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No 2, February 1991

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16 September 1991

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

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**The 11th Plenum of the CPV Central Committee
(Sixth Term)**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 91 p 2

[Article published in FBIS-EAS-91-009, 14 Jan 91 pp 56,
57]

**Our Party Is Carrying on Self-Renovation and
Self-Reorganization**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 91 pp 3-7

[Article by Nguyen Duc Tam; published in FBIS-
EAS-91-096, 17 May 91 pp 49-53]

**Renovate the Activities of the Vietnam Trade
Union**

913E0016A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 8-10

[Article by Nguyen Van Tu, chairman of the Confeder-
ation of Vietnamese Workers]

[Text] Facing the very great requirements of renovation,
the Vietnam Trade Union realizes that there is still much
confusion within the union. Thus, renovating the activi-
ties of the union is a pressing need both subjectively and
objectively. The requirement of renovating the activities
of the trade union is: Together with all Vietnamese
laborers, to contribute as much as possible to promoting
the national renovation movement initiated and led by
the party.

The Vietnam Trade Union is a large political-social
organization of workers and laborers that is led by the
CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam]. The trade union is
not a guild that struggles just for immediate and local
interests. The union must be a broad political-social
organization whose basic and long-term struggle targets
are to contribute to eliminating oppression and exploi-
tation, building socialism, and defending our socialist
Vietnamese fatherland.

In a multifaceted economy, the Vietnam workers class
still has the historical mission of being the leading class
and activist force that takes the lead in the socialist
revolution in Vietnam. Workers and laborers have vol-
untarily joined the Vietnam Trade Union in order to
build socialism, a system that will promote their welfare
and ensure democracy for laborers and all people in
Vietnam. After carrying on activities for more than 60
years, the Trade Union clearly understands that the the
Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese working class
will not be able to achieve liberation without the leader-
ship of the party, the staff of the working class. The idea
of separating the workers from the leadership of the
party and having political pluralism and many parties
and trade unions is a major political mistake. The

essence of that idea is the desire to create political
organizations that oppose the communist party in order
to oppose socialism.

The trade union is the strong link between the party and
the workers and laborers. It is the entity that maintains
the close relationship between the working class and the
laboring masses and that brings the party's lines and
policies to the laboring masses. Thus, the trade union
must understand the hopes and desires of the laboring
masses in order to inform the party in a true and timely
manner, contribute to building and perfecting the posi-
tions and policies of the party, and honestly criticize the
mistakes of the party committee echelons, authorities,
cadres, and party members.

The trade union is a representative that protects the
interests and ownership rights of the workers and
laborers. It participates in managing the economy and
state. It is the socialist school of the workers and
laborers.

The above functions have been recorded in the Vietnam
Trade Union Statutes (Sixth Term). Each function has
its own separate meaning and affects the survival and
growth of the trade union organizations. They are inter-
woven and support each other. They have a dialectical
and organic relationship with each other. These func-
tions are the preconditions and conditions of other
functions.

The interests of the working class and laborers include
long-term basic interests and practical daily interests.
The long-term basic interest is the right to enjoy real
equality and democracy and live happily within a
socialist system. The daily interests include having a job
and an income, having a house, being able to rest and
relax, having access to medical treatment, having schools
for one's children, and enjoying security, order, democ-
racy, and social equality. Because of this, the trade union
must educate and guide the workers and laborers so that
they understand how to coordinate immediate and long-
term interests, individual and collective and state inter-
ests, and rights and obligations. The trade union must
adhere to the laws and policies, strive to oppose those
things that violate the legitimate and legal interests of the
laborers, oppose local thinking and "guildism," and
oppose encroachments on the socialist assets of all the
people for the sake of individual interests. It must
encourage the workers and laborers to fulfill their obli-
gations with high productivity, high quality, and good
results, practice frugality, and contribute to creating
material wealth for society.

Under socialism, the interests and ownership rights of
the people must be manifested above all through the laws
and policies. In order to protect the interests and own-
ership rights of the workers and laborers, when the state
organizations began drafting and discussing legal docu-
ments and policies related to the rights and obligations of

the workers and laborers, the trade union had to participate. After the legal documents and policies were promulgated, the trade union had to control and supervise their implementation, struggle against mistakes, and oppose the bureaucratism and dogmatism (if any) of the managers. Clearly, the functions of "protecting interests" and "participating in management" are interwoven and cannot be separated from each other.

Through all its activities having to do with protecting interests, participating in management, organizing emulation contests, looking after living conditions, and so on, the trade union has taught the workers and laborers a concept of ownership and tied this to the collective, units, and enterprises. This is a necessary function of the trade union once the working class has seized power. Only if the trade union carries out the above functions well will it be worthy of being the socialist school of the workers and laborers.

Providing jobs, maintaining the standard of living, and ensuring democracy and social equality are the pressing needs of the workers and laborers. These are the daily concerns of the trade union echelons. But this is not a slogan to struggle against the party and state. The trade union must have a concept of its responsibilities and encourage the workers and laborers to exploit their capabilities and intelligence and be ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with the state in solving these pressing and long-term problems. The trade union members and trade union organizations must regard this as their personal tasks.

Based on a correct understanding of their role and functions, the trade union organizations must abandon administrative and rigid work methods and actively exploit their relative organizational independence in every sphere of social life.

Building strong trade union bases and manifesting the independence of the bases is an urgent demand of the workers and laborers in the new management mechanism. Whether the trade union bases actually represent the rights and obligations of the laborers is a question of great significance for the survival, renovation, and growth of the trade union system. In order to do this, the trade union bases cannot sit by passively but must actively formulate an operations program and act independently with respect to cadre and financial affairs. On the other hand, it is also very important that the higher-echelon trade union echelons constantly monitor the bases and provide all-round support for the activities of the trade union bases. The way to provide vital, useful, and practical help is to regularly summarize the experiences and gather the ideas of the trade union bases and use these to put forth guidelines and operating contents in accord with the specific conditions of each base.

The cadre and financial problems are closely related to the operating results of the trade union.

Trade union cadres must be selected from the outstanding people in the movements. The ranks of trade

union cadres consist of various echelon trade union leadership cadres elected by the masses (most are not full-time cadres) and full-time trade union cadres. The trade union cadres must be trained in order to build a rank of trade union cadres who have good political quality, who understand trade union theory and practices, who have the necessary technical knowledge and economic management knowledge, who understand the laws and state and social management methods, and who can assemble and manifest the ownership rights of the workers and laborers. Independence concerning cadres means creating a mechanism for selecting cadres through real training and truly democratic elections, because coercion and oppression with respect to cadres will have a bad effect on confidence and on building organizations and implementing the political tasks. The cadre training forms must be made more varied in accord with the new management mechanism. Theoretical research must be promoted and practices must be summarized in order to prepare timely training documents for the trade union cadres. There must be training programs at the schools and in the cadre ranks from the bases to the central echelon among the workers and laborers in order to satisfy the needs of the trade union organizational system and to gradually supply good cadres who have been trained and tested for the party and state organizations.

As for finances, the trade union cannot rely only on member contributions for monthly trade union expenditures, the financial sources provided for by the Trade Union Law, or the general wage fund of workers and laborers. This is actually a state subsidy. Thus, the trade union must try to engage in economic activities, from service and travel activities to commercial production activities, in accord with the regulations in order to generate additional sources of funds for its activities. Previously, the trade union cadres operated within a state subsidies mechanism. Now, they must engage in economic activities, and this will be very difficult. But only by doing this will they be trained and tested and gain knowledge from "the school of life" so that they can carry out their functions well, particularly the "participate in management" function.

In order to carry out its functions well, the trade union must always be under the leadership of the party. However, the party must exploit the initiative and organizational independence of the trade union. It must not pressure or replace the trade union or interfere too much in the trade union's internal affairs. The leadership contents of the party with respect to the trade union must be clearly manifested in setting political guidelines for the trade union activities; controlling the trade union's activities through the ranks of party members active in the trade union system, and helping the trade union look after cadre affairs. Party members who are trade union cadres must monitor the bases closely, react quickly in every situation, be strong in the face of every challenge, and stay close to and be capable of persuading the laboring masses. The trade union echelons are

responsible for keeping the party fully informed about the situation and the difficulties and problems in trade union activities and proposing guidelines to solve the problems. Organizational independence does not mean the trade union is to be separated from the leadership of the party. And strengthening the party leadership with respect to the trade union does not mean rejecting the organizational independence of the trade union. These two aspects are not in conflict with each other.

For the state, the trade union is something on which it can rely. It is a special collaborator. After the working class seized power, the state, as the tool of the working class, struggled on behalf of the interests of the laborers and for the high targets pointed out by President Ho Chi Minh: The state must ensure that the people are comfortable and that they have freedom and happiness. The people must have food and clothing, and everyone must be able to attend school. Thus, it is wrong to think that it is the trade union alone that is responsible for looking after the lives and protecting the interests of the laborers. We resolutely reject those erroneous viewpoints that pit the trade union against the state, because this is a state "of the people, by the people, and for the people." We cannot accept forms of struggle such as those in use before the working class seized power. In the present situation, if a loss of political and economic and social stability is allowed to occur, this will be a major disaster for the country and the working class and laborers. If disputes arise somewhere between the laborers and the heads of the organizations and units or the organizations concerned, the trade union must quickly stabilize the situation and limit the damage. The trade union must strive to expose demagogic arguments, struggle against opportunists who want to use democracy to encourage the masses to stir up trouble, weaken political stability, and damage the renovation movement. The trade union cannot allow democracy to be implemented using deceptive tricks instead of implementing democracy honestly. This is a complex problem that requires great political capabilities if this is to be accomplished. Coordination between the administrative organizations and the various-echelon trade union organizations is important in many respects. This will ensure that the trade union is able to function and ensure that the masses can participate in building and defending the regime.

Trade union activities during the past years have posed many new problems concerning both understanding and the organization of activities.

As for the other mass organizations such as the Youth Union, the Women's Association, and the Peasants' Association, the trade union is responsible for coordinating bilateral or multisided activities under the leader of the party and with the coordination of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

The Market Mechanism and the Cadre Problem

913E0016B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 11-15

[Article by Nguyen Phu Trong]

[Text] The realities of life show that we must break away completely from the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies management mechanism and switch to economic accounting. We must expand the multifaceted commodity economy and advance to socialism.

Switching to expanding commodity production and implementing market mechanism that is guided and regulated by the state is a very basic and important change that manifests the great renovation in the economic thinking of the party. This change will enable the production forces to develop their capabilities and achieve greater results. But this also poses many new and complex problems. This has turned ways of thinking and acting upside down and had a great effect on social, family, and individual relationships and on the moral concepts, thinking, and emotions of every person and household. There are many problems that must be solved, including problems concerning the laws, policies, the reform of the apparatus, cadre training and employment, and work methods. In this article, I would like to discuss a number of ideas concerning the cadre problem.

Through a long and difficult revolutionary struggle, the party has trained many cadres who have shouldered and completed the glorious tasks entrusted to them by the people. At present, we have a fairly large rank of cadres composed of four generations: those born before the August Revolution, those both during the August Revolution and the resistance against France, those born during the resistance against America for national salvation and socialist construction in the north, and those born since 1975. Along with the leading and managerial cadres, there is a rank of scientific and technical and specialized cadres composed of more than 700,000 people. This is a valuable asset and a great achievement of our country's revolution.

Trained and tested in the long and fierce struggle, many of our cadres are politically strong, they have revolutionary morals, they are devoted and zealous, they can bear hardships and difficulties, and their level of understanding has increased greatly. A number of recently promoted cadres have begun to manifest a good effect and show good prospects. But it must be admitted that entering the new revolutionary stage, in the face of the renovation requirements, particularly the need to renovate the economic management mechanism and expand commodity production, our cadres have shown many weaknesses, among which are a number of rather basic weaknesses:

They are not used to organizing commercial production and do not have experience in managing the economy based on a lively market mechanism in which there is both cooperation and competition. Our cadres are used

to leading in war, and they are excellent in mass mobilization and in political, military, and diplomatic struggle. But they have not been trained in economic construction. Many of the new and complex problems concerning economic management have confused and even stunned a number of the cadres. In carrying on economic trade with other countries, there have been many manifestations of immaturity and silliness. In commercial production, cadres have not been active, or they have failed to adhere to the policies. Many cadres have been tricked. Many have been unable to maintain their moral qualities and become corrupt. Some have fallen behind, because their standards and capabilities do not satisfy the requirements.

They are not used to managing society using laws and the policy mechanism. They lived for a long time in conditions of war and carried on activities within a bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism in a country with small-scale and backward production. Our cadres are used to being passive and to relying on others. Leadership and management are based on discourse and moral exhortations rather than laws and policies.

Cultural, scientific, and technical standards are in general still low. Cadres do not have a concept of using science and technology in management. Most cadres are "inexperienced" people who have been transferred from combat leadership. Thus, their understanding of science, the law, and business is very limited.

Clearly recognizing these shortcomings, in recent years the party and state have concentrated their energies on training and reorganizing the cadres. Many cadres have been sent to study management at schools both here and abroad. A large number of key leading cadres in the sectors and echelons, especially those in the economic, financial, and commercial production spheres, have boldly been replaced. Since the Sixth CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress, more than 10,000 have attended short- and long-term training courses at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute and zonal party schools, and tens of thousands of cadres have attended economic and administrative management schools at the center and in the provinces. Of the 31 ministers, 21 have been replaced (in four ministries, the minister has been replaced twice, and in one ministry, the minister has been replaced three times). Twelve of the 15 department heads have been replaced (in three departments, the department head has been replaced twice), 18 of the 40 provincial and municipal secretaries have been replaced (twice in the case of some provinces), 31 of the 40 provincial chairmen have been replaced (twice in the case of 14 provinces), 39.4 percent of the district and ward party committee members have been replaced, 39 percent of the village and subward party committee members have been replaced, and 40 percent of the enterprise directors have been replaced. In just a very short time, the banking sector replaced the director-general and three deputy directors-general. Several provinces have disciplined the standing committee of the provincial CPV committee, dismissed the provincial secretary, and so on. Also, the central

echelon has retired 399 high-level cadres and disciplined many cadres, including 70 cadres managed by the central echelon.

Some people have said that recently, large numbers of cadres have been replaced very quickly. Some people have noted with bitterness that the economic management mechanism, particularly in the financial, banking, distribution and circulation, and foreign trade sectors, is like a "rice mill" that has "ground up" many cadres.

The fact that so many cadres have been replaced like this shows that the party and state are not conservative or easy-going. Because of this, the ranks of cadres are now somewhat younger. A number of places have begun creating new leadership capabilities. A number of provinces and districts are forming a new rank of cadres who are younger and more energetic.

But replacing cadres is not correct in every circumstance, and this has not created new quality to satisfy the new requirements. The socioeconomic situation is still changing slowly. Negative phenomena have not declined but have continued to spread, and in some cases they are even more serious than before. In just a short period of time, bank credit has been toppled, land disputes have arisen, smuggling has gone unchecked, the state has lost tax revenues, and many state enterprises and small industry and handicrafts cooperatives are in danger of having to go out of business.

This shows that the quality and standards of our cadres is a very important problem. Cadre quality depends not only on replacing individual cadres but also on many other factors. We have not correctly determined specific viewpoints and lines on economic and social development, and because of this, we do not have a strategy for building a unified and stable rank of cadres. Not only have we failed to grasp the fact that we must expand the multifaceted commodity economy based on a regulated market mechanism, but we have also not dared talk about commodity production or a market economy out of fear that talking and acting like that will lead us along the capitalist path. There have been times when we have felt that the old mechanism has not been right. We have wanted to make changes and reforms, but we have lacked a theoretical and practical basis for making clear-cut decisions. Because of this, many of the policies are incomplete. Recently, when it was realized that we must renovate and implement a market mechanism, people did not fully understand what a market mechanism was or how to coordinate planning with marketing or build a unified and planned market. Because of this, there has been confusion in preparing and assigning cadres. Many times, our understanding concerning cadre work has been too simple and voluntaristic. Our view has been that if cadres are good at attacking bandits, they will be good at carrying on economic tasks. Although a number of cadres were prepared for peacetime construction, that was just general preparation. We did not imagine all the complexities and difficulties of economic and socialist construction.

For a long time, cadre training has focused on providing cadres with basic political knowledge. They have not been given much specialized training, and not enough attention has been given to occupational problems, particularly economic and state management. Thus, there is a surplus of "general" guidance cadres and a shortage of cadres with specific management capabilities. Among the ranks of scientific and technical cadres, there are many basic research cadres but few engineers, excellent technicians, and skilled workers. Cadre assignments are often made based on feelings and influence and not the real standards and capabilities of the cadres. It's as if being a party member or party committee member qualifies the person to do anything and as if having a long process and a clean history qualifies the person to lead any sector or sphere. The cadre policies have a state subsidies nature. They promote "average-ism" and provide special rights and privileges and do not really encourage talented people to achieve results.

The above situation explains why we haven't managed to bring in people of real quality and talent even though we have recently replaced many cadres.

To switch to implementing the new management mechanism in accord with the planned expansion of a multifaceted commodity economy, we cannot be satisfied with the existing cadres but must quickly train and build a strong and uniform rank of cadres. In particular, there must be many excellent business management cadres who understand science and technology and who have occupational specialties, including "strategic" and "tactical" cadres, at the center and in the localities. This requirement means that we must solve the following key problems:

1. The viewpoint on training and using cadres must be changed completely.

The coming years will certainly be years of lively development of our country's renovation. In building the economy and building socialism based on the new mechanism in conditions in which the scientific and technical revolution is growing like a typhoon and the world is constantly changing and moving forward, we cannot think or do things based on the old style. Cadres must be strong and loyal to the party, the people, and socialism. But at the same time, they must be clever and have standards and economic management capabilities. They must be able to organize commercial production and generate profits. In economic construction today, we cannot have cadres who are zealous but who lack knowledge, who have many years of work experience but who lack creative capabilities, who have a pure background but who don't understand business management. The country needs excellent economic and state management cadres and excellent legal and scientific cadres (including both the natural and social sciences). To build the fatherland and make it prosperous, we must have many large businessmen and excellent traders and bankers who know how to handle money.

Thus, people's way of looking at the cadre problem must be renovated. There must be a new viewpoint in training, assigning, and using cadres. In particular, views on evaluating cadres must be renovated. Emphasis must be placed on talents and on using those who have skills and who can achieve results. We must stop evaluating cadres based on giving attention only to their work processes, family background, behavior, attitude, or position or grade. Instead, evaluation must be based on their real talents and work achievements. We must abolish the old and outmoded views and stop using grade and position in the party and the state apparatus as a yardstick for measuring the value of a person in society. Paternalistic and hierarchical attitudes that are feudal in nature must be overcome, as must manifestations of individualism and a lack of a sense of justice and objectivity in cadre work.

In today's situation, along with the cadres who are strong politically and who have much experience in revolutionary struggle, attention must be given to using cadres who have new ideas and new ways of doing things that can greatly benefit the country and society. We must boldly renovate the cadres, lower the average age of the cadres, and focus attention on capabilities. We must have confidence in our young cadres. Although youths have certain shortcomings, they do have cultural and scientific and technical standards, they have been given basic training, they are energetic and clever and ready to accept the new, and they dare to think and act. If they are well trained and coached, they will definitely be able to do the job. Recently, many of the young directors and young production and business management cadres have shown themselves to be dynamic and creative in their work, and they have achieved good results. Today's youths have new ideas and styles in performing economic tasks. On the other hand, we must actively manifest the influence of older cadres, coordinate the old cadres with the new cadres, and maintain continuity in the cadre ranks.

Cadre training and retraining must undergo a basic change with respect to program contents and training methods based on the standards and requirements of each specific position and in line with the tasks and use requirements. We must avoid providing "general" training and sending cadres to study here and there "for the sake of policy" so that they can earn a "mark" and then return and be promoted and given any job. The party and state must concentrate on training a number of talented cadres who have the ability to quickly become excellent businessmen and traders and who can do an excellent job in the financial, banking, and foreign economic sectors. Cadres can be sent to study and gain economic management and professional experience in a number of capitalist countries, or specialists from capitalist countries can be invited to come here to help us train our cadres.

2. The cadres must be boldly reassigned in a rational manner.

Recently, many of the party's and state's correct directives and resolutions have not been fully implemented. An important reason for this is that some of the cadres in various positions lack talent and quality, they are too conservative, and they lack a spirit of responsibility and a concept of organization and discipline. They are dogmatic and corrupt and live a depraved life, and the masses don't have confidence in them. We must resolutely replace these cadres and oppose right-wing deviations. We must not be overly indulgent or lax in this. Particular attention must be given to removing certain cadres from their leadership positions. This includes cadres who disagree with the viewpoints and lines of the party and who do not have the knowledge and talents necessary to implement renovation in their work sphere and cadres who vacillate and who are opportunistic.

Those cadres who have been trained and tested and who have adequate standards must be boldly promoted to suitable positions. The best way is to promote them from the bottom up, from deputy head to head, within the same sector. Those who have done an outstanding job in their work for many years and who have the ability to shoulder greater responsibilities can be promoted several levels. We cannot continue appointing cadres using the "scrap off the mud, cross the pond" method. That is, we cannot allow people who have been disciplined or who lack the ability to carry out a task in one place to be transferred and given a similar position somewhere else or even promoted. There are few cadres who can do every task. There must be a clear distinction between cadre "policies" and cadre assignments. We cannot, for the sake of "policy," intentionally try to put unqualified people in a position, which will be bad for the work and displease the masses. We must adhere to the principle of "assigning people because of the work" and "people can move up or down." We must avoid allowing cadres to hold several positions concurrently or assigning cadres to positions for which they are not trained or do not have any experience. Replacing and rotating cadres must be closely coordinated with stabilizing cadres. Cadres must not be replaced arbitrarily, which just causes needless confusion. Cadres who are directly involved in managing production and business and technical cadres must be given specialized training.

3. The procedures and policies for compensating cadres must be improved.

In conditions in which we are implementing a market mechanism, a rational and fair compensation policy is a lever for exploiting the potential of each cadre and of the entire rank of cadres. The new management mechanism will greatly encourage people of talent who have done a good job and contributed much to society. This is in accord with the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. Those who do a lot will earn a lot, and those who do little will earn little. Those who do a good job will be rewarded, and those who do a poor job will be punished. Stipulations having the nature of state subsidies, "average-ism," and special rights and privileges must be abolished. Recent practices have shown that the

unfair compensation policy is one of the main things that has limited the combat strength of the cadres and made it difficult to exploit the talents of the cadres.

We must soon implement the stipulation that cadres in a job are to receive the compensation corresponding to the quality and amount of that job. Subsidies for seniority and responsibilities must be separated from basic wages. The contribution process of cadres should not be identified with existing standards and real capabilities. Present wage levels should not be used to define the level of specialization of a cadre. A suitable wage must be paid to excellent specialists and people of real talent. There must be a mechanism to create an atmosphere of emulation and competition among the cadres. Creative thinking and individual innovation must be encouraged, individual responsibility and power must be manifested, and steps must be taken to enable the cadres to become excellent specialists and excellent businessmen. They must not make their way in life by "serving as mandarins." We must build a way of thinking and social life that is respectful, that values talent, and that regards real contributions to the country and to society as the measure of a person's worth rather than how high their position is.

4. Cadre work must be democratized.

The party has talked a lot about the principles of collectivity and democracy in cadre work and implemented many regulations and stipulations on controlling and promoting cadres. But recently, in many sectors and localities, there has been a rather widespread lack of democracy and lack of equality in cadre work. Individualism, localism, factionalism, and covering up for one's friends have resulted in mistakes being made in evaluating and using cadres. Good has been confused with bad, and the real has been confused with the false. The concept of "living long, rising high" and hierarchical and paternalistic ideas are still taken quite seriously and are major obstacles in promoting cadres.

Switching to a market mechanism, a dynamic and flexible system that also contains much spontaneity, requires that cadre work be democratized. Cadres work in almost all spheres, and they must take the initiative and be creative in their work at all times. Only by using democratic methods will it be possible to discover which cadres have talents and moral qualities. The masses and cadres at the primary level can discover which cadres are good at their job and resourceful. It can't be leadership cadres from higher echelons or functional cadres who do this, which was the case during the time that we had a bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism.

Because of this, recommending people for election to the leadership organizations must be carried on from the primary level. The preparatory recommendations of the agencies concerned must be coordinated with the recommendations and nominations of the masses and the candidacies of cadres and party members. In appointing and promoting cadres, the bases must be asked their

opinion, and a vote of confidence must be obtained from the masses. If a person does not receive a majority vote of confidence, he should not be promoted. In evaluating cadres, it is essential to obtain the views of the masses and lower echelons and of the people who have ties to and know those cadres. An examination system for selecting directors, managerial cadres, technical cadres, and state civil servants must be implemented widely. In places where it is possible, enterprises directors and college presidents can be elected, or appointing these people can be coordinated with obtaining votes of confidence. During their terms of office, the cadres must

be reevaluated. Those who cannot carry out the tasks or who do not have the necessary qualities and capabilities must be replaced. Promoting, rewarding, and disciplining cadres must be discussed by the collective. Cadres must be allowed to present their ideas and should not be pressured.

We must do away with the concept that cadre work is the secret work of a just a small number of people and that the ideas of just a few people can be used to make decisions for the collective.

Contributing Ideas To Formulating the Program and Strategy

The Themes of the Age

913E0016C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 16-19

[A round table conference on party documents]

[Text] What is an age? What are the themes, tendencies, characteristics, and conflicts of the age? These are very important questions for examining the main contents and correctly determining the nature of the Draft Program recently disclosed by the party. The age is like a large river, with each nation like a small boat. To see where the boat is headed, you must look at the water and wind. You can't be arbitrary. The age determines the social system of each country. Only if the nature of the age is determined correctly will it be possible to find the right direction for the country and people.

With the above requirements, the International Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN organized a conference on the themes of the age in order to contribute ideas to the party's Draft Program. Those participating in the conference included: Phan Doan Nam, the editor in chief of VIETNAM COURIER, Ministry of Foreign Trade; Trinh Quoc Tuan, M.A. in philosophy, Department of Scientific Socialism, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute; Ho Si Bang, the first director of the Marxist-Leninist Institute of International Studies; Le Si Thiep, M.A. in economics, National Administrative School of the Central Echelon; Nguyen Xuan Son, M.A. in philosophy, deputy head of the Department of Communist and International Workers Movements, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute; and a number of cadres from the International Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN.

Methods of Analyzing the Age

Ho Si Bang: Marxist methods must be used to determine the special characteristics and themes of the age. This means that we must use class viewpoints and specific historical methods of analysis to examine which class is the motive force of social progress.

Le Si Thiep: To correctly evaluate the themes of the age, we must start from the real situation in the world. Reality is the proof and basis. It is the starting point for analyzing things and setting guidelines. And today's reality is very different from that of the past. There have been many changes, and there are many new factors.

Le Tinh: The Marxist world view and methodology is the main theoretical basis of scientific socialism. This theory a tool for understanding everything having to do with socialism. Adhering to Marxist-Leninist theory in order to analyze the age is the correct way for real socialists today. This method requires: 1. Looking at the age in all the historical periods of mankind. 2. Using reality as the

starting point. Theory must be generalized and developed from reality. 3. Using class viewpoints. 4. Analyzing the conflicts.

What Is an Age?

Phan Doan Nam: An age is usually a period of 300-400 years. The last age began with the bourgeois revolution in England in 1640 and concluded in 1916. The age in which we are now living is called the modern age. This age began in 1917 with the October Revolution and will probably last 200-300 years. Only by determining when the age in which we are living began and when it will conclude will it be possible to see its nature and themes.

Ho Si Bang: An age is a rather long historical period with its own special characteristics that distinguishes it from other ages. It is marked by events of great and even decisive influence on the development of the world. In an age, there are usually influences and changes among economic and social structures, with one structure eventually taking a commanding position.

What Are the Themes of the Modern Age?

Trinh Quoc Tuan: As compared with 70 years ago, since the October Revolution, there have not been any fundamental changes in the most important factors of the world political structure.

Ho Si Bang: I agree with that. The basic themes of the age have been determined by the fundamental conflicts. The four fundamental conflicts of the age are still present. However, new factors have appeared. The nature of the conflicts hasn't changed, but their characteristics and forms have.

Phan Doan Nam: In my view, the themes of the age have been determined not only by the fundamental conflicts but also by other conflicts. The most basic conflict today is the conflict between forces of peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress and the forces of bellicose imperialism led by the American imperialists. Besides this, the world today is controlled by other conflicts: 1. The conflict between the large power centers in the world. 2. The conflict between the developing countries and the most developed capitalist countries, particularly the multinational corporations. 3. The conflicts between other countries, particularly between developing countries, on territorial, national, and religious issues. 4. The new conflicts that have arisen during the process of development, which are conflicts of a universal nature.

Le Si Thiep: As compared with previous official statements about the themes of the age, things have now changed greatly. Even if Marxist-Leninist theory on time hasn't changed, the actual situation has changed greatly. We must study these changes if we are to determine the correct path. Starting from the reality of the world today, our age is the opening age of the transition from capitalism to socialism, which was marked by the great October Revolution. This is a long historical age that will

experience an intense and complex class struggle throughout the world and in each country. This struggle requires that the revolutionary forces adhere to the tendencies of the age and the specific factors both in and outside the country in order to formulate a strategy that is in accord with the developments of the revolution in each specific period.

The Tendencies of the Age

Trinh Quoc Tuan: Capitalism has been obsolete since October, 1917. That is not just a theoretical argument. This has also been proven by reality. This is true even though capitalism has been able to make adjustments in order to survive a while longer. Capitalist economic and social management formulas can no longer be accepted as being in accord with the objective laws of historical progress in today's age. Furthermore, it is wrong to think that these methods pose a major obstacle to mankind's advance into a new era. Every adjustment by capitalism is just temporary. Because in making adjustments that benefit capitalism, capitalism must ignore the basic requirements of social progress. This includes eliminating private ownership of the means of production in order to do away with exploitation and enable man to develop in all respects and enjoy real freedom and happiness. This includes eliminating exploitation of one people by another people so that all peoples can enjoy equality and prosperity.

Nguyen Xuan Son: The basic tendency of the age is the transition from capitalism to socialism. This transition has broad significance and will be very long in duration. It will last from when the laboring people take power until socialism has been victorious throughout the world. To date, after more than 70 years, even though socialism has been distorted in many ways and even though a number of communist parties have lost power, it cannot be said that mankind has not entered the transitional period to socialism. The literal meaning of the concept of "transition" has to do with the process of forming a new system. In this process, there will be failures and setbacks. That can happen during the transitional period. It's true that the transitional period began with the October Revolution. The October Revolution opened up a new age in which the workers and peasants are the masters in building a new society. But the path of violent revolution should not be made absolute. The October Revolution was a violent revolution. Lenin talked about the possibility of a peaceful transition. That possibility should not be rejected. Thus, the transitional period consists of a period in which the old society will gradually form economic and social factors of a socialist nature.

Ho Si Bang: Capitalism is the final system of exploitation. It will be replaced by a new system, socialism. This is an objective development in accord with law. Today, capitalism is still strong. It is still suitable and capable of developing. At the same time, socialism is now in a serious crisis. But this is a temporary phenomenon that stems from subjective mistakes and objective factors.

This shows that the birth of socialism, like that of every new society, will be lengthy, winding, complex, and full of difficulties and obstacles. It will be necessary to do things over and over again many times. Capitalism has been evolving for about 600 years. During its formation and development, there have been countless changes, crises, and defeats. Socialism has a very short history and is now suffering setbacks. But it will definitely improve and develop.

Phan Doan Nam: The present age can be called the age of the national and class liberation movements with respect to politics. The leaders of these movements are the communist parties and workers, or the national democratic and progressive forces. The goal of these revolutions is to create the material and spiritual preconditions for the transition from capitalist production formulas to socialist production formulas. Based on the above analysis of the conflicts, we can see that the main tendencies of the age are peace, development, and social progress. These are the three targets of the age, and they are organically related. There cannot be development without peace, and without development there cannot be social progress and vice versa. Hitting these targets is taking place in a new international environment that stems from the achievements of science and technology. This includes the destructive power of nuclear war, the mutual dependence of nations with respect to security and development, and the tendency toward internationalization of the world economy. Thus, in the class struggle worldwide, the role of the military is still very important. But the role of the economy and of science and technology is even more important. However, the strength of a nation is not determined solely by its economic and scientific and technical strength. This is an integrated strength consisting of many factors: the economy, science and technology, the military, politics, and the unified will power of the people under the leadership of a revolutionary party. It's wrong to simply say that the present age is an age of peaceful economic and scientific and technical competition in order to answer the question of who will defeat whom. However, it can be affirmed that in the present age, the conflicts have changed, at least their manifestations. Thus, the class struggle in the world contains not only opposition but also cooperation. Besides violence, there are also peaceful forms.

Le Tinh: The tendency of each age depends on two factors: 1. The laws of mobilization of human society. Production relationships must be in accord with the nature and standards of the production forces. 2. The classes represent the new production formulas and are the main motive forces of the age. Starting from these two preconditions, today, we are clearly in a period of moving from capitalism to socialism. This is true even though socialism is still weak and will have to pass through an historical period in order to improve and develop. Looking back in history, socialism has faced many tests. Socialism's first defeat was the Paris Commune in 1871. From that lesson, the working class

learned that although gaining power is difficult, holding on to power is even more difficult. From this, the socialist movement grew, and many worker political parties appeared in Europe. In 1895, Engels died, the international bourgeoisie stepped up its opposition to the socialist movement, and the all-round revisionism of Beckstein appeared. Socialism went into decline. In this situation, Marxists saw the boundary between Marxism and opportunism. Lenin appeared, and after that came the victory of the October Revolution. Today, socialism is in a serious crisis worldwide. A number of people who used to be communists have lost their direction. But this is just a partial and temporary setback. Just as in the past, communists will learn the lessons and move socialism ahead.

Proposals by Those Participating in the Conference

1. On the Draft Program: It should be shortened by one-third to one-half.

The section on the age should strive to generalize practices, particularly the new factors, and be more persuasive. The theoretical basis for analyzing the age should be presented more clearly, and the conflicts of the age should be mentioned.

2. The characteristics and conflicts of the age are of great theoretical and practical significance. Broad debates on these things should be organized throughout the party.

3. Steps should be taken to reeducate people about the basic theoretical problems of Marxism-Leninism, first at the party schools and party research organizations and then in the national educational system.

The Concept of Bypassing the Capitalist Stage of Development

913E0016D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 20-22, 24

[Article by Le Huu Nghia, M.A. in philosophy]

[Text] In past years, our country has tried to advance to socialism by "bypassing the capitalist stage of development." Along with scoring achievements, we have also made a number of theoretical mistakes in practice. Among the theoretical questions that must be reviewed in a correct and scientific manner, there is one very important question: "How can the capitalist stage of development be bypassed?"

First of all, we can "bypass" a stage, but we must respect the natural historical process and avoid impatience and subjective voluntarism.

Based on Lenin's ideas on the transitional period, it must be concluded that our country's transition must be indirect rather than direct, because we started from the position of a currency capital society. We are moving to socialism from the position of a semi-feudal colony with a small-scale, self-sufficient production economy. Because of this, if we talk about "moving directly" to

socialism, this could easily be mistaken to mean that all the forms and measures of this transition must immediately have the characteristics and contents of socialism. We are advancing, but not directly. The transition to socialism by "eliminating the capitalist stage of development" just means that we will not pass through the capitalist stage having the credentials of the dominant socioeconomic form. It is this special characteristic that stipulates the indirect nature of the transition to socialism with respect to the characteristics and contents of the forms, measures, and steps. This means that this transition, with respect to internal contents, is "shortened development."

However, "shortened development" does not mean skipping a stage or violating society's process of natural historical development, even though this is a special natural historical development. The term "shortened" simply means accelerating the process of development. This means accelerating the previous rate of advance. But even though things have been "shortened," things must be done in the proper sequence when implementing the measures.

Second, we cannot "bypass" the middle steps or transitional forms.

Lenin's ideas and our country's real situation have affirmed this. In advancing to socialism from a currency capital society, there must be a series of intermediary steps. Stated another way, the "bypass" transition is a transition "through intermediary steps." The intermediary steps and transitional forms are very important and have a profound effect on the transition to socialism in countries where small-scale production has been the basis of the economy. Lenin wrote: "We must understand the essential intermediary lines, forms, modes, and tactics in order to switch from capitalist relationships to socialism. That is the heart of the problem." (Footnote 1) (Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 43, page 247)

The sixth party congress affirmed that our country has a multifaceted economic structure and that we "must give attention to the intermediary economic forms and to the transition from low to high and from small-scale to large-scale." (Footnote 2) (Sixth Congress Proceedings, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1987, page 57) Developing the above position of the sixth congress, the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee pointed out that the multifaceted economic policy is of long-term strategic significance and that this has the nature of a law in moving from small-scale production to socialism.

In moving from a currency capital society to socialism, it is essential to develop the private economy (individual, small-owner, and private capitalist) to a certain degree. The positive role of the private economy must be manifested in energizing the economy and expanding the

production forces. Developing the commodity and currency relationships and liberalizing trading will definitely expand capitalism. Thus, the problem is to ensure that the individual and private capital economies benefit the national welfare and socialism. The state must guide and control things so that capitalism serves socialism and so that capitalists "grow their crops" in proletarian "fields." To do this, according to Lenin, "we must use capitalism (mainly by putting this on the path of state capitalism) as the intermediary between small-scale production and socialism and as the means, path, and formula for strengthening the production forces." (Footnote 3) (Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 43, page 276) Using the state capitalist economy in a variety of forms and with different standards is very important in order to move from a small-peasant economy to socialism.

As for the individual economy of the peasants, manual workers, and small merchants, these people must be put on the cooperative path using suitable forms and steps in accord with each occupation, economic zone, and type of product. Examples are the forms to move from the individual to production solidarity teams, production collectives, and cooperatives. There are cooperative forms from circulation and services to production. There are forms of economic links between state enterprises and collectives and between collectives and the individual and family economies. There are transitional forms of management such as quotas based on man-days and products, household contracts, contracts, shares, and so on. Recently, these transitional economic forms have contributed to expanding production and ensured that the production relationships are in accord with the production forces. They have contributed to gradually transforming a self-sufficient economy to a commodity production economy.

Third, "bypassing" does not mean ignoring the general laws of the process of moving from small-scale to large-scale production.

In history, in order to move from small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production, the bourgeoisie had to solve some basic problems. This included expanding commodity production, carrying on a technical revolution based on the dialectical development of technology—simple cooperation-manual work sites-large industry—in order to turn the manual laborers into laborers capable of using the machinery, overcoming the psychological concepts of small-scale production and feudal ideas, and so on. Our country is moving from small-scale production to socialism. But according to Marx, building socialism is a task of an economic nature. Because of this, we must build large-scale socialist production and solve the problems discussed above in the new conditions and with the new themes. Once we have built large-scale socialist production, we must expand the multifaceted socialist commodity economy. Once we have recognized the commodity-currency relationship, we must recognize the objective existence of markets. Thus, like other socialist countries, our country is now

switching to a market economy. Markets are an important element of the economic mechanism. The market mechanism is the objective motive force of the commodity-currency relationship, and markets are necessary for having commodities.

Today, in conditions in which the world is developing like a system, mutual reliance among countries is increasing. The tendency toward "opening the doors," linking economies, and internationalizing social life is growing stronger. We must learn how to live and work in accord with these conditions. On the other hand, in conditions in which there is still a class struggle and a struggle between capitalism and socialism, imperialism is making use of the "open doors" of countries such as Vietnam to destroy us economically, politically, culturally, and ideologically. Thus, we must take active steps to block and resist destruction by imperialism. But that does not mean that we should again "close the door" or separate ourselves from the world community.

In order to advance to large-scale socialist production, one of the major obstacles that we must strive to overcome is the feudal thinking and negative aspects in the psychology and thinking of small-scale producers. Feudal thinking is manifested in such things as meritorious officials, status, position, desire for fame and power, conservatism, and sluggishness. And, as everyone knows, the negative aspects in the psychology and thinking of small-scale producers are empiricism, average-ism, conservative thinking, localism, and so on. In conditions in which small-scale production is still widespread, petty bourgeois spontaneity poses a major and constant threat to socialism. In the past, in Russia, Lenin regarded petty bourgeois spontaneity as the "dangerous enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Footnote 4) (Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 43, page 38) Petty bourgeois spontaneity has controlled many cadres and party members in positions of authority and led to such things as bureaucratic centralism, bribery, corruption, theft, special rights and privileges, use of powers, pursuit of position, selfishness, extortion, disorganization, and anarchy.

Fourth, we can "bypass" but must inherit and use capitalism.

Previously, bypassing the capitalist stage of development was usually understood to mean that we must completely reject capitalism and bypass everything having to do with or created by capitalism. As we know, socialism is a stage in the long-term development of history. Socialism was born from the development of capitalism. It has inherited and developed the values of capitalism. If we exaggerate the differences between capitalism and socialism and ignore what has been inherited from capitalism, we will not be able to build socialism.

This point is particularly important for countries such as Vietnam that are advancing to socialism without going through the capitalist stage of development. In these

countries, to "bypass" this stage successfully, these countries must use capitalism and coordinate a number of factors of capitalism. "Bypassing the capitalism stage of development" means using capitalism effectively and consciously in the new conditions—conditions in which there is a socialist state—and with the new themes—the working class and laboring people. According to this view, "bypassing" means that we must go through capitalism but not completely.

But what is meant by "bypassing the capitalist stage of development?" What will be bypassed and what won't be? Can capitalist production relationships but not the production forces be bypassed, which was once the view? Or can the political but not the economic aspects be bypassed? Or can just the higher stages but not the lower stages of capitalism be bypassed?

Based on the dialectics of the production forces and production relationships, of the infrastructure and superstructure, and of economics and politics, we can't simply say that we will bypass this but not that or vice versa. Here, we can talk about both bypassing and not bypassing the basic factors of capitalist economic and social forms.

In order to build socialism, we must inherit and use the production forces created by man during the conditions of capitalist society. However, this does not mean repeating the entire process of expanding the production forces of capitalist society but "shortening" the process of expanding the production forces in history. In Vietnam, the production forces have expanded on two tracks: in order (from manual to semi-mechanized and then fully mechanized) and in leaps (from manual to fully mechanized) in a very short period of time. This refers to "bypassing" things with respect to the production forces. As for capitalist production relationships, we will bypass only the capitalist production relationships with the credentials of production relationships that play a dominant role in society. We will not eliminate all capitalist production relationships or capitalist economic forms during the transitional period. On the other hand, it is also incorrect to talk about bypassing only the production relationships and not the production forces of capitalism. That would separate the production relationships from the production forces. That ignores the need to inherit and use capitalism in order to build socialism.

As for the superstructure of capitalism, we cannot bypass things without also inheriting and using things. Previously, people had a dogmatic understanding of the arguments of Marx on "smashing the bourgeois state." Smashing the bourgeois state means smashing the controlling apparatus of the bourgeoisie and eliminating the bourgeois nature of that state. But the long-term developmental achievements of that country must be inherited and used in the process of founding and solidifying the socialist state. For example, a number of the personnel in the old state must be used, the knowledge and state management experience of the bourgeoisie must be

inherited, and a number of the democratic forms, freedoms, and forms of bourgeois jurisdiction must be used. Lenin observed that under socialism, "there will still be not only bourgeois jurisdiction but also a bourgeois type state, but there will no longer be a bourgeois class." (Footnote 5) (Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 33, page 121)

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that "bypassing the capitalist stage of development" as we usually refer to it means bypassing capitalism as a system and as the dominant socioeconomic form. But this does not mean bypassing everything related to capitalism or created by capitalism. "Bypassing" this stage does not mean that we will not reestablish a number of capitalist factors and forms. But this does not mean that we will completely reestablish capitalism, even for a very short period of time. We need capitalism and must develop it within certain limits. We must do this not in order to follow the capitalist path but in order to follow the socialist path chosen by the party and people. This is the objective dialectic of history.

Related to the concept of "bypassing the capitalist stage of development" are a number of terms that must be clarified. In my view, the term "bypass" can easily be misunderstood to mean "complete rejection" and "total elimination." Perhaps this term can be replaced by terms once used by President Ho, such as "not go through" or "not pass through." As for the term "capitalist stage of development," I think that this term, too, is vague, because this can be understood in one of two ways: 1. "capitalism" in the sense of an historical stage of development, or 2. "the stage of capitalist development." Actually, this term comes from an inaccurate translation of the term used by Lenin. Lenin's term should be translated as "the capitalist stage of development." (Footnote 6) (Lenin, "Collected Works," (in Russian), Political Books Publishing House, Moscow, volume 41, page 246)

Is It Necessary To Further Define the Structure of Economic Components?

*913E0016E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 23, 24*

[Article by Thanh Son]

[Text] Of the three types of economic structures mentioned in the Draft Strategy (the structure of the sectors and spheres, the structure of the regions, and the structure of economic elements), the structure of economic elements is particularly important. This is because this structure is related to the concept of building a people's economy of the people, by the people, and for the people and to the party's attitude toward the various strata of people. In the next decade, whether our economy grows quickly or slowly depends to a great extent on how well this structure is used. Concerning this structure, the

Draft Strategy mentions a number of new viewpoints. But I think that there are four more points that need to be mentioned.

1. It must be affirmed:

The ownership system is not the target but just the means of socialism. The targets of socialism are prosperity and fairness. Because of this, we can use any ownership system that ensures that these targets are hit. Given the conditions of socialism, to whom the means of production (C) belong is important, but even more important is to whom the national income (VM) belongs. The socialist state needs to control only a number of basic C (energy, for example) in order to control VM. This means that the state can allow citizens and the economic elements to use the means to engage in commercial production and produce many commodities for society and pay business taxes to the state. The state will use its income tax policy to ensure social fairness and keep people from becoming too wealthy.

The economic elements outside the state sector will survive for a long time. They will exist not only during the transitional period (because they are necessary) but also during the process of building socialism. The socialist state must not advocate nationalizing the private economy or transforming the non-state economy as was once the case but must, for economic reasons, advocate allowing these economic elements to voluntarily switch elements or withdraw from the economic arena.

The socialist state must use the economic elements based on the principle of fully exploiting the effects of those elements that can most profitably produce products and provide services and not replacing these elements by other elements. The state economy will be maintained and expanded only in a number of the economy's key spheres that cannot be done without.

Only if the above points are affirmed will it be possible for the economic elements, particularly those in the non-state economy, to boldly invest and develop and engage in production and business in the way that we hope they will.

2. For the following reasons, more emphasis should be given to the problem of stimulating the development of the private economy:

In socialist conditions, the private economy is not an independent production formula and does not have its own artery but lives together with socialism. Thus, it cannot develop into capitalism as many people fear. Furthermore, with the state capital path and forms of joint enterprise, the economic elements will merge and undergo mutation. They will become integrated economic forms and not remain separate economic elements.

Developing the private economy has many advantages. The state will not have to invest but can still accumulate

through taxes. There will be more jobs for laborers. Society will have more commodities, and it will be easy to establish relationships with individuals abroad.

People should not worry too much about the negative aspects of the private economy, because the public economy has negative aspects, too. Furthermore, in many cases, the state economy has "created" negative aspects for the private economy, or the private economy has "shielded" the state economy in order to carry out things. Thus, to limit the negative aspects of the private economy, the first thing is to overcome the negative aspects in the state economy.

3. Previously, the resolution of the sixth party congress (sixth term) regarded the family economy as part of the private economy. Now, the Draft Strategy has joined the family economy and individual economy into one unit. I agree with this viewpoint and suggest that this also state: The family economy should not be limited to work done by workers, civil servants, and cooperative members outside official work hours as stated in Council of Ministers' Decree 29. Each family should be regarded as an economic unit just like other economic units, using both regular laborers and secondary laborers. Furthermore, the family economy should be regarded as an economic sector and an economic structure, and the economy should be built based on a two-tier structure: the social economy and the family economy. This means that we will develop the economy based on a "double" process, socialization and "family-ization." Those things that can best be done in society will be done in society, and those things that can be done in the family will be done in the family. Our country will industrialize and will advance on two feet, the social economy and the family economy. This should be the policy, because expanding the family economy has three basic advantages: This will save state investment capital, contribute to making full use of social labor (if each family uses one laborer, in the future, the family economic sector will attract 10-15 million social laborers), and make the most economical use of the arable land, because a "plot of ground is a plot of gold." Almost all of the families will become "millionaires" and contribute to hitting the target of at least doubling the per capita GNP (national income) by the year 2000.

4. The Draft Strategy talks about integrated economic forms, but is vague about state capitalism. Concerning this, we know that Lenin held different views in the different stages, and our understanding of Lenin's views differs. I agree with the following views:

We should not understand state capitalism as referring to just one economic element or one economic policy. Instead, we should understand this in a broad sense. State capitalism is an economic development line in the transitional period. Or stated another way, the transitional period is actually a period of state capitalism.

We should not fear state capitalism, because that is not capitalism. In socialist conditions, state capitalism differs in principle from the various forms of state capitalism under capitalism.

In moving from small-scale production to socialism, we can by-pass the capitalist stage of development, but we cannot by-pass the state capitalist stage of development, because this is "unavoidable." It is a "rung on the ladder," an "intermediary link" between small-scale production and socialism, a means, and a path to large-scale production.

If the development of state socialism was necessary in Russia, it is even more necessary in our country, because our country is much more backward than Russia.

For a long time now, the socioeconomic situation in Vietnam and in many fraternal countries has developed slowly, and this has led to a crisis. This is because we have forgotten or failed to make full use of Lenin's theory on state socialism.

Based on the above, I propose that the Draft Strategy (and Draft Program) address more fully the issue of developing state capitalism.

How Can the Cooperatives and State Economy Be Consolidated Without Renovating Them?

*913E0017A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 25-27*

[Article by Tran Duc]

[Text] In the two debates on the program and strategy, why did the discussions on agriculture advocate "consolidating the cooperatives and state economy?" This is a question that has tormented me for many days, because I don't think that this is just an expression but that this contains important contents that need to be discussed.

Evaluating the economic and social situation, the draft strategy condemns "eliminating economic forms based on private ownership of the means of production and expanding the state and collective economies, with the emphasis on form." It also affirms that "these errors have held back the production forces and many of the development forces." But when talking about policy, these two documents both stress the need to "solidify the cooperatives and state economy." Clearly, there is a lack of logical unity in moving from observing the situation to proposing development guidelines. If the observations on developing the overly formal state and collective economies are wrong, consolidating those economic forms means that we will be solidifying errors. There is no other way to understand this.

Some people think that after almost two years of renovation, the guidelines that have been determined are correct and so now, the only thing is to solidify the achievements that have been scored. Is such an evaluation overly optimistic? Renovation has begun to change

the face of the rural areas, but it must be admitted that there are still many problems that have not been solved. For example, the fields are in disarray as compared with before renovation. The Land Law has not been revised, which has caused many obstacles for centralization. Service organizations are in the process of being formed (Looking at this sphere, the cooperatives are confused, like an industrial chicken. In some provinces such as Ha Nam Ninh, 60-70 percent of the cooperatives that have tried to switch to service activities have been unsuccessful.) The guidelines are confusing and the situation is chaotic and so why are we rushing to consolidate things that will hinder the expansion of production?

As everyone knows, since the implementation of Resolution 10 of the Politburo, the rural areas have witnessed a turning point in development directions. Families have moved from a secondary position to become independent economic units. Peasants have the right to manage things themselves in production and distribution. The state farms have begun to be renovated using cooperative forms between the worker and peasant households and the state enterprises. Units that accept contracts can manage the business activities themselves in close connection with the state enterprises through the service role and the socioeconomic infrastructure of the state enterprises. This is the main reason why agriculture has done so well in recent years, particularly in 1989 and 1990. Few resolutions have won the hearts of the people as quickly as Resolution 10. The spirit of this resolution has gone beyond the narrow bounds of the contract system and gone deeply into renovating ownership relationships, transforming the country's situation, and pointing out the direction of rural areas development in the future.

In the chapter "The Structure of Economic Elements," the draft strategy mentions two types of cooperatives: "There are cooperatives that have been collectivized in terms of the main means of production and labor organization with respect to all or most of the production processes. There are cooperatives that have organized common business activities with respect to a number of necessary elements and that provide input and output services. But the main elements of the production process are carried out by the cooperative member households with the credentials of independent economic units." The first type of cooperative is an old-style cooperative that relies on the labor man-day system. This type is now disappearing. The second type is in the process of being formed. After carrying on activities for two years, these cooperatives have shown that they are superior to the old cooperatives. They are being perfected and expanded broadly.

I don't understand why the draft strategy again mentions the old cooperative model. Isn't the new cooperative model attractive? Has the policy of having every family be an independent economic unit been done away with? Many comrades feel a nostalgia for the old form and don't want to break away from it. Are they afraid that if we don't talk about cooperatives and state enterprises,

we will lose socialism? Actually, those cooperatives and state economic forms are "overly formal." If losing them means losing socialism, the socialism that we will be losing will be just formal socialism, not real socialism. It's also possible that there is a fear of not reflecting reality fully. And so in order to "cover all possibilities" and to maintain a firm position and please everyone, the draft strategy has proposed both forms of cooperatives. I think that in formulating a line, the guiding tendency must be affirmed. That can be supplemented by secondary positions. But ambiguity must be avoided at all costs.

I agree fully with the way the draft program has defined the relationship between the cooperatives and the cooperative members: "In the sphere of agricultural production, along with granting long-term rights to the land and strengthening the independence of the cooperative member families, the cooperatives must manage the general work, provide technical services, supply materials, purchase products, provide credit, and so on. Together with the authorities and mass organizations, they must handle the social problems and build the new rural area." The above courses stem from the vigorous and rich practices of rural areas that are beginning to be renovated. I suggest replacing the word "consolidate" with the word "renovate" so that the phrase reads "renovate the cooperatives and state economy."

Lines are related to reality like forms and shadows. A number of people think that lines are imposed from above. Is that correct? I have followed the development of the rural areas for many years, particularly since 1981. One truth that must be recognized is that in many cases, lines have been corrected based on renovation because of the rural masses. Everyone knows that Directive 100 arose from reality. The rural areas could not bear the undemocratic and uneconomic measures of the cooperatives and so they dealt with this using the product contract form. The same is true of Resolution 10 of the Politburo. Two years before this resolution was implemented, a number of cooperatives in Haiphong and a few other localities went beyond product contracts and switched to household contracts. They abolished the labor man-day system. The cooperatives gave cooperative member families the right to act independently in carrying on production and distribution on the contract plots. The vitality of a line lies in that. A line must constantly be revised based on actual practice and may even have to be fundamentally renovated. It isn't possible to simply make a few minor changes.

The party's renovation process since the sixth congress has achieved something never achieved in previous decades. That is, democracy has been expanded within the party and among the people. The tendency to deify leaders is no longer accepted by party members or the masses. The tendency to deify the lines has gradually been relegated to the past. Obstinate trying to restore such tendencies is useless. What is funny is that while the draft program did not dare affirm that the lines have been wrong, admitting only that we "have made serious

mistakes in guiding strategy and in determining specific lines in a number of important spheres," the draft strategy concluded that "we have built socialism based on a model that is very dogmatic, narrow, subjective, and voluntaristic". If a model is "dogmatic, narrow, subjective, and voluntaristic" but the basic line is right, isn't there conflict in the viewpoint here?

In a previous article, I discussed the situation in a number of countries in the Asia-Pacific region. In places with small peasant economies, those countries have made mistakes concerning lines, not concerning strategic guidance. For example, they have concentrated on heavy industry and slighted agriculture, rushed to move to large-scale production using large farms, and they have been guilty of subjectivism and voluntarism in formulating strategies. Around the middle of the 1970s, those countries recognized their mistake and began looking for a way to correct their lines. Our socioeconomic situation is basically the same as that in the above countries, because we are freeing ourselves from a small peasant economy. It's true that since the 1980s, our country has begun to renovate itself. We cannot, however, be content with what has been achieved but must continue to examine our lines and correct the mistakes (such as accumulation from circulation and not from production, indecisiveness, and lack of unity in renovation). We cannot waver or compromise with respect to lines. The notice issued by the 10th Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee mentioned the task of "solidifying the cooperatives and encouraging the expansion of the family economy." Is that a renovation of the line? Twenty years ago, many of the party's resolutions repeated the words "consolidate the cooperatives and expand the family economy." If this is the case, the draft program will push our country's rural areas back several decades. The party has much experience concerning this problem. Mistakes in land reform are nothing new. But with an attitude of sincerely admitting the shortcomings and resolutely correcting the mistakes in the movement to redress the grievances, the party will continue to enjoy the trust of the masses and will be able to use its prestige in guiding the masses in carrying out the revolution.

The draft program correctly states: "At the sixth congress, the party criticized its mistakes and shortcomings and put forth a policy of renovating all aspects of social life." If the line had not been renovated, we could not have achieved the results we have in the past period. Today, the economies of all countries are being internationalized. Market laws do not affect just a limited sphere but direct economic and financial activities throughout the world. Since the mid 1970s, the third scientific and technical revolution has accelerated the rate of development. Can these principles be immutable? John Ruskin, an English sociologist, stated: "Every law or principle based on the realities of the past will eventually be overturned in the wake of the appearance of new conditions or the discovery of new materials." This interesting statement must certainly make us stop and think when talking about principles.

We are seeking the truth from the renovation movement of a country, from the peaks of Marxism-Leninism, and from great achievements scored by man in recent decades. We are looking for a model of socialism. This will be a very difficult and tiring journey. It definitely won't be a straight trip. By introducing these two documents in order to obtain the ideas of all the people, the party has opened a Dien Hong conference for the new age for all the people in order to gather their intelligence and creative capabilities and find a path for the entire nation in the coming decades. We will respect every idea, follow the example of Pavlov, listen to opposing ideas, elevate the concept of seeking the facts, and avoid seizing on viewpoints (yesterday, landlords were villains, today it is capitalists and imperialists) because this just makes it more difficult to get at the truth. Also, people should not be conservative or obstinate. A few of the comrades who once criticized product contracts and rejected household contracts are now demanding that the old cooperatives be consolidated and are shutting their eyes to the fact that the rural areas have been carrying on renovation since the implementation of the resolution of the Sixth CPV Congress. In formulating lines, people must be brave in admitting and correcting the mistakes and in defending the correct lines of the party.

In conclusion, I do not think it inappropriate to remind people of a timeless statement made by Marx: "At both the threshold of science and the threshold of hell, there should be a sign saying, 'here, you must have a positive spirit and not be guided by fear.'"

Heading Toward a New Stage of Development of Culture, Literature, and Art

913E0017B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 28-30

[Article by Phong Le, director of the Institute of Literature, Vietnam Institute of Social Science]

[Text] Preparing for the seventh national congress, the party has made public the Draft Program on Socialist Construction in the Transitional Stage in Our Country and the Draft Strategy on Economic and Social Stabilization and Development in Our Country to the Year 2000 in order to obtain the ideas of the people. Throughout the country, comrades and other people are enthusiastically contributing ideas to these two very important party documents. Today, it can be seen that there are a number of specific strategic problems that must be reexamined based on the revolutionary requirements and the tendencies of the present age. Based on the need to develop science, culture, literature, and art, we must have a new program, a high level of awareness, and thinking that is based on the renovation spirit of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam].

This is a problem of very broad scope. Because of this breadth and because of our limited capacity for understanding and thinking, in this article I will discuss just

one point, the relationship between traditional and modern and between nation and mankind.

On tradition: With respect to studying and accepting national traditions, during the past several decades, we have scored many achievements that are much more brilliant than those scored in any previous stage. But the target of this research and of the historical lessons that have been drawn from these traditions were aimed above all at achieving victory in the two violent wars. That target had to be hit before we could even talk about elevating the material and spiritual standards of the people in order to "reach a par with the rich and powerful nations" as hoped by President Ho. Thus, exploiting the traditions in today's circumstances is not aimed just at solidarity, patriotism, experience in maintaining the country, and heroism. This must also be expanded on many other fronts in a more varied and all-round way.

Examples are the different aspects and levels of humanitarianism (along with patriotism and heroism), the shortcomings and negative aspects of psychology and of national life that was restricted for a long time in the feudal and bureaucratic centralism systems, the strengths and weaknesses of small-peasant production and the concept of paternalism, and the strengths and weaknesses (particularly the weaknesses) of communal traditions.

It is essential to exploit and affirm the strengths in the traditions, particularly in conditions in which we must contend with national enemies, who are much stronger than us in many respects. But this must also be done in an all-round manner. We cannot ignore the weaknesses. The purpose of this is to have guidelines for the ideological and cultural revolution so that our nation advances. It is essential to have a feeling of superiority and national pride. This is always valuable, like a spiritual weapon. But there are times when an understanding of and even shame concerning the weaknesses of one's nation have great strength and the ability to stimulate self-esteem and a determination to move the nation forward beyond the difficulties. I am reminded of what Marx said when talking about the nature of the German people in the "Introduction to the 'Criticism of the Philosophy of Law of Hegel'": "Steps must be taken to increase real oppression by adding to that a concept of oppression. Shame must be increased by publicly disclosing that shame. The people must be taught fear so that they become bolder." (Footnote 1) (Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, page 11)

In general, during the past several decades, we have not studied or exploited our national traditions in an all-round way in all spheres. This is without mentioning the present disastrous decline in preserving the valuable cultural inheritance from our forefathers, from temples, shrines, the natural environment and beautiful scenery, and historical zones to classical and popular opera, popular songs, and national plays. Unless steps are taken soon to overcome this situation, this could be very

dangerous, because time will quickly erase everything. And above all, time will steal people and professions, which are things that cannot be replaced. We have talked about this a lot, but this has had little real effect in blocking things. Countless traditional sectors are disappearing, and countless artists have had to abandon their profession or live in isolation.

We are living in a new stage of interchange with mankind with forms that are different from those in the past. On one hand, there is a tendency toward internationalization and uniformity of economic life, and, on the other hand, there is a tendency toward pluralism in cultural life and the spiritual needs of man. To talk about culture is to talk about the different "colors" of each nation and about the spiritual tastes and needs of man in relation to the historical traditions and the different geographical areas, localities, and zones. Preserving what is unique and special about each nation and affirming the original cultural and spiritual abilities of the people is very worthwhile, because these are assets in the struggle to "talk" with the world. Mankind will come to us to see, listen, and understand what is unique and special about us and not to listen to us recall what we have learned from here and there like a schoolboy. In the future, if everything that makes the nation unique disappears, there won't be anything in which we can take pride, and we certainly won't be able to contribute anything to human culture.

On the modern: In the past, we placed nations in the socialist camp (the Soviet Union, Cuba, the East European countries, and so on) and used class as the leading criterion. We placed Vietnam in the socialist camp and did not give attention to, or were not able to give more attention to the human community in general or zones in particular. Here "zone" refers to two areas: East Asia, which has been influenced culturally by China, and Southeast Asia, which has been influenced culturally by India. Controlled by a sense of superiority in our heroic traditions and by the superiority of socialism, we have regarded other things outside our camp and even things on our side but outside our political system as strange and even as enemies. We often view other peoples guardedly. We tend to discriminate and avoid having social contact with them, to say nothing of studying or assimilating things. We are separated from the world in general and have little understanding of these zones in particular. We cannot make necessary comparisons. This is why our understanding, even concerning ourselves, is so limited. The poem "I am I and Also My Dream" by Che Lan Vien was appropriate and was valuable in mobilizing [people] during the resistance against America. But it is no longer appropriate. The problem is not one of dreaming or not dreaming. We must have a correct and detailed understanding of ourselves.

In my view, the world is at a new point in the scientific and technical revolution. People's intellectual standards have risen, and democratic needs have expanded. Because of this, there must be a more all-round understanding of the following:

We cannot look only at the political system. We must also look at economic and cultural levels, which are clearly much higher than ours or those of our camp. Even concerning political systems, we cannot say that socialism, as we have understood it for so long, is superior or more perfect....

We cannot look just at the class or stratum that holds power. We must also look at all strata of people and intellectuals, including "neutral" intellectuals—a biased term that has been in use for a long time—and people's intellectuals in order to point out revolutionary intellectuals.

We cannot look just at the conflicts and crises but must also look at unity and stability.

There must be not only rivalry but also assimilation, which is the basis for switching from resistance to political and military dialogue and for drawing closer together on a number of common economic and social targets.

In short, the world is undergoing a realignment in opposing influences in each country and in international relations, including between two camps, and must be viewed dialectically as a whole that has both good and bad and new and old and that has mutual effects. The world, regardless of which camp, country, or zone, must give attention to the population, environmental, energy, and natural resource problems. This means that there must be a new viewpoint concerning the world to replace the one that has been prevalent for so long. The old viewpoint is that there are just two sides to every matter, there is no middle ground, we and our camp are good, and socialism is better than the other sectors. But we have not seen that all matters pertaining to us also have two sides. The important thing is that based on the existing advantages, socialism must expand interchanges, not isolate itself in the face of internationalism, and actively use this chance to develop.

With respect to national and human relationships, we must affirm the elevated position of people and state that the requirement of educating the people about a sense of national pride, as has been done for many decades, is correct. But we must not separate ourselves from the collective. And we must not place ourselves above the whole world. The historical experiences and dialectics of the problem show that along with arrogance, there is a feeling of inferiority. Following the closed door policy and feeling of self-content of the Nguyen dynasty, there was a desire to expand the range of vision and feelings of inferiority in the face of the country's backwardness. As Phan Thanh Gian and Cao Ba Quat wrote:

"From when I was sent on a mission to the West, Europe has fascinated me. The new, from when I stepped off the boat, a vast universe. I was captivated. When at home, literary knowledge was just a game."

Even broader and more sad was the Duy Tan movement at the beginning of the century with "Cao Hu Lau Van, De Tinh Quoc Dan Ca...."

We have had to eliminate all obstacles, above all mental blocks, which are unavoidable products of a feudal political system and backward small-peasant economy, in order to have our people take their position in the community of man as a legitimate member of mankind and as a man, which is something that President Ho and the Communist Party have done for Vietnam since the middle of the 20th Century, with the starting point being the great August Revolution and immortal Declaration of Independence.

In national and human relationships, for a long time we have selectively accepted the essence of other countries and welcomed those things that are in accord with our nation's situation and interests. That was correct during

the period that the country was at war, during the period that our economic, technical, and social situation was backward, and before international exchange was expanded. But in the new situation today, because of the changes in the revolutionary tasks and the new international situation, there is another way of looking at things. Not everything coming in from the outside should be accepted by the masses. We must analyze and handle things in an all-round manner and not omit any aspect. This refers to the ranks of intellectuals and leadership circles. There is an information explosion in the world today, and so it is difficult to block the paths in. Thus, every piece of information must be treated using sharp and scientific thinking. This is a task that must be carried out with a timely and reliable "division of labor" by the staff elements, that is, the intellectuals and leadership circles, which are the forces that control and manage society, in order to engage them in practical activities.

**The Science of Information and a Few
Observations Concerning Organizing and
Managing the Economy**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 91 pp 31-35

[Article by Phan Dinh Dieu; not translated]

Rural Development Viewed From One Angle

913E0017C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 36-40

[Article by Nhi Le]

[Text] In Vietnam, there are about 51 million people living in rural areas (of these, 8 million belong to one of the more than 50 ethnic minority groups). More than 10 million households live in approximately 9,600 villages. There are 25,146,000 laborers, which accounts for 75 percent of the country's entire labor force and which is 51.34 percent of the rural population. During the past 45 years, since 1945, in the rural areas we have built a revolutionary administrative system of the people, by the people, and for the people. The party and state have implemented many new policies aimed at exploiting the arable land, labor, and occupational potential, expanding agriculture, and improving the lives of the peasants. The peasants have become the real masters of their fields. They have voluntarily followed the party and are fulfilling their dream of building a new and civilized society in the rural areas where they live and work. The face of the rural areas has undergone a fundamental change. A public health, cultural, and educational system has been built and expanded to serve the peasants. Intellectual standards have begun to rise. Concerning the cultural standards of the rural laborers, 1.49 million people have attended general middle school, 672,000 people have attended vocational middle school, and 254,000 people have attended higher school, college, or higher. The peasants know how to use the new scientific and technical advances in agricultural production. Agriculture has continued to score new achievements. In 1989, grain yields reached 20.5 million tons, an increase of 3 million tons as compared with 1987. This was the highest yield ever. For the first time, we paid off the gain in the country, and in 1989 we exported 1.4 million tons of rice. Many specialized industrial crop zones have been formed, and many profitable commercial forms have appeared. Clearly, all of those things have started from the peasants and belong to our country's rural areas.

But today, with the present population and present number of laborers in the rural areas, if we have only 7.1 million hectares of agricultural land and a gross grain yield of 20.5 million tons per year, it means that each laborer has only 0.3 hectares of land to farm and that the average grain yield is only three tons per hectare per year, which is very low. (In the advanced countries in the world, some places have five-10 hectares of land per laborer and a yield of 5.3 tons of grain per hectare per year.) At the same time, much of our arable land is being

wasted due to the fact that peasants are returning land or engaging in land disputes. The main job of the peasants is to engage in manual labor. Production is based on the season and depends on the weather, with the emphasis being on self-reliance. With such rudimentary methods, there is presently a surplus of 900,000 laborers. If we invest in agriculture, even at an average level of progress, there will be a minimum of 20 million surplus laborers [as published]. Where will they go, and what will they do? This does not take into account the relatively rapid population increase in the rural areas because of the lack of population planning. This will have very dire consequences. Based on inadequate data, up to 20 percent of the peasant households are poor. Only 20 percent of the households have a surplus of agricultural products. The rest have an average standard of living (there are many different ideas concerning this observation). What is most acute is that in the northern mountain areas and the Central Highlands, there are more than 1 million people who live a nomadic life or who lead a settled life but who practice nomadic farming. Of these, more than 50 percent live in poverty.

As for intellectual and cultural standards, in general, standards are declining in the rural areas. There are many reasons for this, but the main reason is the lack of concern shown by the leadership echelons. Many of the minimum cultural and social needs of the rural people have not been satisfied, particularly in the border regions and on the islands. There is a widespread lack of teachers and classrooms, medical treatment facilities, medicines, and doctors. On the other hand, the difficult economic conditions have limited the development of the minds of the peasants. Illiteracy is again becoming an alarming problem. Surveys have shown that of the 25 million laborers in the rural areas, almost 9 percent are illiterate, 49.9 percent do not have primary level general cultural standards, 31.3 percent have completed primary general school, 6 percent have completed general middle school, and 94.4 percent do not have technical standards. On other fronts, many bad practices are being revived. Gambling, drinking, and superstitious practices are on the rise again. Pornographic videos and books are flowing into the rural areas. An individualistic and selfish way of life and actions that trample on traditional moral and cultural values are spreading seriously.

With respect to democracy and human rights, in the rural areas there are many serious and painful obstacles. Harmful vestiges of an historical nature in the rural areas are coming to the forefront again. The feudal moral rules and rituals that once kept rural people in chains continue to keep them from advancing. This includes paternalism, "old-age" power, and bureaucratic centralism. Many investigations have shown that in many localities, the party committee echelons, administrative organizations, and cooperative management boards are centers of corruption and collective trouble spots. Many cadres and party members use their positions and powers to oppress and crush the peasants. They have transformed the places that they lead and manage into their own personal

“fifes” and “fifes of their faction, which has led to serious inequalities in all spheres of rural life and controlled the activities of the party and authorities. People in many places can only submit and give in. There is now a clear gap between rich and poor.

Another heavy burden in the rural areas that must be mentioned is the population problem. Clearly, the population in our country is increasing most fastest in the rural areas. On the average, each rural family has four-six children (in some places, families have nine-10 children). In one northern mountain province, there are women who have given birth 29 times. This has a profound influence on the labor and social problems in the rural areas. A total of 3.28 percent of the people of labor age are unemployed, 32.14 percent are unmarried, and 8.58 percent are widowed or divorced. Where will we find enough land to build housing, schools, hospitals, and so on for this expanding population? At the same time, 30 percent of the households are poor, with an income of below 10,000 dong per household per month. Previously, we acknowledged that 10 million people were unemployed. But unfortunately, that is far from the truth.

Looking at the rural area in an overall way, it can be said that the rural areas are undergoing many changes, both good and bad, and that there are many complex conflicts. The rural areas are experiencing suffering and joy, they are making appeals, and, most importantly, they hunger to advance.

Clearly, developing the rural areas is a pressing and urgent requirement. This is not only an element and requirement but also a motive force of the overall economic and social development strategy of the country. However, what road are we taking and how are we going?

In one period, we regarded cooperation as a standard for revolutionary development. But reality has shown the defeat of impatient ways of doing things. On the other hand, today, there is another form of extremism, that is, slighting or even abandoning this. Experience has shown that with the advances of science, without cooperation, there can be no investment or development. The question that must be studied in depth is how to cooperate.

The recent process of economic reform in the rural areas has shown that the products of the peasant households have either not increased or increased very slowly because of the lack of capital and materials (inputs). And it has been difficult to sell products, prices have vacillated, and in many cases, prices have been lower than production costs (outputs). This is because the markets haven't been perfected and because the state hasn't promulgated support policies. Today, developing the rural area economy and using the peasant households as the primary level units means that the peasant households are integrated production units (this includes crop growing, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing, services, credits, commerce, and so on). Thus, if there is just an

aspect-by-aspect effect, it will be very difficult to maintain a rapid rate of development.

It is essential to promote the use of the scientific and technical advances in all the spheres, from household and farm production to cultural, educational, public health, communications, and water conservancy development. But many conflicts have arisen: between many laborers with little work, between sources of capital and the need for equipment, between cultural standards and complex technical projects, between communications and posts and the need for jobs, and between mechanization and the sources of production energy. Are these a motive force or an obstacle with respect to rural area development?

We are transforming rural area production from self-sufficient production to commodity production. Thus, there must be basic structural, organizational and technical, economic, social, and cultural changes. Only if we adhere to these laws will it be possible to make rapid economic and social changes in the rural areas.

A pressing demand is that in the coming decade, Vietnam must have a rapid rate of economic and social development. In this, the strength of agriculture must play a key role. However, agriculture will not be able to advance unless the other sectors in the rural areas are developed at the same time. The development of the rural areas will generate all-round development. This is because developed agriculture will necessarily produce surplus labor and will require many other services. And in its development, if we focus only on developing specific products (rice, corn, food stuffs), the results will definitely be limited. Because of this, the all-round development of agriculture includes all-round economic and social development in the rural areas. Or stated another way, rural area development is all-round economic and social development, which naturally includes the ecological environment and other aspects. In this, the key point is agricultural development, with the central players being the peasants.

I think that it is reasonable to say that agricultural development is integrated development: rural areas, agriculture, and peasants. In particular, at a time when we are switching from self-sufficient production to commodity production with the aim of increasing labor productivity and the farming area, stabilizing the environment and the markets, strengthening development capabilities in all respects, and bringing about democracy and justice, this is even more reasonable. But we certainly can't say that developing the rural areas is aimed just at increasing food yields, which is what some people think. And it can't be said that this is just a matter of adding up all the small projects. Rural area development must be carried on in a synchronized manner. There must be mutual support on many fronts and in many zones in the country's rural areas with their special characteristics.

For the reasons mentioned above, the targets of rural development in our country both now and over the long term are:

To constantly increase the productivity of the various rural area economic forms and create more jobs for the peasants.

To increase incomes and benefits and bring about fairness in income distribution and enjoyment of benefits.

To renovate the social and political structures and ensure democracy in the rural areas.

Naturally, it will be very difficult to hit these targets, but this is not because we have not posed the problems or made an attempt to solve them. To be more specific, the final goal that we are resolved to reach with respect to rural area development is to have high labor productivity and high farm area yields, have ecological and market stability, and have the ability to develop every aspect. Finally, the social requirement is fairness, above all in production distribution among all strata of people.

However, examining the rural area development strategy, it can be seen that there are many problems. The problems seem to be the same as before, but actually they are very new and difficult. Another reason is that in the past, rural area development was carried on by many different specialized organizations. Because of that, things were dispersed and unsynchronized, and, naturally, the results were poor and unclear. Recently, we have seen the need to combine things in integrated development programs. But if the problem requires all-round action, the contents will be very rich and so it will be difficult to carry on things in a synchronized manner in a particular location, because each area is different and in each period there are very different changes. Thus, in my view, with respect to methods, we can divide a number of areas for developing things as follows:

- The Red River Delta area.
- The central coastal lowlands area.
- The Mekong Delta area.
- The midlands area.
- The northern mountains area. And so on.

Naturally, in each of these areas, we can select a number of specific models for examination. For example:

When studying Tan Le in Hung Ha District, Thai Binh Province, it was found that the fields were small and there was a large population. There was a need to engage in intensive cultivation, build two-three story houses, and expand the traditional sectors in order to create additional jobs and sources of export goods. Is this a good idea for development in the Red River Delta?

As for Eba-Ebla-Etron in Tay Son District, Khanh Hoa Province, this is an undeveloped highlands area where public health, culture, education, communications, and water conservancy activities must be given priority, and cadres must be trained on the spot. Only in this way will

it be possible for investments to bring results. Is this an answer to examining and developing the rural areas in the Central Highlands?

Based on this, we should invest and carry on intensive development based on the special characteristics and needs of each area. But this must be done within an integrated whole in which the various areas are organically related to each other.

The targets of the rural area development programs must be the peasant households. This is the leading factor in all the solutions. Research has shown that the people in the rural areas are the center of the various problems. They have nine basic needs: food, clothing, housing, travel, schools, clinics, cultural benefits, freedom, and democracy. These needs are closely related to environmental protection and ecological and socioeconomic development in the rural areas. Unfortunately, with respect to the peasants, these nine needs have not been satisfied. Thus, the state must continue to study things and promulgate policies aimed at improving the health of the people so that the people have the necessary and minimum conditions to produce and live. This includes economic, public health, cultural, and educational policies aimed at ensuring the people's welfare, maintaining intellectual standards, ensuring people's human rights and democracy, and maintaining the population in the rural areas. I would like to talk a little about production. Today, up to 40 percent of the peasant households are encountering difficulties because of a lack of capital, labor, and technology. Because of this, plans and practical measures must quickly be implemented to help them overcome these difficulties so that they can advance. The households that are making a good living are also encountering many difficulties. Some families are excellent only in crop growing or animal husbandry. Thus, they must be given suitable help. On the other hand, there must be credit, material supply, and product distribution organizations in the rural areas. Should these organizations of the peasants, by the peasants, and for the peasants be formed with the help of the state? Or, from another very narrow perspective concerning intellectual standards, I can see this quite clearly. As stated above, the cultural standards of the rural laborers are quite low. In particular, I would like to remind readers that 94.43 percent of the laborers do not have technical standards. Thus, along with renovating the existing system of general and college education, it is essential to have separate installations to train workers and technicians for the rural areas. The experiences of many countries that have done this and that have achieved results show that this is essential.

Along with giving attention to providing investments for farmers, agricultural expansion must be promoted within the framework of all-round rural area-peasant-agricultural expansion. Naturally, there are many problems that need to be discussed. But in my view, we cannot try to do everything but must do the things that are within our power to do. Specifically, we

must change the direction of business of the cooperations, state forests, and state farms, elevate the role of the household economy, turn over fields and collect business taxes, implement land use taxes in place of the present agricultural tax, and establish ties between the various households and with the state farms and state forests using forms that will ensure economic-social-humanitarian results. The ownership rights of individuals to capital and labor must be recognized, and the right of citizens to use the land and resources controlled by the state in production and business must be honored. The position and role of businessmen must be elevated, and the markets and law of value must be regarded as a "midwife" and ruler in determining directions and measuring the work capabilities of each peasant household, unit, and economic element in the rural areas. Doing things this way will definitely contribute to creating a new appearance for agriculture in our country.

The political system at the village echelon must be perfected, and the quality of its activities must be improved. Favorable conditions must be created for carrying out the state management functions at all echelons. Laws must be promulgated and implemented uniformly. At the same time, socialist relationships and the wonderful traditional relationships must be fostered in daily life in the rural areas. Democracy must be studied and manifested, and the social programs and policies must be concretely implemented with respect to all elements, particularly those who are the targets of the rural area social policies. Every potential must be freed, particularly the labor potential. This must be done above all with respect to women and children. This has not only demographic significance but also great economic and social meaning and great humanitarian significance in the sphere of protecting mothers and children, the source of abundant and invaluable labor.

Studies must be done and suitable organizations must soon be formed in order to attract both domestic and foreign human and material strength and international organizations to help develop the rural areas based on coordinating things between the economic sectors (industry, agriculture, and commerce) and the social

sectors (public health, culture, education, and so on). Steps must be taken to limit and overcome the bad changes concerning climate, natural disasters, and the environment in the rural areas. At the same time, these problems clearly show the great need to have a clear division of labor and to organize management uniformly and effectively, from administrative management to production and business management and from management at the center to management in the localities and sectors.

Steps must be taken to ensure that rural area development becomes the task of mass movements. It is the peasants who must given attention to and organize this with the help of the state and the organizations, professions, technology, capital, and work formulas. Horizontal coordination must be ensured through the cooperatives and even private corporations in all respects, and the problem of inputs and outputs in the production and business activities of the peasants must be solved.

Finally, I would like to mention the peasant associations, the political and social organizations of the peasant class. The associations must perform their function as representatives who protect the legitimate interests of the peasants and as the staff of the party and state in formulating positions and policies directly or indirectly related to the rural areas, the peasants, or agriculture. The methods and activity themes of the associations must be renovated to make them more varied and practical so that they are in accord with each area and ethnic minority group. Self-awareness, equality, and the concept of protecting the interests of all sides must be used as the basis for their activities. They must avoid doing things in a formal manner and must not cause problems for the peasants.

The So-Called 'Sign Post of Intelligence' Is Contrary to the Dialectical Thinking of Reason

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No 2, Feb 91 pp 41-47*

[Article by Tran Duc Thao; not translated]

Socioeconomic Strategy of Ho Chi Minh City

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in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 91 pp 48-50, 54

[Article by Nguyen Vinh Nghiep, chairman of the Ho Chi Minh City People's Committee]

[Text] My first thought after the party announced the Draft Program on Socialist Construction in the Transitional Period and the Draft Strategy on Economic and Social Stabilization and Development in Our Country to the Year 2000 was that each locality, particularly Ho Chi Minh City, must formulate a socioeconomic strategy to thoroughly understand the contents and spirit of our country's Program and Strategy.

Ho Chi Minh City's socioeconomic strategy consists of three basic themes: the basis or so-called source of strength, targets, and solutions. In this, targets hold a particularly important position. Whether the strategy as a whole is correct depends on determining the targets. The strategic targets have a decisive influence on the developmental process of the entire economy and society, particularly industry, science and technology, culture, and education, and on the spiritual and material mobilization of the people aimed at implementing the strategy. The targets are manifested by norms: the magnitude and speed of growth and the people's standard of living. In this, the per capita national income provides the most integrated reflection. Nationwide, the targets of the socioeconomic strategy manifest in part the targets of the Political Program, which is an important step in the development process of society. Relying on the guiding ideas of the draft socioeconomic strategy for the entire country and starting from local realities, Ho Chi Minh City has determined that its strategic targets to the year 2000 are to exploit the city's favorable economic, technical, and human factors, raise the city's level of production and standard of living, and actively contribute to hitting the strategic socioeconomic targets of the entire country. Specifically, the city will strive to raise the per capita national income of the city to \$600-700 by 1995 and to \$1,000-1,200 by the year 2000. (Footnote 1) (The per capita national income of the entire country will be \$400-420 in the year 2000.) Accumulation from within the municipal economy during the period 1991-1995 is set at 16.17 percent and at 20-22 percent during the period 1996-2000. In order to hit this target, we must strive to maintain an average annual growth rate of 10-12 percent during the next 10 years.

The socioeconomic strategy was determined based on correctly evaluating the actual socioeconomic strength. Evaluating this incorrectly will lead to an incorrect strategy, for which a price would have to be paid. This is the leading principle in formulating a strategy. To evaluate the situation correctly, a whole series of things must be done. In this, the most important thing is to survey the types of natural resources, inventory the assets and capital, compile statistics on various things in each period, and conduct sociological studies. Through these

activities, it will be possible to gather data, make evaluations, and draw conclusions. Concerning this, the city has not done enough, and because of this, the evaluations may not be entirely correct. However, the following initial observations can be made:

The annual average rate of growth of the gross social product during the period 1981-1985 was 11.8 percent, and during the period 1986-1990 it was 5.3 percent. The national income during the above periods rose 10.7 and 4.6 percent respectively. During the past 15 years, the economic growth rate of Ho Chi Minh City has usually been 2-4 percent higher than the national average. The value of the existing fixed production assets accounts for 23-25 percent of the fixed assets of the entire country. The city has created a number of notable capabilities in the energy, food processing, textile, leather, ready-made clothing, consumer electronics, printing, and packaging industries. The city has made a great effort to restore agricultural production outside the city, which suffered much destruction during the war. The city has built a number of important projects such as the Nha Be-Duyen Hai road and the Dong Cu Chi canal and electrified almost all of the rural areas outside the city. The face of the rural areas has been renovated. The lives of some of the peasants outside the city have improved markedly.

The city has begun to restore and revitalize the original strength of its commercial and service enterprises and financial markets. Direct exports during the past five years have increased an average of 30 percent. Service activities that bring in foreign currency have been expanded. In this, tourism has increased quite rapidly. The city has begun to attract foreign capital and technology, although the amounts do not match the needs and size of the city. By the end of 1990, there were 80 units with foreign investments totaling \$432 million and 24 million rubles.

As compared with many other localities, the city has a fairly synchronized and favorable infrastructure. Saigon Port has the ability to handle 7 million tons of freight a year, with 4.4 million tons handled in 1990. Tan Son Nhat Airport can handle 72,000 aircraft, 1 million passengers, and more than 10 million tons of freight a year.

In the past, Saigon was a large economic and commercial center. It was a commercial hub and gateway to other countries. Both before and after liberation, the role of the city has been that of the economic, technical, and commercial center of Nam Bo and the entire south (including Nam Bo, southern Trung Bo, and the Central Highlands). Today, as compared with the entire country, Ho Chi Minh City has 6.1 percent of the population and 5 percent of the employed laborers, and it creates 20 percent of the gross social product, 18.15 percent of the national income, more than 30 percent of the budget revenues, 32 percent of the value of industrial and small industry and handicrafts production, more than 35 percent of the volume of wholesale and retail trade, more

than 35 percent of the amount of currency in circulation, and more than 20 percent of the value of exports.

One of its most important achievements is that the city has maintained political security and social order. This is very important, because this is the largest city in the country. Until very recently, it was a colonial city, and recently it has had to deal with the very negative effects of the political changes taking place in the world.

The city has striven to develop culture, education, public health, and social welfare and stabilize and gradually improve the material and spiritual lives of the people.

However, there are still many weaknesses and difficulties. In industry, except for a number of recently imported pieces of equipment, almost all of the equipment is very outdated. As compared with the advanced standards in the world, the machine industry is about 30-40 years behind, and light industry and food processing are about 15-20 years behind. The scale of capital accumulation and concentration is very small and dispersed.

As compared with modern world standards, our production and social infrastructure is outmoded. It is declining and cannot maintain the minimum conditions needed for the various activities, which are making more and more demands.

In the new mechanism, the national economy in general has achieved very little. Industrial and small industry and handicrafts production have not expanded in a stable manner, results have been poor, and quality has not been improved very much.

The financial, monetary, and price situation is very complex. In conditions in which we lack sources of important materials, from 1991 on, the situation could become even worse if we don't implement positive and effective measures to overcome this situation.

Of the city's many weaknesses, the shortage of capital is the most important. Because of the shortage of capital, each year only 4.2 percent of the gross value of fixed assets is invested in renovation. Of the liquid assets, the enterprises have only 15-20 percent, with some units having only 5 percent.

With respect to political security, social order, cultural and moral values, and the way of life of the cadres and people, even though achievements have been scored and even though there have been notable changes, complex changes are still occurring, and the enemy is still destroying things here. Thus, this requires the constant attention of the party, the state, and all of society.

Starting from the above realities, I think that of the various solutions proposed for implementing the strategy, determining the economic structure and production guidelines is decisive. Both now and over the long term, industrial production will hold the most important position. In this, priority must be given to the processing and consumer goods production industries.

Quality must gradually be improved in order to satisfy domestic and export needs. At the same time, attention must be given to the machine industry, particularly sophisticated machinery and electronic equipment. Some of the needs for technical equipment must be satisfied, and the production sectors and social life of the city and zone must be modernized.

The leading requirement is to gradually overcome the weaknesses, maintain the rate of growth along with stabilizing, balancing, and synchronizing things, and improve quality, results, and the standard of living. Based on these preconditions, we must firmly shift to a market economy mechanism that is managed by the state, fully develop the positive factors of multifaceted commodity production, create a system of enterprises that are equipped with relatively modern equipment, and build a relatively perfect infrastructure and a scientific and technical research and testing system with the capacity to satisfy the requirements. Based on this, in moving into the next century, the city should be able to take off on its own.

The guiding idea of the city is to tie the economic strategy to the social strategy and strategy of man, tie the domestic economic strategy to the foreign economic strategy, and tie the city's markets to the areas and zones, the entire country, and other countries, particularly Thailand and the countries in Southeast Asia and in the Asia-Pacific region. A rational and synchronized structure for the city's economy must gradually be formed, but there must be a center and spearhead. Attention must be given to new construction, but emphasis must be placed on expanding, improving, and reequipping the existing installations. Active and flexible use must be made of the market mechanism, and the installations must be given greater independence. But it is essential to manage things, set guidelines, inspect things, and maintain discipline. The guiding role of the national economy must be exploited mainly by improving commercial results. At the same time, the potential of the non-state economic elements must be exploited. An effort must be made to improve material life and increase real income. There must be policies to guide rational consumption, an effort must be made to economize, and particular attention must be given to forming a new cultural life and a new model man who thinks creatively and who dares to think and act but who is diligent, honest, and fair.

Building the central city of an economic zone is an important element of the socioeconomic strategy. Deciding on an industrial city to serve as the center for an economic zone with the aim of stimulating the prosperity of the entire area stems from the objective requirements of a basic economy, which is agriculture. This is the essential path for every agricultural country that wants to industrialize and modernize. The relationship between the central city and the secondary areas to form a vital industrial-agricultural body will overcome the false shackles of geographical and administrative barriers. At a time when the necessary administrative boundaries must be maintained, this relationship will

form economic and technical markets and production cooperation on a broad scale. This will make it possible to exploit the natural resources and labor potential of the zones, implement a division of labor, have specialization and cooperation, and strengthen the positive effects of the city with respect to the rural areas on the economic and technical fronts and on other fronts.

Looking at Nam Bo, with respect to the important industrial sectors, Ho Chi Minh City accounts for 50-90 percent of the value of production of the entire region. The expansion of the city's economy, services, and commerce has had a direct effect on production and life in the entire region. The city's production structure and division of labor has influenced the formation of specialized production areas in the region. The city's cultural and social situation is organically related to that in the surrounding provinces.

On the other hand, the economic and market potential of Nam Bo has had a major effect on the formation of Ho Chi Minh City's economic structure. Today, the Nam Bo rural economy is playing a larger and larger role with respect to the entire country. And with respect to Ho Chi Minh City, the Nam Bo rural economy will determine the direction of development of the city's industry, particularly the agricultural, forestry, and marine products processing industry and the consumer goods industry. Along with Nam Bo, central Trung Bo and the Central Highlands also have a direct relationship with Ho Chi Minh City on many fronts. These are very important direct markets of the city. Forging economic links and investment cooperation between the city and the entire southern zone, increasing the purchasing power of the peasants, and stimulating consumption will form a lively market for the entire zone and expand the country's markets.

The special characteristics mentioned above show that Ho Chi Minh City and the southern zone hold an important position in the country's over-all strategy. In reality, Ho Chi Minh City is the largest city in the country, and it is one of the largest cities in the world. Economic and social management in such a large city is a new problem for us. This demands high intellectual, professional, and leadership standards. The practices of the past 15 years show that to manage things well and to manifest the city's role as the economic and scientific and technical center of the region and entire country, Ho Chi Minh City must solve a number of problems:

1. It must concentrate on building real economic strength. This is the most decisive factor. Economic strength depends above all on the measures for mobilizing capital, the investment policy, the management mechanism, and the policy mechanism. In this, the decisive elements are the financial, banking, commercial and foreign economic service, and import-export elements. The time has come to truly renovate organization and the operating mechanisms in these very important spheres. This renovation can proceed ahead of the country as a whole. This stems from the objective

requirements of level of socialization and the relatively high level of development of the city's production forces as compared with that of the country as a whole.

2. A rank of cadres that is adequate in terms of numbers, quality, and types must quickly be formed. This must include scientific and technical cadres, administrative management cadres, businessmen, and professional people. All of these people must receive regular professional training, and various procedures, such as testing, recruiting, and appointing people, must be adhered to.

3. Political security and social order must always be maintained. This is the leading factor for the city. The state's management tasks with respect to economic and social activities must be based on the laws, and the ever-increasing requirements of managing a modern city must be satisfied. Promulgating laws and regulations plays a decisive role in this sphere.

4. Attention must be given to city projects—the city's infrastructure. This must be regarded as the starting point for development. The infrastructure includes communications projects such as roads and bridges, ports, airports, and information, energy, and service projects.

5. Attention must be given to the close relationship between economic development and the environment: the green belt, the degree of pollution, the regional climate, and sanitation.

6. Along with the constant growth of the production sectors, the service sectors must be expanded, and the importance of the service sector, particularly commercial, banking, and travel services, must be increased.

7. City planning must be renovated with the aim of satisfying the needs of a multi-faceted commodity economy. Marketing and planning must be coordinated, state subsidies must be eliminated, and there must be a switch to economic accounting in almost all spheres, such as housing and food supply.

8. Population growth must be controlled closely along with controlling the unorganized growth of the city.

9. A constant effort must be made to find and perfect management forms, methods, and arts for a modern city that is the center of Nam Bo and the southern zone.

10. The key point is to build a strong, pure, and small but effective state administrative apparatus under the leadership of a party organization that is constantly renovating and perfecting itself in line with the tasks.

The people of heroic Ho Chi Minh City will concentrate their intelligence on formulating a strategy and implementing that strategy. Under the leadership of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and the guidance and management of the Council of Ministers and with the attention and help of the entire country, Ho Chi Minh City will, together with Hanoi, strive to become an industrial, cultural, scientific and technical, and service center that represents the entire country.

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