwide. Increasing the training of intellectuals among the ethnic minorities is a matter of important, practical significance in achieving equality among the various ethnic groups and will help to develop the strengths of all regions of the country.

To accomplish this, special attention must be given to improving the ways that intellectuals are trained and utilized. In addition, we should research and truly establish combined cultural and scientific-technical centers in a number of regions, such as the Northwest, the Central Highlands and so forth, that are compatible with the natural, economic and social conditions of each region and are tied to the distribution of production forces nationwide.

Within the corps of scientific-technical cadres, the percentage of women cadres has risen rather rapidly (from 14.3 percent in 1965 to 50.3 percent in 1982). This represents a significant achievement. However, in terms of the level of education, there are still some limiting factors. The percentage of highly educated women cadres is low and the percentage of women cadres who have a low level of education is high. Women cadres make up 58.7 percent of the total number of cadres who have a vocational middle school education, 35.7 percent of the cadres who have a college education and 14.1 percent of the cadres who have a post-graduate education.

This situation also demands that policies and measures be improved with the aim of further increasing the number of women within the corps of intellectuals.

Overseas Vietnamese intellectuals are a force deserving of attention. Many of these persons are educated, are patriotic and ready to contribute to building the country. To help tap the potentials of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals in a more effective manner, allow me to make the following proposals:

We should avoid being narrowminded in our attitude toward overseas Vietnamese intellectuals. On the other hand, it is also necessary to evaluate them correctly.

We must select appropriate jobs and forms of organization so that overseas Vietnamese intellectuals can easily and effectively participate and use their strengths to the fullest.

To utilize overseas Vietnamese intellectuals, we must have a domestic corps of intellectuals that is sufficiently strong and organize good exchange relations and close collaboration between these two forces.

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TAPPING THE YOUTH FACTOR IN THE CAUSE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM AND DEFENDING THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 34-37

[Article by Ha Quang Du]

[Text] In our country, youths played a large role in the national liberation revolution and are a strategic force in the socialist revolution. Most importantly, youths make up a large portion of the population. According to statistics compiled in recent years, youths (persons between the ages of 14 and 28) make up 27 percent of the population, 79.2 percent of the persons working in the different sectors of the national economy, 63 percent of the agricultural work force and 60 percent of the work force in industry and the handicraft trades. Each year, more than 1 million persons join the youth labor force. At present, youths are the primary force on key economic and social projects and at the forward positions along the border, where they face the enemy daily and are bravely fighting to defend each bit of sacred soil of the fatherland.

The youth segment of our population is undergoing large internal changes. These changes are manifestations of the superior nature of the new stratum of youths under the socialist system. Today, young specialists, technical workers and scientific-technical cadres are playing a very large role in the advancement of science and technology. The country has 700,000 young technical workers, who make up 61 percent of the total number of workers, and 180,000 young technical cadres, 44 percent of the total. In a work scale consisting of seven grades, the average grade of workers ranges between 2.8 and 3.3. Some 5 to 8 percent of youths are rated as grade 4, 5 or 6 workers and more than a few youths are working at jobs that are one or two grades higher than their current grade. These figures show that our youths possess large potentials from the standpoint of their numbers, their physical conditioning, their level of education and their scientific-technical standards. These potentials are valuable assets of the country that must be vigorously developed and tapped in the cause of building and defending the fatherland.

Besides its strengths, which are basic, our country's young generation has been and is continuing to display a number of rather apparent weaknesses.

First, the level of education of youths has been steadily rising and their knowledge is becoming broader with each day that passes. However, their awareness of ideals, of socialism, of the concept of being a master and of the need to struggle and move ahead is not commensurate with their level of education and knowledge. This is a concern of the party, the state and all society. This contradiction is clearly evident within the various strata of youths. It takes many different forms and can be seen from many different perspectives. It is impeding the development and progress of the youth movement, in general, and each youth, in particular.

Secondly, youths have yet to play the strong role that is theirs in the production relations revolution. Our country's youths have a large role in the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. However, the extent to which youths are playing their role in each of these revolutions varies. For example, youths who are educated should quickly become involved in advanced science and are capable of introducing technological advances in everyday life and production. In the field of culture and art, youths have not been influenced much by backward feudal culture. Moreover, they are a large force in the appreciation of modern culture and art and youths themselves are persons who rapidly adopt the civilization of mankind. In the production relations revolution, youths have yet to vigorously fulfill their role. The underlying cause of this is that the development of youths has been impeded by feudal thinking and paternalism, consequently, youths do not possess the full sense of being the owners of the means of production and the masters of the distribution of products and do not see the urgent need or truly take bold steps to struggle against acts against socialist property and the negative phenomena in distribution and circulation.

Thirdly, the attitude of youths toward occupations and labor is not correct. This is most evident in the fact that many youths avoid work and have no liking for strenuous, manual trades. They do not want to work in the countryside or at remote places. Once they receive an education, some rural youths want to leave the countryside to live and work in the cities. More than a few general school students and military personnel consider returning to the countryside to be a "dead end."

The consciousness that youths have regarding their occupation is not high. An investigation conducted at a number of places in the North showed that 80 percent of youths had no intention of actually becoming a manual worker and only 5 percent knew what they wanted to do as an occupation. A survey conducted among 1,000 youths in the building sector in Hanoi showed that 90 percent did not want to work in this sector, 8 percent said that they would work in the sector as long as they could learn technology and only 2 percent liked working in the building trades.

The present weaknesses of youths are factors impeding the utilization of the strengths and potentials of youths and the strong development of their role in the socialist revolution. We must find the causes of these weaknesses so that corrective measures can be taken. Some of these causes are objective in nature but there are also subjective causes that relate to the party, the state and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. Here, only a number of subjective

causes that are impeding efforts to tap the youth factor in the socio-economic strategy of our party will be analyzed.

The first cause is the application of old methods in a new period. When the revolution entered the stage of socialist construction, we made the mistake of continuing to apply in the period of socialist construction the old methods employed in the national democratic revolution and the war. Because we have lacked a full understanding of the laws governing the movement of the masses in economic construction, we have continued to rely heavily upon appeals, mobilization campaigns and psychological incentives but have not given appropriate attention to the material interests of the laborer. Lenin once pointed out: when the situation changes and we must perform different types of tasks, we should not look back and continue to employ the methods of yesterday.

The second cause is that economic and social policies have not met the needs of the development of the youth movement and the mobilization of youths. A number of economic policies have not given attention to providing incentive for or encouraging activism on the part of youth forces. In some respects, these policies have also impeded the development of the labor, cultural, scientific and technical potentials of youths. For example, bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, having persisted for many years, have had a direct impact upon youths, causing them to be passive, to sit and wait, to lack confidence and impeding their contributions and growth. Socio-economic policy has not given attention to the countryside, to new economic zones, to places far from the municipalities and cities. Attention has not been given to narrowing the obvious gap between the cities and the countryside, between the deltas and the mountains. The material and spiritual lives of the people, in general, and youths, in particular, in rural areas, particularly in the mountains, are still at a low level of development. It is rather widespread in the countryside to not have any newspapers or magazines, not have radios, television sets or electricity and for youths not to see one film or one cultural entertainment program in an entire year. A recent survey conducted by the Youth Studies Institute among 2,195 young men and women in rural areas in every region of the country showed that 38 percent regularly have a newspaper to read, more than 50 percent have a newspaper only occasionally and roughly 10 percent never have a newspaper. Whereas the trend among city youths today is to watch video cassettes and color televisions, the majority of rural youths want nothing more than to have a radio and occasionally see a film. The cultural sector is a sector in which investments have always been small. But the portion of this tiny investment allocated for the development of culture in the countryside has been insignificant. This situation has led to youths comparing themselves to youths in other areas and has made the phenomena of youths wanting to "flee" to the cities difficult to avoid.

Another matter deserving of attention is the existence in our society today of a concept of youths that is not correct. Youths are required to contribute but have no right to demand that they receive. Many adults compare the youths of today to themselves when they were youths before they went off to make revolution and fight. This is not the approach of evaluating youths on the basis of specific historical conditions and has, to some extent, exacerbated "the contradictions among the generations." We must harshly criticize youths

who live the life of a parasite, live a wild or pragmatic life and who want and demand much more than they contribute to society by way of labor. On the other hand, however, it is also necessary to understand the legitimate aspirations of youths so that socio-economic policies can be decided accordingly and forces are unleashed which encourage youths to struggle, to forge themselves, to contribute and grow. One very important requirement regarding youths is that they must be assured of having a job when they enter life and be educated in the character, skills and ideals represented by the guideline "living, fighting, working and studying in the example of the great Uncle Ho." With the full realization that youths are the persons who have the historic mission of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland, we must boldly assign responsibilities to youths and train them through social activities.

The third cause is that the organizational and educational work of the Youth Union has not met the requirements of revolutionary tasks. The organizations of the Youth Union have not grown to meet the demands of the revolution, meet the requirements of the tasks assigned by the party and satisfy the desires of youths. Our party has always asserted that the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is the competent arm and the reserve unit of the party. This also means that the Youth Union is the school that teaches communism to youths and teenagers and that through its organization, the Youth Union trains and provides cadres to the party, the state and the other mass organizations. To fulfill these functions, the Youth Union organizations on the various levels must be strong politically and organizationally and have the ability to gain the effective participation of large numbers of youths in revolutionary action movements. In recent years, there have been many shortcomings in the work of assembling and educating youths. Political Bureau Resolution 26 contains the following assessment: "The organizations of the Youth Union on the basic level are still weak, the number of Youth Union members is still small and their quality is not high. Many youths have not been brought into the organizations of the Youth Federation."⁽¹⁾ These shortcomings are impeding efforts to develop the role of youths in the process of implementing the party's socio-economic strategy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Political Bureau resolution on "strengthening the party's leadership of youth work," Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985.

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TOWARD THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION: FROM
LENIN'S 'DECREE ON PEACE' (NOVEMBER 1917) TO THE PEACE STRATEGY OF
TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 38-43, 84

[Article by Nguyen Trong Thu]

[Text] Concerning the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "We can be proud and truly are proud to have had the honor of beginning the construction of the Soviet state and, as a result, ushering in a new era in the history of the world, the era of the rule of a new class, the class that is oppressed in all capitalist countries and is everywhere advancing toward a change, toward victory over the bourgeoisie, toward the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, toward the liberation of mankind from the yoke of capitalism, from imperialist wars."(1)

As the months and years have passed, the significance and vitality of the October Revolution have spread and become more profound. Among the new and beautiful things that were brought to mankind by the August Revolution and have increasingly become the common aspiration of each stratum, each age group and each race on earth is the issue of preserving the existence of man and safeguarding world peace.

As we know, immediately after the success of the October Revolution and the transfer of power to the hands of the soviets, the first action taken by the soviet administration was to ratify the "Decree on Peace" drafted by Lenin. In this decree, the soviet government called upon all belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a democratic and just peace. A just peace meant peace without annexation (that is, without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without reparations.

The decree stated: "The government considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the powerful and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered and solemnly announces its determination to immediately sign terms of peace to stop this war on the terms indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception."(2)

The "Decree on Peace" concluded with an appeal to class conscious workers in the three most progressive nations of mankind and the major participants in the war then, Great Britain, France and Germany, in the hope that the workers of these countries would clearly understand the task confronting them, to liberate mankind from the tragedy of war and its consequences. By means of determined actions in many fields and through their energies and bravery, class conscious workers in Great Britain, France and Germany would join with the soviets in waging a victorious struggle to the end for the cause of liberating the laboring masses from every form of enslavement and exploitation.

In the "Report on Peace" and in the "Concluding Speech Following the Discussion on the 'Report on Peace'" Lenin also pointed out the role of the peoples of other countries. He maintained that while appealing to governments it was also necessary to appeal to the peoples of other countries, necessary to help the peoples of other countries become involved in the issues of war and peace. He stated: "According to the bourgeois conception, there is strength when the people go blindly to the slaughter in obedience to the imperialist governments. The bourgeoisie admit a state to be strong only when it can, by the power of the government apparatus, hurl the people wherever the bourgeois rulers want them hurled. Our idea of strength is different. Our idea is that a state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion on everything and do everything consciously."(3)

Thus, in the "Decree on Peace," Lenin advanced the principles of a new style of international relations built not upon the oppression of small, weak nations, but upon the establishment of peace among all nations, the recognition of the equality of all nations, the independence of all nations and the importance of forthright methods in diplomatic policy. The "Decree on Peace" also advanced the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries that have different socio-political systems and denounced the provocative and aggressive policy of imperialism. To reaffirm the policy of peaceful coexistence, Lenin, in an article entitled "Strange and Monstrous," written a few months after the promulgation of the "Decree on Peace," bitterly opposed the theory of "stimulating" the international revolution through war. The proponents of this theory feared that peace would give the masses the feeling that imperialism had been "legitimized. The theory of "stimulating" the revolution--Lenin wrote--was completely divorced from Marxism. It was "no different than the view that armed uprising is the form of struggle that must be employed at all times and under all conditions. Actually, the interests of the international revolution demand that the soviet administration, after toppling the bourgeoisie within its country, assist the international revolution but select a form of assistance that is compatible with its capabilities."(4)

In the various stages of history, the arguments advanced by Lenin on opposing war, on safeguarding world peace and on peaceful coexistence among countries with different socio-political systems have been considered by the CPSU to be the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet party and state.

As soon as there were indications in the world that World War II might break out, the Soviet Union called for steps to prevent the war and safeguard world peace. In response to this good will of the Soviet Union, the 6th Congress of the Communist International, which was held between 17 July and 11 September 1928 in Moscow, adopted a platform stating the need for a constant and determined struggle against the threat of imperialist war. The 7th Congress of the Communist International, which was held in Moscow in July 1935, once again placed special emphasis upon the struggle against those who unleash imperialist wars and against the threat of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

The realities of the years preceding and during World War II proved that only the Soviet Union thoroughly pursued a policy of safeguarding and strengthening peace and a policy of collective resistance against the fascist aggressors and assistance to the peoples of the countries that were the victims of this aggression. Both the Soviet-German treaty signed on 23 August 1939 and the Soviet-Japan Neutrality Treaty signed on 13 April 1941 were aimed at limiting the influence of World War II and preventing the war from spreading. After these treaties were signed, the Soviet government scrupulously complied with their terms. Germany and Japan did the opposite. On 22 June 1941, the German fascists broke the treaty and suddenly attacked the Soviet Union.

The great war of national defense was a bitter challenge to the Soviet system. United around the communist party and displaying boundless revolutionary heroism, the people and armed forces of the Soviet Union, surmounting countless hardships and enduring large sacrifices, crushed the German fascists, the assault army of international imperialist, reactionary forces, recorded feats of arms more brilliant than ever recorded before. The Soviet Union not only defended itself, the first socialist country, but also created the conditions for the revolution to win victory in scores of European and Asian countries, thereby bringing socialism from the scope of one country and making it a world system, stimulating the strong development of the national independence movement and establishing the position for a full-scale attack on imperialism.

The Soviet Union, the country that made the most decisive contributions to the victory over fascism, was also the country that most resolutely and strongly safeguarded the gains of peace following that victory. Chiefly as a result of the important contributions made by the Soviet Union, the Yalta, Potsdam and other conferences among the allies achieved success. Following World War II, imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, continued to be blinded by hatred of socialism and never abandoned its intention to use violent force to resolve the historic dispute between the two social systems. As a result of achieving economic and military superiority in the capitalist world, the United States took up the role of international gendarme. During the more than 40 years since then, the United States has put extensive efforts into the arms race and an arms buildup and brazenly thrust its interventionist hands into various regions of the world, instigating numerous wars in these regions. It was the United States that encouraged the resurgence of West German revanchism and Japanese militarism. Especially dangerous are the facts that the United States has been continuously pursuing the nuclear arms race and the militarization of space and has threatened a first strike against the Soviet

Union. Many secret White House documents that were recently made public show that beginning immediately after 1945, the United States drafted many plans to attack the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons. And, to reverse the defeats of the United States and its allies in regional wars, the United States once intended to attack Korea and Vietnam with atomic bombs. From these materials, it is clear that, since 1945, U.S. military forces have used their nuclear superiority and the ability to deliver a first strike as an integral part of their overall military strategy. In recent years, taking advantage of new advances in the scientific-technological revolution and in military science, the United States has been promoting the so called "Strategic Defense Initiative"(SDI) to give itself a first strike capability with the aim of destroying the Soviet Union, the bulwark of revolution, peace and social progress in the world. These extremely reactionary schemes and actions of the United States face mankind with the threat of annihilation.

Displaying the complete opposite of the bellicose attitude of the United States and its aggressive arms race policy, the Soviet Union, in word as well as deed, has constantly set an example of steadfast and resolute struggle to safeguard world peace. Since 1955, in the field of nuclear weapons alone, the Soviet Union has, on many different occasions, proposed that all countries which have these types of weapons cease testing and join one another in signing treaties banning all nuclear weapons tests. However, the United States and its allies have not responded to these proposals. In particular, since the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the initiatives of the Soviet Union on banning nuclear weapons have been even more detailed, practical and extensive. In late July 1985, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, announced the decision by the Soviet Union to unilaterally cease all nuclear testing from 6 August 1985 to 1 January 1986 and stated that this decision would continue to remain in effect if the U.S. side made the same decision. On 15 January 1986, Gorbachev, again on behalf of the Soviet leadership committee, proposed a general program on nuclear disarmament extending until the year 2000. Then, on 10 March 1986, 29 March 1986, 14 May 1986 and 18 August 1986, the Soviet Union declared that it was extending its unilateral cessation of nuclear testing. On 11 and 12 October 1986, at the Soviet-U.S. Summit in Reykjavik, Gorbachev made a series of important proposals which, had they been accepted by the U.S. side, could have truly brought about progress on all fronts toward the elimination of the nuclear threat. Through these proposals, the Soviet Union displayed the highest possible good will.

One issue facing us--and those who man the battle lines on the other side--is to correctly understand the significance and essence of the age and the value of the efforts for peace made by the Soviet Union in the current stage of history. Looking back over the past seven decades, progressive mankind sees that the efforts made by the Soviet Union for peace have been part of a consistent strategy originating in the lofty ideals of socialism, part of the nature of socialism.

The efforts being made by the Soviet Union for peace today represent the loyal adherence to and the creative development of the peaceful foreign policy set forth by Lenin in the "Decree on Peace."

Of course, the world is vastly different today than it was seven decades ago. Therefore, carrying on and developing upon the foreign policy advanced by Lenin in an optimum fashion require that we correctly apply the basic meaning and the essence of Lenin's views on safeguarding peace to the state of the world today, taking into full consideration the scale and extent of the destruction caused by war, the comparison of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution, the level of awareness of the laboring masses of all countries, the trend of development of history, etc. From this perspective, there is every basis for us to unequivocally state that the views of Lenin on eliminating war and safeguarding world peace, on the strength of the desire for peace of the world working class and the laboring people of all countries, on the principles of new style international relations, on the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different socio-political systems and so forth were correctly, creatively and appropriately applied by the 27th Congress of the CPSU in the peaceful foreign strategy and tactics aimed at solving the burning issues of our times.

Concerning the issue of war, the first question which arises is: what do the imperialists seek to achieve through war and the arms race? Lenin once stated that, through wars, the imperialist countries, in addition to settling their internal contradictions and disputes, share the common hope of opposing and attacking the Soviet Union, opposing and attacking the world revolution. Lenin's insight is as appropriate today as it was then and remains a scientific basis helping us to understand the depth of the intentions of the U.S. imperialists in the nuclear arms race. Gorbachev exposed these sinister intentions: "Through a race in all types of the most modern and costly space weapons, the U.S. side seeks to cripple the Soviet Union economically. They seek to cause all sorts of difficulties to the leaders of the Soviet Union and undermine plans, including plans in the social field, for improving the life of the Soviet people and, in this way, cause dissatisfaction among the people in their leaders, the leaders of the country. At the same time, the U.S. side seeks to limit each capability of the Soviet Union in its economic relations with the developing countries and, under these circumstances, these countries will be forced to yield to America."(5)

Loyal to the teachings of Lenin concerning the strength of the world's working class and laboring people, the Soviet party and state, in the spirit of sincerity and equality in overseas activities, are making extensive efforts to make each person of every political tendency on each continent increasingly aware of the stark truth of our times, namely, that nuclear weapons pose the danger of unleashing a storm that could sweep mankind from earth. As long as nuclear weapons exist, mankind's existence on this planet will only be temporary. The calamity of total annihilation caused by criminal actions of the war-crazy ringleaders of imperialism hangs over the head of mankind.

Everyone clearly understands what this means, not that we should become discouraged and give up, but that we must act, act in the most alert and determined manner possible. As Gorbachev observed: "...Nothing is given to us: if we want to achieve peace, we must struggle, struggle actively and steadfastly for peace. We must discover and utilize every capability, even the smallest, for stemming the growing danger of war for as long as we can."(6) In this struggle, the strength of peace, reason and good will will

ultimately prevail because the issue of nuclear disarmament touches the life of everyone. The struggle to safeguard world peace is bringing together large forces from all countries. The struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle are two vanguard forces that are strongly attacking and weakening imperialism together.

The policy of peaceful coexistence advanced by Lenin has today become the only path chosen by mankind. When acts of confrontation will inevitably lead to a war of total destruction, a war in which no one is the victor, there is no path for countries of different socio-political systems to take other than the path of cooperation and coordinated actions. It naturally follows, therefore, that in this situation, the only form which the struggle between capitalism and socialism can take is peaceful emulation and peaceful rivalry. This must become one of the elements of the new style international relations. Together with acknowledging the equality of nations and respecting the independence of nations, peaceful emulation and peaceful rivalry between socialism and capitalism to resolve the question of "who triumphs over whom" is the best course for history to take to insure lasting peace in the world.

In these important months and years, the Soviet Union--as confirmed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU--has given itself the responsibility of evaluating, with special accuracy, its capabilities in the struggle to implement its peace strategy: patience and a high spirit of responsibility when making important decisions; resolute defense of principles and flexible tactics; a readiness to reach agreements acceptable to both sides; and a policy of dialogue aimed at increasing mutual understanding and avoiding hostility.

The factors in the nature of policies mentioned above are guiding the foreign affairs activities and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. Together with its proposals concerning nuclear disarmament, the proposals of the Soviet Union regarding peace in Asia-Pacific, the Middle East and so forth also clearly reflect these factors.

The words and actions of the Soviet Union aimed at preserving world peace never mean that the Soviet Union is in a weak position. The strength of the Soviet Union has been tested and confirmed by history over the past seven decades. Today, the Soviet Union is stronger than ever before. Soviet armed forces have been equipped with what they need and are ready to deliver thundering blows to anyone who touches the Soviet fatherland. The strength of the Soviet Union, which is invincible, also lies in the spirit of unity, the activism of the people and in the political dynamism that has grown and spread since the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Soviet Union has a fervent desire for peace and is ready to make concessions when necessary because it is loyal to the Leninist principles of foreign affairs and because it seeks to achieve the lofty ideals of socialism and communism and the happiness of progressive mankind.

To express gratitude for the October Revolution, gratitude to the Soviet Union, each person of conscience in the world must be determined to do what he can to join the Soviet Union in stopping the nuclear arms race in order to

make the world situation wholesome and create a stable, lasting peace so that each laborer on each continent can focus the full measure of his efforts on creative labor.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, pp 184-185.
2. Ibid., Volume 35, p 15.
3. Ibid., p 23.
4. Ibid., p 490.
5. Speech by M.S. Gorbachev on Soviet television concerning the results of the Soviet-U.S. Summit in Reykjavik.
6. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress.

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THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND SOCIETY SINCE THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 44-48

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] Under the light of the resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the strategy for accelerated socio-economic development, 1986 was a year of major changes in the Soviet socio-economic system.

The essence of the strategy for accelerated economic development is a complete shift to intensive development based on making the fullest possible use of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution to develop upon the superior aspects and develop the enormous potentials of socialism.

Changing the structure of production is an important element of the new economic strategy. In industry, the Soviet Union has given priority to the machine manufacturing sector. Within this sector, importance has been attached to developing the production of products that determine scientific-technical advances. In 1986, industry grew by 4.9 percent. This was a rate unprecedented in the 1980's. The machine manufacturing sector grew at a rate 30 percent higher than industry, in general. The production of computers, automated lines, industrial robots and other new technologies increased by 13 to 23 percent.

One of the major factors in the strategy for intensive development is the importance attached to economic efficiency, higher labor productivity, lower labor and material costs and higher product quality. The consumption of energy declined by 1.6 percent of national income, saving 20 million tons of conventional fuel. Increases in social labor productivity accounted for 94 percent of the rise in national income, saving the labor of 3.9 million persons. This is the highest savings ever achieved. The Soviet Union is now working to raise national income solely through increases in labor productivity. In 1987-1988, all enterprises and federations of enterprises will convert to two work shifts. Scarce and expensive equipment will be operated in three shifts, special equipment will be operated in four shifts.

Improving product quality is considered by the CPSU to be a strategic requirement. Each year, the Soviet Union must mobilize one-tenth of its industrial capacity to repair defective products as soon as they leave

production plants. This is a terrible waste. It nullifies the efforts of millions of workers. It paralyzes large material reserves and causes untold waste of money and time. Since 1 January 1987, the products of all basic consumer goods production units and all basic products of the national economy must be inspected by the state after being inspected by the enterprise. These inspections are very strict, even to the point of allowing an enterprise to go bankrupt, in order to maintain quality standards. This measure has truly had the effect of encouraging enterprises to operate in a serious fashion.

Changing the structure of investments is an important part of the new economic strategy. In 1986, the Soviet Union sharply increased its investments in agriculture, investing 58.7 billion rubles, nearly 30 percent of the total capital invested in the entire national economy. As a result, the amount of area under cultivation in 1986 increased by 31.3 million hectares, that is increased by more than one-fourth. This was the largest increase in many decades. The amount of area irrigated has also been significantly expanded. Technical equipment, fertilizer, pesticides and the other types of agricultural materials have been supplied promptly in larger quantities and higher quality.

In conjunction with changing the structure of investments, the Soviet Union has also revamped the agricultural leadership apparatus with a view toward centralizing the leadership of all processes related to agriculture, from the production and processing of agricultural products to the supplying of agricultural materials.

The above measures have produced initial results. In 1986, the Soviet Union harvested 210 million tons of grain, the most in 8 years. The quality of the wheat harvested was higher than ever. The output of meat, vegetables, fruit and potatoes also increased.

Having been accelerated, consumer goods production grew by 6 percent in 1986. The output and quality of durable consumer goods increased. Under the new regulations, not only the light industrial sectors, but all heavy industrial enterprises as well have the task of producing consumer goods. At the same time, heavy industry must provide a timely supply of machinery and raw materials of the quality that meets all standards to light industry.

The Soviet Union now has a new understanding of Lenin's thinking on the "cooperative economy." The thinking of Lenin is reflected in the need to place agriculture and the rural economy in a position consistent with their innate characteristics and establish an economic alliance between the working class and the class of farmers to serve as a bridge for farmers to truly stand shoulder to shoulder with the working class in building the new society. On the other hand, it must be realized that although, under socialism, the socialist economy is dominant, light attention cannot be given to the other segments of the economy, including the private economy and the subsidiary household trades. Rather, full use must be made of each different economic form to develop production forces, which are the most basic factor in stimulating the development of society.

Due to the consequences of World War II, the population growth rate of the Soviet Union has not kept pace with the growth needs of production and the supply of labor has become very tight. To help solve this problem, the Soviet Union has attached full importance to utilizing idle time in society, considering this to be an important measure of long-range significance in increasing the social product and constantly raising the standard of living. The recently promulgated policies aimed at encouraging private labor, the subsidiary household trades and the cooperative economy are exerting a large impact.

Revamping the management mechanism is one of the most pressing requirements of the reform. Until recently, the management mechanism in the Soviet Union was still highly centralized. This was an outmoded mechanism that dated back to the 1930's. Under it, a bureaucratic, cumbersome and very ineffective apparatus came into being. This apparatus thwarted activism on the part of the laborer, thwarted the display of initiative and creativity by basic units, held back technical advances, impeded changes in production and led to stagnation in the Soviet socio-economic system.

In January 1987, the Soviet Union implemented the new management mechanism throughout the economy. The backbone of the new mechanism is the granting of independence to basic units, the fundamental features of which are: first, making more effective use of the principle of centralism in management and planning, practicing democratic centralism and opposing bureaucratic centralism; secondly, making correct use of the relationship between goods and money, attaching importance to the law of value, considering it to be an important economic lever, providing management primarily by means of economic methods and abandoning bureaucratic, administrative methods and the use of orders; and thirdly, implementing enterprise self-management and encouraging the initiative of the masses to the maximum degree possible.

On the basis of the new understanding described above, the Soviet Union has decided to develop the State Planning Commission into a center formulating long-range strategy on the basis of science and reality, thus removing it from day to day operations, from intervention in the production and business work of basic units. Plan norms have been replaced by orders for goods from the state.

In 1986, the Soviet Union began implementing full economic accounting on a pilot project basis with the aim of granting independence to enterprises. Under this mechanism, the enterprise must pay for its costs from its own revenues, is responsible for its losses or profits and recovers its capital on its own. Enterprises have begun to truly utilize their autonomy, formulating production plans, making very economical use of each source of capital, reducing their production costs, raising their productivity and maintaining product quality with a view toward reclaiming their capital and earning a profit. The standard of living of the laborer depends upon these profits.

This new mechanism has brought about enormous changes within enterprises. Operating on the basis of efficiency with importance attached to productivity and quality has taken the place of only emphasizing output and only being concerned with completing the plan in a "form for form's sake" fashion. A

positive attitude, the attitude of being a master and a high sense of responsibility in labor have begun to make inroads against laziness, the habit of relying upon others and stagnation.

In 1987, the new mechanism will be implemented throughout the industrial sector and within a number of enterprises in the other sectors. The agricultural sector will also begin to implement full economic accounting. The state farms and communes are permitted to sell their agricultural products on the market after meeting the procurement plan of the state. Procurement norms will be stabilized over a 5-year period.

Within the industrial, building and agricultural sectors, collective contracts have been put into widespread use. Within agriculture, contracts with families and individual laborers have also been instituted.

One important element of the new mechanism is the development of self-management within enterprises, which makes it possible for every laborer to truly be the master in productive labor. Conferences of worker collectives have the authority to decide numerous matters in the field of production, personnel affairs and social affairs within the enterprise. Deserving of attention is that this self-management includes the election of enterprise, shop, office, section, state farm and commune leadership cadres and the election of unit chiefs and supervisors. At the same time, testing has been expanded with the aim of selecting and assigning good leadership cadres and specialists.

Experience has shown that the election of production leadership cadres does not undermine the "one-person-in-charge" system. To the contrary, it strengthens this system and heightens the prestige and responsibility of the person in charge. The organic combination of the "one-person-in-charge" system and with participation by the collective of laborers in the form of opinions concerning the most important problems deepens and develops upon the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of management in accordance with the plan and on the basis of the collective.

The revamping of the foreign trade mechanism is a new feature of the Soviet economy. This revamping stems from a new perception of international security and cooperation within the context of peaceful coexistence based on a balance of strategic forces. In contrast to previous years, the general character of the world today demands a common security system for each side, not a security system for each side, for each country. This will give rise to mutual dependency among countries. In turn, this will demand cooperation, a basic prerequisite to the maintenance of common security. Moreover, the world economy is undergoing very large changes. First, the scientific-technological revolution has made it possible to take leaps forward in labor productivity. Secondly, the world economy is being highly and widely internationalized and now encompasses the two different socio-economic systems.

The facts presented above do not permit any country to place itself outside the scope of cooperation. This is cooperation in many fields, not simply trade relations. Of course, this cooperation does not preclude struggle and emulation between the two systems.

Accelerating the development of the overseas economy is also an objective requirement of a strategic nature of the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union has decided to permit 20 sectors and 70 enterprises to establish direct relations with the world market. The guidelines for developing the overseas economy are to increase the cooperation within the world socialist community while intensifying relations with the capitalist countries and international economic organizations in many ways, including joint businesses.

The requirements of the new foreign trade mechanism are to make Soviet goods more competitive on the international market and insure that the Soviet economy is independent of the Western super powers, primarily the United States.

The Soviet Union has closely linked economic tasks and social tasks, considering the social field and the human factor to be the backbone and the highest goals of its socio-economic strategy. The year 1986 marked an important stride forward in improving the welfare of the Soviet people. In 1986, more than 2 million apartments with all available conveniences were built and more than 10 million persons moved into new homes. The Soviet Union's target is to provide each family with an apartment of its own by the year 2000. There was a larger supply of cloth and clothing. More automobiles, furniture, television sets, refrigerators and other durable goods were sold and their quality was better. Noticeable progress was made in supplying meat, milk, vegetables and fruit.

The income of the laborer rose. The average monthly wage of the manual workers and civil servants in the various sectors of the economy was 195 rubles compared to 190 rubles in 1985 and 159 rubles for commune members compared to 153 rubles. The plan to increase real national income per capita by 2.5 percent was achieved. The salaries of public health and education cadres and personnel were raised.

In early 1987, steps began to be taken to improve the wage system along lines that directly tie the income of each person to the final results of labor. This is an important change. It counters the "equalization" view in distribution, which is a tendency that is quite prevalent in Soviet society today. This tendency has had a negative influence upon diligent, highly skilled laborers and resulted in lazy persons who rely upon others being tolerated and treated with consideration.

The Soviet Union considers social fairness to be an important aspect of distribution in accordance with labor under socialism. Moreover, social fairness is the basis of political and ideological stability in society, is an important prerequisite to maintaining and developing the dynamism and creativity of the laborer and stimulating the development of society, is the guarantee of unity and solidarity within society and among nationalities. Wherever social fairness is lacking, stability is lacking as well, there is no unity of thought and action and negative phenomena develop. The year 1986 marked an important stride forward in the attack on social injustices. Many measures were taken to stop persons who live on income from sources other than labor, persons who earn their livings dishonestly, black marketeers, manipulators, persons who are corrupt and persons who steal public property.

The experience of the Soviet Union has shown that the party cannot give light attention to the mood of society. To revamp the socio-economic system, it is first necessary to bring about changes in the field of spirit and consciousness. Therefore, of special importance among the many changes being made is changing the way of thinking of tens of millions of laborers. Practically all the Soviet people support the policy of reform and change. Everyone wants to accelerate socio-economic development and move ahead to a powerful economy and a society that is prosperous and "more socialist and more democratic," one which guarantees a high standard of living and happiness for everyone. At many basic production units, the work atmosphere is as spirited as a festival of the masses. The attitude of being a master, the spirit of responsibility and the sense of organization and discipline have been restored and heightened.

The ethical face of society has been improved. The number of divorces has declined. Drunkenness has declined sharply. The incidence of heart disease is lower. There are many fewer traffic accidents. The lives of many families have again become happy and tranquil.

The realities of life have given the CPSU a deeper appreciation of Lenin's view that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. The CPSU maintains that weaknesses on the theoretical front have adversely affected efforts to solve specific problems for decades.

In previous years, the majority of the theoretical concepts concerning socialism stopped at the level of development reached in the late 1930's and early 1940's. Shallow concepts of communism, different views of communism and abstract ideas were widespread. In practical terms, the forms of organization of society had become immutable. The social structure of socialism was described as being free of contradictions and free of the dynamism of the different interests of the various social strata and groups. Lenin's arguments on the key issues of socialism, such as ownership by society, class relations, the relations among nationalities, the relationship between what a person contributes (labor) and what a person receives (consumption), cooperativization, the methods of economic work, the people's administration and self management, the struggle against corruption and bureaucracy, socialist ideology's function of bringing about revolutionary transformation, the principles of training and education, insuring the wholesome development of the party and society and so forth were explained in a simplistic fashion lacking theoretical depth and were sometimes even distorted.

The CPSU now stresses the need to overcome stagnation, dogmatism and opportunism in ideological and theoretical work, to adopt new theoretical thinking as the premise to the adoption of a new way of thinking and working in the socio-economic field. For more than a year, very intense theoretical activities have been under way, the aims being to closely tie theory to the living realities of the reform and find answers to the burning questions of life.

The reform now being carried out in the Soviet Union is a true revolution in all fields of social life, it is a great and unprecedented undertaking. It has opened fine prospects for socialism, not only in the Soviet Union, but

throughout the world as well. The positive results that have been achieved by the Soviet Union in the past year are eloquent proof of this.

7809

CSO: 4210/9

WHEN DID OUR PARTY BEGIN TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF LENIN?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 49-52

[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] As we know, before our party was founded, Uncle Ho had already written extensively on Lenin. Immediately after Lenin's death, Uncle Ho wrote articles that were carried in Soviet newspapers praising the cause and the ethics of Lenin. In the many years that followed, Uncle Ho wrote numerous articles introducing our people to the life, work, thinking and ethics of Lenin. But when did our party begin to officially honor the memory of Lenin? There are still many persons who are unclear of this and would like to know.

According to our research, it can be said that our party began to officially honor the memory of Lenin in January 1931.

Why was Lenin's memory honored in January?

Today, we honor Lenin's memory in April. Because, our party, as is the case with the other fraternal parties, now commemorates the anniversary of Lenin's birth (22 April 1870).

Years ago, our party, as did the other fraternal parties, commemorated the anniversary of Lenin's death (21 January 1924).

Because our party was born on 3 February 1930, it could not commemorate the 6th anniversary of Lenin's death because that date, 21 January, had already passed. The party therefore had to wait until early 1931 to commemorate the 7th anniversary of Lenin's death. That is, it was not until 21 January 1931 that the first commemoration of the memory of Lenin was held in our country.

Our party was a chapter of the Communist International. It complied with each decision of the Communist International. At that time, the Communist International had decided to annually observe two "Red Weeks" from 8 to 21 January to honor the memory of the three leaders, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, who were referred to as the three L's.

In keeping with this decision, our Party Central Committee established the third week of January 1931 as "Red Week" and chose 21 January 1931 as the date

for formally honoring their memory. On that day, our party primarily honored the memory of Lenin. At the same time, it honored the memories of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and "all our militants who were ruthlessly terrorized and killed on the front"(PROLETARIAN BANNER Newspaper).

Our party appealed to the masses to arise in struggle against the ruthless terror, against the collection of taxes, against landowners, against the imperialists and demand higher wages, shorter working hours, lower cropland rents, etc.

In an article entitled "Honoring the Memory of the Three L's," which was carried in issue number 1 of PROLETARIAN BANNER Newspaper, the organ of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party, published on Thursday, 1 January 1931, it stated:

"The third week in January is set aside to honor the memory of the three revolutionary leaders of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world. These three persons are Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Because the names of these three persons begin with the letter L, this commemoration is commonly called honoring the memory of the three L's...

The day on which the revolution honors the memories of these three persons (21 January) is a day of revolutionary struggle by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world.

Proletarians and laboring masses of Indochina! On that day, our brothers and sisters must arise in memory of the honor of the three L's and all our militants who were ruthlessly terrorized and killed on the front.

Arise and struggle hard in the example of Red Nghe An! Arise in resistance against the ruthless terror, against the collection of taxes, against landlords, against imperialism and demand higher wages, shorter working hours, lower cropland rents and so forth. Brandish the banner of Lenin and march on. Long live Leninism!"

On that occasion, our party issued an appeal. PROLETARIAN BANNER Newspaper, "the organ of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party," issued a special edition to provide materials to members of the party for propaganda purposes during "three L's week."

"In formal print on the first page of the "special issue on the honoring of the memory of the three L's" of PROLETARIAN BANNER Newspaper was the "Appeal of the Indochinese Communist Party." In the middle of the first page and printed within the outline of a diamond were portraits of the three communist militants (Lenin in the middle, Karl Liebknecht on the left and Rosa Luxemburg on the right). This special issue of PROLETARIAN BANNER Newspaper also carried the following articles:

- "Honoring the Memory of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg."
- "The Soviet Union, a Grand Project of Lenin."
- "Lenin and the Oppressed Peoples."
- "Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, Their Opposition to Imperialism and War."

This was the first time that our party's press presented such a meaningful introduction of Lenin to the readers of our country.

In keeping with a directive from the Central Committee, the various local party organizations observed "Red Week" and honored the memory of Lenin. LIBERATION Newspaper, in issue number 6 published on 21 January 1931, carried an article entitled "The Week To Honor the Memories of Lenin, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg" and appealed to the masses to participate in the observance of this week, from 15 to 21 January.

Some localities organized the distribution of leaflets to commemorate this occasion. I read and made a copy of one of these leaflets. The complete text is as follows:

"Brothers and sisters!

The 24th of January 1924 is the anniversary of Lenin's death. All laborers of the world will celebrate the 7th anniversary of his death because Lenin led the proletariat of the entire world in worldwide revolution to achieve a society of Equality, Fraternity and Liberty, that is, a revolution to topple Capitalism and Imperialism and liberate all Proletarian and small and weak nations.

Thus, all of us must demonstrate and stage class boycotts and strikes to struggle for our rights.

The Vietnam Communist Party"

According to a report by a French police inspector to his superiors, this leaflet was pasted up during the night of 25 January 1931. It was written by local party cadres but signed "The Vietnam Communist Party"(that is, in the name of the Party Central Committee) to preserve their anonymity. The contents of the leaflet reflected the limited political knowledge of its authors. For example, it stated that Lenin died on 24 January when he actually died on 21 January. It stated that the goal of the world revolution was to establish a society of equality, fraternity and liberty, etc. Due to communication and liaison difficulties, the local party organization had not been fully informed: in October 1930, the party changed its name to the Indochinese Communist Party yet, in January 1931, this leaflet was still signed "the Vietnam Communist Party."

I have also read a number of other leaflets honoring the memory of Lenin or the memories of the three L's on file in the Documents Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee. Allow me to mention a few of these leaflets:

--A leaflet signed by the Annam Regional Party Committee dated 10 January 1932 honoring the memory of the three L's.

--A leaflet signed by the Indochinese Communist Party dated January 1933 appealing to "all the masses" to honor the memory of Lenin.

--A leaflet signed by the Indochinese Communist Party distributed on 21 January 1935 which commemorated the anniversary of Lenin's death.

Many party newspapers published prior to the August Revolution carried articles honoring the memory of Lenin or the memories of the three L's. Below are some of those papers:

--PRISON JOURNAL, the organ of the political prisoners at Hoa Lo Prison in Hanoi, issue number 2 dated 11 January 1932, which carried an article entitled "What Must Political Prisoners Do To Honor the Memories of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg?"

--PRISON JOURNAL, issue number 3 dated 18 January 1932, which carried an article entitled "The Week Honoring the Memories of the Three L's."

--THE PEASANT, the propaganda organ of the local western Cochin China Executive Committee, issue number 29 dated 30 December 1934, which carried an article entitled "History and the Honoring of the Memories of the Three L's."

--COMMUNIST REVIEW, the organ of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party (actually the organ of the Southeastern Regional Joint Executive Committee), number 10 dated 15 January 1934, which carried an article entitled "Bolshevik and Menshevik."

--LIBERATION, the organ of the Vam Co Dong Special Party Committee, issue number 3 dated 13 January 1934, which carried an article entitled "The Week Honoring the Memory of the Three L's."

--LIBERATION, the organ of the Eastern Cochin China Executive Committee, issue number 6 dated 8 February 1934, which carried an article entitled "Honoring the Memory of the Three L's."

--PROLETARIAN BANNER, the organ of the Southern Indochina Joint Party Organization, a special issue dated 21 January 1935, which carried the following articles:

--"The Laboring Masses of Indochina and the Three L's."

--"Lenin and the Bolshevik Party."

--"Lenin and the Communist International."

--"The Initiatives of Lenin:

a) The Signing of the Treaty of Brest.

b) The New Economic Policy."

--"Liebknecht, Luxemburg and the Imperialist War."

--THE POOR, the organ of the Vam Co Dong Special Party Committee, issue number 4 dated 20 February 1935, which carried an article entitled "Honoring the Memory of the Three L's."

--THE MASSES, the organ of the laborers and masses of Indochina (actually the organ of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party), issue number 45 dated 17 January 1939, which carried an article entitled "Honoring the Memory of L.L.L."

--OUR TIMES, the lawful organ of the Annam Regional Party Committee, issue number 8 dated 19 January 1939, which carried an article entitled "Honoring the Memory of the Three Proletarian Militants L.L.L.."

Below, I would like to present the appeal issued by the Party Central Committee on the occasion of the commemoration of the 7th anniversary of Lenin's death, which was printed in PROLETARIAN BANNER Newspaper, the organ of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party, on 21 January 1931.

Appeal of the Indochinese Communist Party

Workers, peasants, soldiers and all laboring masses in Indochina!

The 21st of January is the anniversary of the death of Lenin, the leader of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world. On that day, the proletariat also honors the memories of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, two bolshevik leaders during the time of the European War (1914-1918) who called for the German proletariat to arise and topple the capitalist system and support the October Revolution in Russia and who were murdered by the German capitalists.

This year, this anniversary comes at a time when capitalism has been severely shaken throughout the world and the revolutionary movement in the colonies is ablaze with intense spirit. The imperialists of the entire world are making extensive efforts to prepare for war, competing with one another to build ships and make weapons, holding maneuvers and recruiting troops to attack one another and, most importantly, to attack the Soviet Union, the organization of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world. Moreover, imperialism has aligned itself with counter-revolutionaries within the Union and is funding their efforts to undermine the socio-economic system.

The imperialist war for which preparations have now been made will occur.

In Indochina, the French imperialists have secretly aligned themselves with the feudalists of Siam, with the British and Dutch imperialists and established a counter-revolutionary alliance to crush the revolutionary movement in the Far East. Bat-ki-e, Ro-banh, Lo-phon, Co-ro-te-me [Vietnamese phonetics] and others are making every effort to wipe out the Indochinese Communist Party (that is, the renamed Vietnam Communist Party) because the Indochinese Communist Party is leading the mass of workers and peasants in a struggle to topple imperialism. The French imperialists are also massacring workers and peasants, cutting their throats, bombing and burning their villages and shooting people to death. In Co Am, Vinh Bao, Nam Dan and Thanh Chuong, the ashes are still hot. In Cao Lanh, Duc Hoa, Can Loc and Duc Tho, the blood is still fresh. Thus, still not satisfied, the imperialists are building up their legionnaire forces and recruiting additional secret service agents to prepare for yet another horrible massacre.

As the mass of workers and peasants have been struggling very bravely and the revolutionary movement has continued to spread, the French imperialists have unleashed the Reformists, their running dogs, to slander the Soviet Union and attack communism. They are also using lies about establishing a "Reform

Council," a "Reconciliation Council" representing labor and capital to deceive workers and peasants, are using tricks to make persons "yield," are forcing peasants to yield at gun point and then declaring that they surrendered (Thanh Chuong, Cao Lanh). The objectives of these policies are nothing more than to force the mass of workers and peasants to give up the struggle.

This is the situation as we honor the memory of Lenin! We know that to honor Lenin's memory, we must rapidly advance Leninism to victory.

Brothers and sisters! Comrades!

The 21st of January is also a day of revolutionary struggle for us. Unite your forces under the banner of the Indochinese Communist Party and struggle to the end!

Down with French imperialism, down with the feudalists, landlords and village officials!

Down with the Reformists and Constitutionals, down with the Reform Council and the Reconciliation Council, the lackeys of the French government!

Replace imperialist war with revolutionary war and topple imperialism!

Down with the saboteurs of the Soviet economy! Defend the Soviet Union!

Down with the ruthless terror!

All land to the tiller!

Higher wages, an 8-hour work day, social insurance! Long live the Indochinese revolution!

Long live the Indochinese Communist Party!

Long live the world revolution!

Long live the Communist International!

The Central Committee of the

Indochinese Communist Party

7809

CSO: 4210/9

PERFORMING GOOD LOCAL MILITARY WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese, No 4, Apr 87 pp 53-57, 68

[Article by Lieutenant General Dang Kinh]

[Text] Local military work is an important part of the overall military work of the party. It has occupied a strategic position in the revolutionary struggle, in the war of liberation of past years and even in the war to defend the fatherland today.

In the present stage, the specifics and requirements of local military work are new compared to the period of the war to liberate the fatherland. Among these, the foremost requirement is to competently support the performance of the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland.

In our country today, the enemy continues to look for ways to harass us, to invade and occupy land of ours in a vain attempt to weaken and annex our country. Constantly displaying high vigilance, not relaxing our efforts to strengthen the national defense system for one moment, maintaining combat readiness and fighting well are still constant requirements. Closely tied to this task is the pressing task of our entire party and all our people: making extraordinary efforts to overcome difficulties and shortcomings, develop the economy, stabilize the standard of living, improve our country's socio-economic situation and create the conditions for solid development in future years. Therefore, local military work must meet the high requirements involved in the task of defending the fatherland and also make positive contributions to meeting the pressing requirements involved in the task of building the economy. This will help to establish a good relationship between the economy and national defense, between national defense and the economy within each locality, create a strong position and strong forces for the locality in every field and, on this basis, create a solid and strong position and forces for the entire country.

The building of a national defense system of all the people, the building of a solid and strong strategic rear area, the improvement of the overall quality of the People's Armed Forces and preparations for a war to defend the

fatherland in the form of a local people's war and a war fought by the main force military corps depend, to an important degree, upon the results of local military work.

The constant and long-range task in local military work is to build and strengthen the national defense system on the local level, build the battlefield position of the local people's war, thereby helping to build the locality, build a prosperous and strong country and make preparations in every field for waging a successful people's war should the enemy unleash a war of aggression in the locality or nationwide. However, in the period ahead, we must focus our efforts on performing the following several major jobs well:

1. Building Military Potentials and a Battlefield Position from Which We Can Take the Initiative

One major characteristic of our military work is that because our country is narrow and stretches over rough terrain, it is difficult for the army to achieve mobility in combat and units can be easily cut off. To win victory over the enemy, we must have local forces that are strong enough to win victory over the enemy as soon as they arrive. On the other hand, we must prepare the locality, prepare the country well in a planned manner and achieve an enormous combined strength so that we can defeat a war of aggression of the enemy should they unleash one. Our party has adopted the policy of building a strong and solid national defense system of all the people in all localities. This national defense system of all the people is manifested in military potentials in terms of forces, combat material and technical means, the preparation of the people to participate in combat and close coordination with local armed forces. Military potentials are part of the overall potentials of the locality and especially must be closely tied to economic and political potentials. However, these potentials must be deployed in a very effective battlefield deployment so that we can take the initiative and achieve a combined strength when war breaks out.

Building a battlefield position from which we can take the initiative is an important factor in winning victory, in forcing the enemy to fight by our methods, thus turning their strengths into weaknesses. Conversely, if our battlefield position is such that we can take the initiative, we can convert our weaknesses into strengths and fully utilize our strengths.

Building a battlefield deployment from which we can take the initiative in the local people's war means building a battlefield deployment from which all the people can take the initiative in fighting the enemy, with local armed forces serving as the nucleus. This battlefield deployment consists of combat villages, enterprises, worksites and state farms and the interconnected combat clusters within the district military fortress, which are closely tied to the defense zones of troop units, thereby establishing widespread yet selective battlefield positions in order to firmly defend the locality and attack the enemy promptly and strongly in each situation.

In the building of this battlefield deployment, it is necessary to closely combine the economy and national defense in the specific planning and plans of each locality, with importance attached to building strategic economic and

national defense zones. Especially in the northern border provinces, local military work must be closely combined with other work so that we are fully capable of building a battlefield deployment that is truly strong and solid in every respect. In the northern border provinces, local military work must employ flexible forms and measures that are closely tied to the day to day fight against enemy encroachment and sabotage, to the political and economic activities of the locality and which yield increasingly high returns and help to strengthen the locality's battlefield deployment and tightly tie it to other places. One very important requirement of local military work in the building of a battlefield deployment is to build the local rear base on the basis of developing the local economy and adopting a plan for mobilizing the economy to support combat operations when necessary. Within each locality and nationwide, plans must be adopted for building economic zones, redistributing labor, establishing new population centers, combining the economy with national defense well and preparing a favorable position and conditions for conducting a local people's war and closely coordinating it with the large-scale combined military operations of the main force military corps within the different forms of warfare that take place within the locality.

The support of the people is a very large source of strength of the battlefield deployment of the people's war, is the solid socio-political base of the national defense system of all the people. To achieve this strength, in conjunction with conducting good ideological and organizational work and building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect, each locality needs to adopt and implement practical plans for achieving economic and cultural development and must truly concern itself with improving the standard of living so that the people are hopeful and confident in the new life, eagerly work to build the economy and strengthen the national defense and security systems and take positive steps to prepare to make contributions to the local people's war.

2. Insuring That the Local Armed Forces Have All the Conditions Needed To Maintain Combat Readiness and Fight Well

The local armed forces, which consist of the militia, self-defense forces and local troops, are the nucleus of the people in the fight against the enemy within the locality, are an element of our people's armed forces. In the new situation, local armed forces must be improved and upgraded in many fields with the aim of meeting the demand of a war to defend the fatherland, of the tasks of defending the locality and developing the economy.

Militia and self-defense forces still occupy an important strategic position in the new situation. One point that must be made is in order to continue to build upon their roles as an effective tool of the proletarian dictatorship, as the nucleus of the people in the fight against the enemy on the basic level, as the shock force in production and as a large pool of manpower for main force units, militia and self-defense forces must not be satisfied with the experience gained in previous years and must set for themselves training requirements that are high and consistent with local conditions. On the other hand, they must receive guidance from the various party committee echelons and concrete assistance from the various levels of administration and the different sectors and mass organizations to create the conditions for them to

conduct activities on a regular basis. Most importantly, a very good plan must be adopted for building and strengthening militia and self-defense forces in terms of their size, quality and scale of organization, which must be consistent with new requirements. Militia and self-defense forces must be widely developed and closely tied to the production organization and administration organization within each area. There must be a militia or self-defense organization wherever there are people. There must be a force protecting production wherever production is being carried out. Large forces are needed to have forces, to have a movement. More important, however, is the need for high quality, for a new and strong movement, with special attention given to political qualities, particularly in border and other strategically important areas. Political awareness and dependability are the foremost factors of political quality, in particular, and quality, in general. Militia and self-defense forces must consist of mobile and stationary combat forces and specialized sectors, such as reconnaissance, special operation, engineer and signal sections, a section tasked with attacking communication lines... The scale of these organizations must be compatible with the specific conditions at each place, with the leadership and command capabilities of basic level cadres and efforts should be made to avoid ostentatiousness or establishing organizations that are too large.

The self-defense forces at agencies, enterprises, state farms and worksites must be strengthened and the quality of their activities must be improved so that these forces can meet new warfare requirements and produce and work within different economic-administrative organizations in a situation in which many difficulties are still being experienced. Political quality, scientific and technical knowledge, the sense of organization and discipline and the industrial lifestyle of the working class, of state cadres and personnel are basic factors in and the first prerequisites to increasing the fighting strength of self-defense forces.

In conjunction with organizational work, education and combat training, importance must be attached to improving weapons and equipment to suit the conditions and task at each place and under the guidance of the upper level. This is also a very important matter in light of the new circumstances under which militia and self-defense forces fight.

Local troops, the mobile combat force, the "powerful fist" of the locality, serve a combat function and join the militia and self-defense forces in serving as the nucleus of the fight waged by all the people against the enemy within the locality. They guide militia and self-defense forces in combat, participate in building the political base and help to build and develop the economy and carry out cultural development within the locality. Experience has shown that militia and self-defense forces are only strong in those localities where local troops are strong. Local troops must be utilized in exact accordance with their function, be well trained and be properly equipped so that they can fight independently, guide militia and self-defense forces in combat and coordinate in combat operations of different sizes with main force troops. The development and scale of organization of local troops depend upon specific conditions and the requirements faced in strengthening national defense and developing the economy within each locality and must comply with the guidance received from the upper level.

3. Doing a Good Job of Inducting Youths and Building Powerful Reserve Forces

The annual induction of youths in accordance with the Military Service Law is a routine task, but one of importance in many fields, of local military work. In the performance of this task, the localities have gained considerable experience and established good practices in both ideological work and organizational work. However, in the face of the need to build a highly trained, modern, regular people's army that possesses high fighting strength and in view of the fact that the socio-economic situation is still marked by difficulties and negative phenomena, it will not be easy to meet numerical quotas, qualitative standards or deadlines in the annual induction of youths if appropriate attention is not given to this work. What needs to be stressed here is that meeting qualitative standards is a matter of immediate and long-range importance to youths and the people as well, a matter of avoiding waste and negative phenomena. Many localities have been performing good educational work, strictly complying with the Military Service Law and implementing army rear area policies well. As a result, they have given youths who are eligible for induction and their families a sense of assurance and enthusiasm with regard to fulfilling their obligation. Persons who do not strictly comply with the Military Service Law, who evade military service or desert must be promptly educated and dealt with in an appropriate manner. Experience has shown that the failure to properly handle the problem of youths who desert exerts many adverse influences upon the locality and society. The locality and the army must closely coordinate and take many measures to conduct good ideological and organizational work and implement army rear area policies well in all three stages: before, during and after youths fulfill their military obligation so that they truly want to join and serve in the army and do not worry about what is happening in the rear, about their future after they complete their service in the army.

Building powerful, ready reserves of the necessary size is a large, complex and new task in local military work. In view of the new requirements of a war to defend the fatherland, of large-scale, modern warfare, powerful reserve forces occupy an important strategic position. We must adopt effective plans and build, the sooner the better, reserve forces so that we can, when necessary, mobilize, as quickly and promptly as possible, forces of sufficient strength and high quality, forces which include the right specialized components and mobilize these forces in secrecy and security in order to meet both the need to expand main force units and local units and the need to maintain and develop the local people's war while still providing the forces needed to maintain and develop the local economy.

In this work, the localities have gradually begun to manage, organize, train and hold mobilization exercises for reserve forces on different scales of organization and in different situations. Many localities have gained initial experience and gradually put the work of building and managing reserve forces and conducting mobilization exercise in accordance with combat requirements on a regular basis. In conjunction with managing and mobilizing reserve forces, many localities have adopted plans for coordinating with the concerned sectors to keep abreast of the situation and be prepared to mobilize the

national economy to support combat when war breaks out. Of importance is the need for these plans to be plans that are regularly maintained and highly realistic.

This work is still new and there are still many difficulties and complex problems. Both the upper levels and the lower levels are working and gaining experience at the same time.

4. Implementing the Army Rear Area Policies Well

Our party and state have adopted policies encouraging and treating with special attention, both materially and spiritually, families of war dead, war invalids, families who have served the revolution and families of troops. The localities consider implementing the policies of the party and state concerning the army's rear area well to not only be an important task in local military work, but also their political responsibility and a sacred sentiment.

In the new situation that exists today, the correct and creative implementation of army rear area policies plays an important role in both socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland. In this task, we must properly apply the guidelines "the central level and the locality working together, the state and the people working together." However, we must clearly define the responsibility and obligation of each related level, sector and agency. At the same time, contributions by the public must be mobilized. On the one hand, current policies must be fully implemented. On the other hand, we must promptly adjust and amend policies to be consistent with the new situation. Appropriate attention must be given to army components that are directly participating in the fight to defend the border and performing our international task. Detailed measures and special policies must be adopted for each type component. We should not simplistically think that the implementation of the army's rear area policies is solely a matter of expressing our love and respect for military personnel, war invalids, war dead and their families. Many localities and basic units, as a result of correctly understanding policies and realizing their responsibility, have taken the initiative and adopted regulations designed to launch movements among all the people to care for the children of war dead, build homes for parents of war dead who are encountering difficulties in their everyday lives and assist families of war invalids and troops when natural disasters strike, crops fail or difficulties are encountered. Some localities have successfully implemented policies that have given priority in terms of jobs, acceptance into trade schools and employment at agencies, state-operated enterprises and basic collective production units to persons who have fulfilled their military obligation and returned to the locality. Some provinces, such as Tien Giang, Thai Binh and Ha Bac, have given special attention in their planning of the training of cadres to persons who possess all the necessary personal qualities and skills and have also recorded achievements in combat or in their work while in the army.

Performing local military work is not only the task of local military agencies, but is also the work of the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces under the leadership of the various party committee echelons and the guidance of the local administrations. To meet the requirements of the

new period, the local military agencies on the various levels must be strengthened to include persons who are experienced in combat, are knowledgeable of modern military science and technology and have knowledge of production science-technology and the science of economic management so that they can serve as the staff of the party committee. Cadres of the economic and social sectors must also possess the necessary knowledge of military affairs. At party schools and economic management schools on the local level, a portion of the military program (to include the military line and military science and art) suited to the students being trained and the length of training should be taught. The various party committee echelons must establish clearly defined inspection policies, hear reports on the situation surrounding the performance of local military tasks, provide close guidance and assign persons to observe local military work and promptly resolve the difficulties encountered in it. These are the requirements of foremost importance in insuring the completion of the tasks involved in local military work.

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THE CULTURAL LINE OF THE PARTY AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS RECORDED IN PRACTICE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 58-63

[Review by Le Xuan Vu of Truong Chinh's book "Culture and Art--Volume II" published by Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986]

[Text] "Culture and Art--Volume II" by Truong Chinh, which consists of 19 articles and speeches on culture and art from 1961 to 1984, was recently published. Whereas "Culture and Art--Volume I" raised and addressed matters related to building the people's national, democratic culture, "Culture and Art--Volume II" focuses on matters related to building socialist culture. The two are closely related: the people's national, democratic culture is a stage of transition to socialist culture and socialist culture is the inevitable development of the people's national, democratic culture. Utilizing the same theoretical style employed in Volume I--both general and specific and drawing from practice to guide practice from the perspective of a Marxist strategist--he presents both the ideological and social aspects of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country, describing them concisely and with insight."(1)

Focusing on matters related to building Vietnam's socialist culture, "Culture and Art--Volume II" encompasses many broad fields, not only ideology, theory, culture, literature-art, the press and publishing, but also science, education, ethics, etc. In many fields, in addition to general articles and speeches, there are also articles and speeches that delve deeply into each specialized sector.

With this full concept of socialist culture and all its component parts, Truong Chinh raises and answers questions concerning culture against a new background: the transition to socialism.

First, there is the matter of clearly understanding the new situation and tasks that arose when the revolution entered the new stage. The socialist revolution is something entirely new to us. In the new stage of the revolution, our party must solve many difficult and complex problems. We must have a correct understanding of socialism, of socialist construction in our country and avoid dogmatism and empiricism. Truong Chinh provides guidance concerning everything from the "two goods" emulation movement within the education sector to the improvement of studies and theoretical research at

party schools and scientific agencies. Concerning the press, his advice is: "The obligation of the journalist is to give the masses a clear and correct understanding of scientific socialism, of socialist construction..."(p 41). In the period of transition to socialism, our press "must begin talking much more about the economy," "must devote much more effort to discussing the economy and no longer employ empty, purely political appeals and agitation"(pp 36-37). Knowledge of the economy, of science and technology "is not only necessary for comrades who perform economic work or are directly in charge of production units," but "is necessary for all leadership cadres of all levels and sectors, including the cultural sector, the education sector, the public health sector and so forth"(p 19). Because, "on the basis of the scientific-technological revolution, a revolution will occur in the style of thinking, the style of work, the everyday habits, the attitudes, the customs and the way of life of each individual, each collective and all society"(p 413).

Reminding us of Uncle Ho's teaching that "to build socialism, we must first have socialists," Truong Chinh points out that "the most glorious task of our literature and art today is to actively contribute to educating and training the new, socialist man in our country," new persons who "live and work for the fatherland, for socialism, for the ideals of communism"(pp 91-92). Demanding that cultural circles in the North support both strategic tasks, Truong Chinh criticizes a newspaper for "forgetting to support socialism"(p 219) and an art sector for "giving light attention to the task of building socialism"(p 227). Propagandizing socialist construction might entail difficulties at first from the standpoint of perceiving the new. However, as Truong Chinh says, "the questions are: "Are we willing to take a look at the new and do we know how to look at the new? Do we love socialism or not? Do we love the common laborer or not?"(p 219) The power of literature and art always stems from being close to the life of society. Our literature and art not only reflect the realities of society, but must also help to transform society. "The subjective perceptions of man usually lag behind objective reality. However, I think that the remaining 'gap' must be narrowed"(p 79) if we hope to fulfill the educational function of literature and art in the period of transition to socialism.

In "Culture and Art--Volume II," Truong Chinh, on the basis of the requirements arising from the fact that the revolution has entered a new stage, continues to shed light on and develop upon matters of theory in the fields of culture and literature-art, matters that are either new or are familiar but now raised against the background of a situation that is new. It is also on the basis of the requirements arising from the fact that the revolution has entered a new stage that Truong Chinh defines in this work the position, role, task and direction of development of many fields of culture and literature-art, such as the press, publishing, printing, cinematography, the scientific sectors, etc. We are provided with very valuable opinions, with very correct and clear instructions.

For example, concerning literary and art criticism, "which is more important, praise or criticism? In my opinion...it is better to praise than criticize...the extent of praise depends upon the literary or artistic work... We should not, however, give critics the primary task of praising and commending works because such will lead us into idealism, subjectivism or

modern revisionism" (p 201). Concerning the scientific-technological revolution: "The scientific-technological revolution must make agriculture the focus of its support"(p 417). The social sciences must "help us to perceive and discover laws, help us to reach good conclusions concerning the lines and policies of the party"(p 334). Concerning creativity in the sciences, Truong Chinh states: "Under the centralized political and ideological leadership of the party, the party encourages those persons engaged in the social sciences to boldly exercise their right of collective ownership and dare to assume responsibilities in their specialized field"(p 346).

From an overall perspective, we see several very important matters of a strategic nature throughout volume II. These are:

--The national character and national identity--which are discussed very many times, not only on the plane of general theory concerning "the socialist content and national character" and "the national-modern nature" of the new culture, but also as they apply to each specific field, especially in molding the image of the new Vietnamese who personifies the soul and character of Vietnam in the age of Ho Chi Minh--are presented as an attribute and, in particular, as an increasingly profound and lofty quality of Vietnamese socialist culture.

--Science (the natural sciences, the technical sciences and the social sciences closely combined with one another in "an alliance among scientists" as Lenin said) stands out as a characteristic, a principle and, at the same time, a factor, an integral part of Vietnamese socialist culture.

--One requirement raised is the need for the popular character of socialist culture to be increasingly developed within each sector and each cultural activity, from the delivery of culture to the people to the people's participation in the creation and management of cultural life to fully uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in this field.

--The leadership of the party on the cultural front is reviewed on many different occasions from the perspective of culture as a whole as well as within each specialized sector, the press, literature-art, science and so forth, from the time that the party was established to today as well as in each stage, thus giving us an overall, systematic understanding of and deep pride in the party's correct cultural line.

Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art--Volume II" contains many valuable summaries. Speeches and articles summarizing the course of development of a sector, a unit or culture as a whole within a given period of time account for practically every page in the book.

However, the purpose of a summary is to usher in a new and higher stage of development. For example, the purpose of summarizing the growth and development of Su That Publishing House is to shed light on the basic views of our party concerning publishing activities in the new situation. The purpose of summarizing the scientific and technical achievements of Vietnam over the past 25 years (up until 1984) is to illustrate the key role played by the

scientific-technological revolution in the socialist revolution in our country and point out the primary tasks of scientific and technical work in the period of transition to socialism. And, most obvious of all, the purpose of summarizing the 40 years of the movement of the cultural revolution under the leadership of the party since the 1943 "Cultural Thesis"(which, on page 363, Truong Chinh says "should be called 'The Thesis on the the Vietnamese Ideological and Cultural Revolution' to be truly precise") is to accelerate the ideological and cultural revolution in this stage in which the entire country is making the transition to socialism. These, in essence, are ideas leading to a new "cultural thesis," a thesis on the ideological and cultural revolution in our country in the stage of the socialist revolution.

In fact, in these important summaries, the ideological and cultural revolution is clearly defined as an integral part of the socialist revolution. "Ideology and culture are a dynamic part of every revolution. They are an even more dynamic part of the socialist revolution, particularly when advancing directly to socialism under backward economic conditions and without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Socialist ideology and culture are not only the result of, but are also a force stimulating the birth of socialist collective ownership, the birth of large-scale, socialist production, the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the elimination of poverty and backwardness"(p 379).

The advantages and difficulties of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country in the stage of the socialist revolution are also scientifically analyzed on the basis of summarizing the achievements that have been recorded, the shortcomings that have been committed and every aspect of the country's situation today.

Most importantly, the primary tasks of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country in the new stage are clearly defined in all three areas: establishing the new thinking, establishing the new culture and molding the new man.

Years ago, the "Cultural Thesis" stated that culture includes ideology. Today, our party says "the ideological and cultural revolution" in order to stress the especially important position of ideology in the entire cultural revolution. The essence of culture is ideology. To establish the new thinking, it is first necessary to propagandize and teach Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party. On the basis of a correct understanding of socialism, most importantly of the period of transition and the struggle between socialism and capitalism, it is necessary to "cultivate in cadres, party members and the masses patriotism and love of socialism, the thinking and concept of collective ownership, the spirit and discipline of the socialist laborer... At the same time, we must resolutely combat each tactic of ideological and cultural sabotage of imperialism and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; combat the evil influences of neo-colonialist ideology and culture; combat bourgeois thinking and criticize petty bourgeois thinking; eliminate the influences of feudal thinking and the corrupt habits of the old society; combat the liberalism, fragmentation and backwardness of the small-scale producer; combat exploitation, speculation and parasitism,

combat embezzlement, theft and the other negative phenomena in society"(pp 388-389).

The needs cited above bring to mind the tasks in ideological work as set by Truong Chinh in October 1975 in the face of the demands of the cause of completing the reunification of the country. Back then, Truong Chinh directed our attention to the need to correct such mistakes as "not promptly perceiving changes in the situation," "a vague understanding of the class view"(pp 284-285) and "the re-emergence and development of manifestations of individualism"(p 286), which led to negative phenomena and a decline in revolutionary will and qualities. Back then, he called for constant efforts to heighten the party's spirit, militancy and scientific nature of ideological work. Now, he again points out: "It is necessary to closely tie ideological work to economic work. Ideological work lacks content if it divorces itself from the economy and life. A correct economic mechanism, a correct economic policy will lay a solid foundation for conducting good ideological work. Mistakes in economic work will take from us the base needed to conduct good ideological work and, at the same time, undermine correct thinking and cause ideological upheaval and negative phenomena"(p 389).

Truong Chinh defines the urgent issues in ideological work today as the need to truly achieve the strength of the unity of will and action throughout the party and among all the people in order to implement each position and policy of the party and state well in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland, the need to combat each cunning scheme and tactic of the enemy and the need to denounce reactionary schools of thinking in the world, thereby helping to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism. Truong Chinh calls on us to gain a thorough understanding of ideological work, adhere to all the methods of ideological work and be worthy of being staunch militants on this important front.

What does building the new culture entail? Truong Chinh explains the statements made in the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses to confirm that "in the new stage, socialist culture is, in terms of its content, very broad"(p 392); that "we must build a system of education, a scientific-technological system, a public health system and a physical culture-sports system that are modern and reflect the national identity of socialist Vietnam"; that "we must more closely tie these fields to production and life and competently support efforts to achieve socio-economic goals and meet the requirements of national defense; and attach full importance to the demands regarding product quality and economic efficiency"(p 393). We must create the conditions for the birth and development of new literature and art, a literature and art of joy and beauty which reflect the great thinking and feelings of the nation and our times through socialist realism. Culture must be made an integral part of the daily life of the people and a happy and wholesome cultural life must be established at each basic unit. We must establish a new way of life, the socialist way of life of "all for one, one for all," oppose the corrupt customs of the feudal system and the decadent practices of the bourgeoisie and establish new customs and habits.

Molding the new man is the immediate task of the ideological and cultural revolution. "The 'Cultural Thesis' did not address the issue of molding the

new man. However, it did say that to discuss culture is to discuss man. Today, our party's concept is fuller--establishing the new culture and molding the new man. It considers molding the new man to be the especially important task of the ideological and cultural revolution"(p 387). Presenting the most distinctive characteristics of the new, socialist Vietnamese as defined in the resolution of the 4th Party Congress, Truong Chinh states: "These standards are the requirements concerning thinking and feelings, intelligence and skills, personal qualities and energy which the Vietnamese must endeavor to meet so that they can meet the requirements involved in the development of Vietnamese society today and tomorrow"(p 398). The new Vietnamese has been and is coming into existence in our country. The model of this person is the highly revered Uncle Ho, the great man of our people. The process of molding the new man cannot be divorced from the process of carrying out the three revolutions because the new thinking and the new culture guide the actions of man and the production relations revolution and scientific-technological revolution lay the material foundations for molding the new man under favorable circumstances. Here, Truong Chinh stresses the decisive role played by the proletarian dictatorship, by the establishment of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages" the molding of the new man. At the same time, he points out: "In the molding of the new, socialist man, appropriate attention must be given to the interests of the people and constant efforts must be made to improve their living conditions. It should be remembered that extreme shortages in one's material life can cause a person to become corrupt. On the other hand, through educational work and appropriate measures to educate the new man, society will forge, in a planned manner, persons who are new from the standpoint of their ethics and spirit. These two matters must be borne in mind in order to achieve good results in molding the new man"(pp 400-401).

The opinions of Truong Chinh, opinions tantamount to a program, concerning the relationship between building and combating in the three fields of ideology, culture and man in the ideological and cultural revolution under way today raise many questions that must be studied so that we can gain a more thorough understanding and do better work in the new situation.

Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art--Volume II," which contains 428 pages, and Volume I, which is 376 pages thick, constitute a complete record of the various stages in the glorious development of Vietnam's new culture and represent a large and valuable contribution to the cause of Vietnam's ideological and cultural revolution, to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory on culture and literature-art.

Having read Volume I in 1985 amidst the joyous atmosphere of the major anniversaries celebrated during that year and Volume II this year in the light of the call for change made by the 6th Party Congress, we have an even deeper appreciation of the "change" in Vietnamese culture that is taking place within the "change" of the nation of Vietnam. We see more clearly that the enormous, brilliant achievements of the new culture of Vietnam stem from and have developed along with the birth and increasingly rich development of the revolutionary, scientific and consistent cultural line of the communist party of Vietnam. We are increasingly proud of, confident in and aware of our responsibility on the ideological and cultural front: to actively contribute

to "the adoption by our party of new thinking and a new style and the revamping of organizational and cadre work by our party"(3), to the implementation of "the major policies aimed at bringing about a change in the situation, bringing the country beyond its difficulties and challenges and moving steadily forward"(4) in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 6-1985: "A Large and Valuable Contribution."
2. Speech closing the 6th Congress of the Party by Nguyen Van Linh.
3. Opening speech by General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh.

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THE PERMEATION AND EMERGENCE OF THE NEW IN THE CULTURE OF THE ETHNIC MINORITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 64-68

[Article by Ngo Duc Thinkh]

[Text] When discussing the traditional and the modern (or tradition and change, tradition and innovation) in the cultural process, the permeation and emergence of the new in the culture of ethnic groups is a matter of special importance. They are one of the paths, one of the modes by which the traditional and the modern are harmoniously combined in culture. This is something that must be given special attention in building and developing the new culture in our country today.

Thus, what is the new in culture and how does it form?

To begin with the new in the culture of the ethnic groups is new cultural phenomena that have gradually emerged as a result of the internal development of the culture of each ethnic group and cultural intercourse and mutual influences among ethnic groups in such areas as styles of dress, means of transportation, styles of housing, household utensils, forms of play and entertainment, etc.

The new also includes new cultural values, such as pride in the nation, the party and leaders; the concepts of fatherland, birthplace and the new socialist system; ethical standards in social relations; the concept of the culture of each ethnic group... Generally speaking, against the background of the new socio-economic conditions that exist today, as new cultural phenomena emerge within and permeate the cultures of the ethnic groups, there is also occurring within the cultural consciousness of ethnic groups a process of re-examining cultural values and this is bringing about the formation of values concerning culture, the natural world around man and economic, political and social relations as well. Therefore, in the process of building and developing the culture of the ethnic minorities, it is not only necessary to create the conditions for these new cultural values to blossom and develop, but also necessary to quickly recognize them and exert an impact upon them so that they develop in the directions we desire.

The new in the cultures of the ethnic groups is not only expressed in new cultural factors and new cultural values, but also in a new cultural look and appearance, a new culture in physical terms. The new cultural face, a new culture in physical terms can only be formed and become established on the basis of a new socio-economic structure, the socialist socio-economic structure built upon the basis of industrialization. Therefore, today, among ethnic Vietnamese as well as the ethnic minorities, there is a juxtaposition within culture between the old and the new, the backward and the progress, the non-socialist and the socialist. Consequently, causing the new in culture to permeate, emerge within and gradually assume the position of dominance within the cultures of the ethnic groups is the task of foremost importance in building and developing the new culture of the ethnic minorities today.

When discussing the paths or modes by which the new permeates and emerges within the culture of an ethnic group, mention is usually made of three basic factors: internal development, stimulation and borrowing. The internal development of a cultural phenomenon, of a culture is determined by internal stimuli without any significant impact from the outside. Change caused by stimulation is considered internal change of a culture brought about by external stimuli, although not direct borrowing. Borrowing is cultural change that is closely linked to the impact of and direct adoption from the outside. In practice, however, it is rare in the cultures of the ethnic groups for these three modes to occur independently and separately. Rather, they usually exert an impact together, each to a different degree.

During the past several decades, the phenomena of cultural borrowing and cultural influence have been especially strong within the cultures of the ethnic minorities, as seen in the areas of food, shelter, dress and transportation. With regard to clothing, men who live in the cities, the outskirts of the cities or along main roads have begun to adopt the dress of ethnic Vietnamese, particularly the style of dress of ethnic Vietnamese in the cities. Among Thai women, there is a "mixture" of Thai skirts and ethnic Vietnamese blouses. A rather large number of these women have completely adopted the ethnic Vietnamese style of dress. This phenomenon is also quite common among many other ethnic minorities, such as the Tay, Nung, Muong, Ede, Bahnar, Khmer, Cham and so forth.

The same phenomenon has occurred in the daily diets of the ethnic minorities. Besides ethnic dishes that suit ethnic tastes, the ethnic minorities are also preparing dishes found in the lowlands and the cities. In particular, among portions of the population that have shifted from glutinous to non-glutinous rice, a number of glutinous rice dishes have gradually been replaced by non-glutinous rice dishes. Due to the development of trade in the mountains, the ethnic minorities have also gradually become accustomed to a number of food products sold by state stores or brought to the mountains by ethnic Vietnamese from the lowlands. In their diet, we now see dried fish, fish sauce, MSG, soy sauce and so forth, products which were once totally foreign to their tastes.

The phenomena of borrowing and being influenced are also quite apparent in housing construction and household items, such as pots, pans, frying pans, bowls, plates, spoons, thermos bottles, tables, cupboards, chairs, sewing

machines, etc. In transportation, in addition to using baskets, boats, elephants, buffalo and pack horses, the ethnic minorities have gradually learned to use new means of transportation, such as bicycles, motorbikes and oxcarts. At places where the economy has developed, motorized vehicles, motorized boats and so forth are also in use. In the field of production, exchanges, influences and borrowing among ethnic groups are also clearly apparent in the emergence of new tools, new crop varieties, particularly varieties of rice and corn, new farming techniques, the use of fertilizer and pesticides and the construction of water conservancy systems.

In spiritual life, cultural exchanges and borrowing have also been quite intense. In spoken and written language they take the form of political, social and scientific terms of ethnic Vietnamese origin that have permeated and enriched ethnic terminology. A number of written languages of ethnic groups have been based on the alphabet of the popular language. In spiritual life, in the fields of relaxation and entertainment, new forms have also emerged, such as films, plays and so forth. Sports, the press, books, radio and so forth are becoming familiar in many ethnic areas...

The phenomena of cultural intercourse and cultural borrowing occur not only between ethnic minorities and the ethnic Vietnamese, but also occur among the ethnic minorities living within the same area. The Viet Bac region, the Northwest, the Central Highlands, western Nam Bo and every other region of the country have ethnic groups which make up the majority of the population and have a higher level of economic, cultural and social development than the other ethnic groups. As a result, they have a larger influence upon the ethnic groups with whom they live. This is the case of the Tay in Viet Bac, the Thai in the Northwest and the Thanh-Nghe Mountains, the Bahnar, Garai and Ede in the Central Highlands... Also due to the results of many years of this process of exchange and borrowing, the common cultural identity of an historical cultural region has formed within each of the regions mentioned above.

Above, internal and external encounters leading to the permeation and emergence of the new within the culture of an ethnic group were discussed. Thus, what is the process by which the new emerges within and permeates the cultures of ethnic groups?

The four steps in this process have long been known. They are: selection, recreation, acclimation and association.

In turbulent waves of cultural exchange and reciprocal cultural influences, such as those that are occurring now, the culture of every ethnic group faces the following choices: what to accept from other cultures, how to do this and to what extent should it be done. Here, there are three directions that can be taken: to completely open the doors to exchange and borrowing; to set guidelines and conditions for the process of borrowing; and to close the door to exchange and borrowing. These directions are those that can be taken on the national plane in the face of international exchange and international influences. Within the scope of a nation, the extent of exchanges and borrowing depends mainly upon the objectives and subjective factors of each ethnic group. The objective factors are the nature of the place at which the

ethnic group resides, the extent to which it lives among other ethnic groups, communications conditions, the mass media and so forth. The subjective factors depend upon socio-economic conditions as well as the current trend of the cultural development of this ethnic groups. On the basis of these subjective and objective factors, each ethnic group can make different choices in the face of the external cultural phenomena that are making an impact upon its culture.

The things that an ethnic group chooses and accepts are recreations by man. Actually, recreation stops at the crude level of copying that which has been chosen. However, in this process of recreation, man can also eliminate things that were chosen but are no longer suitable and change things that were recently accepted.

However, the cultural factors of borrowing, choosing and change do not exist as independent and isolated entities within the culture of an ethnic group. Rather, they are tied together in a structure and become an integral part of the culture of an ethnic group. In the process of combining to form this organic structure, it frequently occurs that new cultural phenomena cause other associated cultural phenomena to undergo certain changes.

Clearly, in a country which encompasses many ethnic groups such as ours does, the increasing permeation and emergence of new factors in the cultures of the ethnic groups are of enormous significance. On the one hand, they cause the cultures of ethnic groups to rapidly develop in logical directions. On the other hand, they are factors that stimulate the processes of exchange and mutual influence, bring the ethnic groups closer together and unite them within a community. However, in order for the new to emerge in cultural life through internal development, external stimulation or borrowing in the processes of selection, recreation, change and association, other objective and subjective conditions are needed.

The first prerequisite to change and rapid development of the cultures of the ethnic groups is corresponding development of the socio-economic base. Over the past several decades, significant strides have been made in general school education and the training of scientific and technical cadres in ethnic minority areas. This is a new factor in the cultures of the ethnic groups. However, this development has not truly been based on the socio-economic development of the mountain region. Therefore, after a number of years, rather basic weaknesses became apparent, which have led to imbalance between the socio-economic base and the development of culture and education. The establishment of an alphabet for a number of ethnic groups was not truly based on socio-economic needs or the needs of cultural development. As a result, once established, the alphabet could not be used or was forgotten. Thus, cultural development must be well coordinated with and based on socio-economic development. In other words, the scale and level of socio-economic development are the factors that determine the nature and magnitude of cultural development. We must correct the practices of separating the process of socio-economic development from the process of cultural development, giving light attention to cultural factors in socio-economic programs and frequently divorcing cultural development from its base, socio-economic development.

Whatever path the development of the culture of an ethnic group takes, it is influenced, to one degree or another, by both internal and external factors.

The internal factors here are the needs for cultural change and the directions these changes take within each ethnic group, both of which must be clearly based on socio-economic development. For many centuries, the Cham in Thuan Hai Province have been making pottery by crude methods, using neither potter's wheels nor kilns. The quality of this pottery is poor but they have not made improvements, not learned better techniques from their neighbors, the ethnic Vietnamese. The cause of this situation is the lack of internal factors stimulating development.

External factors play an important role in the processes of stimulation and borrowing and lead to the permeation and emergence of the new within the cultures of the ethnic minorities. Therefore, increased exchanges and contacts among the ethnic groups are exceedingly important. We should not think that any group of the population or ethnic group which abandons its old ways and accepts the new ways of another ethnic group "loses its roots" and harms its cultural development. When something new that is adopted is consistent with a need, when it meets the need for social change and has the effect of stimulating the development of an ethnic group, this group, in the process of copying, changing and associating, also helps to create and make its own mark on the product that was originally borrowed. Thus, ethnic identity, instead of disappearing, is developed, enhanced and broadened. However, we still must constantly guard against manifestations of ethnic majority prejudices as well as bigotry. We must correctly implement the nationalities policy of our party and state: equality, unity, mutual assistance and acting together as the collective masters of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Finally, defining the direction of and the condition needed for development and change in the cultures of the ethnic groups are also very important. This is not solely a matter of subjective intentions, but is also a matter, primarily a matter, of recognizing and building upon the cultural traditions of an ethnic group, of each region as well as the general trends of development of this ethnic group at present and in the future. For example, in the case of the highlands population (the Hmong and the Tang-Mien), who are acclimated to the natural conditions of the high, cool mountains and have a tradition of developing the production of special crops and species of livestock, the direction which their cultural development takes and the conditions required are different from those of the Mon-Khmer population, who live in a region where there are still large forests and which has a tradition of planting and harvesting forests. Of course, this direction and these conditions are not achieved through internal factors alone, that is, through the trends of internal development of the cultures of these ethnic groups, but also through cultural exchange, influence, borrowing and assimilation, that is, the external factors of development.

The new culture that we are building is a socialist culture with a national identity. This culture is the harmonious combination of the very best of the unique cultures of the fraternal ethnic groups within the great family of ethnic groups of Vietnam. Therefore, eliminating the differences in economic

and cultural development that separate the ethnic groups, particularly, the differences between the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities in our country, is a goal of the party and state. Creating favorable conditions for the new to permeate and emerge within the cultures of the ethnic minorities is one of the ways that this goal can be achieved.

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TODAY'S RAISON D'ETRE AND WAY OF LIFE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 69-71

[Article by Professor Le Anh Tra]

[Text] Establishing the new way of life is an important measure in molding the new man. It is a very correct step to take, one consistent with the laws that govern the formation of the socialist character.

In recent years, there have been many signs of decay in our character and way of life, negative phenomena have increased and social discipline has been lax in many fields. We must wage a determined struggle against these negative phenomena so that the principles of social fairness and the wholesome way of life are asserted in the everyday life of our society.

The following is a summary model of the state of our way of life today:

Generally speaking, the level of knowledge of the people has been markedly raised compared to the period preceding the revolution. Despite 30 years of bitter war, we have made significant advances from the standpoint of our way of life, abolished many corrupt feudal customs, changed many ways of earning a living and backward habits and established fine interpersonal relations. However, these advances are only initial advances. In our society, there is still a sharp struggle between two ways of life: on the one side is a life of ideals, a wholesome and loyal life lived on the basis of one's own labor, a life of respecting and protecting public property and looking after the interests of the collective and the country; on the other side is a life of pragmatism, deceit, selfishness, parasitism and pursuit of money. At certain times and places, the bad has overpowered the good.

Although the country's circumstances are still difficult in many ways, many persons have continued to maintain their fine qualities, continued to work, study and fight well. In them, the socialist raison d'etre is clear, unequivocal and deep. However, they have also not been able to fully develop their potentials. When the way they are treated is unfair and inappropriate, their social activism declines and some even lose solid attributes and become negative.

Some persons no longer practice a pure *raison d'etre* and have lost some confidence in the party, the state and the people. What needs to be stated most here is that their attitude toward work is not a correct or faithful attitude. A genuine attitude toward work is the most important measurement of the new socialist ethics, of a person's *raison d'etre*. However, these persons, regardless of whether they work at a factory, an agency, a worksite or a cooperative, are concerned only with their own interests. They work for the collective, for the state in a passive manner, make no effort, display no spirit of responsibility and attach no importance to the quality or efficiency of their work. Rather, they only look for loopholes in the organization so that they can do sloppy, careless work, pilfer materials, conspire with others, embezzle and find ways to make money. Much waste and a great loss of money, materials and labor have arisen from these practices, thus causing very many more difficulties for the national economy.

Another, more corrupt segment of the people has degenerated into speculators, black marketeers, thieves and persons who practice bribery--into parasites upon society. More deserving of indignation is the fact that more than a few persons who hold public positions and authority have also become corrupt and made themselves umbrellas protecting increasingly brazen illegal activities.

The springtime of youth is the most beautiful time of a person's life. Yet, there are more than a few youths who refuse to work, who only want to take it easy and play, who live off their parents, who use their parents' influence to get ahead or who form gangs, rob, steal and disrupt order and security. Many teenagers and children are becoming delinquent at a young age and falling into a life of crime. The family, the first place where the way of life of youths and teenagers is molded, cannot evade its responsibility.

In inter-personal relations and the way persons treat one another, there is no true equality, democracy, fairness or mutual respect.

There are still many things happening in life that are wrong. Good and bad, truth and falsehood are confused. There are many things that reflect negligence and a lack of ethics. Discipline is being undermined. There is contempt for the law, etc.

Our current way of life is a combination of positive and negative factors locked in bitter struggle. The negative factors are exerting a rather large destructive impact, posing dangers to social life, and must be dealt with promptly. We must quickly restore order and discipline to each activity of the state and social life. We must establish the practices of living and working in accordance with the law and must heighten everyone's self-awareness.

To establish the new, socialist way of life and insure that it becomes the universal way of life within our society, it is, of course, necessary to take a series of economic management as well as social management measures. Here, only the ethical standards of this way of life, only efforts to teach this way of life will be addressed. Teaching this way of life is not only a matter of presenting the theory concerning *raison d'etre* or trying to create a number of separate lifestyles. Rather, it is a matter of combined, comprehensive

educational efforts aimed at molding and perfecting man, in which the beautiful and the aesthetic together with the honest, the good and the ethical are considered the highest standards of our socialist way of life. It is necessary to intensify the teaching of aesthetics in every aspect of our way of life and lifestyle.

Teaching aesthetics is not a separate and distinct form of education. It should be combined with practically every other form of education so that we achieve a unified system (political education, ethical education, cultural education, education in art, education through labor, through the environment in which we live), the guiding principles of which are Marxist-Leninist ideology and the line of the party.

When combined with the other types of education, an education in aesthetics finds subject matter in every activity of society. On the other hand, it meets the needs of all the people and of each person to be educated in aesthetics. We must teach aesthetics to popularize aesthetics throughout society and insure continuous education in the course of a person's life. As regards the methods employed in the teaching of aesthetics, we must reach persons through sentiment and reason, through things that truly touch their hearts. The teaching of aesthetics cultivates in persons aesthetic ideals, a *raison d'etre* and way of life...in a profound way that no other type of education can.

The teaching of aesthetics is, above everything else, teaching persons how to appreciate and evaluate beauty in life, how to live and transform the world in accordance with the laws of beauty with the aim of perfecting the new man, a man who is fully developed and well balanced.

All the negative phenomena that have emerged in everyday life are ugly, are the antithesis of aesthetics. To eliminate these phenomena, we must teach the principles of our *raison d'etre*. But, even more than this, we must teach aesthetic ideals, teach aesthetic tastes and feelings so that persons love beauty, recognize beauty and are determined to achieve beauty.

Everyone must be persuaded to abandon ethical indifference, aesthetic paralysis and the habits of being unconcerned about and not responding to the ugly and the wrong things occurring around them.

It is also necessary to cultivate consciousness of the new way of life through education. This must be done through regulations and laws and by harshly dealing with major violations of the socialist way of life and struggling against the bourgeois, reactionary way of life.

As regards the methods employed to establish the new way of life, we must draw experience from the subjective approaches that have been taken, from the adoption of unsuitable regulations and from our impetuous efforts to immediately abolish habits that have been part of the consciousness of persons for thousands of years. Of utmost importance is the need to resolve problems regarding philosophy of life, *raison d'etre* and the attitude toward work and, on this basis, resolve problems regarding other behavioral relations. Many fields of science (such as psychology, biology, labor studies, aesthetics,

sociology and so forth) must be employed to determine the laws of the way of life and the cultural and aesthetic tastes and needs of each segment of the population with the aim of developing reasonable models of our way of life, models that reflect common characteristics but also the unique color of each ethnic group, each age group and the places where people reside (the cities, the countryside, the mountainous forests, etc.).

Establishing the new way of life requires that we take urgent steps. At the same time, however, we must be very patient, proceed gradually and base what we do on socio-economic and scientific-technological achievements.

Only by establishing a good way of life can we liberate persons from the bad habits, from the constraints of old ways, "make inroads against and abolish negative phenomena, make social relations wholesome and achieve social fairness"(1), tap the activism and creativity of man, accelerate production, achieve socio-economic development, bring happiness to and perfect the socialist man.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 6th CPV Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 125.

7809

CSO: 4210/9

CONCERNING THE MATTER OF ADOPTING A NEW STYLE OF WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 72-75

[Article by Nguyen Hai Khoat]

[Text] The issue of molding a revolutionary and scientific style of work--the Leninist style--has always been given very much attention by our party, especially by President Ho. Even during the first days spent preparing for the founding of the party, President Ho gave very much attention to cultivating the new work style among cadres and party members. In 1925, in his work "The Revolutionary Road," he devoted the first chapter to this matter. Later, in "Changing Our Work Methods (1947)" and "Revolutionary Ethics (1961)" as well as in many other of his speeches and writings, the matter of a new work style was more thoroughly and deeply discussed.

Since the entire country was reunified and began advancing toward socialism, our party, amidst the new circumstances that exist and in the face of the new requirements and tasks of the revolution, has attached even more special importance to the matter of cultivating a new style of work. The 4th Congress of the Party demanded that the various party committee echelons make every effort to correct their weaknesses in organizational leadership, try to quickly change their work methods and find new, scientific and effective forms and methods of work. The 5th Party Congress again stressed: We must adopt new work methods and policies and successfully cultivate the Leninist work style. The 6th Party Congress asserted that adopting a new style of leadership and new work methods is one of the very important and pressing requirements we face in the current stage.

The matter of adopting a new style of work encompasses very much. Here, only one aspect will be addressed: to adopt a new style of work, we must quickly overcome the bureaucratic approach to work and successfully establish the Leninist work style, of which proficiency is an important element.

In recent years, despite many efforts on our part in the struggle to combat it, bureaucracy still poses an obstacle to our progress. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress emphasized: "The style of leadership and work methods are still largely characterized by bureaucracy. Actions do not conform with words. There is no compliance with work regulations or the regulations on how decisions are made." "Together with the

consequences of the old economic management mechanism, bureaucracy in the attitude and work style of the leadership cadres of the various levels and sectors, including basic economic and administrative units, has not been criticized or eliminated."

Many researchers maintain that bureaucracy emerges as a special style, the essential elements of which are the separation of personal authority from the interests and aspirations of the collective, little attention to the substance of work, evasion of responsibility, a failure to work in accordance with principles and regulations and placing the negative consequences of one's actions upon the agency on the upper level and upon the masses.

The distinguishing characteristics of the bureaucrat are that he generates very forceful directives and resolutions containing such slogans as "let us carry out a thorough reform," "we must put a stop to..." and "we must conduct research and make forecasts" but which are generally not accompanied by ideological or organizational measures. Therefore, everything remains on paper or is only "half-way." The bureaucrat is prone to make (and knows how to make) "phony initiatives" in his work and uses regulations and principles to defend his "place" within the management system. He is a passionate supporter of a management system consisting of "many intermediary levels." The bureaucrat sees his responsibility toward the upper level as primarily presenting reports and supplying timely information without concerning himself with their accuracy or quality. More often than not, the bureaucrat considers himself to be important and is very well satisfied with the knowledge he possesses. For this reason, he rarely listens to the opinions of the collective, of specialists. In particular, he dislikes hearing opposite opinions very much.

President Ho characterized the bureaucratic work style as follows: "They do not become deeply involved in movements, do not assess the specific situation of their sector or locality, are not close to the masses and do not study the experiences of the masses. They prefer to sit at their desk rather than go down to basic units to gain an understanding of the actual situation, inspect the implementation of policies and listen to the opinions of the people. They prefer to issue administrative orders rather than patiently educate the masses in a manner that conforms with reason and sentiment."⁽¹⁾ And, "when they are in charge of an area, they act like a king, arrogantly do as they please and find fault with others. They have little regard for the upper level and use their power to suppress the lower level. They present themselves to the masses as officials and strike them with fear."⁽²⁾

The bureaucratic work style makes cadres conservative, keeps them out of touch, makes them rely upon others, makes them irresponsible, causes them to lack dynamism and limits their capabilities. It thwarts the revolutionary initiative and dynamism of the masses. It weakens the unity within the party and renders the leadership of the party and management of the state ineffective. For these reasons, President Ho called bureaucracy "an enemy within us."

The causes of the bureaucratic style of work are economic, organizational, managerial, cultural and ideological. Concerning the economic origins of

bureaucracy, V.I. Lenin pointed out: It is the isolation and decentralization of small-scale producers, their impoverished circumstances and ignorance, the lack of roads, illiteracy, the absence of trade and ties between agriculture and industry. He wrote: Bureaucracy is "a super structure based on the poor and depressing life of the small-scale producer." It "is closely tied to the spontaneity of the petty bourgeoisie and the decentralization associated with this tendency." In our country, it is on the basis of small-scale production and the management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies that the bureaucratic, authoritarian style has been maintained and become serious in recent years. This mechanism gave birth to a cumbersome management apparatus staffed by management cadres who lack dynamism, are not skilled in business and whose style is the bureaucratic style of not being in touch with practice, of being remote from the masses. In the thinking and style of cadres, administrative bureaucracy and an authoritarian attitude have impeded production, caused inconveniences to the masses and thwarted the initiative of the lower levels.

However, from the psychological standpoint, from the standpoint of the individual, there are many other causes of the bureaucratic work style: approaching one's work with improper motives, limited perception, poor work skills and methods, wrong methods of thinking and so forth. Some persons have also been influenced by vestiges of backward thinking, such as selfishness, the mentality of using one's power and influence, etc. As a result, the criticism and self-criticism of each person and the steps taken to overcome bureaucracy within each person cannot be the same.

Through practical actions, we have been and are refuting the erroneous argument that bureaucracy is an inevitable malady of a party in power. Through well coordinated economic, educational and social measures, we have eliminated some of the bureaucracy within the corps of cadres and party members. However, the issue we face is that very much importance must be attached to improving economic management. We must attach importance to relying upon the masses to inspect the apparatus and inspect cadres and party members. At the same time, the education provided and the inspections conducted by the party and state must be intensified.

The direct opposite of the bureaucratic work style is the Leninist style. The party considers cultivating the Leninist style to be both a matter of basic, long-range importance and a matter of pressing importance in heightening the leadership role of the party and insuring the performance of each revolutionary task. Therefore, while waging an active struggle to eliminate the bureaucratic style, we must make every effort to cultivate and develop the Leninist style.

In recent years, on the basis of the standards of the Leninist style and the study and review of practice, Marxist scientists have defined many new styles of work, such as the democratic style, the goal-oriented style, the delegation of authority style, the organizational style, the proficient style, etc. Here, we want to direct special attention toward and emphasize the proficient style.

According to many researchers, a person whose style is proficient is a person who possesses such basic qualities as the following: being able to direct his efforts toward the basic, ultimate goal of management activities; trying to find the shortest route and the most practical and specific measures for achieving objectives; being independent in one's thinking, possessing the spirit of change and practicing scientific and creative work methods; being critical and revolutionary, particularly in the face of incorrect and ineffective decisions; displaying flexibility in management decisions and actions; possessing highly developed practical organizational skills; being able to simplify management functions, authorities and levels so that work flows smoothly and high efficiency is achieved; being able to make long-range and correct forecasts concerning important management matters; possessing breadth of vision and insight based on an understanding of oneself, of specialists and the lower levels...

Proficiency is the quality of foremost important of a person who practices the Leninist style. This quality is the combination of political, specialized, professional, psychological and ethical qualities, not just an important professional quality as has long been the understanding of many persons. Without this quality, the cadre finds it difficult to set a direction for his thinking to take, difficult to correctly understand the lines, positions and policies of the party and state and even more difficult to turn these lines, positions and policies into reality.

More specifically, the proficient person is a person who: a) Knows how to correctly clarify for his unit the tasks and objectives assigned by the upper level, has a relatively specific idea of what these jobs entail and establishes them as specific tasks that are compatible with his unit; b) clearly defines and efficiently organizes the management activities needed to achieve the assigned objective (which include independent management activities and dependent activities); c) patiently and continuously implements the planned work program, never strays far from the ultimate objective and important intermediary elements and focuses reasonable attention on intermediary elements and the final element; d) knows how to promptly evaluate and analyze the result of the activities conducted in each stage of work on the basis of correct standards of evaluation with a view toward achieving the final result, establishes an order in which things are evaluated, has a clear idea of situations that might occur and compares costs and results; e) saves time (especially by making effective use of conference time); f) is innovative and practices socialist resourcefulness (not petty ingenuity), etc.

The cadre whose style is proficient also combines, in a way that is well balanced, his responsibility for performing a planned task with creativity. He is cautious but determined when making necessary changes. He recognizes that the new and the progressive are things that go far beyond old standards that have become tradition but are not suited to new conditions. He eagerly studies necessary scientific theory and theory concerning his specialized field as well as the advanced experiences of his and other countries. He bravely faces the "perils of management" and dares to cast aside outmoded experiences and backward knowledge and combat the inertia of old economic thinking. He is able to analyze objective and subjective advantages and

difficulties. While not giving light attention to objective difficulties, he becomes deeply involved in developing the strengths of subjective factors and correcting their shortcomings and weaknesses. He knows how to scientifically organize management labor. When making management decisions, he respects decision-making procedures but bypasses unnecessary intermediary elements. When decisions have been issued, he organizes their implementation in the most resolute manner possible. At the same time, he employs the necessary flexibility. However, once a mistake or shortcoming in a decision has been detected, he takes determined steps to correct it, even rescinds this decision and courageously accepts the responsibility. Finally, he is a person who respects the principles of collective leadership and personal accountability very much, who listens to the opinions of specialists, the lower level and the masses, particularly opinions contrary to his own, and dares to make a decision with a high degree of personal responsibility. How the proficient style is displayed in one's day to day work depends upon each person, that is, upon each person's abilities, psychological traits, ethics and seniority. And, it also depends, to a considerable degree, upon the work environment and working conditions.

Endeavoring to cultivate the proficient style in accordance with the standards described above also entails the process of overcoming old work methods and eliminating the bureaucratic approach to work.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dang cam quyen," [The Party as the Party in Power], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, p 22.
2. Ibid., p 143.

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CSO: 4210/9

COMMUNIST YOUTH PROJECTS, A WAY TO BRING TOGETHER AND EDUCATE YOUTHS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 76-80

[Article by Doan Pho Thong and Tran Mieu]

[Text] Our party always considers the mobilization of youths to be work of special importance. It considers the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union to be the able assistant of the party in the education and training of youths to faithfully and excellently carry on the glorious cause of revolution of the party and nation. The 6th Party Congress pointed out: "We must be fully conscious of the fact that youths are the persons who have the historic mission of successfully building socialism. We must boldly assign responsibilities to youths and train them through social activities."⁽¹⁾

In the process of leading the revolution, our party has required that the Youth Union constantly search for and apply appropriate forms and methods of education with the aim of achieving the highest possible results in the mobilization of youths. For example, during the years of the resistance against France, the Youth Union organized "assault youth units." In the years of the resistance against the United States, the Youth Union launched the "three readies" movement in the North and the "five assaults" movement in the South. More recently, it launched the "three assaults of collective ownership" movement nationwide. Within these general movements, the Youth Union has introduced many specific and spirited forms and methods aimed at drawing large numbers of youths from all strata into revolutionary activities. Among these, most deserving of attention is youth projects (youth vehicles, youth machines, youth fields, youth counters and so forth). Through youth projects, Youth Union organizations have been able to bring together and educate youths, build upon their assault, creative role and encourage and organize youths to undertake "new and difficult jobs" and be on the leading edge of economic, social and national defense work.

In recent years, having studied the experience of the youth unions of the fraternal socialist countries, it has been the policy of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union to develop communist youth projects on many different scales and levels: the state level, the provincial level, the district level and the basic level. Under this policy, Youth Union organizations agree to participate in the management of key economic, social, national defense and other projects, such as the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant construction

project, the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant construction project, the construction of eight coal mines in Quang Ninh, the Dau Tieng Reservoir construction project in Tay Ninh, the Hoang Lien Son Route 1 construction project, the Ben Thuy Bridge construction project in Nghe Tinh, the Lang At Hydroelectric Power Plant construction project in Luc Yen District, Hoang Lien Son Province, the seed production-water conservancy-power project at the Ngoc Thien Cooperative in Tan Yen District, Ha Bac Province, etc.

Communist youth projects take many different scales and forms. Generally speaking, there are three types:

1. Accepting jobs that represent the leading edge of development, accepting the new jobs and the difficult jobs on a project, such as transporting raw materials and building materials for the construction of flood diversion tunnels at the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant construction project; transporting drainage pipes and support pillars at the project to build and put into operation eight coal mines in Quang Ninh...

2. Accepting a contract to do all the work on a project that has specific economic and technical requirements, such as completing the pouring of concrete on youth border road construction projects in the six northern provinces; completely constructing a number of water conservancy projects in Trung Ha in Hanoi...

3. Coordinating with specialized organizations and agencies to mobilize a large labor force to provide assistance on national projects, such as the construction of the eight coal mines in Quang Ninh, the construction of the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant...

At communist youth projects, youths are organized in labor units and organizations managed by the Youth Union, such as "youth production sections," "youth production units," "youth production shops," "youth production enterprises" and so forth which correspond and are closely tied to the organizations of the Youth Union, such as the Youth Union detachments, Youth Union chapters, basic Youth Union organizations and so forth. Thus, the youths at these projects are organized and managed under two systems: the production unit and the Youth Union. At a number of provincial, district and basic level projects, the form of organization of youths is most commonly modeled on the army: squads, platoons, companies, battalions and so forth.

In recent years, through this approach to organization, the Youth Union has brought together and attracted a rather large number of youths to the production, combat and work fronts. Between 1983 and 1985, the Youth Union assembled nearly 50,000 Youth Union members and youths for just the three communist youth projects managed by the central level: the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant and the construction of the eight coal mines in Quang Ninh. At the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Youth Union assembled more than 30,000 young men and women (95 percent of the plants total number of cadres and manual workers).

On the agricultural front, according to incomplete statistics, nearly 20,000 youth projects with many project items were under way with the participation of more than 3 million youths.

On the industrial front, more than 2.5 million youths have participated in the construction of 15,000 projects of many different sizes in many different fields, such as electric power, metallurgy, petroleum and gas, chemicals and so forth.

On the other fronts, the Youth Union has undertaken the construction of more than 17,000 projects.

At present, there are more than 50,000 communist youth projects under way in our country on the Youth Union chapter level and higher in which more than 10 million Youth Union members and youths are participating. Hanoi, Haiphong, Ha Son Binh, Bac Thai, Hai Hung, Lam Dong, Tay Ninh, Ho Chi Minh City...are places where the movement to build communist youth projects is quite strong.

Thus, it is clear that communist youth projects are a good way to mobilize youths in the new situation. They inspire and motivate youths and bring them together within large labor formations and within the organizational system of the Youth Union. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has been using communist youth projects as a way to bring together and educate youths and heighten the role and responsibility of the Youth Union in the performance of socio-economic development tasks. Large numbers of youths from throughout the country, from every stratum have responded to and participated in communist youth projects. These are projects that not only meet the requirements involved in mobilizing youths in the new situation, but which are also compatible with the attitudes and aspirations of youths. Youths usually like spirited, collective activities, like to become involved in new and difficult jobs, like to discover and learn the new. They have needs for friendship and love. They want to contribute and grow in a concrete manner. Developing communist youth projects is the correct direction to take to help Youth Union organizations to bring together large numbers of youths from all strata.

Bringing together and organizing youths in large labor units is a very important requirement in the mobilization of youths within the context of the party leading economic construction. This, however, is not enough. To do a good job of mobilizing youths, it is also necessary to employ very many forms and methods of educating and training youths in order to strongly develop their assault, creative role.

In recent years, under the leadership of the various party committee echelons, the Youth Union organizations at communist youth projects have adopted many forms and methods of educating and training youths. The Youth Union has launched the "skill training and testing" movement, the movement to "make innovations and technological improvements" and the "communist labor" movement. It has organized friendly competitions, club activities, tradition-related activities, meetings, brotherhoods, tours, conferences of young laborers, etc.

To raise the labor productivity of youths and train them in economic management skills, the Youth Union has established assault labor sections and units which undertake difficult and new jobs. At the same time, it has taken the initiative in coordinating with specialized agencies to establish labor quotas for each person and each section, establish on-sight duty sections and organize high productivity and skilled management training weeks. These approaches have produced a number of good results. For example, in the process of constructing the two flood diversion tunnels on the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant project, youth labor sections and units have undertaken practically every difficult job (digging rock shafts, transporting building materials), proposed more than 300 technical innovations and improvements, raised their labor productivity by 110 to 125 percent and raised the average income of a worker 70 to 100 percent.

The forms of organization described above combine developing the revolutionary assault role of youths with educating and training youths in various matters, thereby creating real conditions for them to contribute and grow. They make the Youth Union's teaching of politics and ideology concrete and practical and tap the activism, initiative and the creativity in labor of youths while gradually overcoming the vacillation, instability, laziness and lack of organization and discipline among some youths.

The "remedial training in theory, skill training and skill testing" movement has become a traditional activity of basic Youth Union organizations. The Youth Union considers this movement a good way to gradually satisfy the aspirations of youths to learn and raise their standards with the aim of rapidly forming a corps of young manual workers who are highly educated and skilled, are capable of constructing modern projects. Each year, the Youth Union coordinates with specialized agencies to provide skill training for tens of thousands of youths to raise their job rating. On the project to construct and put into operation the eight coal mines in Quang Ninh, the competition to "select the most skilled of the shaft diggers" drew the participation of more than 6,000 youths. The result was that more than 1,000 persons had their job rating raised, six of whom earned the title "outstanding golden hands" of the coal sector. In 1984, at the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Youth Union helped to hold many competitions to raise the job ratings of all types of workers. At present, the average worker at the plant has a job rating of 3/7 or 4/7, an increase of one grade compared to 1979. Youths make up more than 50 percent of the plant's highly skilled work force. The "skill training and testing" movement has made a major economic impact, helping units to complete their plans. On the other hand, it has also served to cultivate in youths a desire to learn and make progress and has brought them close to their occupation and unit. It has taught them the collective spirit and the industrial way of life in labor and their other everyday activities.

Through the establishment of "youth science-technology sections," the organizations of the Youth Union have attracted and brought together scientific cadres, Youth Union members and youths who are educated and highly skilled to participate in researching, improving upon and applying scientific-technical advances in production. At every enterprise, the Youth Union has established "innovations support sections" and established both short and long-term scientific-technical research programs. At the Pha Lai

Thermoelectric Power Plant construction project, the Youth Union established 25 "youth science-technology sections" in which 307 Youth Union members participated. On only 20 state level and provincial level projects, nearly 35,000 Youth Union members and youths have joined "young scientists clubs" and proposed nearly 5,000 innovations, which included 773 youth projects and 427 new products of youths that were presented at the first Creative Youth Exhibit.

Socialist emulation is a good way to educate youths. At the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant and Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant projects and on provincial, district and basic level projects, the emulation movement has played a good role in teaching youths the spirit of responsibility, the sense of organization and discipline and the collective spirit. Together with the emulation movement among units and individuals at home, there is also the "friendly emulation" movement between Vietnamese youths and youths of the fraternal socialist countries working at various projects. On the occasion of the major holidays of Vietnam and the socialist countries, the "friendly emulation" movement has been promoted and has played a large role in teaching the proletarian international spirit to youths. Through emulation movements, youths are able to learn more about the traditions of the party, of the Youth Union and more about the traditions and customs of the various ethnic groups. From specialists from friendly countries, they learn love of their occupation, the sense of discipline, the collective spirit and the new work style.

A communist youth project is a place that brings every stratum of youths together. Rural youths who go to a project have an opportunity to come into contact with the pace of industrial production, to work and live with the working class, as a result of which their thinking, feelings and way of life change. The contact between young farmers and young workers helps to strengthen the alliance of workers under the new conditions that exist today. Mutual assistance and the reciprocal impact among groups of young farmers, workers, students and soldiers at projects create an open atmosphere and have the effect of providing the young generation with a comprehensive education. On the other hand, a communist youth project is also a place that brings together youths from all ethnic groups: ethnic Vietnamese, Tay, Nung, Thai, Dao, Muong, Hmong and so forth. Here, they work, live, study, struggle and grow together. Through the environment of collective activities, they gain a better understanding of one another and develop closer bonds within the community of Vietnam's ethnic groups.

A communist youth project is truly a school that educates and trains youths. At and through these projects, our country's youths are able to contribute and grow. In the space of only 3 years, at the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant and the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant construction projects, 320 youths have been trained and become skilled management cadres, serving as assistant unit chiefs, unit chiefs and shop supervisors. More than 8,000 youths at these projects have high job ratings in many sectors, a number of which did not even exist in our country prior to 1979. Tens of thousands of youths have been selected as emulation warriors and progressive laborers. Many persons have been awarded the title "Hero" by the state. Tens of thousands of youths have been accepted into the Youth Union and thousands of outstanding Youth Union members have been accepted into the party. Through organizing and

managing communist youth projects, the organizations of the Youth Union themselves have constantly been strengthened and grown and become strong enough to bring together and educate youths with a view toward meeting the requirements of the Youth Union Secretariat concerning communist youth projects.

From the realities of the activities of Communist Youth Union projects in the recent past, we can state that, although there are still many problems that need to be resolved and many areas in which improvements must be made, communist youth projects are a good way to educate, train and build upon the creative, assault role of youths. Through the collective work environment, through mobilizing and organizing youths to perform tasks that are on the leading edge of life and through the diverse activities of the Youth Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union provides all strata of youths with a comprehensive education. It teaches them the new view and attitude toward labor. It teaches them patriotism, love of socialism and proletarian internationalism. It cultivates their cultural, scientific-technical, economic management, social management and other standards. By these methods, the Youth Union meets the requirements of the party concerning teaching and training youths to be good workers who possess the spirit of collective ownership, are disciplined, are technically skilled, are highly productive and do work of high quality, to be the future masters of the country.

Political Bureau Resolution Number 26 dated 4 July 1985 on strengthening the party's leadership of youth work has encouraged the organizing of many other forms of activity with the aims of bringing together and educating youths better, such as "youth projects," "youth assault units" and so forth. To improve the quality and results of communist youth projects and truly make communist youth projects a good way to bring together and educate youths, the various party committee echelons must give greater attention to leading the Youth Union, leading the agencies of the administration and related economic sectors and do a good job of coordinating with them in organizing and managing communist youth projects. In particular, there is a need to strengthen guidance committees, strengthen the corps of cadres, give attention to building material-technical bases and the means of operation of the Youth Union, look after the material and cultural lives of youths and create every possible condition for youths to contribute and grown in the best possible manner at communist youth project.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 71.

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IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: WORDS AND ACTIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 81-84

[Article by Nguyen Trung Thuc]

[Text] Inconsistency between words and actions is something that our people have detested since ancient times. This is why we see among our proverbs and sayings many of the following type: "Always keep your word, don't be like a butterfly, landing and then flying off somewhere else" or "don't leave things unfinished," which criticize persons who talk about doing things but don't do them; "short on performance," "all talk and no action" or "unrealized promise," which criticize persons who talk much but do little; and "he's two faced" or "he's a sweet talker," which criticize persons who say one thing but do another or do the complete opposite of what they say.

And, not only in our country, but in the world as well, very appropriate sayings concerning this matter can be found in the language of every nation. Most well known is the French saying: "Do as I say, not as I do."

Consistency between what one says and what one does is a necessary quality of the character of each person, of young and old alike, of men and women, of persons who hold public positions and authority and those who do not. In the case of communist party members, it is a revolutionary quality. Back in 1925, when writing "The Revolutionary Road," President Ho placed special emphasis on the following point: "Practice what you preach," and considered this to be one of the expressions of the standards and qualities of a revolutionary. Thereafter, in very many letters, speeches and articles, he constantly reminded cadres, party members and state personnel that their "actions must conform with their words," that they must "practice what they preach" or "say little but do much." More recently, in the Political Report of the Central Committee at the 6th Congress, our party once again confirmed: "Integrity, honesty, preferring actions to words, consistency between words and deeds, squarely facing the truth, telling the whole truth and not concealing one's shortcomings--these are the qualities that must be constantly emphasized and fostered."

Regrettably, however, the desires of President Ho and our party still have not been realized at many times and places. In everyday life, we still see many inconsistencies between what cadres, party members, state personnel,

organizations and collective say and what they do. These inconsistencies are of three types: speaking but not acting, saying much but doing little and saying one thing but doing another, doing the complete opposite.

Speaking but not acting and saying much but doing little have always been criticized. However, saying one thing and doing another are harmful and cannot be tolerated. Yet this phenomenon continues to be quite widespread. Allow me to cite the following few examples:

--More than a few persons often talk about unity. They say very fine and reasonable things about unity. They have committed to memory the words of the classical authors and President Ho Chi Minh concerning this subject. In addition, they harshly criticize factional divisions and deeply analyze the harm caused by these phenomena. But they are truly "all talk and no action." Because, it is they, not anyone else, who causes the greatest lack of unity. They trample upon every principle of unity. They form factions and cliques to isolate, suppress, exclude or harm others whom they do not like. And, very dangerous is the fact that these harmful actions are usually camouflaged by a very fine purpose: "To protect the unity and consensus within the party and state apparatus."

--There are some cadres in positions of responsibility who say very fine things about cadre work. They even give lectures and write articles on this subject to instruct their successors. They loudly assert: the Marxist-Leninist principles concerning cadre work must be observed; the evaluation, assignment, utilization and promotion of a cadre must be based on the true qualities and capabilities of this person, not on whether he is liked or disliked, loved or hated, not on whether he goes along with everything or not. Although this is what they say, in practice, they do just the opposite. To them, it is not important whether you are an old or young cadre, whether you are competent or incompetent. All they care about is that you are under their management. And, as a cadre under their management, you must first be a "yes-man." You must agree with whatever they say, be it right or wrong, and obey their every order, be it reasonable or unreasonable.

And what happens when you oppose them when they are wrong? A lot happens! They will punish you severely. If you are an elderly cadre (even if your health is still good, you are experienced in your job and your personal qualities are good), they will see the need to reduce the average age of the corps of cadres. This need, of itself, is very reasonable! But they use it to quietly send you into retirement. And what if you are a young, able-bodied cadre who is competent, zealous and bold? Yes, they will recognize these attributes of yours, but will they assign you an important job, will they promote you? Wait just a minute, they'll say. We have to proceed cautiously here. You must be challenged first. This is surely what they will say. Thus, they'll find a way to "hold" you "back" and only assign you tasks of secondary importance, only assign you miscellaneous jobs while they wait for someone who holds an important position to retire. By that time, alas, you hair has turned gray and fallen out. And, in the time spent waiting, you have used up all your zeal and spirit.

Conversely, if you go along with them, everything will go smoothly for you. If you are an old, frail and less than competent cadre, they will say that special consideration should be given to veteran cadres, that we should respect the experience of veteran cadres. Thus, they find reasons to keep you around. And, if they want, they can assign you to an even more important position. And what happens if you are a young cadre but incompetent? Actually, because you are incompetent, your youth should not make any difference. But such is not the case! They will then come to your defense, saying "we must give attention to young cadres and not be so hard on them, not demand that they immediately make an impact in their new job. Let us boldly assign work to young cadres. They might not do a good job at first, but with the help of their leaders, of the collective, they're sure to succeed." So, they promote you, they place you in "a new chair." If you are "apprehensive," they encourage you: "Don't be afraid! Your position is secure. Don't worry, no one will demote you."

--Some persons who hold public positions and authority speak very forcefully about the need to combat special rights and privileges and guarantee social fairness, considering these to be important prerequisites to strongly developing the role of the human factor in the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Having said this, they then give themselves permission to ignore this demand. They arrogantly avail themselves of all sorts of special benefits that lie outside the standards set by the party. Some of these persons even have several villas: one in Hanoi, one in Ho Chi Minh City, one for themselves, one for their wife and one for children. Some middle ranking persons even have their own multi-story home, their own car, their own secretary or assistant and domestic help!

--There are cadres in positions of responsibility who are constantly appealing to everyone to intensify the practice of self-criticism and criticism. They themselves sometimes engage in "very serious" self-criticism. Their subordinates occasionally witness scenes of them talking about their weaknesses and shortcomings. Their voice shakes, tears come to their eyes, their faces express sadness and they appear as though they are being moved and are truly sorry for their weaknesses and shortcomings. Everyone thinks that they are going to correct their weaknesses. But no, sincerely admitting their weaknesses is only a matter of "following fashion." And what about criticism of them? Just try to do what they say, try to speak frankly, speak the truth and strongly criticize them. Later on, they will get you back. To them, this is what it means for one's actions to be consistent with his words.

Our party has advanced an immutable principle: the individual must obey the collective, the lower level must obey the upper level, the local level must obey the central level. Everyone supports this. Every level, sector and locality supports this. In practice, however, countless things are occurring that are just the opposite and the resulting chaos is very deserving of concern. A lack of organization and discipline is occurring at a good many places: the upper level instructs but the lower level does not listen; the individual does not obey the collective; and the central level says one thing but the locality does another. It is exceedingly necessary to develop the independence and creativity of individuals, of the various levels, sectors and localities. However, independence and creativity must lie within the

framework of principles. Otherwise, they will immediately degrade into a state of anarchy.

I do not think that there is any need to cite many examples regarding this matter. Because, the fact that these things occur is very apparent.

In practice, considerable harm is caused when one's actions are not consistent with one's words:

First, it causes persons to lose all the confidence placed in them. Who can believe someone who does not do what he says others should do, who says a lot but does little, who says one thing but does another? If these persons are communist party members, or even persons in charge within an agency of the party or state, this practice can very easily lead to a sharp decline in the confidence that the masses have in our party, state and system.

Secondly, this malady is one of the causes of the loss of unity. It causes persons to mistrust and be suspicious of one another. It causes them to be uncooperative. Once this happens, nothing can be done to achieve unity and consensus.

Thirdly, it causes information to be distorted. Leadership levels cannot correctly assess the situation and this can very likely lead to incorrect policies or decisions. The consequences of these incorrect policies and decisions cannot be foreseen.

Fourthly, it increases the stagnation and confusion in society. Because, in the face of a problem, they speak in accordance with the lines and policies of the party and with the law but do not do what they say and sometimes even do the complete opposite. Therefore, some lines and policies cannot become a part of life.

Inconsistencies between what one says and what one does are clearly totally contrary to the character of the revolutionary. Concerning this matter, the people of ancient times advised:

"Always keep your word. Don't be like a butterfly that lands and then flies off somewhere else."

A party in power, such as ours, must deal harshly with this phenomenon. Only in this way can consistency between words and actions become an everyday part of life in our society.

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CONTINUOUS CHANGE, THE BASE OF HUNGARY'S DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 87 pp 85-88

[Article by Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] "The greater the danger is, the braver people become"--these words of the Hungarian national poet Janos Aran were used by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to conclude his speech opening the 13th Congress of the Party on 28 March 1985. Later, in an interview with the editor-in-chief of NEW TIMES (Soviet Union), Janos Kadar explained: "I repeated the words of the poet to point out a fact of history: when circumstances demand, our people, the working class, have worked and fought with enormous energy and bravely struggled for national independence and social progress. I wanted to stress that in order to successfully perform domestic and international tasks, the first things we need are boundless bravery, perseverance and action."⁽¹⁾

In the cause of socialist construction, the Hungarian people have expressed these valuable qualities of theirs particularly in building and continuously improving the economic management mechanism to insure Hungary's continuous progress.

In the period of reconstruction that followed World War II, the Hungarian party and state used an economic management system that was characterized by compulsory norms and close, centralized management. Within the context of the historical circumstances existing then, this management system produced certain results. It promptly supported the restoration and development of the economy and the construction of the initial material bases of socialism, thereby laying the groundwork for the completion of industrialization. However, this system had many drawbacks: it leaned heavily toward regulation by means of orders and directives and only attached importance to achieving higher output in order to complete the plan, giving little attention to product quality and less than full attention to the relationship between money and goods, to the role of the market.

After crushing the counter-revolutionary revolt in 1956, the Hungarian party and government amended and improved the country's economic policy in many fields. The economic management system was improved with the aims of achieving higher labor productivity, increasing the material remuneration of

the laborer and expanding and developing the socialist system of democracy. In industrial production, the number of compulsory norms was reduced and additional measures were taken to generate profits. In agricultural production, the procurement of products under contracts replaced the delivery of products under obligations to the state. The ties between production and commerce were strengthened.

In this stage (which lasted from 1956 to mid-1960's), Hungary's economy developed at a more rapid rate and the country recorded significant achievements.

In the mid-1960's, prospects for development began to disappear within the Hungarian economy. In the face of this reality, Hungary's leaders saw that it was necessary to develop a new economic management mechanism, one which is consistent with new circumstances and insures efficient economic activities. A comprehensive reform of the economic management mechanism was thus necessary.

Hungary prepared for this economic reform carefully and cautiously. Following the plenum of the Party Central Committee in December 1964, work committees were established. Following more than 1 year of intense work, these committees, on the basis of analyzing and assessing the situation, drafted the basic guidelines for economic reform. These guidelines were approved at the party plenum held in May 1966. However, because these guidelines were concretized gradually and because the preparations made were detailed and cautious, the new economic management mechanism was not implemented until 1 January 1968. The main elements of this management mechanism are: implementing socialist planning based on socialist ownership of the means of production, with consideration given to the laws of the market, applying economic measures in place of administrative measures and increasing the independence and interests of state-operated enterprises and cooperatives.

This new economic management mechanism attaches greater importance to the objective economic laws that exert an impact within the socialist economy, the special characteristics of the national economy and the specific conditions and circumstances of Hungary. It attaches importance to the increasing significance of overseas economic relations, correctly perceives and defines the role of agricultural production, of an economy that consists of many different segments and recognizes the need to begin making the transition to the stage of intensive economic development.

Thus, the Hungarian economy made the transition from a management mechanism based on compulsory planning, based primarily on the use of administrative measures and orders to a management mechanism based on economic measures. The administrative requirements and controls on enterprises have been reduced and enterprises are encouraged to expand their profitable business operations. The cooperative sector is treated equally and improvements have been made to organizational work within this sector. Enterprises are permitted to expand their cooperative relations with foreign countries and have the authority to export a number of products. Importance has been attached to the positive role of the market, money, goods, prices and economic levers. There are closer ties between production and marketing. The rigid system of

distribution by industrial sector has been changed.

These changes accelerated the development of production and increases in labor productivity, mobilized reserves within the national economy, increased the efficiency of production, stabilized the domestic and foreign balance of payments, strengthened the potentials of the national economy, raised the standard of living and brought Hungary close to the most developed countries in the world. Between 1950 and 1982, national income increased four-fold, industrial production increased 9 times, the value of the fixed assets of the national economy increased 4.2 times, the purchasing power of the people increased 4 times...

However, in the nearly 20 years that this management mechanism has been in effect, Hungary's economic development has not always been smooth. Due to objective conditions and subjective mistakes, the Hungarian economy has encountered serious difficulties and challenges in certain stages of its development.

Between 1973 and 1978, there was imbalance within the Hungarian economy. Some 75 percent of Hungary's debt was accumulated during this period. There were two reasons for this situation: first, prices on the international market had changed to the disadvantage of Hungary, thereby causing a 20 percent drop in Hungary's trade. This meant that Hungary had to export 20 percent more in order to maintain its imports. As a result of this decline, national income dropped by 10 percent. Secondly, because the development of the world economic situation was not correctly forecast, when the political and social conditions that form the basis of the process of change became more narrow in scope, a number of policies were adopted that were contrary to the spirit of change. Some cadres did not keep abreast of the situation and failed to meet the demands of change. Some mistakes were also made in investments. The standard of living was raised beyond the limit permitted by production.

In late 1978, Hungary recognized this situation and gradually revised its economic line, adopting numerous policies designed to give priority to establishing and building balance within the economy.

Necessary policies and measures were adopted regarding domestic consumption. The unreasonable distribution that had developed during the years from 1974 to 1978 was corrected. Some basic factors within the system of economic levers, such as prices, exchange rates and so forth, were changed. Today, prices in Hungary are set on the basis of the following principles: domestic production prices lie between export prices and import prices, taxes included, and consumer prices are not too far above production prices. On the basis of adhering to basic principles, a number of aspects of the economic management mechanism were changed. In December 1978, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party decided to merge the six ministries within the industrial sectors into one ministry, disband a number of large corporations and general corporations and establish independent enterprises.

The autonomy of enterprises was increased and their responsibilities and spirit of independence were heightened. Industrial management was modernized and small-scale forms of production management began to be established.

As a result of fundamental and timely changes, the national financial system was improved. A number of debts were paid off. The basic standard of living was maintained and the economy continued to develop, although not as desired.

Continuous change and the development of effective economic management measures are the fundamental goals in the activities of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The party initiated widespread research for the purpose of developing new ways to improve the economic management mechanism, research conducted with the participation of the leadership agencies of the party and state, of scientists, social activists and so forth.

The April 1984 plenum of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party advocated various policies and measures aimed at bringing about new changes throughout economic management. In March 1985, the 13th Congress of the Party examined, amended and decided to widely apply these policies and measures in all fields of economic management.

The current economic management mechanism of Hungary still considers planning to be the basic tool for leading economic activities. The main tasks of the central level in formulating and guiding the implementation of plans are to set strategic economic development targets, regulate economic activities and establish the system of measures for achieving implementation. Basic production units and enterprises formulate their own business development plans in a manner consistent with the economic strategy of the country. The coordination of long-term and short-term plans has been improved. Democracy within planning has been broadened, consequently, plans are more realistic, scientific and accurate.

To be compatible with the new mechanism, the banking system has been reorganized, its functions have been broadened and additional conditions have been created for it to earn interest through relations with economic organizations and the laboring masses. The forms of organization of enterprises and the forms of enterprise leadership have been clearly defined. Councils have been established at large factories and enterprises. The majority of the membership of these councils is directly elected by workers and serves a term of 5 years. The remaining members (not to exceed one-third) are appointed by the director. These councils elect factory directors by secret ballot. At smaller factories, leadership committees have been established. Their members and the director are elected by a plenary congress or a congress of worker representatives. In Hungary today, 89 percent of enterprises select their director through an election. These enterprises have implemented the new forms of management. The basic characteristics of these new forms are: the enterprise has the authority to manage its assets and manpower and to efficiently utilize and develop the material and non-material resources under its management. This has heightened the sense of ownership of directors and workers and caused them to give much more attention to making the best possible use of the means of production and labor, thus making the

income and profits of the enterprise as well as each of its members consistent with actual productivity.

The changes made in the economic activities of Hungary reflect the trend among the socialist countries to revamp their economic mechanisms. The essence of this change is a transition from a management mechanism based primarily on the use of administrative measures and compulsory plans sent down by the central level to a mechanism that gives priority to the use of economic measures under a flexible, open plan that makes full use of the relationships between commodities and money.

The experience of Hungary also shows that revamping the economic management mechanism is not simply an economic matter, but is also influenced by the socio-political situation and even the world situation. To successfully achieve economic targets, it is necessary to bring about changes in all fields of social life, changes in organizational work, cadre work, ideological work, overseas work and the education and training of scientific cadres and management cadres.

Over the years, Hungary has not always managed to successfully bring about well coordinated changes in all fields. And, besides the correct policies that have been adopted, there have also been more than a few problems and mistakes. Generally speaking, however, change and the desire for change are constantly and clearly evident in the social life of Hungary. This has helped Hungary to overcome many difficulties and challenges which have, at times, been very serious and record significant achievements in socialist construction.

Some 30 years ago, the Western propaganda apparatus loudly proclaimed that socialism had been removed from Hungary. Today, in the face of the irrefutable fact that socialism continues to exist and develop in Hungary, they are proclaiming that Hungary has recorded the achievements that it has because it has learned from capitalism. They intentionally close their eyes to the fact that the policies of reform and continuous change--which are the base of development--that have been and are being applied by Hungarian communists are policies mentioned many times in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEW TIMES (Russian), No 31, October 1968, p 3.

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