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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 5, MAY 1986

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26 AUGUST 1986

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 5, MAY 1986

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

### CONTENTS

|                                                                                                                                                           |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Conducting a Good Self-criticism and Criticism Drive in Preparation<br>for the Congresses on the Various Levels of the Party (pp 1-5)<br>(Editorial)..... | 1  |
| Words of President Ho (pp 6-8)<br>(Ho Chi Minh).....                                                                                                      | 7  |
| Pressing Tasks in Party Building (pp 9-21)<br>(Le Duc Tho).....                                                                                           | 9  |
| Preparing for and Conducting the Party Organization Congresses on the<br>Various Levels Well (pp 22-26)<br>(Unattributed article).....                    | 25 |
| The Economic Strategy of the Soviet Union (pp 27-32, 45)<br>(Vo Van Kiet).....                                                                            | 32 |
| Ho Chi Minh (pp 33-40)<br>(E. Kovelep).....                                                                                                               | 40 |
| Nguyen Ai Quoc at the 1st Conference of the Peasant<br>International (pp 41-45)<br>(Trinh Muu).....                                                       | 49 |

|                                                                                                                            |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The New Vietnamese in the Light of Uncle Ho's Thinking on<br>Ideology and Culture (pp 46-51, 75)<br>(Le Xuan Vu) .....     | 55  |
| President Ho Chi Minh's Journey to France in 1946<br>(Summary Chronology) (pp 52-58, 67)<br>(Compiled by The Tap) .....    | 63  |
| At a Sudden Turning Point (pp 59-67)<br>(V. Panteleev) .....                                                               | 74  |
| The Ideological Work of the CPSU in the Soviet Union's New Period<br>of Development (pp 68-75)<br>(Hong Chuong) .....      | 84  |
| Toward the 6th Congress of the Party, Contributions to the Socio-Economic<br>Strategy in the Initial Stage in Our Country: |     |
| Cultural Work in the Present Stage (pp 76-81)<br>(Tran Van Phac) .....                                                     | 93  |
| Building and Developing the Electronics and Information<br>Theory Sector (pp 82-85, 81)<br>(Nguyen Xuan Quynh) .....       | 100 |
| Building and Developing the Biology Industry (pp 86-89)<br>(Professor Nguyen Lan Dung) .....                               | 106 |
| Letter to the Editorial Board: Respectfully Presented to the<br>Party (p 90)<br>(Ngo Thi Ut) .....                         | 111 |
| Arising from a Zone of "Dead Land" (pp 91-96)<br>(Huu Duc) .....                                                           | 112 |
| Through the Heroic Units of the Cultural Sector (pp 97-99)<br>(Tran Anh) .....                                             | 120 |
| Czechoslovakia's Economy--Its Achievements and Directions of<br>Development (pp 100-103)<br>(Yen Van) .....                | 124 |
| Some Important Directions in Romania's Economic<br>Development (pp 104-106)<br>(Le Tinh) .....                             | 128 |
| Index to TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5, May 1986<br>(JPRS) .....                                                                  | 132 |

## CONDUCTING A GOOD SELF-CRITICISM AND CRITICISM DRIVE IN PREPARATION FOR THE CONGRESSES ON THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] Practicing self-criticism and criticism is a law in the development of our party, is a matter in the nature of a principle of party life. It has a decisive and direct influence upon the existence, stability and strength of the party, upon the development of the revolution. Bravely and sincerely engaging in self-criticism and rectifying one's shortcomings and mistakes are an expression of party spirit, are an indispensable requirement of every party organization, every party member and cadre without exception. It is even more necessary for leadership cadres and cadres who hold positions of authority to seriously practice self-criticism and rectify their mistakes and shortcomings in order to set examples for other cadres and party members. Practicing self-criticism and criticism well is not only of important significance in improving the quality of cadres and party members, the quality of party organizations and building stronger internal unity, but is also a basic measure in maintaining the ties between the party and the masses. V.I. Lenin said: "The attitude of a political party toward its mistakes is one of the most important, surest standards for determining whether or not this party is serious and is truly fulfilling its obligations to its class and the laboring masses."(1) Lenin also said: "Openly admitting mistakes, finding the causes of mistakes, analyzing the circumstances that gave rise to mistakes and carefully researching measures for rectifying these mistakes--these are the signs that a party is serious..."(2)

In keeping with Lenin's thinking and throughout the process of leading, educating and forging our party, the esteemed Uncle Ho always considered it important to teach the organizations of the party, teach cadres and party members that they "must regularly engage in serious criticism and honest self-criticism to help one another rectify shortcomings, build upon strengths and make progress together."(3) He said: "In a revolution, we do some things correctly and make some mistakes."(4) "We should not be afraid of mistakes and shortcomings, only afraid of being unwilling to correct them."(5)

In view of the facts that the party is in power and is leading the people of the entire country in building socialism and defending the fatherland,

practicing self-criticism and criticism is a matter of utmost importance to cadres and party members, to the organizations of the party.

This is primarily because the responsibility of the party to the whole of society is very large. We face entirely new, complex and large tasks, tasks in which it is difficult to avoid mistakes and shortcomings. Only by practicing self-criticism and criticism well can we gain the experience necessary in leadership and guidance, especially experience in economic management and state management, and point out the strongpoints that must be built upon and the strengths and shortcomings that must be promptly corrected. On the other hand, if, within the context of the party being in power, cadres and party members are unwilling to improve and forge themselves, are not steadfast in the face of new difficulties and challenges and do not regularly practice good self-criticism and criticism, they easily face the danger of becoming corrupt, degenerate or deviant, even if they were once persons who made contributions to the revolution. It is even easier for leadership cadres and cadres in positions of authority who disregard the practice of self-criticism and the offering of criticism by the masses to find themselves facing harmful consequences. The Statutes of our party stipulate: "The organizations of the party, from the central to the basic levels, and each member of the party must engage in serious self-criticism and criticism. The upper level must criticize itself before the lower level and make good arrangements for the lower level to criticize the upper level. Self-criticism and criticism must be sincere and forthright and have the purposes of completing tasks, building the organization and helping one another make progress." (6) The Statutes of the party also state: "The party strictly prohibits actions taken to suppress criticism, suppress individuals and takes a stern attitude toward any cadre, party member or organization that commits these shortcomings." (7)

Deserving of attention is the fact that self-criticism and criticism have, to some extent, been given light attention within our party in recent years. There are some party organizations, cadres and members who do not concern themselves with self-criticism and criticism or only practice self-criticism and criticism in a "form for form's sake" manner that has no practical impact. Deviations such as only liking to hear words of flattery and praise, only seeing the mistakes and shortcomings of others, enthusiastically criticizing others but not engaging in serious self-criticism and not wanting anyone to talk about one's mistakes or shortcomings are rather widespread among more than a few cadres and party committees. There have also been cases of only recognizing mistakes and shortcomings "for the sake of appearances," that is, of giving the appearance of seriously addressing mistakes and shortcomings but not being willing to rectify them. There have even been cases of suppressing and intimidating persons who forthrightly criticize and point out the shortcomings and mistakes of a leader.

The phenomena described above are totally alien to the revolutionary and scientific nature of our party. These improper phenomena are one of the reasons why the implementation of party directives and resolutions has not produced the desired results and why mistakes and shortcomings within the apparatus of the party and state and among cadres and party members have persisted and adversely affected the confidence of the masses. Overcoming

these unwholesome phenomena and engaging in serious self-criticism and criticism within the organizations of the party, the organizations of the administration and among cadres and party members are becoming a requirement of pressing importance.

At present, our entire party is urgently preparing for the party congresses on the various levels, which are being held in advance of the 6th National Congress in late 1986. The Party Secretariat has decided to take this occasion to conduct a self-criticism and criticism drive throughout the party, in all party chapters, party committees, people's committees and leadership organizations of the departments and sectors, from the district to the central levels, to be participated in by each and every party member and leadership cadre of all levels and sectors. To coordinate this drive with the schedule of preparations for the congresses, this self-criticism and criticism drive will be divided into two rounds: round 1--self-criticism and criticism focusing on three points: personal qualities, style of leadership and cadre policy; round 2 (which will take place after receiving the draft of the political report to be presented at the 6th Congress)--self-criticism and criticism focusing on how well the lines and views of the party are understood and how well their implementation has been organized. This is a very important part of preparing for the congresses on the various levels and the national congress and is also an extremely important phase of political activities, not only within the party, but throughout society as well. Each of our party members and cadres has the responsibility of making positive contributions to this self-criticism and criticism drive.

As pointed out in the directive of the Party Secretariat, the objectives of this self-criticism and criticism drive are:

--To improve the ability of the party to lead and organize the implementation of its lines by evaluating and gaining experience from the work that has been performed since the 5th Party Congress, thereby helping to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the party, raise the sense of organization and discipline of cadres and party members, strengthen the ties between the party and the masses and create the conditions for receiving and initiating the successful implementation of the resolutions of the upcoming congresses on the various levels and the 6th National Congress.

--To evaluate and assess cadres in a correct and comprehensive manner from the standpoint of their qualities and skills, their strengths, shortcomings and weaknesses; on this basis, it is possible to accurately select worthy comrades to attend the congresses on the various levels and be elected to the party committees on the various levels and to the 6th Party Central Committee.

As regards the collectives of party committees or the leaders of sectors, self-criticism and criticism must focus on such matters of primary importance as reviewing the steps taken to lead and organize the implementation of the resolution of the 5th National Congress and the resolutions of the plenums held since the congress, especially the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Plenums of the Central Committee and the resolution of the last party organization congress on one's level. Importance must be attached to examining the decisions and policies of one's sector or locality from the

perspective of how correctly or incorrectly they expressed the lines and views of the party; pointing out the reasons for successes and failures; analyzing strongpoints, weakpoints and mistakes; correctly evaluating the true state of the economy and society; and pointing out what the specific responsibility of each party committee member was in the process of providing leadership and guidance. It is necessary to thoroughly review the organization of implementation from such perspectives as which strongpoints and weaknesses were exhibited in the utilization and management of the apparatus, the assignment of cadres and work methods and how well were the spirit of responsibility, dynamism, creativity and the sense of organization and discipline displayed. It is also necessary to review compliance with the mechanism "the party leads, the laboring people exercise collective ownership and the state manages" and the principles of party life stipulated in Party Statutes, such as democratic centralism, collective leadership, internal democracy, unity and consensus, self-criticism and criticism.

The result of party committee self-criticism and criticism must be expressed first in the quality of the reports reviewing party committee work presented at the various congresses, reports which must clearly address the requirements concerning the matters mentioned above, draw lessons and experiences and set guidelines and measures for improving the leadership of one's party committee or sector. After engaging in self-criticism, party committees and leadership organizations can offer their observations and criticisms concerning the leadership organization on the level directly above them.

In this self-criticism and criticism drive, all party members and cadres in charge of all levels and sectors, especially key leadership cadres from the basic level upward, have the responsibility of participating in a serious manner. The requirement of each individual is to review the performance of tasks assigned since the 5th National Congress. On the one hand, importance must be attached to examining how well one has understood the lines and views of the party, how good one's ability to organize implementation has been and what results have been achieved through this ability to organize implementation. On the other hand, importance must also be attached to examining one's personal qualities and style, such as one's revolutionary militancy, spirit of responsibility, sense of organization and discipline, dynamism and creativity in the implementation of the lines and policies of the party and state, concern for the living conditions of the people, concern for building the party, concern for building the organization and corps of cadres, sense of democratic collectivism, workstyle and way of life.

It is necessary to harshly criticize the ills of bureaucracy, conservatism, inertia, negligence, subjectivism, opportunism and paternalism; phenomena that are a violation of the discipline of the party and laws of the state; abusing one's position or authority to steal from the state, accepting bribes, conspiring with undesirable elements to engage in speculation and black marketing and earning a living illegally; and phenomena that reflect a lack of revolutionary vigilance in the face of the distorted allegations and propaganda and the psychological war of the enemy.

This self-criticism and criticism drive must be closely guided from the upper to the lower levels and be conducted in a serious and thorough manner by all

party members and cadres, all levels, sectors and units. The experience of previous political activity drives shows that in order for self-criticism and criticism to achieve good results, it is of decisive importance that the key leadership cadres of all levels and sectors set a good example of self-criticism, practice democracy, listen to the criticisms offered by the lower level and the masses and accept these criticisms if they are deemed to be correct or explain why they are incorrect. No one may display temper or an abrasive attitude toward someone by whom he or she is being criticized. Preventing a person from expressing criticism or retaliating against someone who does are prohibited. Harsh action must be taken against anyone who commits these violations. Of utmost importance in self-criticism and criticism are the needs to squarely face the truth, honestly evaluate the work, quality, ability, style and way of life of every cadre and party member, of every party organization, clearly state their strengths and all their shortcomings and, on this basis, draw lessons and experience and point out effective measures for developing upon strengths and correcting weaknesses with the aim of meeting the requirements of the revolution better.

Every cadre and party member must offer criticism in a spirit of responsibility, in an honest, forthright, unbiased and objective manner. The criticism expressed must be concretely based. Criticism must not be criticism "in name only" or altered for fear of incurring someone's dissatisfaction. Criticism must not be simply general or cursory criticism characterized by the attitudes "easy on him, easy on us" or "protecting him in whichever direction the wind is blowing." Criticism must also be free of personal motive and prejudices. Criticism and self-criticism must not be used to attack, slander or make false and damaging statements against a comrade or cause internal divisions. The display of self-awareness on the part of cadres and party members in their self-criticism must be closely combined with contributing opinions in the criticism struggle of the collective. It is necessary to harshly criticize the phenomena of acting like a "meritorious official," being paternalistic, placing oneself above the collective or outside the organization and disregarding each criticism expressed by other comrades. In necessary cases, the upper level must look into, investigate and verify certain matters first in order to help the practice of criticism and self-criticism yield good results.

Another important requirement is that self-criticism and criticism go hand in hand with rectifying mistakes and shortcomings. When a review shows that something has been done incorrectly, corrective measures must be immediately taken in order to bring about an effective change and strengthen the confidence of cadres, party members and the masses. The various party committee echelons and responsible organizations must inspect, observe and supervise these efforts and create a new workstyle. They must correct the practices of not doing what they tell others to do and everyone implementing a resolution in a different way. If a mistake is found but not rectified, disciplinary action must be taken by the party.

By conducting this self-criticism and criticism drive well, we will effectively prepare for the party organization congresses on the various levels and the national congress of the party and create basic, favorable

conditions for overall growth, for implementing the resolutions and directives of the party and advancing our country's revolutionary cause to new victories.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 51.
2. Ibid.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 183.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p 53.
6. "Dieu le Dang cong san Viet nam"[The Statutes of the Communist Party of Vietnam], the Central Committee, 2nd printing, pp 13-14.
7. Ibid

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CSO: 4210/10

WORDS OF PRESIDENT HO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 6-8

[Statements by Ho Chi Minh]

[Text] ...These comrades understand that when a party member makes a mistake, it leads to the masses making a mistake. Therefore, when a mistake is made, they are ready to rectify it and do so promptly. They do not allow a minor mistake to become a major mistake. Consequently, they have learned how to make progress together through honest self-criticism and sincere criticism of others.

Such is in keeping with revolutionary ethics. In its many years of clandestine activity, even though ruthlessly terrorized by the colonialists, and despite facing very many difficulties and dangers, our party grew and became stronger with each passing day and has led the people in a successful revolution and a victorious war of resistance. This was because our party skillfully used the effective weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

However, there are still more than a few party members who, fettered by individualism, have become arrogant, have become "meritorious officials" and hold a very high opinion of themselves. They criticize others but do not want others to criticize them. They either do not engage in self-criticism or do not criticize themselves in an honest and forthright manner. They are afraid that by criticizing themselves they will lose face, lose prestige. They do not listen to the opinions of the masses. They view cadres outside the party with disdain. They do not realize that it is difficult to completely avoid mistakes in any activity. We must not be afraid of making mistakes, only afraid of not being determined to rectify a mistake that has been made. To rectify a mistake properly, we must be ready to listen to the criticisms of the masses and engage in honest self-criticism. Those who are unwilling to listen to criticism and do not engage in self-criticism are bound to become backward, to fall behind. Once this happens, they will be cast aside by the masses. This is the inevitable result of individualism...

"We communists must not forget our noble ideals for one moment: to struggle for the total independence of the fatherland, for the total victory of socialism in our country and throughout the world... Each of us must place the interests of the nation, of the class above personal interests, must

devote ourselves to the great cause. To preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, we must first be pure ourselves. To win victory over the enemy that is imperialism, to successfully build socialism, we must first triumph over the enemy within us--individualism...

Individualism is the dangerous enemy that each of us must always alertly guard against and be determined to destroy."

"These persons consider the party to be a ladder to fame and fortune. They are not concerned with the life of the people, only with their own personal interests. They forget that every dong, every grain of rice is the product of the sweat and tears of the people. As a result, they become ostentatious and wasteful. They consider themselves to be entitled to a life of luxury and pleasure. This leads them to corruption and decadence, even to crime."

"These persons do not understand that the strength of the party lies in the centralism and unity, in the iron discipline of the party. They have little association with the organization and do not have confidence in the forces and intelligence of the collective. They live and work by themselves and do not unite or cooperate with others. Whenever they acquire the slightest bit of knowledge or success, they boast, put on airs, become arrogant and claim that they are better than others. When put in charge, they assume all authority unto themselves and decide everything that is to be done. In every sector and locality, they consider where they are to be a separate mountain and do not give consideration to the interests of the whole. They disregard the decisions of the organization. They are "bureaucrats" and only like to issue orders to their comrades and the people."

"Some comrades still seek status and try to secure a position as a party committee member at one place or a chairman somewhere else. Some comrades are only concerned with eating and dressing well, with making public property their own personal property, with using their position and job to engage in trade and become wealthy and are concerned more about personal than public affairs. With such revolutionary ethics, they deserve whatever scorn is directed at them through public opinion."

"Every party member and every cadre from the upper to the lower levels must understand that one joins the party to be the servant of the people...to be the servant of the people, not a people's 'official.'"

7809

CSO: 4210/10

## PRESSING TASKS IN PARTY BUILDING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN No 5, May 86 pp 9-21

[Article by Le Duc Tho, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau; republished in 5 May NHAN DAN]

[Text] Since its founding, over the past more than 56 years of arduous and stalwart revolutionary struggle, our party has led our people in resounding armed exploits, winning one victory after another, and opening up the most brilliant and glorious chapters in the history of our people. In this very course of struggle and challenge, our party has matured in many aspects, and has unceasingly struggled to be worthy of being the leader and organizer of all victories in our country's revolution, and of being a vanguard in the world revolutionary movement.

The history of our party and our country's revolution could be divided into two major stages: the first, from the party founding in February 1930 to the total liberation of South Vietnam in April 1975; and the second, from April 1975 to the present time.

The first stage consisted of many varied periods in which we had to carry out many different, specific tasks, but the general and fundamental strategic tasks were to carry out the people's democratic, national and revolutionary tasks; to fight and expel the colonialist invaders; to topple domination by the colonialists, feudalists and landlords; to totally liberate the country; to achieve national reunification; and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the people's right to collective mastery.

The second stage will certainly also consist of many periods in which many different concrete tasks must be carried out. However, the general and fundamental strategy is to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction on a national scale. This is a very complex class struggle.

Those two historic stages have different conditions and characteristics, different revolutionary objectives and different revolutionary tasks, which must be discharged according to different rules. If, in the first stage, the challenge was to make sacrifices in terms of blood, flesh and lives--a very bitter sacrifice--in this second stage, the challenge is material temptation,

bourgeois lifestyle, money, beautiful girls and commodities. It does not require the sacrifice of lives, but it is very complicated and dreadful. It causes the revolutionary's qualities and ethics to gradually dissipate. It secretly destroys the strength of our contingent. In this stage, if we want to win victory, that is, if we want to transform the old society and build and consolidate the new one, fervor and selfless sacrifice alone will not do. It also demands enhancement of economic management skills and capabilities and conducting persevering, enduring organizational tasks in order to resolve extremely difficult and complex ecosocial problems.

Lenin has correctly said: if we want to manage well, apart from the talent to persuade people and to fight and win victories in the civil war, we need to know how to realistically organize. That is the most difficult task, because the problem is that we must organize--according to new methods--the most deep-rooted organs, the economic installations, involving the lives of tens of millions of people.

Lenin also said: solving a political problem sometimes needs only a few weeks; a military problem could possibly be resolved in several months, but an economic problem needs a year, or several years, to resolve.

Each issue has its own rules. Economic rules, in particular, are very complex. They have intertwined organic relationships. Mistakes made in one link will adversely influence other links immediately, and, sometimes, even affect a whole system. For example, mistakes made in pricing immediately affect production, distribution, people's lives, society and politics. If mistakes are made in agriculture, difficulties are encountered in industry and communications and transportation are greatly hampered.

Over the past 10 years, overcoming innumerable difficulties and trials caused by the enemy and natural calamities, under the party's leadership, and fighting in an extremely valiant manner, our people have scored very great achievements on both fronts of socialist construction and defense of our socialist fatherland. We have rapidly healed the wounds of war; gradually boosted production in various fields, especially in agricultural production, built the initial material-technical bases for socialism; basically completed agricultural collectivization in the South; insured the existence of the minimal necessities for our people's lives; developed cultural, educational and public health activities; consolidated and strengthened our national defense potential; firmly defended our fatherland; and fulfilled our internationalist obligations toward fraternal Laos and Cambodia. In the process, our party has advanced one step further in its political, ideological, and organizational consolidation, and has further matured in exercising its leadership over economic construction and management, social management and over the socialist revolution.

Cadres and party members have had their levels of class and socialist consciousness increasingly heightened, have had more dynamic and creative work experiences and have been tested in economic construction. We have advanced one step further in perfecting all the party's leading organs and state management apparatuses in the direction of enhancing economic leadership skills and strengthening state management. Additionally, we have paid

attention to building the district level and have strengthened the district level while consolidating and perfecting the grassroots level. We have imbued a contingent of cadres with a basic knowledge of economic management and with ever-increasing educational and technical levels. We have further expanded party membership by more than 800,000 members. These are the results of our efforts in party building which have decidedly contributed to our successes and achievements over the past more than 10 years.

Considering the requirements set forth in the resolutions of the 4th and 5th CPV Congresses and of CPV Central Committee plenums, however, not much party building organizational work has been done. Weaknesses in organizational work and party building remain numerous and are, some cases, very serious. We must face up to reality in the communist spirit of scrupulous self-criticism and criticism, point out lingering deficiencies and adopt intensive remedial measures in order to advance.

Ideologically speaking, complex developments are being noted among cadres and party members. Many of them, realizing difficulties in the economy and people's lives, are deeply concerned about how we are going to extricate ourselves from this difficult situation, and in general about our country's future. Many comrades have doubts, lessening their confidence in our capability to organize the implementation of party resolutions.

A number of cadres, lacking a sense of responsibility in their work in promoting party building, or in caring for the lives of the masses, only care about their personal lives, are jealous about others' positions, rally people into factions, thus causing the loss of solidarity in the party. Liberalism, disorganization and indiscipline in the party are relatively widespread. They are manifested in failures to scrupulously execute party directives and resolutions, failures to correctly apply the state statute and discipline, freeness, expediency, individualism, localism and indiscriminate statements.

Some widespread phenomena among cadres and party members are corruption, bribery, smuggling, enrichment, dissolute and depraved living, feasting and open bribery with presents. A number of cadres and party members revert to outmoded customs in funerals and weddings, superstitious practices and ceremonial offerings; adopt a vulgar material lifestyle; and, on many occasions, let money hold sway over their conscience and honor. This situation exists everywhere and at every echelon. It has caused great wastage in production and people's lives, degenerated cadres and party members and diminished the public's confidence. It may be said that in no time before was there, in our party, a degeneration of virtues and the way of living as is the case now. This is a major, very serious issue. It is not merely a matter of lifestyle as some comrades put it. It involves the party member's behavior, the virtues of the revolutionary combatant. It deals with the ethics of the communist.

At a time when millions of people are still encountering difficulties and experiencing privations, there exist cadres and party members guilty of corruption, bribery, smuggling and amassing riches; there are units and enterprises holding feasts and throwing sumptuous banquets, thus causing the public to lose confidence. Can we label this lifestyle? We must realize that

our enemies are devotedly cashing in on this issue to undermine us from within, by directing their attacks on man's desires, in an attempt to sway and disintegrate the qualities and ranks of our revolutionaries.

Regarding the organization apparatus, the 4th and 5th CPV Congresses and many plenums of the CPV Central Committee have clearly pointed out that we must resolutely and urgently revamp our organization; perfect apparatuses; and streamline the personnel indirectly engaged in production. Not much of that work, however, has been done. Nowadays our leadership apparatuses at all echelons and sectors remain cumbersome, with many liaison bases and many intermediary layers. Consequently, they incur waste and are greatly inefficient. A number of regulations on responsibilities and work procedure, though already promulgated, have not been scrupulously implemented. The powers of the collective, the individual, the central level and local level, the ministries, corporations and enterprises have not been clearly defined. That situation has given rise to bureaucratism and very bad practices of conservatism and inertia within apparatuses, from top to bottom and from the central to the local level. It causes inaccuracy in information; ineffective, untimely and scattered leadership; and ties the hands of lower echelons and grassroots units in all fields of activity.

Concerning the cadre contingent, unlike in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, we have newly emerged from a nearly 30 year-long war. We have not had much time for peaceful construction. Therefore, our cadres have not been trained in a basic, systematic and homogeneous manner. Our cadres contingent has been formed from many sources: some comrades joined it after their release from jail; others after years of engaging in resistance wars; still others have been trained during the years of socialist construction. As a result, the levels and capabilities of the contingent are uneven and incomprehensive. Most of the cadres are elderly. Those who participated in the August 1945 revolution are now over 60. Many of our ministers and vice ministers are now in that age group.

Meanwhile, we still do not have projects for intensive cadre training; we remain conservative and sluggish in deploying, managing and using cadres, young cadres in particular. Cadre management is not yet systematic; therefore, cadre promotion has been pursued in a patchwork and expedient manner.

Regarding work style and methods, the Party Central Committee has approved the work system and methods and procedures for issuing resolutions and organizing for their implementation. However, those regulations have not been correctly carried out. Lack of democracy, bureaucratism and divorce from reality and the masses remain rather common in the party. There are comrades in key positions at echelons and sectors who are very patriarchal and autocratic, who do not listen, and do not want to listen to opinions of the masses, party members and lower echelon cadres. They are even prejudicial or vengeful toward those who harbor views different from theirs. All of this has created an unhealthy working atmosphere in the party, has crippled the thinking of cadres and party members and has kept the collectives in a state of ignorance.

Indulgence and fear reign among party members, who dare not speak their minds. In some places, the communist language is replaced with that of opportunists and sycophants: seeking to please others in what they say, making false reports. That situation has had a very bad influence on the issuance and implementation of decisions, and caused a loss of internal unity. Mistakes made by leading cadres prevent efficient work by the collective. Leadership and guidance are long on bureaucracy and red tape and short on closeness to the masses and the grassroots level; fail to carry out their control function well; and fail to delve deeply into reality, to remain close to the people's lives in order to grasp the situation, detect problems, resolve them in a timely manner and make reviews to draw experience.

Meetings are too numerous, ostentatious and formalistic. That has led to failure to follow through on work: once a resolution has been issued, the work is considered done. No one does any research; no one supervises the implementation.

The objective cause of the above mentioned shortcomings and deficiencies is that we are entering a stage of socialist revolution and construction under extremely difficult and complex circumstances, due to the serious consequences of the protracted fierce wars and repeated natural calamities. We are advancing to socialism from the status of a backward agricultural country, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, with no experience in production organization and economic construction.

The class struggle, concretely manifested in the struggle between the two paths, is very complex and fierce in many aspects of social life. It involves vital rights of everyone, of all social strata. Western culture and lifestyle, through many ways, have affected our society. Daily and hourly our enemies have sought ways to undermine us.

Subjectively speaking, we have made big mistakes in a number of policies on the economic front which have, therefore, influenced many respects of life, the economy, society and politics. We lack responsiveness, a positive attitude and initiatives in the struggle against the enemy's distorting propaganda, against the vices and bad habits of cadres, party members and the masses.

Some comrades hold that, owing to difficulties in the economy and livelihood, it is difficult to carry out ideological work; they thus slacken ideological work. Other comrades overemphasize the material interest, failing to give due attention to the ideological work and moral values. Of the three types of interests, only the individual interest is emphasized.

A number of localities have performed ideological work in a superficial, general manner, confining it to conferences, limiting it to explanations of resolutions or general exhortation and motivation, without doing in-depth research in order to detect and rectify erroneous conceptions in a timely manner. The press, radio stations and other mass media facilities carry out one-way propaganda and explanations, with emphasis only on achievements and strengths, daring not to mention shortcomings, daring not to carry out frank and open criticism, failing to give enough answers to the masses' questions

and failing to meet the people's aspirations. The result has been a situation where the press reports on fulfillment of plan norms, whereas the broad masses suffer from all kinds of privations.

The culture and art sector still permits the circulation of indecent, salacious works. Many organs allow the showing of pornographic films for money-making purposes. Ideological work is truly a fiery fighting front, but the entire party has not been able to build up strength for, and not been positive in, that struggle.

Our organizational, cadre and control work has not been effective and dynamic, with many aspects remaining conservative and sluggish, especially in the field of planning and cadre training and management. We have too long maintained a centralized, bureaucratic and subsidy-based system of management, failed to change in a timely manner a number of policies that are no longer appropriate and violated the principle of democratic centralism in the party. Party organizations, especially basic party organizations, have not been consolidated and perfected. Some localities have failed to give due attention to the training, education and enhancement of quality of party cadres. The quality of many newly admitted party members is still low, attention having been paid only to work efficiency, not on quality. There are even people who joined the party with improper motives, but they have not been educated and taken care of. Disciplinary measures have not been applied strictly and fairly.

Also, commendations and rewards have been given unfairly, out of sympathy or even for bribes. This is another cause of negativism, or allows negativism to go unchecked. A party resolution says that anyone who makes mistakes, whatever his position, is subject to appropriate disciplinary measures. However, a situation exists now where, for the same mistakes, only lower echelon offenders are subjected to disciplinary measures, whereas no, or only mild disciplinary measures are taken against higher echelon offenders. This is also one of the reasons for the lack of confidence on the part of party members and the masses.

We are approaching the 6th CPV National Congress. All echelons and sectors are making preparations for, or conducting, their own party organization congresses. This is an important event in our party's political life. We are going to hold our party congress at a time when the situation in the world and in the region is undergoing deep changes with basic advantages but also replete with difficulties. The biggest, most formidable difficulty is that our country's economic situation and social life are still not stabilized and still experiencing troubles in some respects. Major imbalances remain serious in some respects. Negativism continues to be fairly grave. The political situation in the region and in the world is developing in a complex manner. The Chinese expansionist-hegemonists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, are seeking to sabotage our country.

In view of the situation, we must uphold the spirit of unity and cohesion and the sense of responsibility; make preparations for, and conduct very well, our party congress; and firmly consolidate our party to make it constantly pure, strong and stable, worthy of being the party of President Ho Chi Minh, the

fighting vanguard of the Vietnamese working class, and capable of leading and organizing our people in successfully accomplishing their socialist construction and the defense of their socialist fatherland. That is the most important and pressing task of our party at present.

We must build our party in a comprehensive and homogeneous manner, as set forth at the 5th National Party Congress and the recent plenums of the Party Central Committee. We must, in particular, enhance our economic leadership, construction and management skills, and our capability to thoroughly grasp and successfully implement all party directives and resolutions. We must perfect party leadership on the basis of renovating the economic and social management mechanism; abolishing the centralized, bureaucratic and subsidy-based system of management; definitively switching to the implementation of socialist economic accounting and business; enhancing the combativeness of basic party organizations; raising the quality of party members; and training, assigning and using contingents of ethical and capable cadres, in order to be able to accomplish our tasks in the new stage.

In the immediate future, we should concentrate on satisfactorily implementing the following urgent duties:

1. Rearrange the organization, perfect the machinery, correctly place cadres according to the requirements of building a new economic structure and implement the new management mode. We should urgently rearrange the machinery of various party and state agencies at the central and local levels. This includes the rearrangement of staff organization, the reassignment of cadres and the determination of new work regulations and behavior.

The new management mechanism calls for a new machinery and new alert, dynamic and creative men who know how to manage profitable business and work. All committees, ministries and sectors must satisfactorily fulfill the task of organizing their cadres. All localities should study and carry out step by step the rearrangement of their organizations and the perfection of their machineries. Action should be focused on most satisfactorily performing personnel affairs at all levels--especially at the provincial and city levels--in corporations, joint enterprises, major factories and district and precinct party committees. Key and leading party cadres must be correctly placed in the various economic, security and national defense sectors and in various party committees, especially the propaganda, training and organization committees.

We must resolutely streamline the personnel staff of administrative agencies and indirect supervision components of production and business units and the staff of various party organs and mass organizations. We must immediately eliminate unnecessary intermediary components. In selecting and placing cadres, we must firmly grasp the party viewpoint; proceed from the requirements of the revolutionary tasks; and adapt a really objective, democratic and scientific attitude and method.

This is a very important and difficult task. If we do not correctly select and place cadres, we must not be able to implement party directives and resolutions satisfactorily. Each revolutionary stage has a different

requirement of cadres, depending on its political task. Cadre selection and placement must stem from the requirement of implementing the party's political tasks.

We are currently implementing the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland; conducting the three revolutions; and building the new management mechanism, a new culture and new men. Many of the old cadres now in charge of the various sectors of the party and state at various echelons have made many contributions to the party. Although they have much experience in work and have gone through many ordeals and dangers, they are now too old to be able to do much work.

Consequently, we must boldly train, employ and promote young cadres for replacement. Otherwise, we will have the ground cut from beneath us in a failure caused by difficulties in the leadership task. We must trust young cadres. Youths have the weakness of lacking experience but they are alert, bold, receptive to new things, enthusiastic and daring. If we train them well, they will be able to perform well.

Experience shows that youths might not have experience when newly promoted, but after some time of work they will gain experiences and mature. During the August Revolution and anti-French resistance struggle, how little military knowledge we had, but we still fought and worked and finally we succeeded. In 1945, our ministers were only 30 years old or so. Many members of the Party Central Committee were in the same age group. Several members of the Political Bureau, including the general secretary of the party, were 40 years old.

Cadres have been rapidly promoted in some localities recently, and they have also performed well. There might be some who are old yet physically and mentally qualified. These cadres should remain in place to serve as a fulcrum for young ones. Although we have to combine the employment of old with young cadres, we must do it mainly on the basis of cadre standardization and must assign tasks to cadres as required by the general situation of the revolution and not out of the concept of service seniority. We should not belittle youths and fail positively to foster and train them.

In fact, there have been old cadres trying to cling to their positions. They have been sitting behind desks day in and day out to read reports. They cannot be active and go down to the grassroots level and are thus unable to provide effective leadership and guidance.

On the strength of standardization, we will select young cadres, especially those who have gone through the ordeals of combat and political imprisonment and who have matured during the anti-U.S. resistance struggle or from among the workers' ranks. We must also select cadres from among women and the ethnic minority people for training into leading cadres. The best way is to promote those cadres who have actually worked at the lower echelons. For example, village chairmen should be promoted to district vice chairmen and district chairmen to provincial vice chairmen for some time before they can be appointed provincial chairmen. The appointment of party committee secretaries should also be made in the same way. Scientific and technical cadres should

be trained depending on trades and occupations. These cadres should at the same time have some knowledge of management. Leading cadres of ministries and sectors must necessarily have attended party schools.

We must proceed toward achieving a standardization of cadres and determining the age limit and the term of service for each category of cadres together with changes that they are subjected to when they reach certain age limit.

The stabilization of cadres must be linked with the rotation and renovation of cadres. In the period ahead, it is likely that the central government will transfer a number of cadres from the North to the South and vice versa, from the central level down to work in provinces and districts, and from provinces and districts to work at the central level. Among various provinces, districts, villages and sectors, there is also a need to practice such a rotation to help renovate and train cadres and develop their dynamism. Experience shows that if a comrade continues to work on the same job and stays in the same locality for a long period of time, he will easily develop conservatism, sluggishness and balk at using his mind and will be unable to develop his knowledge.

Naturally, we should undertake this task in a planned and systematic manner and only in cases of necessity without doing it indiscriminately, as this will create unnecessary upheavals in the contingent of cadres. In this task, we must oppose the feelings of departmentalism and localism, that is, a tendency to use locals rather than cooperating with persons coming from other areas.

We must pay great attention to guaranteeing cadres' standards. Speaking of cadre standards does not mean speaking generally of qualities and abilities. Instead, we must take into account specific requirements for each category of cadres. The qualities of a cadre today must be clearly reflected through his loyalty, uprightness and honesty, his bold determination to speak and work, his dynamism and creativity, his courage to accept responsibility, his close relations with the masses and his healthy lifestyle.

Abilities here must be concrete ones--the ability to master party lines; the ability to manage, organize and direct work; and the ability to do party and non-party work. Without these abilities, a cadre cannot direct the masses to carry out party lines and translate party lines into reality.

Selecting and appointing cadres to the right positions constitutes a very difficult task. This is a science and an art. First of all, we must revamp the management of cadres if we are to get hold of them firmly. Seeking to understand and selecting cadres require a correct and scientific method. It is necessary to be truly democratic-minded; to listen to the opinions of party cadres and members and of the masses; to work collectively and to exchange views within collectives in a disinterested, objective and fair manner while preventing sentiments, personal considerations or individualism from interfering.

Naturally, listening to the opinions of party cadres and members and of the masses must be carried out in various ways--through the ordinary management system, meeting individually with each person and listening directly to his

opinions, writing letters to exchange views in an analytical and selective manner and with careful investigation and consideration. In reality, there have been cases of incorrect understanding as a result of misinformation, thereby leading to misjudgment and misevaluation of cadres. There have been cases in which the enemy has infiltrated our ranks to spread information aimed at slandering our cadres and undermining our ranks.

In sum, we must exercise correctly the principle of democratic centralism in our cadre work. Along with arranging and making appointments of cadres for immediate use, we must quickly prepare an alternative contingent of cadres for the next 5-10 years and work out programs and plans to train them in a systematic and uniform manner.

We must implement correctly the cadre policy. As for those comrades who are senile or unable to undertake their duties in the new stage, we must adopt a satisfactory policy of rewards for them, taking good care of their welfare and creating favorable conditions for them so they can face lesser difficulties in their livelihood.

A system of preferential treatment should be established for those comrades and veteran revolutionaries with many years of service. With regard to the livelihood of cadres and employees in general, plans should be formulated by all ministries and echelons to help them more basically by organizing increased production and practicing thrift in accordance with principles and policies. Cadres are now tending their lives in a haphazard and disorganized manner without guidance. Even in production and livestock breeding, it is also necessary to take into account the scale and the scope of our work so that we can find out whether it is adequate or not.

2. The conduct of self-criticism and criticism to improve the quality of party members and overcome all manifestations of negativism in the party: while preparing for and holding the party congress, we must implement satisfactorily the Party Central Committee Secretariat's directive on self-criticism and criticism along with reviewing our tasks and assessing the situation so as to draw on experience in leadership and guidance over the past 10 years. This is the basic substance of the party's ideological work from now till the 6th Party Congress.

Self-criticism and criticism is a sharp weapon to correct shortcomings and the law of development of the party. As Lenin put it, self-criticism and criticism in public is a precious sword to heal the wounds. To develop successfully our strongpoints and correct our shortcomings to continue moving forward, we must conduct self-criticism and criticism regularly and seriously. As an immediate step, we should organize satisfactorily a self-criticism and criticism drive. Through this drive, we can educate and select party members and cadres to prepare for the party congress.

This self-criticism and criticism drive should be focused on reviewing the comprehension and implementation of the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress and the 2nd, 6th, 7th and 8th Party Central Committee Plenums and of our own party organization congresses in the last term of office, with emphasis on work ability, efficiency, behavior and quality and lifestyle. Through this,

we can draw on experience and define guidelines for all individuals and units to improve their tasks.

To insure that self-criticism and criticism can produce good results, all echelons and sectors must make perfect preparations, satisfactorily educate cadres and party members and organize party activities in a specific manner with guidance and emphasis on avoiding perfunctoriness and formalism. Cadres and party members at all levels and in all sectors must enhance the sense of responsibility, bravery, impartiality, straightforwardness, honesty and comradeship. They must not refrain from criticism for the sake of saving face and, at the same time, must not take advantage of criticism to cause internal disunity.

It is necessary for all key cadres and organs of leadership at the higher level to play an exemplary role in self-criticism and criticism. For a long time now we still have not been able to do so and this has also restricted our efforts in self-criticism and criticism. We must truly respect the views of the masses and the lower echelons and must not advocate arbitrariness, paternalism, prejudice and vindictiveness.

It will be impossible to introduce a truly democratic new work style in the party, and self-criticism and criticism will be squelched immediately if key cadres and organs of leadership at the higher level fail to play an exemplary role in self-criticism and criticism. In other words, this self-criticism and criticism drive must be carried out vigorously from top to bottom and vice versa. We must conduct criticism in the party along with arranging for various mass organizations to contribute their views to the development of the party. Appropriate disciplinary action must immediately be taken against any vindictive act toward criticism.

Self-criticism and criticism should be conducted in close combination with the struggle to overcome all manifestations of negativism in the party and improve the quality of party members. It is necessary to frankly point out wrongdoings and negative manifestations in the party and introduce measures for correction in a positive manner to move forward.

We are not afraid of shortcomings and mistakes. We are only afraid of the shortcomings and mistakes that we cannot or refuse to discover. Some comrades are worrying that, if we openly point out our shortcomings and errors before various mass organizations, then we will impair the prestige of our cadres and party and allow the enemy to take advantage of these shortcomings and errors to criticize us and distort the facts. This contention is not totally correct. In the past, we have conducted many self-criticism and criticism drives in the party with the participation of various mass organizations. These drives have produced good results.

Uncle Ho once taught us: our people are very nice; they love the party and cadres very much. If we have shortcomings and discuss them in front of the people, the people will neither hate nor despise us. On the contrary, they will only love, respect and trust us even more.

Lenin often said: the serious attitude of a genuine revolutionary party is openly to admit its errors and shortcomings, to point out their causes clearly and to seek measures to correct them. A revolutionary party is not afraid of shortcomings or distortion by the enemy because such a party is very strong and earnestly yearns for progress. This is precisely the strength of a party and an important guarantee of its continuous advance.

Lenin stated: up to now, all revolutionary parties that have perished have met this fate because of their self-conceit and vanity, because of their failure to realize clearly what constitutes their strength, and because of their fear of talking about their weaknesses. As for us, we will not perish because we do not fear to speak about our weaknesses and because we will learn how to overcome them.

Showing a serious spirit of self-criticism, our party has on several occasions stated openly that, besides its fundamental strongpoints and achievements, in the past it has also committed some serious errors and shortcomings in the economy and in concretizing and organizing the implementation of its economic line. These errors and shortcomings have affected the speed of our construction; aggravated difficulties and negative practices in society; and reduced the confidence of cadres, party members and the masses.

Having realized these errors and shortcomings, our party is seeking all ways to rectify and overcome them. The party requests that all echelons and sectors, also acting in the same spirit and through self-criticism and criticism, work out corrective measures so as to move forward. Naturally, this is a very difficult problem that we must resolve in a uniform and steady manner. In the immediate future, however, we must know how to score small successes one by one so as to advance gradually to greater ones. We must concentrate our efforts on doing immediately what can be done at once. For instance, we can streamline or eliminate without delay the unnecessary intermediary links in the managerial apparatus; put an immediate end to negative phenomena such as gift-giving, feasting, drinking and holding of ostentatious, wasteful formal meetings; resolutely expel from the party those degenerate and deviant people no longer qualified for party membership; and promptly replace those cadres who no longer have sufficient quality and capability. In localities and grassroots units, we must concentrate on resolving immediately any problem that can be resolved without waiting for anything. We must be very dynamic and active. Time will not wait for us.

Through the struggle to carry out self-criticism and criticism, to correct shortcomings and to oppose negativism, we should educate and train party members to raise their quality. Over the past 10 years, the increase in our party membership has in no way been small, but the quality of party members in many basic units has not yet been high enough. Some people have joined the party for the wrong motives: they considered membership a means to gain admission to schools, to get promotions, to reap higher salaries or to obtain this or that.

It is now time for us to do a rescreening. But before getting down to this task, we must consolidate and perfect party chapters and committees and increase the militant strength of basic party organizations. We must carry

out this task urgently to enhance the vanguard and exemplary character of party members, purify the party's ranks and strengthen the relations between the party and the masses. Each cadre and party member should clearly understand that any decline of quality and deterioration of lifestyle in a component of party cadres and members are a very important cause of the reduction of the masses' confidence in the party. In view of the current difficulties in life and of the various negative aspects in society, party members must not, even for a minute, neglect training, abandon their combat position, or give up their noble title of communists.

3. The renovation of working attitudes and methods: this is a major and vital issue in party leadership and also an urgent work in preparation for the party congress. If working attitudes and methods are successfully renovated, they will contribute to effecting a change in the situation, generating a new atmosphere in the party and creating a new momentum in work. It is an important requirement that we must work in accordance with the principles of collectivity, democracy, unity, singlemindedness, frankness and honesty. We must have the courage to speak our minds, do our work and take responsibility for what we have done. We must be determined to discard the practice of arbitrariness and paternalism, of making allusive rather than frank statements of our personal consideration and of relying or depending on others.

It is necessary to preserve and develop our party's fine tradition--that is, in the party there should be a single mind, a single voice, a single move and a single way of life and work. Lacking regard for the collective, the masses and lower echelons, and advocating arbitrariness, paternalism and bureaucracy are the products of feudalism. When endowed with social titles and authority, one is susceptible to this illness and the masses are very frightened by and fed up with this mode of doing business.

To shift to a scientific, revolutionary and Leninist way of life, it is definitely necessary for us to start off by creating within the party an atmosphere truly filled with democracy and a collective working method which, linked with efforts to achieve the division of labor and delineate responsibilities for each individual, must guarantee the observation of both democratic process and work discipline. In the party, we should avoid the tendencies of working while watching one another, giving personal consideration to one another and staying away from one another. We must cultivate a habit of providing leadership and guidance in a profound and concrete manner, constantly staying close to the masses and lower echelons and opposing the ills of bureaucracy, red tape, formalism and showoffs. We must be determined to work in accordance with set rules and to guard against the way of doing work at one's own convenience as well as against liberalism.

When necessary, provincial party committee secretaries, provincial chiefs and government ministers and vice ministers must go down to the grassroots level to provide guidance and advice, inspect the situation, detect problems and then give their opinions to tackle these problems on the spot.

If necessary, they must summon their lower echelon officials concerned to listen to their reports, exchange views with them and make immediate decisions to resolve these problems quickly without waiting for reports from

intermediate echelons and without resorting to the use of too many memos and papers and the holding of endless meetings which are all regarded as bulky, heavy and less effective. Also, when it comes to issuing a decision, the comrade in charge must directly contact his lower echelons and the grassroots level and must not just sit back up in the higher echelon and behind his desk listening to or reading reports and discussing these reports through an intermediary officer in a roundabout, time consuming and less effective fashion, in which there is a great chance for making a wrong decision leading to disastrous consequences. We must quickly revolutionalize this mode of doing business.

The Leninist mode of doing business is the mode of speaking while working, providing concentrated and clear-cut leadership and concrete guidance with supervision and inspection, observing an industrialized program and refraining from leaving things half done. For instance, we should not regard our work as over after participating in a meeting, and we should not consider our responsibility over after issuing a decision.

All the assisting staff agencies and office components must also swiftly change their behavior toward work. We now have too much correspondence and paperwork and too many reports and directives. Reports should be more substantial and integrated with an analysis of new things and selected information. The evil of too many reports, correspondence and paperwork has made cadres more bureaucratic and unable to grasp the situation under their control. If reports present false or erroneous statistics, the situation will become even more dangerous.

The party's staff agencies, especially the Party Central Committee's organization department and the organization committees at the various party committee echelons should be promptly perfected both in terms of quality and ability. This is the most important point of the tasks of party development, organization and cadres. Our organization agencies are still working in an outdated and backward manner. Our way of thinking and working is very conservative. Some of the organization cadres do not have a correct method of thinking, lack a sense of justice and deal with problems according to their personal feelings and not objectively. As a result, cadres are sometimes evaluated inaccurately out of prejudice or rightist feelings.

In some localities, cause of corruption, abuse, graft, authoritarianism and reprisal still exist. Cadres in charge of the party and organization tasks must be those persons with very high quality, personality, loyalty, true sense of justice, forthrightness, objectivity, impartiality, revolutionary zeal, bright and pure ethics and love for their comrades. They must also have some level of knowledge, ability and a method to correctly assess people, firmly grasp the party line and viewpoints and the principles of cadre organization.

Organization cadres must work in a truly and specifically scientific manner by coordinating and combining closely with related components in order to develop and concentrate collective intelligence on the cadre task. If we do not perfect the organization committees and do not educate organization cadres well, the contingent of our cadres will some day develop in another direction and will no longer be a contingent of the revolutionary party.

In the future, we must re-examine and resolutely eliminate those who are unqualified for being organization and party development cadres and replace them with those who can meet the prescribed standard. We must develop the organization committees into specially effective staff agencies of the party and into pure and exemplary committees with high militancy.

We still have many difficulties ahead. The tasks of combat, production, construction, improvement of management and party organization and development are very heavy. Nevertheless, if all our party members and sectors at all levels singlemindedly concentrate on satisfactorily performing the above mentioned urgent tasks, and if each cadre and each party member in his position devotes all his revolutionary zeal to most satisfactorily fulfill the duties assigned by the party organizations, we will certainly be able to improve the situation, victoriously fulfill all the tasks set by the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau and advance toward the nationwide party congress with new confidence and impetus, thus bringing our country into a new period full of dynamism, creativity and victories.

Let all our communists remember the loyal words of young communist (Paul Corsadil) in the book "Steel Is Tempered That Way" and use those words as a guideline for their life and action. Life is most precious. We only live one. We must live in such a way that we will not regret the wasting of time and will not be ashamed of our mean and contemptible past so that at the time of our death we can say that we have devoted all our life and effort to the most noble cause in life.

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PREPARING FOR AND CONDUCTING THE PARTY ORGANIZATION CONGRESSES ON THE VARIOUS LEVELS WELL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 22-26

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Party Central Committee and together with preparing for the party's 6th National Congress of Delegates, the party committees will convene party organization congresses on the various levels between now and the end of the 3rd quarter of 1986.

In a departure from practice, these party organization congresses will be conducted in only one round. Therefore, they must discuss the Outline of the Political Report of the Party Central Committee and the Draft of the Report on Amending and Revising Party Statutes; discuss the report or outline report of the party committee on the upper level; evaluate the performance of the work tasks of the party organization during the recent term and determine the guidelines and work tasks for the upcoming term; elect delegates to attend the party organization congress on the upper level or the national congress of delegates of the party; and elect the new executive committee of the party organization.

Thus, these party organization congresses on the various levels have very many important things to do. They must perform many tasks, tasks that are not only directly related to every aspect of the locality's work, but also related to preparations for the party's national congress, to increasing the fighting strength and improving the leadership ability of the entire party.

While holding the party organization congresses on the various levels in one round before the national congress poses certain difficulties with regard to preparing the agenda and in terms of a tight time schedule, it does afford the basic advantage of enabling us to closely combine preparations for the party organization congress on one's level with preparing for and holding the party organization congress on the upper level and the national congress, thus making it possible to avoid duplication, redundancy and waste.

The primary requirements of these party organization congresses on the various levels are the following:

--Correctly evaluating the performance of work tasks in the recent past, contributing opinions to the proposals of the congress on the upper level and the national congress and formulating a good party organization congress resolution;

--Electing the new executive committee of the party organization, a committee strong enough to meet the requirements of the tasks set by the party organization congress, and appointing a delegation representative of the intelligence of the party organization to attend the party organization congress on the upper level or the national congress;

--Building stronger unity and consensus, building upon the fine traditions and the fighting strength of the party organization and building determination and desire on the part of the masses to emulate in accelerating production and work and record practical achievements in celebration of the party's 6th National Congress.

To discuss and accurately evaluate the situation in the recent past, contribute correct ideas to the proposals of the party organization congress on the upper level and the national congress and draft a good resolution to be adopted by the party organization congress on one's level, it is important to adopt the correct perspective and method of evaluation, that is, important to be truly objective and scientific, to view the situation in a comprehensive, detailed and dialectical, not one-sided, manner and to not allow improper personal motives to enter into this evaluation. The party committees and the congresses must clearly identify achievements and strongpoints so that they can be built upon while pointing out shortcomings and weaknesses so that they can be rectified. It is necessary to display a high spirit of bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, dare to squarely face the truth, bravely acknowledge subjective shortcomings and weaknesses, not seek credit for achievements while laying blame on others and not evade or deny one's responsibility.

A party organization congress provides an opportunity to review all areas of work; draw lessons and experience necessary in leadership and guidance, especially experience in organizing and guiding implementation and experience in managing and coordinating work; and, on this basis, build stronger unity and consensus and map out guidelines and measures for continuing to advance the work being performed in the different areas. Therefore, the report of the party committee to the congress must focus on reviewing the implementation of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolution of the last party organization congress; deeply analyzing efforts to achieve the "four targets" and carry out the "three revolutions" within the locality; and thoroughly reviewing the leadership provided by the party organization and party committee, pointing out all achievements and weaknesses, clearly analyzing the causes of weaknesses and advancing positive measures for correcting these weaknesses.

Discussing and evaluating the work of the locality must be combined with discussing assessments and evaluations of the situation on the upper level. The self-criticism and criticism of one's level must be combined with criticizing the work of the upper level. Self-criticism and criticism within

the party must be combined with soliciting the criticisms of the masses outside the party. The principle of democratic centralism must be correctly implemented in party life.

When setting work guidelines, targets and measures for the coming period, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the general views and positions of the party and apply them to the specific situation of the locality in the form of appropriate targets, effective policies and positive measures that are well focused but are not subjective, impractical or passive and do not involve relying upon others. Our country is currently undergoing profound changes in all areas, some of which afford us very basic advantages. However, there are also many difficulties, even some acute difficulties. The largest and most serious difficulties are: our economy, living conditions and society continue to be unstable. The steps that have been taken to build the new economic structure and the new management mechanism have only been initial ones and many complicated changes are occurring. Prices, wages and money are burning issues. There are still many negative phenomena. The masses are uninspired and the confidence of some has declined. The enemy is making every effort to take advantage of our difficulties and sabotage us. This situation demands that we display a high revolutionary-offensive spirit and sense of self-reliance, try to overcome each difficulty, be dynamic and creative, develop the potentials that lie in arable land, labor, natural resources and material-technical bases as best possible and produce much wealth for society with the aims of virtually stabilizing the socio-economic situation, bringing the economy into a state of dynamic development, forming the new economic structure, building and gradually perfecting the new management mechanism and stimulating the advance of the socialist revolution to new stages of development.

The various party committee echelons must have a firm grasp of the basic views set forth in the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Plenums of the 5th Party Central Committee and map out plans and measures for reorganizing production, adjusting the structure of the economy, revamping the management mechanism, eliminating bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, strongly developing production and business, stabilizing prices and the market and maintaining the standard of living. At the same time, they must adopt positive policies and measures for providing a stronger national defense and stronger security, intensifying the building of the party and the building of the state, strengthening the apparatus and organization and promoting the revolutionary movements of the masses.

Electing the new executive committee of the party organization and strengthening the party committee are an important aspect of the party organization congresses on the various levels. Of special importance is the fact that these congresses are being held under the circumstances of our country following more than 10 years of total liberation and 5 years of implementing the resolution of the 5th Party Congress. The corps of cadres of our party and state has matured significantly in its leadership of economic construction and management and social management. However, many comrades are now old and frail and do not possess the health or ability needed to meet the new requirements of the revolution. The objective requirements we face are to make the transition between one generation of cadres and the next, insure

continuity and succession in the leadership of the party and build and correctly deploy the contingent of core cadres so that the leadership of the party is always solid, the organizations of the party are always united and our country's revolution continues its steady advance.

These congresses must elect party organization executive committees that are truly able to provide the leadership needed to successfully complete the work tasks of the locality and organize the successful implementation of the directives and resolutions of the party. To accomplish this, it is necessary to firmly adhere to the leadership cadre standards and the party committee member standards set by the 5th Congress of the Party. Under present conditions, special importance must be attached to the standards of being faithful and loyal to the party, to the people; being in complete agreement with the lines and views of the party; wholeheartedly struggling for the interests of the party and the people; devoting oneself to the common interests of the entire country, the collective and the laborer; possessing the sense of organization and discipline and cultivating internal unity; being dynamic and creative; possessing the spirit of daring to think, daring to frankly state the truth, daring to work and assume responsibility; and being conscious of the whole, not someone who practices departmentalism, localism or opportunism.

In terms of their ability, the comrades elected to the party committee must be persons who are able to thoroughly understand and apply the lines of the party, able to organize the performance and coordination of work and especially able to manage the economy and implement the new management mechanism.

From the standpoint of their style of leadership and work methods, they must be persons who respect the collective, work in a democratic way, maintain close contact with the basic level, keep abreast of work and listen to the opinions of the masses and the lower level; lead a simple and wholesome life; perform work on the basis of research and investigation backed by inspections and supervision; practice criticism and self-criticism, be fair when giving praise and awards and possess strict discipline; regularly conduct reviews and draw experience.

These general standards must be concretized in a manner consistent with each position on each level and within each sector and with the nature of work within each locality and basic unit. Party committee members who did not play a leadership role, whose personal qualities declined or who were limited by their ability or health during the recent term must not be allowed to remain on the party committee.

The structure of these new party committees must be designed to meet the requirements of improving the quality of economic leadership while strengthening the leadership of national defense, the maintenance of security, party work and mass work in order to maintain close contact with the lower level, with basic units and achieve the combined strength of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise collective ownership and the state manages." Generally speaking, the persons elected to party committees must be persons who have matured at production, business, combat or work units, are

well versed in the work assigned to them, truly possess the ability to participate in providing the leadership needed to complete each work task and are the kinds of persons who draw and bring the masses together.

The makeup of party committees must include a number of cadres who are in charge of important economic, social and internal affairs sectors and important areas of party work and mass work; an appropriate number of secretaries and directors at state-operated economic units, administrative agencies and so forth that are managed by the vertical sector's upper level but whose party organization is directly subordinate to the local party organization. One-third of the members of provincial and municipal party committees should work on the district, or basic levels. One-third of the members of the district and precinct party committees should work on the basic level. In those districts, precincts, municipalities and cities that have many industrial production units and in state-operated economic enterprises, an appropriate number of direct production workers must be on the party committee.

To insure continuity and succession within the corps of cadres, closely combine veteran cadres with new cadres, elderly cadres with young cadres and meet immediate and long-range requirements, persons belonging to all three different generations must be elected to all party organization executive committees. On the provincial and municipal level, besides a number of comrades over the age of 50, there must be many who are between the ages of 40 and 49 and a number who have not yet reached 40. On the district and precinct level, besides a number of comrades who are more than 45 years of age, the majority of executive committee members must be between the ages of 35 and 45 and some must be between the ages of 30 and 35. Attention must be given to increasing the number of members who are cadres from a worker background, female cadres, young cadres and cadres who meet economic management standards. Giving attention to insuring that the makeup of the party committee is rational does not mean only trying to put together a party committee that "looks good" and consists of all the necessary components while giving light attention to or "compromising" standards. It is necessary to prevent and correct everything that reflects factionalism, departmentalism or localism, reflects the thinking of only attaching importance to persons from one's locality or hamlet and not supporting cadres who come from other localities or are sent in by the upper level, even though they are fully qualified. It is also necessary to prevent and correct such formalistic and mechanical tendencies as only considering a person's age or only attaching importance to a person's diploma and placing heavy emphasis on a person's background without taking standards into full consideration.

Also on this occasion, the provincial and municipal party committees must implement the policy on rotating cadres in coordination with stabilizing cadre assignments. In necessary cases, provincial and municipal party committees must transfer leadership cadres from the province or municipality to the district, precinct or basic levels; from one district or precinct to another; from the district or precinct to the provincial or municipal level or down to the basic level... This will not only help to provide greater uniformity in the quality of leadership from one locality to the next, but will also introduce cadres to new places, provide them with broader training, broaden

their vision and knowledge and correct subjective, conservative thinking and thinking that is slow to change within the corps of cadres. Some key leadership cadres on the provincial and district levels must, if they have not worked on the district or basic levels, be sent to the district or basic levels in order to enable them to gain additional practical knowledge and work experience, prepare them for assignment to more important jobs in the next term of office, and also to improve the quality of the party committees on the lower level.

The success of the party organization congresses on the various levels mainly depends upon the preparations made by the party committees. Although they must simultaneously lead the performance of many jobs, some of which are very pressing and critical, such as restructuring production, stabilizing prices and the market, maintaining the standard of living and so forth, they must still focus efforts on preparing the work of the congresses very well and must closely combine their efforts to guide the performance of regular tasks with preparing for the congress.

The process of preparing for a congress is the process of reassessing the situation; reviewing and summarizing the implementation of the resolutions and directives issued by the party since its 5th Congress; conducting the self-criticism and criticism drive well; tapping the intelligence of cadres, party members and the people when evaluating the situation; mapping out work guidelines and measures; restructuring the organization, restrengthening the apparatus and reassigning cadres; and intensifying the revolutionary action movements of the masses. On the basis of firmly adhering to the positions and lines of the party, it is necessary to practice serious self-criticism and criticism and urgently re-examine the assignment of and reassign key cadres in a way that will meet the new requirements of revolutionary tasks in the years ahead. This work must be virtually completed before the congress is held.

The departments and ministries on the central level must contribute specific opinions to the provincial and municipal party committees concerning basic, important matters within the field of work of their sector that will be presented for discussion and decision at the congress; at the same time, they must make necessary proposals concerning the transfer of cadres to participate in party committees on the local or basic levels.

The party committees must adopt measures to actively guide the strengthening of basic units; reassess, screen and improve the quality of the corps of party members; and correctly assign core leadership cadres, such as party committee secretaries, village chairmen, enterprise directors, cooperative directors and so forth in keeping with the spirit of the directives and decisions of the Party Secretariat on solidifying and strengthening the various types of basic party organizations.

To prepare for and conduct the congresses well, party committees must firmly adhere to the requirement, guidelines and themes of the congress, must adopt a plan to provide truly detailed and effective guidance and should conduct a pilot project at a few places for the purpose of gaining experience. Congresses should not be ostentatious or involve wasteful banquets.

The work of preparing for and conducting the congresses will yield good results if we closely combine this work with stimulating the performance of the locality's regular work tasks and mobilizing the masses to accelerate the movement to emulate in productive labor and the practice of frugality, successfully complete the tasks of the state plan and record practical achievements in celebration of the 6th National Congress of the Party.

7809

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## THE ECONOMIC STRATEGY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 27-32, 45

[Article by Vo Van Kiet]

[Text] The recent 27th Congress of the CPSU set the historic task of perfecting socialism in a planned and comprehensive manner and advancing Soviet society even farther down the path of communism on the basis of accelerating the country's socio-economic development. The economic strategy adopted by the congress for the next 5 years and upuntil the year 2000 is the factor of utmost importance in perfecting socialism and advancing Soviet society to communism.

The strategy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development is based on an objective and thorough evaluation of the state of the economy, on the spirit of daring to squarely face the truth, confirming strengths, pointing out weaknesses and moving forward on this basis with high determination and through exceedingly practical and scientific measures. The strengths of the Soviet economy today are its large, complete potentials and scale, which encompass nearly 50,000 industrial enterprises, which account for 20 percent of world industrial output and produce approximately 20 million different products. The fixed assets of the economy have now reached 1.5 trillion rubles. The Soviet Union currently has more than 5,000 scientific research centers, which have the largest force of scientists in the world, scientists whose standards are among the highest in the world, and produce one-third of the scientific products of the entire world. It can be stated that the Soviet economy has reached the level at which fundamental changes are essentially at hand and pressing in nature.

The Soviet party and state have identified the weaknesses of the Soviet economy as: labor productivity is not high; since the 1970's, the rate of economic growth has slowed; product quality is still poor in some respects; agricultural and consumer goods production do not meet needs; scientific advances are being introduced in production slowly and leaps forward commensurate with the powerful potentials that exist have not been taken.

The strategic goal of the present economic line is to bring about a change of a revolutionary nature within the economy. The primary problem lies not in the rate of development, but in bringing about a rapid change in quality.

This means that it is necessary to rapidly achieve an economy that is as highly organized and efficient as possible, production forces that are developed in every respect, perfect socialist production relations and a scientific and effective economic management mechanism. This goal cannot be achieved on the basis of existing material-technical bases. The approach to be taken here is to thoroughly reorganize the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology and fundamentally revamping the entire economic management mechanism.

For the Soviet Union, the next 15 years will be an extremely important period in the process of perfecting socialism and advancing to communism. The goal of its economic strategy is to create, in the space of the next 15 years, an economic potential that is twice as large as anything that has been achieved to date, by nearly doubling national income and raising labor productivity 2.3-2.5 times. On this basis, the highest goal of the Soviet Union's economic strategy, constantly raising the material and cultural standards of living of the people, will be achieved.

The CPSU asserts that despite steady development, the Soviet economy has also been encountering certain difficulties for more than 10 years. The primary cause of these difficulties is the fact that the economy has not truly embarked on the course of intensive development at a time when natural resources have become more difficult to extract and sources of labor are also more scarce. As a result, once new construction and sources of labor declined, the rate of economic growth also declined. Therefore, the party considers shifting the economy to intensive development and creating a high degree of dynamism and sensitivity to efficiency on each management level to be the decisive prerequisites to further socio-economic development in the Soviet Union, to be strategic measures that are a matter of survival to every enterprise, every sector and the entire economy. The CPSU maintains that it is necessary, from this point onward, to completely abandon the view that new construction is the basic way to expand production and discontinue the approach of trying to "extract" from the state large amounts of capital, raw materials and building materials, the more the better.

Facts show that, in view of the current potential of the Soviet economy, investing in retooling existing enterprises will yield twice as many returns as investing in new construction. From now on, at least one-half of total capital will be invested in retooling compared to two-thirds in new construction and one-third in retooling in previous years. In the next 5 years, from 50 to 60 percent of the equipment in the entire national economy will be upgraded and replaced by equipment that is the most modern and highly productive, thus substantially retooling the material-technical base of Soviet society.

The primary strategic lever behind intensive development is to rapidly stimulate the advancement of science and technology. Science and technology have been raised to a new level and are considered the decisive factor in socio-economic growth. "The historic mission of socialism is to put the most advanced science, the most modern and improved technology in support of the cause of building communism and use a stable material base to achieve the basic goals that are in the nature of the platform of the CPSU, these being to

quickly improve the welfare of the people, develop a well-rounded person and build the economic and national defense might of our motherland."(1) The CPSU maintains that Soviet science, which includes both the basic sciences and the technical sciences, must occupy the decisive position in the strong, comprehensive and highly efficient growth of each field of production, the services and management. As a result, it is necessary to shift from what has been primarily an "orderly advance" to what will primarily be changes of a revolutionary nature in the advancement of science and technology. The approach of making small-scale improvements that consume much capital but return capital slowly must be abandoned. The party demands that Soviet scientific and technical circles create, in the shortest possible amount of time, entirely new industrial systems and machines of the newest generations and the highest possible efficiency, bring about a turning point in terms of the level of mechanization and automation and eventually achieve total automation through the widespread use of robots within the economy with the aims of reducing the current number of manual laborers to the lowest possible level and making the labor productivity of Soviet industry and agriculture among the highest in the world. In order for science and technology to perform the above tasks, it is first of all necessary to correctly define the important position of Soviet scientific agencies and circles and create favorable conditions for scientific and technical cadres to make the largest possible innovations and contribute the full measure of themselves to the country. At the same time, from an organizational standpoint, the Soviet Union will establish ties between science and production in the form of "science-production federations." These federations will consist of scientific research and design agencies, test production factories and mass production factories. The research and design institutes will become an integral part of the large production federations.

One very important part of the scientific-technological revolution is the revolution within the education and training system, the aim of which is to develop a corps of cadres and workers who are not only capable of firmly standing their ground in an era in which industrial standards are changing with the velocity of a storm and invisible wear on machinery and equipment is occurring extremely rapidly, but are also fully capable of being the masters of the latest science and technology in production and even in management. Because, today, the scientific-technological revolution has placed socio-economic management upon advanced technical bases: computer technology and entirely new organizational technology.

The new economic strategy demands major changes in the structure of the economy. The economy must be rebuilt in a dynamic manner that is consistent with the advancement of science and technology, with new industries and with the needs of social life. As a result, it is necessary to rapidly develop those sectors that are capable of insuring the advancement of science and technology and successfully carrying out the tasks of society; establish the optimum relationship between consumption and capital formation; and improve the proportional relationship between the sector producing the means of production and the sector producing the means of consumption and among the sectors within the federations of agro-industrial enterprises.

To achieve this goal, investment policy must be revamped, with a view toward insuring the highest possible returns from capital, and must focus on fields of decisive significance so that the entire economy develops at a high rate of growth, develops in a stable and balanced manner and every ruble in costs produces many products and high national income. The focus must be shifted from new construction to re-equipping and retooling existing enterprises.

The policy of the Soviet Union is to continue to further develop heavy industry, it being the base of the country's economic strength, with the machine manufacturing industry playing the key role in carrying out the scientific-technological revolution and materializing the achievements of advanced science and technology. The Soviet Union will give priority to the development of the machine industry, the electric technology industry, the microelectronic and computer technology industry, the tool industry and the entire information industry. These are the true levers in accelerating the advancement of science and technology.

The metallurgy industry, the chemical industry and the new building material industry will be strengthened and undergo qualitative changes, especially in terms of the quality of raw and building materials and product quality. The Soviet Union will try to double or triple the output of ceramic materials and pure and superpure raw materials, chemicals and building materials in order to catch up to world standards. The fuel and energy industry will be efficiently developed and make widespread use of various energy sources. Saving raw materials and energy has been established as one of the compulsory economic norms in all economic sectors. Within the Soviet Union, raw material and energy costs currently account for as much as 75 percent of production costs. Moreover, sources of labor are declining and the costs of producing raw materials and energy are steadily rising. In the world, energy sources are being depleted. Difficulties with energy have been accompanied by difficulties with raw materials. This situation demands that the technologies involved in extracting, processing and using raw materials and energy be changed with the aim of reducing the consumption of energy and raw materials per unit of product to the lowest possible level. The task at hand is to meet 75 to 80 percent of the increased need of the economy for raw materials and energy by conserving on raw materials and energy. This is truly the large task of the entire party and all the people of the Soviet Union.

Collective farms, state farms and the federated agro-industrial enterprises, which are the base of the socialist economy, have the task of making decisive contributions to meeting the needs of all society for agricultural products. Among these, the agro-industrial federations are the necessary prerequisite to socio-economic progress.(2) Consequently, the Soviet Union will invest much more capital in strengthening and increasing the efficiency of the agro-industrial federated enterprises and attach more importance to the subsidiary economy of enterprises and families. The CPSU will focus each of its efforts on rapidly increasing consumer goods production and the services with a view toward comprehensively satisfying the needs of each Soviet citizen.

The CPSU will continue to constantly concern itself with improving the distribution of production forces nationwide in order to combine, in the most

rational way possible, production units and raw material bases and accelerate the development of production forces in Siberia and the Far East.

Product quality is the most general and precise measurement of the advancement of science and technology, of cultural standards and labor discipline and is one of the most important elements of current economic strategy. The Soviet Union recognizes that the current quality of its products, although improved, remains one of the weaknesses of the economy and is one of the sources of serious harm, not only socio-economic, but political and ethical as well. The party does not tolerate situations in which new technologies that were recently developed and put into production turn out to be backward compared to the most advanced standards of technology of the same type. It maintains that product quality is not only a matter of occupational pride, but also a matter of national pride. The state must enact the strictest regulations on the issuance of the seal of state quality. In this work no delays can be defended. "No person, no enterprise, designer, engineer or scientist, no worker or state farm member, in summary, no honest laborer has the right to stand outside this situation. The party will actively support the struggle for the reputation of the Soviet label and will harshly question anyone who remains passive or impedes the resolution of the problem at hand."(3)

The CPSU considers the prerequisite to accelerated socio-economic development to be the constant improvement of production relations. It considers revamping the economic management mechanism to be a pressing demand. The most important objective in the improvement of the mechanism is to orient the entire economic management mechanism toward achieving higher economic efficiency, accelerating the advancement of science and technology and satisfying the needs of society more fully with each passing day. The basic guidelines under which the economic management mechanism is currently being revamped are: first, further broadening the production and business autonomy of basic units in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan; secondly, making stronger use of economic levers so that each individual and collective is truly concerned with the final results of production and business, thereby insuring a close link between the plan and economic incentives. As a result, the new mechanism must build a new momentum within the economy and production must serve the demands of consumers, not vice versa. The CPSU has decided to fundamentally revamp the formulation of plans and management and eliminate a number of plan norms that are deemed unnecessary. The operations of enterprises must be managed not by administrative orders, but primarily by means of economic-technical quotas that are scientifically based and are, therefore, of a strict legal nature. Efforts will continue to strengthen and develop the system of democratic centralism and increase the effectiveness of the factor of centralization in management and planning. Positive steps will be taken to apply flexible and dynamic forms and methods of leadership. Economic accounting principles will be thoroughly implemented and bold use will be made of commodity-money relations as well as all economic incentives. The spirit of initiative and creativity of the localities, basic units and the masses will be encouraged to the highest degree possible. On the basis of the above mentioned objective, efforts will be made to complete the establishment of a new management and business mechanism throughout the national economy as quickly as possible. Within the new mechanism, it is necessary to strongly increase the role and responsibility of the Soviet State Planning Commission

and truly turn it into the center of the economic management system, into an economic-scientific agency, into a place where leading economic specialists and important scholars are concentrated. Norms on product quality, the efficiency with which natural resources are used, the scale and rate of product improvement and the rate of growth of labor productivity on the basis of scientific-technical advances will occupy the position of foremost importance within the plan.

The new economic management mechanism demands that enterprises be given the broadest possible autonomy. Enterprises will practice full economic accounting, will choose, on their own, the most rational way to do business efficiently and will assume the responsibility for their final product, for all profits and losses. On this basis, they must develop production, expand the formation of capital, increase welfare benefits and raise wages. If they have a need to order goods from society, consumer goods production units can determine the variety of products to be produced on their own without having to sit and wait for a plan to be assigned by the upper level. The collective contract system will be widely applied by production and service sectors, thus directly tying wages to the results of labor.

In conjunction with the establishment of a new, complete management mechanism, the party is also calling for the thorough mobilization of the organizational, societal and human potentials on each and every level and the establishment of a scientific, highly responsible and disciplined order of labor in an effort to insure that everyone contributes as much as possible at his or her work place. In recent years, facts have shown this to be a source of strength that will never run dry. The mobilization of these potentials will make it possible to accelerate the development and increase the efficiency of production, even when production has yet to be modernized, without investing large amounts of capital. Under equal material conditions, efficiency is very much higher at those places where organization and discipline are better and the masses are truly the masters and display creativity in their work. The party has advanced the principle: each and every person, with the exception of none, is equally eligible for awards and equally subject to penalties in the face of each economic success and failure.

The decisive factor in bringing about the changes mentioned above is the human factor. The CPSU maintains that it is necessary to change the outmoded psychology and methods of thinking that exist among cadres and workers; necessary to teach them to think and work in new ways; necessary to encourage a modern approach everywhere to the burning questions of our times concerning socio-economic progress, scientific-technical advances and cultural-ideological advances; and necessary to widely tap the spirit of initiative and creativity. Old ways of thinking, such as relying only on zeal and not taking a look at objective conditions, substituting determination for laws, viewing achievements and means as ends, considering quantity more important than quality, only seeing things from an economic, not social, perspective, only wanting to build new enterprises, not retool existing enterprises, only focusing on production and not taking the environment into consideration, and all the conventional ways of thinking of cadres must be quickly changed so that society need not pay a very high price for small economic and social advances. These ways of thinking have their origins in history and still pose

large obstacles today. Therefore, establishing a new way of thinking, a scientific method of thinking that is sensitive to the new continues to be an urgent task of the party, the aim of which is to establish a more dynamic and efficient economic mechanism in order to bring about changes in the nature of a turning point within the Soviet economy. The CPSU, the embodiment of the interests of all the Soviet people, has the responsibility of creating the new way of thinking and the new economic management mechanism.

When mapping out its economic strategy, the CPSU considered domestic factors in a close relationship with external factors. The entire foreign policy of the Soviet state has the purpose of providing favorable international conditions for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and the peoples of the socialist countries. In view of the growing trend toward economic "internationalization," it is the policy of the Soviet Union to attach strategic importance to overseas economic work with a view toward making thorough use of the capabilities that lie in a mutually beneficial international division of labor and, most importantly, the superior aspects of socialist economic ties. The objective requirements of the world market place harsh demands upon the production sectors of the Soviet Union to fundamentally change the output and, in particular, the quality of products and improve the ability of Soviet goods to compete. One important task is that the Soviet Union must insure that it is totally independent of the capitalist countries in strategic economic and national defense fields and completely safe from the discriminating practices of the United States and other Western powers.

The Soviet Union has been and is the symbol of the hopes of mankind for an ideal society. The historic destiny of the Soviet Union and the position of socialism in the world directly depend upon the successful implementation of the entire line of the CPSU, most importantly the party's economic strategy for the next 5 years and up until the year 2000. Ever loyal to noble proletarian internationalism, the party and people of the Soviet Union have always given the Vietnamese revolution, the people of Vietnam wholehearted support and large, effective assistance. Today, more than ever before, the Vietnamese revolution is closely tied to the revolutionary cause of the fraternal Soviet people. Each economic and social field in Vietnam, each project and each product bears the imprint of the cooperative relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union either directly or indirectly. The Vietnamese consider the resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU on perfecting socialism in a planned and comprehensive manner and on their great economic strategy to be a torch lighting the way not only for the heroic Soviet people, but also for progressive mankind, including the Vietnamese. Their feeling being "when drinking water, remember the source," our people are forever grateful to the Soviet Union and promise to do their very best to constantly strengthen the solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union so that Vietnam-Soviet relations blossom and bear more fruit with each passing day and remain forever strong.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Platform of the CPSU (new version) adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

2. Since May 1982, the Soviet Union has been establishing federations of agro-industrial enterprises on the district and provincial levels with the aim of centralizing agricultural production and the activities related to agriculture, such as the processing of agricultural products, the supplying of materials, equipment and capital to agriculture and so forth. On the central level, the State Agro-Industrial Commission has been established, which takes the place of six previous ministries related to agriculture. This represents an important reform in the agricultural management mechanism. It has created the conditions for the federations of agro-industrial enterprises to display the spirit of initiative, practice independent cost accounting and implement socialist business principles.
3. M.S. Gorbachev: "The Key Issues in the Economic Policy of the Party," speech at the April 1985 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

7809

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## HO CHI MINH

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[Article by E. Kovelep, M.A. in History (Soviet Union)]

[Text] Above everything else, outstanding revolutionaries are always sons of their people, national heroes of their country. However, due to the international significance of any revolution that sets for itself the goals of liberating the nation and emancipating society, such persons also belong to the entire world revolutionary movement. This was entirely true of Ho Chi Minh.

Ho Chi Minh was one of those revolutionary leaders whose name was known by millions when he was alive and has since become a true legend.

Others admired him and many persons have spoken about him, each describing a special aspect of his character that was deserving of attention. Fidel Castro called him the "most modest and thorough Marxist-Leninist of our times." The secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, Rodney A-RI-XMEN-DI, called him "the symbol of communist wisdom in Asia." Indira Gandhi called him a "great and firm but tolerant leader." When asked by a journalist "which three virtues of other politicians would you like to possess and whose example do you want to follow?", Salvadore Allende replied: "The integrity, unselfishness and noble modesty of Ho Chi Minh." In the Soviet Union, they affectionately called him the "knight of the revolution," attaching to these words admiration for the courage and bravery of the revolutionary, of the militant embodied in him and for the truly noble character of the Human, written in capital letters, that he embodied.

Although they hated him, the enemy had to acknowledge his enormous strength and prestige. Jean Sainteny the representative of France in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945 and 1946, lamented in his memoirs: "It is regrettable that France underestimated him by not understanding his stature or the forces he represented." D. Eisenhower, when explaining why the United States sabotaged the 1956 general elections in Vietnam and carried out armed intervention there, also acknowledged: the U.S. administration was convinced that the majority of Vietnamese would vote for Ho Chi Minh. And, when U.S. aircraft began using bombs to interdict the opposition and napalm to set fire to the very skillfully concealed trail in the dense jungles, the trail over

which volunteer troops transported weapons and ammunition from North to South Vietnam, in the headquarters of the United States they gave this trail the name "the Ho Chi Minh Trail," even though he personally had never been on the trail.

Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam--these two words were one in the consciousness of everyone for many years. "Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh" is the opening line in a song sung throughout the world in the 1960's, when the Vietnamese were waging their selfless fight against the aggression of the strongest imperialist power, the United States.

The truly great epic on the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for national and social liberation will never fade in the memory of history. The victory of the people's national democratic revolution in an exceedingly backward, semi-feudal country and the establishment of the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia (1945); the 9-year war of resistance against the French colonialists (1945-1954); the second war of resistance against the imperialist aggression of the United States, a war that gave birth to models of heroism of a mass nature (1960-1973); the long political, armed and diplomatic struggle to liberate South Vietnam and reunify the fatherland that had been partitioned by the imperialists, a struggle that ended in total victory (1954-1975)--all these events were a part of the patriotic and revolutionary exploit of the Vietnamese. Behind all these great achievements were the Communist Party of Vietnam and its leader--Ho Chi Minh.

In the long history of the revolutionary struggle by the nations of Indochina for national liberation, Ho Chi Minh played the role of trailblazer in the full sense of the word. In the early 20th century, Vietnam, then under the yoke of colonialism, did not lack heroes or ardent patriots who wanted to liberate their fatherland. However, they did not know how to achieve this end, did not see the real paths to liberation. Some relied solely upon guerrilla fighting (such as Hoang Hoa Tam). Some relied upon the goodness of the colonialists, joined them and thought that they could be persuaded to voluntarily improve the fate of the Vietnamese (such as Phan Chu Trinh). Still others pinned their hopes on assistance from "brothers and sisters of the same race," mainly Japan, in the struggle to bring down the regime of the white colonialists (such as Phan Boi Chau).

Ho Chi Minh was the first person to find in the thinking of V.I. Lenin and the great October Revolution the only correct path to the liberation of the fatherland. In 1920, while in France, he studied Lenin's "Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions," which was written on the occasion of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International. This work of Lenin, as Ho Chi Minh later recalled, moved him very deeply. "My oppressed and suffering fellow countrymen!--he wrote--this is what we need, this is our path to liberation! With that, I placed my entire trust in Lenin, in the 3rd International." (1) Later, Leninism helped him to reach a conclusion of very profound significance: "Only socialism, only communism can liberate the oppressed nations and laborers of the world from slavery." (2)

Even in his first articles on V.I. Lenin (1924-1925), Ho Chi Minh developed his thinking concerning the international significance of Leninism and its

universal nature in the revolutionary struggle to achieve national and social liberation. He pointed out that Lenin's doctrine concerning the colonial peoples is of permanent value because it ushered in "a new and truly revolutionary age in the colonial countries." (3) Lenin, as Ho Chi Minh observed, "was the first person to understand and emphasize the full importance of correctly resolving the colonial question in the world revolution...of gaining the participation of the peoples of the colonies in the revolutionary movement...because, without their participation, there can be no social revolution." (4)

Throughout the rest of his life, Ho Chi Minh remained loyal to the teachings of Lenin, to the ever victorious thinking of Marxism-Leninism. He routinely relied upon Lenin's priceless experience to check his own actions and the policies of the party he led. As a veteran leader of the communist party and socialist state, Ho Chi Minh showed himself to be a person who carried on the cause of Marx and Lenin in its entirety and made important contributions to the creative development and correct application of Marxist-Leninist thinking under the complex circumstances of Indochina and Vietnam. Leninism, as Ho Chi Minh pointed out, was "the sun lighting our way to final victory, to socialism and communism." (5) Today, loyalty to the everlasting doctrine of Lenin continues to be the star pointing the way for the communists and laborers of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Possessing a firm grasp of the doctrine of Lenin, Ho Chi Minh was the first person to understand the historic necessity to establish in Indochina a communist party, a party of the working class, the only party capable of leading the liberation struggle of nations and advancing this struggle to victory. In his book "The Revolutionary Road" (1926), Ho Chi Minh proved this argument from a theoretical standpoint and appealed to his fellow countrymen to quickly adopt Marxist-Leninist theory. He used the following famous words of Lenin in the preface to this book: "...Only a party that is guided by a vanguard theory can fulfill the role of a vanguard militant." (6)

To prepare the conditions for founding the party, Ho Chi Minh performed a vast amount of political and organizational work. Overseas, he opened political classes for Vietnamese revolutionaries. Later, he established a transitional organization, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, and began publishing the political newspaper THANH NIEN. Within the space of several years, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the newspaper published by Ho Chi Minh had trained a powerful corps of professional revolutionaries, of persons who devoted their lives to the struggle of their people for national and social liberation. These revolutionaries became the nucleus of the Indochinese Communist Party founded by Ho Chi Minh on 3 February 1930.

Ho Chi Minh played an outstanding role in the subsequent growth and development of the Indochinese Communist Party, in making it a truly experienced Marxist-Leninist party of a truly mass nature. Thanks mainly to Ho Chi Minh, the Indochinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese revolution, even in the initial stage, had strong ties to the Communist International, to the world communist movement and to its most important contingents, primarily the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Struggling for his people's cause of national liberation, Ho Chi Minh was the first person to clearly understand and constantly emphasize the special importance of the solid alliance between the working class and peasants under the conditions of Vietnam. In his theoretical works, Ho Chi Minh, following in V.I. Lenin's footsteps, reached the conclusions that in countries such as Vietnam, the revolution is "first and foremost a peasant revolution," that "the alliance between the broad mass of peasants and the working class is the foundation upon which a broad and solid national front can be established." (7) In the process of preparing for the revolution, he always directed the attention of his fellow militants, of each party member to the need to correctly view the organic, reciprocal relationship between the national question and the struggle for democracy, between the struggle against the imperialists and the struggle against the feudalists.

Ho Chi Minh proposed and actively defended the strategy of establishing a broad national united front in each specific stage of the revolution. This strategy was first presented during the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Communist International in 1935. It became a strong weapon in the hands of Vietnamese communists, a weapon used first in the struggle to liberate the country from Japanese occupation forces and the French colonialists (the Viet Minh Front) and later in the struggle of the people of South Vietnam against U.S. aggression (the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam). Today, it is being employed in the cause of building socialism in Vietnam, (the Vietnam Fatherland Front).

This subject having been raised, one cannot fail to mention the skill and creativity displayed by Ho Chi Minh at different turning points in the Vietnamese revolution. In 1941, at the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, when addressing the question of what to call the national united front being established at that time, there was no lack of radical suggestions. President Ho was able to persuade his fellow militants to give this front a name that was acceptable to everyone, including the representatives of the wealthy classes struggling for the cause of national liberation, that name being the Vietnam Independence League. It was also he who suggested that it be called by an abbreviated, common name, a name that would have a certain ring, be easily remembered and attract the masses. There thus emerged a concise and precise term--the "Viet Minh"--a term that resounded for many years like the peal of a warning bell, calling the people to arise in struggle to liberate the fatherland.

The common characteristic of the activities of Ho Chi Minh was that they combined national interests and class interests and reflected a oneness between patriotic ideals and the thinking of socialism and communism, which came about mainly as a result of the nature of the Vietnamese revolution as a people's national democratic revolution that evolved into a socialist revolution. To the Vietnamese, Ho Chi Minh is the genuine symbol of national unity. While always firmly adhering to the class stand--the stand of the working class, he also knew how to draw to the side of the people representatives of the national bourgeoisie and persons within the stratum of landowners. This made it possible to establish a rather broad alliance of the Vietnamese people during difficult stages of the revolution to fight external enemies. Many representatives of Vietnamese bourgeois intellectual and feudal

circles stated that they joined the revolution mainly because of the influence of Ho Chi Minh, in whom they saw, above everything else, hope for the liberation and restoration of Vietnam in the future.

In August 1945, as a result of the Soviet people and their allies crushing German fascism and the shock forces of Japanese militarism, favorable external conditions were created for the victorious development of the Vietnamese revolution. Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist Party, after displaying a deep knowledge of revolutionary strategy and tactics, adopted the historic decision on the general armed uprising and declared the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam after victory was won.

This was an exceedingly important and courageous turning point. Let us recall the situation in which Vietnam found itself back then. Within the country, there were still Japanese occupation forces and pro-Vichy government Frenchmen.(+) To the north, Chiang Kai-shek's China was threatening; to the south and the east, the British-American army was threatening. In addition, there was no one on whom to rely--the Soviet Union was thousands of kilometers away. Despite this situation, Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist Party, which had only a little less than 5,000 members at the time, bravely challenged the large enemy forces and won victory. "The victory of the 1945 August Revolution--as Ho Chi Minh pointed out--was the victory of the doctrine of Lenin in the first national liberation movement in a colonial country."

During the next 24 years, Ho Chi Minh continuously led the free state of Vietnam and the party of Vietnamese communists. These were years of very severe challenges. During the very first days of its existence, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was forced to take up arms to defend its sovereignty and independence, first against the French colonialists, who were trying to re-establish their rule, and then, after 6 years of a temporary cease fire and peaceful life, against the U.S. aggressors, who sought to use the strength of their weapons to separate the South from the republic and turn it into a neo-colony. Ho Chi Minh, as president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and leader of the party, led the brave war of resistance of the Vietnamese and became the soul of the struggle waged by all the people to win freedom.

Throughout these difficult years, Ho Chi Minh, as he had always been, was the embodiment of unshakeable confidence in the victory of the just cause of the Vietnamese. Every hour of every day, he made every effort to cultivate in the hearts of his fellow militants, the cadres of the party and army and each Vietnamese laborer, his boundless optimism. He taught them to never fear the enemy, to have confidence in their own strength and the support of their friends. Since then, Vietnam has never feared external enemies, regardless of how formidable or dangerous they might be. He taught the need to be prepared to sacrifice one's life, to persevere and endure until the objective is achieved. In the struggle to win national independence, freedom and socialism, as Ho Chi Minh pointed out, the people must possess "a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, always brandish the banner of revolutionary heroism, fear neither hardships nor sacrifices and be determined to struggle until the end."(8)

Mobilizing all the people for the war of resistance against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists, Ho Chi Minh and the other communists of Vietnam advanced and successfully implemented a revolutionary war strategy consistent with the conditions of Vietnam, thereby making important contributions to the storehouse of experience of the world revolution. They knew how to flexibly combine different forms of struggle--armed, political and diplomatic--and how to use one form to supplement another depending upon the specific development of the situation. As a result, they were able to continuously exert increasing pressure upon the enemy, thus forcing them on the defensive.

In their fight against the cruel aggression, the heroic Vietnamese relied mainly upon themselves, upon their own material resources and revolutionary energy and upon the great strength of their solidarity with friends throughout the world. Ho Chi Minh and the party of the communists of Vietnam were armed with the only correct strategy: smoothly combining full-scale efforts by the nation with widespread international support. Relying upon the unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, upon the worldwide solidarity movement, the communists of Vietnam, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, were able to turn their country into a solid fortress, one which aggressors armed to the teeth were unable to destroy despite years of continuous effort.

Ho Chi Minh did not live until the day that the fatherland to which he devoted his entire life was totally liberated. He died on 3 September 1969 and now lays at rest in a marble mausoleum at Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi. Until his dying breath, Ho Chi Minh remained firmly confident that this day of victory was not far off. In his Political Testament, he wrote: "Regardless of how great the difficulties and hardships might be, our people will surely win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will surely be forced to withdraw from our country. Our fatherland will surely be reunified."(9) And, only 6 years after he passed away, these words became reality.

Of course, at the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (December 1976)--"the congress of victory"--Uncle Ho, the name by which the Vietnamese still affectionately call Ho Chi Minh, was uppermost in the thoughts and feelings of all the delegates to the congress.

A discussion about Ho Chi Minh would be incomplete were we to fail to mention a number of other important aspects of his character and talents. He was a talented and creative person, a journalist, a political commentator, an author and a poet. He wrote more than a few books and newspaper articles on Leninism and the lessons of the great October, on theoretical and practical issues of the Vietnamese revolution, on socialist construction under the circumstances of Vietnam and on tactics in the struggle against aggression by foreign countries in order to defend the freedom and independence of the country. In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh is called the founder of Vietnamese revolutionary literature. His collection of poems entitled "Prison Diary" has been translated into many languages. The Soviet Union published this work in 1979 and subsequently republished his collected literary works.

Ho Chi Minh possessed encyclopedic knowledge and was at home in many languages. He read Anatole France in French, read Shakespeare in English,

read Loo Than in Chinese and, in the Soviet Union, he delivered addresses in Russian.

Among the communists of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh was considered the unequalled master of the methods of clandestine activity, an extremely complex science that must be practiced in revolutionary work. To evade the colonialist secret service, he changed his name dozens of times, never once using the real name given him by his mother and father at birth--Nguyen Sinh Cung. For 23 years, from 1919 to 1942, he was known in Indochina and among communists overseas as Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is, "the patriot." It was not until 1942 that he took the name Ho Chi Minh, the name by which the entire world knew him.

Ho Chi Minh belonged to the outstanding corps of revolutionaries of the Lenin school, persons who not only adopted and put into practice the brilliant doctrine of Lenin, but who, through their personal qualities, through their living examples, also showed the enormous power that communist thinking has to draw people to it. Everyone who had the pleasure of meeting him was surprised by how he combined, in a completely natural and organic way, an iron will and unshakeable bravery with the rare simplicity and kindness that were the style of Lenin. To say such is entirely correct. He was a militant who passionately defended revolutionary ethics and struggled tirelessly to cultivate noble personal qualities in party members, in each Vietnamese laborer.

During his long years of struggle, he lived a hard and ascetic life, and nothing was more alien to his character than a desire for luxury. He liked to recall his difficult but very romantic life in the caves in Viet Bac prior to the revolution and during the years of the first war of resistance. He always practiced this simple way of life among the people, sharing his food with peasant soldiers and sleeping with them under the same roof. He wanted to live this simple life until his final days.

From his character there emanated a spiritual warmth, a warmth he widely shared with those around him. He was one of those persons who feels the pain of others more than his own pain. Many persons who met President Ho Chi Minh observed that he was extremely sensitive to everything related to the life of the Vietnamese, to their suffering and sacrifices. He was visibly moved when describing the heroism of Vietnamese soldiers and lamented: "We are losing our most outstanding sons."

In Vietnam's revolutionary movement, Ho Chi Minh was always the symbol of the principle of internationalism that is so very necessary in every revolution. Wherever he performed his revolutionary work, he also constantly worked for unity among laborers of different countries, for the alliance of the Vietnamese with progressive forces throughout the world. The activities of Ho Chi Minh were a model of how to combine as one the struggle for the interests of the working class and laborers of one's country with the struggle for the interests of the proletariat and oppressed persons throughout the world.

The Soviets feel a special familiarity with, a special closeness to the image of Ho Chi Minh because this great patriot of Vietnam was a great friend of our country, was deeply interested in everything related to the October Revolution, to Lenin. In June 1923, he became the first Vietnamese communist

to visit Soviet Russia. He dreamed of meeting Vladimir Ilyich. However, this dream was not to be. "So, I never met Lenin and this was one of the great disappointments in my life"(10), recalled Ho Chi Minh. During the grief-stricken days of January 1924, among the many articles by foreign friends that appeared in PRAVDA Newspaper in which they expressed their thoughts on the passing of the great world leader was an article by a Vietnamese communist signed Nguyen Ai Quoc.

During his years of activity preceding the revolution, Ho Chi Minh visited the Soviet Union three times--in 1923-1924, in 1927-1928 and from 1934 to 1938. He worked in the Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He attended the College of Communism for Laborers of the East and the Lenin International School. He participated in the work of the 5th and 7th Congresses of the Communist International. He spent a total of more than 6 years in our country, where he truly found a second fatherland. Those years made him a trustworthy friend of the Soviet Union for the rest of his life. He visited the Soviet Union many times in the 1950's and 1960's as president of the DRV and chairman of the Central Committee of the party of the communists of Vietnam. Throughout his life, in conversations with comrades, in commentaries and newspaper articles as well as in speeches from the rostrums of congresses, conferences and meetings, Ho Chi Minh, employing every available method, propagandized the achievements of our country, appealed for solidarity with the Soviet people and stressed "confidence in the invincible strength of the Soviet Union--the citadel of the revolutionary movement and the struggle for peace throughout the world."

He always saw in our country the closest friend and a comrade-in-arms of struggling Vietnam. And, he always asserted: the Vietnamese will never forget that their victories have been closely tied to the assistance and support of the Soviet Union.

Truly deserving of attention is one of the last articles he wrote, an article published in PRAVDA and written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. "...Vietnam has a saying: when drinking water, remember the source"--Ho Chi Minh wrote--"...By following the path charted by the great Lenin, the path of the October Revolution, the Vietnamese have won very large victories. For this reason, the closeness and gratitude of the Vietnamese to the glorious October Revolution, to the great Lenin and to the Soviet people are extremely deep."(11)

Today, Soviet-Vietnam relations rest upon the solid foundation of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam signed in Moscow on 3 November 1978. Our two countries, bound by a friendship that began with Ho Chi Minh, are standing shoulder to shoulder, building socialism and communism and struggling against the schemes of imperialist forces and international reactionaries for the sake of a lasting peace throughout the world, for the brilliant future of mankind.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 175.
2. Ibid., p 176.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 225.
4. Ibid.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Volume II, p 177.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 6, p 32.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Volume II, p 525.
- (+) That is, the French government headed by Petain, the seat of which was located in Vichy (1940-1944). Note provided by translator.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Volume II, p 467.
9. Ibid., p 542.
10. Ibid., p 524.
11. Ibid., pp 468, 473.

7809

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NGUYEN AI QUOC AT THE 1ST CONFERENCE OF THE PEASANT INTERNATIONAL (1)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 41-45

[Article by Trinh Muu]

[Text] Editorial Note: on the occasion of reading the Summary Record of the Proceedings of the 1st Conference of the Peasant International published in Russian in 1924 by New Countryside Publishing House, Moscow, we decided to present those portions of the proceedings that related to the activities of Nguyen Ai Quoc at the conference with the aim of providing researchers in the field of history with additional materials in order to understand the contributions made by Nguyen Ai Quoc in the international communist and worker movement. Through this presentations, it is our intention to correct a few inaccurate historical materials that have been published in books and newspapers of ours.

Thoughts about establishing the Peasant International first began to appear a few years before World War I (1914-1918), but this idea was the proposal of a number of reactionary leaders in Europe. Understanding the position and importance of the peasant issue, these leaders were attempting to draw the powerful forces of peasants to their side in order to combat the revolutionary struggle being waged by workers. The origin of this desire to establish a "Black Peasant International" organization could be found among some members of the "centrist parties" in Germany (also called the middle faction) and a number of parties in central Europe, the majority of which were strongly influenced by the Catholic Church. On the other hand, however, because of their reactionary nature, these persons feared that once peasants were reorganized and began to participate in the political struggle at home and on an international scope, it was very likely that peasants would take a course completely opposite from the one they intended peasants to take. As a result, their desire to establish a peasant international could not be achieved.

Following World War I, there emerged within the Bulgarian peasant movement led by Stamboliski the thinking of establishing a "Green Peasant International." This idea drew widespread attention in Europe but also failed to be implemented because Stamboliski did not have a platform for bringing together and uniting the peasants of all countries. Fascist powers subsequently carried out a coup d'etat that toppled him, setting off a deep political and social crisis.

The victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution in 1917 and the establishment of the Communist International clearly showed the enormous importance of the peasant issue and the alliance of workers and peasants. Through the tireless activities of Lenin and the Communist International and under the strong influence of Lenin's "Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions," the international peasant movement steadily developed. Now organized, large forces of peasants participated more actively with each day that passed in the struggle against imperialism and the oppression and exploitation by feudal landowners.

In June 1923, at the 3rd Conference of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which discussed the issue of worker-peasant governments, Dom-ban [Vietnamese phonetics] (a peasant deputy in the Polish Parliament) proposed convening an international peasant conference, pointing out the need to immediately establish an international peasant organization in order to establish the alliance of workers and peasants on an international scale. Because this proposal correctly met a demand of the actual situation, it was enthusiastically supported by the worker and peasant press in many countries.

Also during this period, the All-Union Agricultural Economic Exhibit opened in Moscow and drew widespread attention among the peasants of western Europe. The exhibit's leadership appealed to peasants throughout the world to participate in the exhibit as invited guests. Peasant delegates from many countries decided to use the Moscow exhibit to discuss the establishment of a peasant international. They agreed to participate in the exhibit and, while there, held a number of preparatory meetings. The outcome of these meetings was the establishment of a group of peasants entrusted by the mass of peasant delegates from the various countries with convening the 1st Conference of the Peasant International. As a result of the positive activities conducted by this group, a conference was held to elect the Peasant International Council (which some persons subsequently called the "Red Peasant Association International"). This group issued a Draft Platform and the Program of Action for cooperation in economic and political struggle between the peasants and working class of all countries.

Following a period of preparation, the 1st Conference of the Peasant International was convened in Moscow in Andreyevski Palace, the Kremlin. The conference opened on 10 October 1923 and closed on 16 October 1923.(2) Participating in the conference were 158 delegates (122 of whom were official delegates) representing the peasants of more than 40 countries in the world. They included the leaders of peasant parties and peasant alliances, peasant deputies in parliaments and governments and the editor-in-chief of PEASANT Newspaper. Nguyen Ai Quoc participated in the conference as an official delegate of the peasants of Indochina.

Dom-ban delivered the opening address. Pointing out the important significance of the conference, he said: "For the first time in history, peasants have been assembled in a conference of the Peasant International. This is an event of extremely important significance and proves that peasants have begun to discover that their path to the liberation of themselves lies in the policy of uniting with all laboring peasants of all countries of the world

and establishing a close alliance with the working class. This conference occupies an important position in the history of mankind. The decisions of the congress will usher in a new age, the age of the worldwide alliance of workers and peasants. The conference will be the dawn of a new worker-peasant era."(3)

The conferees unanimously elected a conference presidium consisting of nine members: Smirnov (Russia), Bishop (Germany), Vadey (France), Dom-ban (Poland), Gorov (Bulgaria), Green (United States), Gan-van [Vietnamese phonetics] (Mexico), one Czechoslovak delegate and one Ukranian delegate. During their 10 sessions, the conferees heard and debated seven major reports, adopted the Platform and Statutes and elected the Peasant International Council.(4)

During the first session, session chairman Gorov (Bulgaria) introduced Comrade Kalinin, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, who delivered an address welcoming the conferees. Kalinin reported to them on the achievements of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union in the October Revolution and in socialist construction within the Soviet Union. He pointed out the wealth of experience of the Soviet Union and its enormous influence upon the course of the world revolution, especially the peasant movement. The example of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union was giving strong impetus to the peasant movement, was awakening them and uniting them as a powerful political force, a force standing shoulder to shoulder with the working class in the struggle to liberate themselves.

Immediately after the welcoming address by Kalinin and the speeches by the delegates Gan-van (Mexico) and Ru-do-lo Vietnamese phonetics] (Czechoslovakia), Nguyen Ai Quoc was invited to speak. He said: "The peasants in the colonies of France are being oppressed and exploited by two strata, as is the proletariat, and, like slaves, have lost their country. In Algeria, all fertile lands have been taken by the French capitalists. Peasants have been forced to huddle together in the forests, where the land is arid and cannot be farmed. In Indochina, The French colonialists live a life of plenty on vast and fertile lands that extend across many villages distributed to them and are protected by the government. Peasants, not only poor peasants, but middle peasants as well, are going bankrupt and being forced to leave their land or work as unpaid servants for the foreign occupiers. Dear comrades, when you are reorganized, you must set an example for us, must help us and open your arms to us so that we can join the great international family of proletarians."(5)

The recording of his remarks in the record of the proceedings was of very important significance. It not only helped the delegates to understand the plight and the thoughts and aspirations of the peasants in the colonies, but also helped the conferees to revise and amend the official reports of the conference. Vadey, the French peasant delegate and chairman of the Conference Presidium, who presented the first official report, which was entitled "Peasants and War," addressed the conference after listening to the delegates debate. Highly evaluating the contribution made by Nguyen Ai Quoc, Vadey said: "Delegate Nguyen Ai Quoc pointed out that the peasants in the colonies are being oppressed and exploited by two strata. I have no objection at all

to including his remarks in the record to correct and amend my presentation."(6)

At the 7th session, Nguyen Ai Quoc spoke again. He presented a real picture of the peasants of Indochina, expressing to the conference his views on the issue of agitating, enlightening and organizing peasants. He said: "The plight of the Russian peasant can be compared to that of the Vietnamese peasant, in particular, and the Indochinese peasant, in general, as follows: while the Russian peasant sits solemnly in his easy chair, the Vietnamese peasant, the Indochinese peasant is being hung upside down.

Each year, the Indochinese government sells more than 4 million dollars worth of opium to poison the 20 million natives. For every 10 schools there are about 1,000 places that sell alcohol and opium.

The foreign imperialists have driven Vietnamese peasants from their land to take sole possession of it for themselves. But the colonial imperialists are not the only ones. The process of aggression in Indochina has brought the missionaries, the trailblazers for the aggressors, onto the scene. They have taken the peasants' deeds to their cropland. In Co Chin China, missionaries own more than one-fourth of the farmland. In Cambodia, more than one-third of the land is in the hands of missionaries. And, in Tonkin, they own extremely large tracts of land, even in the capital Hanoi.

Whatever natural disasters, such as a flood, typhoon or crop failure, occur, the colonialists immediately take advantage of the situation by giving peasants short-term loans at cutthroat interest rates in order to subsequently force peasants to mortgage their cropland to them. To the peasant, the protectorate state is the worst of all possible tragedies. Whether he brings in a bumper crop or his crop fails, the peasant must continue to pay taxes. He is forced to sell his entire harvest to speculators at whatever price is offered, who then turn around and loan money to peasants at cutthroat rates.

From a legal standpoint, the native is essentially nothing more than a slave. He has no right to publish in the press or form associations. To establish an organization of four or five persons, natives must be issued a permit by the governor-general. They do not even have the right to change their place of residence without a permit from the local administration.

During the war, the French colonialists mobilized nearly 1 million soldiers in the colonies to serve France. In the space of only 2 years (1916-1917), France carried off from the colonies 2 billion tons of cereal grains at a time when natives in Africa and Indochina were starving to death.

Our international will become a genuine international when its membership includes peasants in the East, especially the peasants in the colonial countries, those persons who are the most severely oppressed and exploited of all."(7)

The conference of the Peasant International was a fine success. It elected a Peasant International Council consisting of 52 members representing peasants in Europe, Asia, the Americas and the colonies.(8) During its first session,

on 17 October 1923, the Peasant International Council elected a presidium consisting of 11 members: Smirnov (Soviet Russia), Dom-ban (Poland), Burghy (German), Vadey (France), Writlow (Czechoslovakia), Gorov (Bulgaria), Ghero (the Scandanavian countries), Green (United States), Gan-van (Mexico), Sincatayama (Japan) and Nguyen Ai Quoc (Indochina).

Due to his profound theoretical and practical activities, which made positive contributions to the work of the conference, Nguyen Ai Quoc won the confidence of all delegates. The conferees elected him to the presidium not only as a representative of the peasants of Indochina, but also as the representative of the voice of the mass of peasants in the colonial countries, most importantly the colonies of the French imperialists. On behalf of the mass of peasants in the colonies, he signed many general documents of the conference and worked tirelessly in the colonial peasant movement, thereby making an important contribution to advancing the colonial peasant movement in Asia and Africa to new levels of development.(9)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For a long time, books and newspaper articles of ours have referred to this as the Peasant International Congress. However, according to the Record of the Proceedings of the 1st Conference of the Peasant International held in Moscow, Russian version, published by New Countryside Publishing House, Moscow, 1924, this was a conference (konferentziya) not a congress (syecd or kongress).
2. "Summary Chronology of the Activities of President Ho Chi Minh" in: Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap," [Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 549 states: "The Peasant International held its first congress (from 12 to 15 October 1923)." This is not correct.
3. "The 1st Conference of the Peasant International," Russian version, New Countryside Publishing House, Moscow, 1924, p 5.
4. See: Nguyen Quoc Hung: "60 nam--Bac Ho tham du Dai hoi thanh lap Quoc te nong dan"[60 Years Ago--Uncle Ho Participates in the Congress To Establish the Peasant International], PARTY HISTORY Journal, No 3-1983 (pp 20-23). Here, we have used the term Council (Russian: Sovet) to be consistent with the original text (not the term executive committee, which has been used in books and newspapers and continues to be used).
5. The 1st Conference of the Peasant International, pp 14-15.
6. Ibid., p 24.
7. Ibid., p 93.
8. According to Nguyen Quoc Hung, the Peasant International Council consisted of 63 members but the Record of the Proceedings of the 1st Conference of the Peasant International, pp 142-143, states that there were only 52 members.

9. In 1924, Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote three articles on the colonial peasant movement that were published in PEASANT INTERNATIONAL REVIEW: "The Plight of Vietnamese Peasants," No 1-1924; "The Plight of Peasants in Tunisia," No 5-6-1924; and "The Peasants in the Countries of North Africa," No 10-12-1924.

7809

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## THE NEW VIETNAMESE IN THE LIGHT OF UNCLE HO'S THINKING ON IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 46-51, 75

[Article by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] From an ideological standpoint, according to President Ho Chi Minh, the ideological and cultural revolution means abolishing every manifestation of the ideology of the exploiting classes and rebuilding the spiritual life of society on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world view. From a social standpoint, it means democratizing culture and building a new culture of which the laboring people are the collective masters. These two aspects of this revolution are dialectically tied to each other. They form a unified process and each is oriented toward performing the central task of the ideological and cultural revolution, molding the new, socialist Vietnamese.

"We must promote cultural work in order to train new persons and new cadres for the war of resistance and for national construction."(1) So said President Ho. The end objective is man. Everything is done for man. However, everything is also done by man. Through his actions, man molds himself while transforming nature and society in the interests of man. History is nothing more than the actions taken by man in pursuit of his own objectives. Therefore, we see that President Ho always gave special and foremost attention to man, to forging man, to tapping the full strength of man, to developing man's capabilities to the fullest possible extent.

During the re-education campaign in the spring of 1961 was not the first time that President Ho said: "To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialists." In 1955, when asked "what will happen if the Americans and Diem hold on?", he replied: that is not the question. "Rather, each of us should ask ourself: how much of an effort have I made and to what extent have I fulfilled my task?"(2) In 1947, when explaining why this very correct slogan had not been put into practice or had only been applied half-way without any enthusiasm, President Ho pointed out a host of reasons, the first of which was: "It is because we have forgotten one very simple and easily understood fact: that everything, without exception, is done by man, from things small to things large, from things near at hand to things far away.

"To establish new-style villages, new-style units and so forth, it is first of all necessary to train new-style persons to be the cadres of these villages,

these units."(3) Everything is done by man, thus, to do anything, it is first of all necessary to have the persons needed to do what must be done. Therefore, from the 1920's, when he "sowed the seeds of liberation" in the Indochinese, until the end of his life, President Ho always attached foremost importance to the molding of man.

It is the new Vietnamese--the molding of whom was the most basic, most intense and greatest cultural project of Uncle Ho--who have recorded the achievements of Vietnam over the past several decades.

They are the persons who, in the words of the sincere teaching of President Ho, "to live, had to make revolution," who, despite every sacrifice, were determined to realize their ambitions to save the nation, save the people, liberate the nation, liberate the class, liberate society and liberate mankind and who made the achievement of freedom and happiness for everyone their noble ideal and great source of personal happiness. They are the communists who, armed with their progressive revolutionary theory and shining revolutionary ethics and symbolizing the aspirations, hopes and heroic character of Vietnam, struck fear in the imperialists and feudalists and recorded the first victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial country--the victory of the 1945 August Revolution.

They are the persons who kept the oath of the Declaration of Independence to be "determined to devote all their spirit and forces, their life and property to maintaining the independence and freedom" that had been won and put into practice the slogans "all the people are soldiers" and "carrying out the war of resistance and national construction at the same time" and who, after 9 hard years, won victory over the French colonialists, the brilliant victory of Dien Bien Phu that shook the world. They are the persons who were tempered in the long war of resistance, who were "loyal to the country, filial to the people," were "diligent, frugal, honest, just and devoted" in the example and in keeping with the teachings of President Ho, persons who lived a simple and sincere life and displayed confidence in the bright future of the nation.

They are the persons who pinned down the most ruthless enemy of mankind, the U.S. aggressors, fought them, bankrupted their neo-colonialism and defeated their global strategy for the sake of the nation's survival and also for the sake of the common cause of the entire progressive world. They are the heroes who have fought tenaciously for the freedom and dignity of man but also very good and modest persons, persons who possess the beautiful, noble virtues of a nation that has existed and been developing for a long time, persons who are truly civilized. They are the persons who symbolize the strength of the thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the strength of socialism and the proletarian international spirit, persons who, through their intelligence, bravery, talent and blood, have written the epic of our times. "How noble is man's purpose on earth!" We are fully justified in proudly repeating these words of admiration spoken by Gorky when talking about the new Vietnamese of the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, about those persons who made more than a few others change the standards by which they evaluate themselves.

In the very bitter struggle to survive, in the resistance against the United States for national salvation the new Vietnamese were forced to reveal the full extent of their potentials, which included the strength of our 4,000 year history and the strength of the times "going into battle with us." However, these potentials had to be possessed before they could be revealed. Moreover, only when a potential becomes part of a person's flesh and blood can it be revealed in a such a natural and perfect way. That the fine, noble qualities of the nation and the times were smoothly combined and became part of the flesh and blood of each person were the results of cultural work. In past years as well as today, the new Vietnamese who symbolize Vietnamese revolutionary heroism in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland are the products of the new Vietnamese culture.

Everyone knows that molding persons is difficult, delicate and complex work and that the best way to perform this work is by setting examples. It was not in 1968 but, in fact, during the first days following the August Revolution that President Ho began to praise good persons and good work through letters encouraging and praising the achievements of youths, teenagers and children, of elders, of Catholics and Buddhists, of popular education soldiers, of members of the ethnic minorities, etc. He gave his attention to each and every stratum of the people, each and every age group. To children, he suggested that they organize Tran Quoc Toan units and forge diligence and the spirit of fraternity in order to become good citizens. With regard to elders, he did not endorse the thinking that "the talents of elders are spent" or that "when you are old you should take it easy," rather, he encouraged them: "...The older you are, the more vigorous you should be, the more heroic... If you cannot perform strenuous work, walk about on your cane encouraging youths..."(4) As regards youths, he encouraged them, saying that if they wanted to be worthy of being the masters of the future, they must forge their spirit and forces now, must work with enthusiasm, "must be where they are needed and do the jobs that are difficult," must always be practical, do what they say they can do...

In the process of revolutionary change, the Vietnamese man has also revealed more than a few shortcomings. These are: the ideology of the small-scale producer, which is still widely evident in the way persons think and work; low labor standards and poorly developed work skills; a lack of knowledge and experience in organizing and managing the economy and managing the new society, etc. However, in the realities of the revolutionary struggle over the past half century and more, the Vietnamese have also shown themselves to be persons who possess a very strong sense of being the masters of the country and have displayed the spirit of patriotism and upheld the unyielding tradition of the nation of Vietnam to a degree unprecedented in the face of each aggressor power. They are persons who are diligent and patient, who endure hardships, dare to sacrifice their lives and are rich in love of others--which is another fine tradition that the nation of Vietnam has inherited and built upon in the new age. They are persons who possess high political awareness, are close to the party and closely attached to the new system and have quickly adopted collective ownership. They are intelligent, brave and optimistic persons who are eager to learn and always want to move forward...

The 4th Congress of the Party pointed out: "The new, socialist man is the new Vietnamese, the distinguishing characteristics of whom are: collective ownership, labor, socialist patriotism and the proletarian international spirit. These characteristics also represent the crystallization and development of the very finest qualities in the soul and character of Vietnam that have been forged in the 4,000 years of its history.

The new man is a person who thinks correctly, feels beautiful sentiments and possesses the knowledge and ability needed to be the master of society, the master of nature, the master of himself."

In the political report at the first session of the 6th National Assembly, Le Duan said: the new, socialist man that we are molding is "the Vietnamese laborer who exercises collective ownership. These are persons who embody and develop upon the most beautiful aspects of Vietnamese cultural tradition; however, they are new, socialist Vietnamese, are persons well suited to the system of socialist collective ownership and the system of large-scale, socialist production that are now being built. They are persons who think correctly, feel noble sentiments and possess all the knowledge and ability needed to be a laborer who is a collective master: the master of society, the master of nature and the master of himself. They are persons who possess a high degree of self-awareness and the full determination and energy needed to overcome each difficulty and complete each task. They are honest laborers who hate the parasitic way of life, hate deception, slipshod work and lying, are disciplined, technically skilled and highly productive laborers, are persons who love work, respect and protect public property and respect the rules of public life. They are persons who possess a deep love of the laboring people with whom they are building the new life. The new man possesses ardent socialist patriotism and perfectly combines this patriotism with a pure proletarian international spirit. The new man is a fully developed person who lives a collective life and is a well-balanced, rich individual."(5)

Thus, in accordance with the thinking of Uncle Ho and on the momentum of the development of our country's revolution, the model of the new, socialist Vietnamese has become increasingly well defined: they are persons who exercise collective ownership, love work, are rich in love and attach importance to that which is right.

Collective ownership represents a great leap forward from the exploitation of man by man, a system that has existed for several thousand years, to a totally new system: the laborer managing himself, his society and his country. The new, socialist Vietnamese is a laborer who exercises collective ownership within a community organized on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, on the basis of the socialist division of labor and socialist cooperation, a community which combines the individual and the collective in a harmonious way. He is a laborer who trusts and loves the cooperative and also has confidence in himself, who humbly learns from others but still thinks independently, who dares to defend the truth until the end and dares to assume responsibility to the collective and for himself. The new, socialist Vietnamese must be an effective and active member of society with regard to implementing each of his rights and fulfilling each of his obligations as a

master within the social community as well as within every organization of the proletarian dictatorship system of which he is a member.

The concept of ownership demands that each person devote himself to building a solid and strong collective, wholeheartedly serve the interests of the collective and wage a determined struggle against each negative phenomenon within society. The concept of ownership does not permit reliance upon others, be it reliance upon the upper level or upon someone on the outside. "If we want others to help us, we must first help ourselves." (6) So said President Ho in "The Revolutionary Road." On the occasion of the 1,000th day of the resistance against France, he also said: "Each and every citizen must understand: to be independent, we must be self-supporting; to be free, we must be self-reliant." (7) The new man of today must heighten his sense of self-reliance, develop each potential, solve each of his problems, each problem of his locality and country on his own and always be dynamic, inquisitive and creative and never sit idly by in the face of difficulties.

To improve one's ability to be a master, a person must possess the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge and employ the correct method of thinking. Not only must a person's overall cultural standard steadily rise, but, in the stage of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, a person must also possess knowledge of and consciously carry out the scientific-technological revolution, possess the knowledge and ability needed to manage the economy and manage society.

Love of work means being ready to work wherever needed by the fatherland, means working for the interests of oneself and all society. Under present conditions, love of work means being ready to put into practice a division of labor and a distribution of labor designed to make full use of labor and arable land and directly produce very much material wealth for society. The labor of the new, socialist Vietnamese must be labor that has been liberated from exploitation, labor that is increasingly creative, not only in terms of creating material products, but also in terms of creating socialist persons along with the beautiful socialist interpersonal relations. The tradition of diligent labor that has existed since the time of our forefathers has reached a new level of development in socialist laborers who are conscientious and willing workers, are organized, disciplined, technically skilled and highly productive. This "diligence" goes hand in hand with "frugality," with respecting and protecting public property, with reducing the consumption of materials and human labor in every unit of product that is produced. Labor is an obligation, is the source of life, the source of happiness. Labor has become the value of foremost importance. Distribution in accordance with labor has become the law. Living on the basis of the results of one's labor has become the common ethical standard of all society.

Being rich in love means upholding, to the highest degree possible, our people's traditions of love of country-love of family, love of others-love of oneself. Love of country and love of family means that the new Vietnamese of today always displays a high spirit of socialist patriotism and is ready to fight and die to fulfill his obligation to defend the fatherland and successfully build socialism. Love of others and love of oneself mean, above everything else, loving the laboring people with whom one is building the new

society, building the new life and "helping one another on every job large and small." "Our people have long lived with such affection and devotion for one another. Ever since our party has been leading and educating us, this affection and this devotion have steadily grown more beautiful and become affection for and devotion to one's fellow countrymen and comrades, affection for and devotion to the family of man. Understanding Marxism-Leninism means living with affection and devotion for one another. A person who has committed countless books to memory but does not live with affection and devotion cannot be said to be a person who understands Marxism-Leninism!"(8) Loving others and loving oneself, the new man displays a high proletarian international spirit, works to build the alliance among the three fraternal countries of Indochina, works to strengthen the full-scale alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and supports the struggle against imperialism by all oppressed nations and the cause of safeguarding peace in the world.

Attaching importance to that which is right means abolishing oppression and exploitation and building a new, fair and rational society in which everyone works and fights for the development of the social community so that everyone is well fed, well clothed, educated and lives a happy and wholesome life. Attaching importance to that which is right means defending and developing Marxism-Leninism; means making scientific socialism a profound and living reality; means achieving development that is well balanced among the individual, the family and society; and means putting into practice the noble principle "one for all, all for one."

Molding new persons who are compatible with the system of socialist collective ownership and the system of large-scale production that are being built is not easy work that can be quickly completed. It is impossible to produce complete, new persons and then have them build the new society. Rather, we can only turn the persons produced by history into new persons as they perform the work of building the new society. However, as they build a new society, they are not, generally speaking, persons who are entirely new. In the words of Lenin, they have yet to "wash from themselves all the mud of the old world. They still stand knee-deep in this mud. Cleansing themselves of this mud still remains a dream. To think that this can be done immediately is a very foolish illusion."(9) And, even when the old society dies, we cannot put it into a coffin and bury it in the ground. Its corpse continues to rot around us, polluting the environment and even infecting us with diseases. President Ho also said: "Having been born in the old society, each of us bears the ugly scars of this society to some extent in the form of our thinking and habits."(10) Therefore, we should not be impetuous and demand that everyone become a new, wholly socialist person overnight. However, it is even more incorrect, if not to say a mistake, to be lax and give light attention to the struggle to mold man. We cannot forget for one moment the teaching of Uncle Ho: every person has good and evil in his heart. We must know how to make good triumph over evil, eradicate the ugly things left behind by the old society in our society as well as in each of us and preserve and constantly display the pure revolutionary virtue "one for all." Socialist construction is not just building a new economy, a new system, but also involves building a new culture and molding new, socialist persons. Moreover, to build socialism,

it is first of all necessary to train socialists. A socialist must possess all the necessary ethics as well as talents, but it is revolutionary ethics that are his base, his foundation. With the revolution having entered a new stage, we must not only rapidly heighten our ideological awareness concerning real Vietnamese socialism and raise our standards and skills in the area of practical application to keep pace with the requirements of the revolution, but must also do even more to forge the revolutionary ethics of diligence, frugality, honesty, fairness, devotion and wholeheartedly serving the people, serving the revolution and combating each manifestation of corruption. Because, "carrying out a revolution to transform the old society into a new society is a very glorious undertaking but also a very large task, a very complex, long and arduous struggle. One must be strong to carry a heavy load a long distance. The revolutionary must have revolutionary ethics as his foundation if he is to complete his glorious revolutionary task."(11)

In the ideological and cultural revolution, although there have been times when our work has been disorganized and although we have failed to attach appropriate importance to the goal of molding the new man and allowed a serious corruption of ethics and way of life to occur among some laboring people, workers, youths, cadres and party members, the steps that we have taken have, generally speaking, been positive and correct. In the molding of the new man and thanks to Uncle Ho, the personification of the best of the Vietnamese people combined as one with the best of mankind, we have displayed our national character in the new age and been able to forge our own ethics and put into practice the words of advice given by our forefathers long ago: "...Descendants of ours, do not adopt the wrong ethics"!(12) Our new man is the Vietnamese socialist man.

The new, socialist Vietnamese is continuing his journey amidst the tumultuous realities of the revolution and under the light of Uncle Ho's thinking on culture. Our political culture is illuminating each step that he takes. Our ethical culture is laying and building his foundation. Our artistic culture, science, education, public health and physical culture-sports, are creating for him the standards of the soul, intelligence and physical fitness that he must meet. He is showing that he lives and is displaying his vitality each day in struggle and construction. He is the most general result, the most sophisticated and remarkable result, and becoming more sophisticated and remarkable with each day that passes, of the Vietnamese ideological and cultural revolution, of the new Vietnamese socialist culture.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 487.
2. Ibid., Volume 2, p 44.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume 4, p 454.
4. Ibid., p 21.

5. "Toan dan doan ket xay dung To quoc Viet nam thong nhat xa hoi chu nghia,"[All the People Uniting in Building a Unified, Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland], TAP CHI HOC TAP, No 7-1976, p 35.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume 2, p 224.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Collected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985 Volume 5, p 102.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 486.
9. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 37, p 551.
10. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 94.
11. Ibid.
12. Late 14th century expose generally considered to have been written by Nguyen Trung Ngan reminding us that Vietnam must be Vietnam: "The incense burners of the House of Chu are articles of the gods. The incense burners of the land of the Viets are articles of Buddha. The gods frequently change. Buddha is eternal joy. Descendants of ours, do not adopt the wrong ethics."

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PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S JOURNEY TO FRANCE IN 1946 (SUMMARY CHRONOLOGY)

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[Article compiled by The Tap]

[Text] 30 May 1946--at the Vietnam Boarding School, Uncle Ho attends a large meeting of 50,000 people of the capital to greet him prior to his departure on a visit to France as the invited guest of the French government. He says: "In keeping with a government order and the will of the nation, I and a delegation will travel to Paris to open official negotiations."

31 May 1946--awakening very early, Uncle Ho writes a letter to the compatriots of Nam Bo: "...The compatriots Cochinchina are citizens of Vietnam. The rivers might run dry and the mountains might crumble but this truth will never change!..."

At Gia Lam Airport, after greeting the delegates and compatriots gathered there, Uncle Ho grasped the hand of Huynh Thuc Khang (acting president of the DRV) and says: "...It is my hope that you will 'deal with a myriad of changes by not changing.'" He instructs the members of the delegation: "We take with us a heavy responsibility. As we stand before our fellow countrymen gathered here, we must promise that we will remain united and of one mind regardless of the difficulties we encounter so that we can fulfill our task for the fatherland."

1 June 1946--after spending the night in Pegu (Rangoon), Uncle Ho travels to Calcutta (India) early the next day.

2 June 1946--resting in Calcutta, Uncle Ho visits the British governor-general. Overseas compatriots of ours also arrive from several hundred kilometers outside Calcutta to greet him.

3 June 1946--Uncle Ho visits Chandernagore Province (India); receives the French consul and visits with overseas compatriots.

4 June 1946--Uncle Ho leaves Calcutta for Agra.

5 June 1946--from Agra, Uncle Ho travels to Karachi. The British viceroy invites Uncle Ho to stay at his resident.

6 June 1946--from Karachi, Uncle Ho travels to Habbaniya (Iraq).

7 June 1946--from Habbaniya, Uncle Ho travels to Luxor (Egypt). In Luxor, a representative of the French ambassador greets him and invites him to stay at the embassy.

8 to 10 June 1946--Uncle Ho visits the king of Egypt, visits the Pyramid Museum and takes a walking tour through the city of Luxor.

11 June 1946--early in the morning, Uncle Ho leaves Luxor and travels to Benghazi. Resting there for the afternoon, he then travels to Biskra (Algeria).

12 June 1946--Uncle Ho arrives in Biarritz--a city in Southwestern France--and moves into the Carlton Hotel.

13 June 1946--overseas compatriots from many places in France arrive in Biarritz to greet him. Representatives of the French Communist Party, the French Federation of Labor Unions, the newly established Franco-Vietnamese Association...and various French personalities arrive one after another to greet him.

22 June 1946--10 days after Uncle Ho arrived in Biarritz, the newly formed French government invites him to Paris. The plane carrying him lands at Le Borget Airport. The Minister for Overseas Territories, military dignitaries and others turn out to greet him with formal protocol. Overseas compatriots of ours and representatives of various political parties and mass organizations in France warmly greet him. Uncle Ho says: "I thank the French government and people for the grand welcome they have given me. It is my hope that the two nations of Vietnam and France can henceforth work together as equals in a candid and close manner. A motorcade takes Uncle Ho to the Royal-Monceau Hotel.

23 June 1946--Uncle Ho receives Marshall Juin, chief-of-staff of the French army; receives a number of Vietnamese intellectuals living in France who want to immediately return to serve the fatherland; and receives a delegation of teenagers and children, all the sons and daughters of overseas compatriots. He presents them with a flag given by the Vietnamese children in Hanoi to the Vietnamese children in France...

24 June 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives representatives of overseas compatriots from Cochinchina coming to greet him and be briefed by him on the situation at home.

In the afternoon, he receives Minister Moutet and many high ranking officials of the French government.

In the evening, the Board of Directors of the Franco-Vietnamese Association arrives to greet him.

25 June 1946--Uncle Ho receives more than 100 representatives of French and foreign journalists and photographers and film makers.

26 June 1946--In the morning, Uncle Ho pays a visit to our delegation at the St. Anne Hotel and tours the Louvre; receives representatives of the Union of Vietnamese Associations from Marseille, Bordeaux, Toulous...coming to greet him. In the afternoon, he receives the lawyer Blunquist, a fellow militant from the days of the Intercolonial Union. At night, Uncle Ho receives the leaders of the French Social Party and a number of doctors, writers...

27 June 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho takes a walk in the Boulogne Forest and visits the Trocadero Cultural Hall. In the afternoon, Mr. Sainteny invites him to luncheon with his family. In the evening, Uncle Ho receives representatives of the French Communist Party (Vaillant-Couturier, Cachin, Thorez, Ducroux, Billoux, Tillon...).

28 June 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho takes a walk in the Saint Cloud Gardens. In the afternoon, he receives Marshall Juin and Marshall Deveige. In the evening, he receives representatives of French women and speaks to them about the Vietnamese women's movement. They bring him good news: the World Union of Democratic Women has recognized the Vietnam Women's Union as a member.

29 June 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho takes a walk in the Saint Seine woods. In the afternoon, he lunches with the family of High Commissioner D'Argenlieu... In the evening, he receives representatives of the World Youth Council and French youth organizations. He talks to them about the struggle of Vietnamese youths. They report to him that the World Youth Council has recognized the Vietnam Youth Union as a member. The World Youth representatives suggest that he permit the members of the World Youth Council to call him Uncle Ho.

30 June 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho takes a walk in the Monceau flower gardens. In the afternoon, he invites the delegates attending the Fontainebleau Conference to an informal luncheon. In the evening, he visits the Archeology Institute and receives a number of French writers.

2 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives the writer Leo Poldes. In the afternoon, the French government holds a reception to welcome him. In response to the words of welcome spoken by French Premier Bidault, Uncle Ho says: "...To be sure, many difficulties await us at the Fontainebleau Conference, a conference that has the task of laying the foundation for new relations between France and Vietnam. Sincerity and mutual trust will remove these difficulties and obstacles. Both the philosophy of the East and the philosophy of the West endorse the same ethical principle: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you"...

3 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho lays wreaths of flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Arc de Triumph and at the Tomb of Indochina War Dead in a cemetery outside the city. In the afternoon, Minister Moutet holds a reception for him. In the evening, Uncle Ho visits Versailles Palace. At night, the French government invites him to attend a performance at the opera house.

4 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives a number of newspaper correspondents. Then, he visits the graves of partisans on Vallerienne Hill and, moved, says: "As I look at these graves of French partisans murdered by the Germans because they fought for independence and freedom, my thoughts turn to Vietnamese partisans who are being murdered by other persons because they, too, are fighting for independence and freedom and my sorrow is made even deeper. Independence and freedom are the same in every country: they are won through the bloodshed of partisans and the unity of the entire nation. Therefore persons who genuinely cherish their independence and freedom must respect the independence and freedom of other nations."

In the afternoon, High Commissioner D'Argenlieu holds a reception in his honor. In the evening, the government and people of Paris hold a formal meeting to greet him.

At night, Uncle Ho holds a reception for Premier Bidault, ministers, members of the French National Assembly, military dignitaries...

5 July 1946--Uncle Ho receives representatives of the French Federation of Labor Unions and the general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions. They report to him that the World Federation of Trade Unions has recognized the Vietnam Trade Union as a member.

6 July 1946--the Vietnamese-French conference opens at the Fontainebleau Palace. An honored guest of the French government, Uncle Ho does not participate in the conference.

7 July 1946--throughout the day, Uncle Ho receives many overseas compatriots; receives General Salan who comes to pay his regards. At night, Uncle Ho attends a fireworks display organized by the people of the city of Versailles to welcome him.

8 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho sends a cablegram home to report to the government that he had met with the leaders of the French Communist Party, the Popular Republican Movement and the Socialist Party, with representatives of the organizations of women, youths, intellectuals, journalists, etc. In the afternoon, Uncle Ho invites to an informal luncheon the wife of Mr. Marano, former governor of Seine Province, the wife of the writer Poldes and others... In the evening, Admiral Mit-xop [Vietnamese phonetics] holds a dinner in his honor.

9 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives Mr. Xa-ra-van-no [Vietnamese phonetics], an Indian member of the French National Assembly, who sympathized with the Vietnamese. In the evening, Mr. and Mrs. Sainteny hold a dinner to welcome him.

10 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives many Frenchmen who come to greet him. In the afternoon, Uncle Ho invites to an informal luncheon Mr. and Mrs. Sainteny, the mothers of Mr. Sainteny and Mr. Albert Sarraut and Mr. Sainteny's father-in-law, former governor-general of Indochina.

11 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives overseas compatriots and representatives of the French Education Federation. In the afternoon, he receives Marshall Juin. In the afternoon, the Franco-Vietnamese Association holds a tea in his honor. At night, Uncle Ho meets with Premier Bidault and Minister Moutet, not returning until late at night.

12 July 1946--Uncle Ho holds a press conference to present Vietnam's stand at the Fontainebleau Conference:

1. Vietnam demands the right to be independent. We demand independence, not at the cost of severing relations with France, but within the French Union, because such is to the economic and cultural benefit of both sides. Vietnam will willingly collaborate with France.

2. Vietnam definitely will not accept a federal government.

3. Cochinchina is a part of Vietnam. No one has the right to and no force can partition it.

4. Vietnam will protect the property of Frenchmen. But, Frenchmen must obey the labor law of Vietnam and Vietnam retains the right to buy back all properties related to national defense.

5. If advisors are ever needed, the Vietnamese will use Frenchmen.

6. Vietnam has the right to send ambassadors and consuls to other countries.

13 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives overseas compatriots. In the afternoon, he attends an informal luncheon at the invitation of Admiral Barjot. At night, Uncle Ho dines informally with the family of Mr. Michelet, the French minister of national defense.

14 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho attends France's National Day ceremonies. In the afternoon, he writes a letter thanking Premier Bidault: "...At a time when the French and Vietnamese are looking for ways to put into practice sincere and friendly collaboration, the date 14 July now has an even more profound significance to our two countries."

15 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho visits the home town of Mrs. Poldes. In the afternoon, he is interviewed by a number of journalists. At night, he and our delegation attend a large meeting organized by overseas Vietnamese at Muy-tuy-a-li-te [Vietnamese phonetics] Palace in Paris.

16 July 1946--in the afternoon, Uncle Ho invites to an informal luncheon the Parisien policemen who were serving as his bodyguards. In the evening, Uncle Ho is interviewed by Mrs. Sonier of the weekly newspaper ACTION, a paper that supported Vietnam.

17 July 1946--Uncle Ho visits a number of places of in the Normandy region... At night, he stays in E-ghec-vin Village [Vietnamese phonetics], the birthplace of Mr. Sainteny.

18 July 1946--Uncle Ho continues his visit in the Normandy region. At night, he returns to Paris.

19 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives the woman writer Simone Terri and is interviewed by Mr. Rosenfeld concerning the Fontainebleau Conference. In the afternoon, he attends a tea held by Mr. Tillon, air minister, in his honor.

20 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives a correspondent from FRANC TIREUR Newspaper. He then visits Mr. and Mrs. Gio-li-o Quy-ri [Vietnamese phonetics] and Mr. Francois Jordan, general secretary of the Franco-Vietnamese Association. In the evening, he receives representatives of French women who come to pay him a visit.

21 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives representatives of weekly newspapers; the distinguished Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg; and Mr. Lorenti, chief of the Office of the French Ministry of Overseas Territories. He receives youth delegates from 64 countries, representing some 50 million young men and women, attending the World Youth Conference being held in Paris. At night, he receives Admirals Limonniere and Barjot.

22 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives young women overseas Vietnamese who come to pay him a visit. At night, he and his retinue attend a film on the sports festival in Moscow.

23 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives Mr. Duyt-sa [Vietnamese phonetics], a French journalist who supported independence for Vietnam. In the evening, he and Minister Moutet attend an informal dinner at the invitation of Mr. Sainteny.

24 July 1946--many newspapers in France carry Uncle Ho's response to journalists concerning the relations between Vietnam and France, in which he concluded: "If France recognizes Vietnam's independence and joins with us in building new relations based on trust and freedom, the country of France will see its honor, its morale and cooperation with it in Vietnam vastly improved. This would provide stability and certainly be much better than using war, using strength or using the general staff to pressure us into signing one treaty or another."

25 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives Dr. Blang-do-vo [Vietnamese phonetics] who has come to pay his regards. In the evening, Uncle Ho visits Leon Blum, a leader of the French Socialist Party.

26 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho visits Fontainebleau, where the conference between the Vietnamese and French delegations is being held. The governor of Seine Province and the city committee hold a dinner in his honor.

27 July 1946--Uncle Ho visits Vietnamese engineers in Paris and advises them to love one another, unite and keep the fatherland in their thoughts.

28 July 1946--Uncle Ho and his retinue visit Mr. and Mrs. Aubrac in Choisy sur Mont Morenci 10 kilometers from Paris. Both Mr. and Mrs. Aubrac were

guerrillas during the resistance against the German fascists. They had written him a letter inviting him to their home to rest and afford him a very hospitable and cordial welcome upon his arrival.

29 July 1946--in the morning, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Aubrac and for the first time since arriving in France, Uncle Ho is able to rest. He takes a chair out into the yard, where he sits reading magazines and newspapers, chats with the Aubrac's and plays with the family's two small children. After Uncle Ho luncheons with the Aubrac's, a representative of the French government arrives and invites him to attend the opening of the Peace Conference of the Allied Countries being held at Luxembourg Palace in Paris.

30 July 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho takes a walk in Mont Morenci woods. In the afternoon, he receives the editor of LE COMBAT Newspaper. In the evening, he pays a visit to Professor Rivet. He receives the general secretary of the French Republic Youth Association and his wife, who come to pay their regards and present him with flowers.

31 July 1946--in the afternoon, Uncle Ho receives Admiral Muy-do-li-e [Vietnamese phonetics]. In the evening, he visits Andree Viollis, a famous journalist who went to Vietnam to investigate the crimes of the French colonialists and wrote the book "Indochina Cries Out To Be Saved" upon her return to France. Uncle Ho then visits Professor Lang-gio-vin [Vietnamese phonetics], a famous scientist. At night, Mr. Max Andre, head of the French delegation at the Fontainebleau Conference, holds a dinner in his honor.

1 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives the journalist Louis Ca-tech [Vietnamese phonetics]. He receives Grade 5 Civil Servant Phat-tanh [Vietnamese phonetics], the person in charge of Vietnamese engineers in France. In the evening, Mr. Billoux, minister of construction of the French government, and Mr. Da-xchi-e [Vietnamese phonetics] pay him a visit.

2 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho is interviewed by the French journalist Phlo-ri [Vietnamese phonetics] and receives the representative of China News Agency in France. He receives Mr. Claude Morgan, the editor of the weekly newspaper FRENCH LITERATURE, a paper that supported independence for Vietnam. Uncle Ho then receives Mr. O-bay [Vietnamese phonetics], French Socialist Party National Assembly deputy. In the afternoon, Uncle Ho visits General Herriot, retired, chairman of the Progressive Party. In the evening, General Herriot pays a return visit to Uncle Ho. Uncle Ho then pays a visit to General Leclerc and the French Socialist Party.

3 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho visits Mr. Buirrez, editor of L'ORDRE Newspaper, a paper that frequently attacked us. Uncle Ho explains Vietnam's situation. This paper subsequently displays a correct attitude. In the evening, Uncle Ho pays a visit to Professor Rivet, an elder member of the French Socialist Party. Then, Mr. Bousquet, a member of the French delegation at the Fontainebleau Conference, invites Uncle Ho to visit his family in the outskirts of Paris.

4 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives many of our overseas compatriots and Vietnamese teenagers and children in France. He then receives General Morliere, who is about to leave for Vietnam. In the evening, Uncle Ho visits the family of Leon Blum in the outskirts of Paris.

5 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives a number of our overseas compatriots and reads newspapers... In the evening, he pays a visit to Vincent Auriol and visits Professor Emile Kam, president of the French Human Rights Association Supporting Independence for Vietnam. He then visits Mr. Luyt-xi [Vietnamese phonetics], member of the French Socialist Party and French National Assembly deputy.

6 August 1946-- Uncle Ho replies to questions asked by Mr. Sarbonnier, from L'ORDRE Newspaper, who arrives to interview him.

7 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives several Frenchmen recently returned from Saigon who arrive to greet him. In the afternoon, Uncle Ho receives Mr. Da-xi-e [Vietnamese phonetics], former minister of interior in the French government and current French National Assembly deputy, who expresses his support for an independent Vietnam.

8 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho pays a visit to Minister Moutet and Major General Phelan, who had previously served in Vietnam and was now attached to the Minister of Overseas Territories. In the evening, Uncle Ho receives Deputy Luyt-xi [Vietnamese phonetics].

9 August 1946--in the morning, Mr. Sterner, director of the Institute of Far Eastern Archeology, invites Uncle Ho to visit the institute. There, he and Mr. and Mrs. Sterner discuss Eastern and Western culture. Uncle Ho also pays a visit to Mr. Maurice Shuman, chairman of the Popular Republican Movement. In the evening, Uncle Ho receives Mr. Jean Bebel, a correspondent for LIBERATION Newspaper, a paper supporting independence for Vietnam.

10 August 1946--Uncle Ho visits the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. Maurice Thorez and Jacques Ducroux welcome him.

11 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho and his retinue visit Sang-chi-e-ri [Vietnamese phonetics] Palace. When they return in the evening, Uncle Ho receives Mr. Sainteny who was awaiting him.

12 August 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho meets with the members of our delegation and overseas Vietnamese, speaking with them until 1200 hours. Then, he visits a child care center in Noisy-le-Grand Village.

17 August 1946--Uncle Ho is interviewed by a number of newspapers in France concerning the results of his visit to France and a number of recent Vietnamese-French clashes. In general, Uncle Ho says: he does not want to return to Hanoi empty-handed. He wants to achieve concrete results with certain knowledge of collaboration between the two countries. He regrets the renewed clashes and declares that Vietnam is not responsible for these incidents. He emphasizes the need to create the necessary favorable atmosphere for Vietnamese-French collaboration. To accomplish this, it was

necessary to reassure the Vietnamese as well as the French. The Vietnamese side would guarantee the spiritual, cultural and material interests of Frenchmen while the French side would have to guarantee the total independence of Vietnam.

19 August 1946--on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the victory of the August Revolution, our government sends a cablegram to Uncle Ho wishing him good health, expressing absolute confidence in his leadership and promising to serve the fatherland with the full measure of its ability and intellect.

20 August 1946--Uncle Ho goes to meet with Minister Moutet. He stresses the need to quickly hold a referendum..., the need for a Vietnamese-French commission to prepare for, organize and oversee the casting of ballots. He restates the stand of Vietnam, that France must recognize Vietnam's independence and that Vietnam will protect French economic and cultural interests.

21 August 1946--Uncle Ho sends an official correspondence to the French government stating the issues that prevent the two sides from continuing the official negotiations at Fontainebleau. Later, he receives an official correspondence from the French government in reply: "...The very deep differences between the views of the two sides concerning the basic issues make it impossible to resume the conference, because a resumption would not lead to any results."

30 August 1946--with our country's first National Day approaching, Uncle Ho sends a cablegram reminding his fellow countrymen to make every effort to avoid strife with Frenchmen in order to create favorable conditions for the talks between our delegation and the French delegation.

14 September 1946--very tense telephone conversations take place between Uncle Ho and Mr. Moutet in the middle of the night... At 0030 hours, Uncle Ho again meets with Mr. Moutet and, at the last minute, decides to sign the modus vivendi.

16 September 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho leaves Paris by private train. In the evening, he arrives in Marseille.

17 September 1946--in the morning, Uncle Ho receives representatives of Marseille newspapers and thanks the people for the welcome afforded him and their concern for his fellow countrymen who are workers and soldiers. Then, local authorities arrive to greet him and take Uncle Ho to the Ma-giac-nho [Vietnamese phonetics] camp, where more than 3,000 Indochinese workers and soldiers are housed. He talks to them about Vietnamese-French friendship. In the evening, local authorities accompany him to Toulon. Uncle Ho boards the sloop Dumont d'Urville.

18 September 1946--early in the morning, Mr. Jean Sainteny boards the sloop to bid farewell to Uncle Ho. Then, the Dumont d'Urville weighs anchor. Uncle Ho requests that the command raise the Vietnamese flag each time the sloop docks in British ports. Cannon salutes greet the first head of state of the new Vietnam at many seaports along the way. Uncle Ho visits Djibouti at the

invitation of the French governor-general, who was notified in advance by the French government to prepare a welcome for him.

When the sloop berths in the Port of Colombo, Uncle Ho goes ashore for a 1 day visit to Ceylon, now Sri Lanka. Gandhi and Nehru send representatives to the capital of Ceylon to present Uncle Ho with a gift, a flag of the Indian Parliament...

18 October 1946--the sloop enters Cam Ranh Bay. D'Argenlieu and Moliere, who had just arrived from Hanoi, were aboard the cruiser Suffren waiting to greet him. Many journalists had also been invited aboard. Following a ceremony, Uncle Ho attends a reception. Admiral D'Argenlieu toasts Uncle Ho's health. Uncle Ho discusses the implementation of the 14 September modus vivendi with the high commissioner. He encourages journalists to contribute to the implementation of the terms agreed upon in the modus vivendi.

20 October 1946--the party organization and people of Haiphong were prepared to welcome Uncle Ho. In addition to units of our army, a unit of the French army also participated in the welcoming ceremony under our command. At 1600 hours, the ship docks at Ben Ngu. Disembarking, a smiling Uncle Ho greets the delegations and fellow countrymen gathered there. Following a ceremony, he thanks them, receives a bouquet of flowers from the people of Haiphong and embraces children gathered there to greet him. Then, he goes to rest at the office of the municipal administrative committee. Following lunch, Uncle Ho briefs a number of delegates on his journey.

21 October 1946--early in the morning, Uncle Ho takes a walk around the city. Upon his return, he receives representatives of mass organizations and political parties who have come down from Hanoi; representatives of the agencies and mass organizations in Haiphong; representatives from the provinces of Tien An, Hong Gai, Quang Yen, Nam Dinh, Thai Binh, Bac Ninh... At 1000 hours, a special train takes Uncle Ho to Hanoi. Crowds line the route to welcome him. At each railroad station along the way, he encounters a sea of people, a sea of flags and banners... Uncle Ho stands at the open door to his railroad car for 5 hours waving to his fellow countrymen.

At 1530 hours, his train arrives in Hang Co Station. Huynh Thuc Khang heads the delegation of the government, National Assembly and mass organizations assembled on the station platform to welcome Uncle Ho. Moliere, just back from Cam Ranh, is also present. An honor guard and band sent by the French government also await him. Following the welcoming ceremony at the station, Uncle Ho is taken by car to the Tonkin Presidential Palace along roads strung with welcoming banners and lined with crowds of compatriots waving flags, throwing flowers, acclaiming him and shouting slogans to welcome him.

Uncle Ho meets with Truong Chinh and the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee at the Tonkin Presidential Palace...

Compatriots gather in front of the Tonkin Presidential Palace. Children parade by beating drums and shouting: "Uncle Ho is back! Uncle Ho is back!" Uncle Ho stands at a window waving to his fellow countrymen and the children.

23 October 1946--Uncle Ho issues a statement to the nation: "...Responding to the kind invitation of the French government, I went to France for the purpose of solving the question of Vietnam's independence and the unification of North, Central and South Vietnam. Due to the present situation in France, these two questions have yet to be settled. We have to wait. But I dare to vouch that sooner or later Vietnam is sure to be independent and its three parts, the North, the Center and the South, will be reunified."(\*)

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* According to a number of articles printed in CUU QUOC Newspaper in 1946; "The Proceedings of the Fontainebleau Conference" (typed copies on file at the Archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee); the book "Unforgettable Years and Months" by Vo Nguyen Giap, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, 1974; and the book "Les deux guerres au Viet nam" (The Two Wars in Vietnam) by George Chaffard, La table ronde de Combat Publishing House, Paris, 1969.

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## AT A SUDDEN TURNING POINT (\*)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 59-67

[Article by V. Panteleev]

[Text] Held at a sudden turning point in the life of the country and the entire modern world, the 27th Congress of the communists of the Soviet Union provided answers to the most important questions raised by our times. The congress adopted a realistic, carefully considered program for accelerating socio-economic development, a program that has become the strategic line of the CPSU, a strategic line that will lead Soviet society to a situation that is, in essence, new. The thinking of accelerating socio-economic development pervaded every activity that preceded the congress; was the center of attention of the congress; and was expressed in the Political Report of the Central Committee, in the new version of the Platform of the CPSU, in the revisions to the Party Statutes, in the "Primary Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the Soviet Union During the Years from 1986 to 1990 and Until the year 2000" and in other documents of the congress.

The 27th Congress mapped out a realistic program for specific actions aimed at preventing the tragedy of a hot nuclear war and safeguarding and strengthening peace. The thinking on the close relationship between socialism and peace, between peace and construction was strongly linked to the plans of the CPSU. As was the line on accelerating socio-economic development, this thinking ran like a red thread throughout the work of the congress, throughout the resolutions and documents adopted by the congress.

### Part I

The centerpiece of the 27th Congress of the CPSU was the Political Report of the Party Central Committee presented by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, M. S. Gorbachev. This report drew a broad picture of the modern world and its basic trends and contradictions. It analyzed every aspect of the domestic situation and the country's achievements and difficulties. It clearly outlined the primary directions being taken in the economic and social policy of the party and in the cause of the further democratization of Soviet society. It presented the primary objectives in the

overseas political activities of the party and concretized the guidelines to be followed in these activities. It reviewed the debates concerning the new version of the Platform and the revisions to the Statutes of the CPSU.

One-quarter century has passed since the adoption of the 3rd Platform of the CPSU. During that period, the Soviet people recorded significant achievements. However, being satisfied with achievements is alien to the party. While correctly evaluating the achievements that have been recorded, the party has frankly and openly addressed the things that have not been achieved and the causes of these shortcomings. "For a number of years--as the Political Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU pointed out--not only as a result of objective factors, but mainly as a result of causes of a subjective nature, the practical activities of the agencies of the party and state have lagged behind the requirements of the times, of life itself. Problems in the development of the country have grown at a faster rate than problems have been solved. The inertia and rigidity of the forms and methods of management, a decline in the dynamism displayed in work, the growth of bureaucracy--all these phenomena have considerably harmed our cause. Phenomena that are a reflection of lethargy have begun to appear in social life."

In April 1985, a plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU set the requirement of overcoming the negative phenomena in the socio-economic development of society so that this development acquires the necessary dynamism and is accelerated. The line of the April plenum was endorsed and supported by the party and the people. This was very clearly evident during the period spent preparing for the congress.

In the course of the widespread and truly national debate of the issues facing the congress, there was open and constructive discussion of all key issues. The campaign to elect the new leadership committees of the party was marked by frankness and a tough attitude toward weaknesses and shortcomings in work. At meetings and conferences, communists offered many suggestions and observations of a critical nature. They talked about the need to resolutely change the style, forms and methods of party work and remove from them all favoritism and ostentatiousness. The words of advice offered by the party and people more clearly showed to which tasks our hands must be turned, how these tasks should be carried out and which levers must be put into effect. The collective experience of the party and all the people made it possible to carry out a task of historic importance: mapping out a strategic line that is, from the standpoint of principles, new.

What is the meaning attached to the concept "accelerated"? In the Political Report of the Central Committee, it states that it is, "above everything else, increasing the rate of economic growth. This, however, is not all. Its essence lies in a new quality of growth: in doing everything possible to develop production in depth on the basis of applying scientific-technical advances, rebuilding the structure of the economy and adopting effective ways to manage, organize and provide incentive to laborers."

However, the line on accelerated development is not limited to reforms in the economic field. The party congress stressed that the decisive factor in

accelerated development is the human factor. And, each human capability that is not now being used can only be mobilized by implementing a positive social policy, strengthening the principle of socialist fairness, perfecting social relations, revamping the forms and methods of work of the academies of politics and ideology and strengthening the system of socialist democracy.

In other words, accelerated development means taking determined steps to overcome inertia, sluggishness and conservatism--all those things that stand in the way of social progress, that are impeding the full development of the strengths and capabilities of the socialist system. This effort is related to each work guideline set forth by the party--the guidelines for immediate and long-range work, for economic and social work, for domestic and overseas political work.

The tasks set by the 27th Congress in the economic field are large. By the end of this century, national income must be nearly two times higher, with a two-fold increase in production potentials and qualitative improvements to these potentials. Labor productivity must increase from 2.3 to 2.5 times. It is easy to understand that important achievements cannot be recorded in the economy with old material-technical bases or on the basis of existing management methods. The answer lies in profoundly reforming the national economy on the basis of applying the latest achievements of science and technology and even rebuilding the economic mechanism and management system.

There will be a change in structural and investment policies. This will be evident in a shift in the focus of attention from quantitative production norms to norms that reflect the quality and efficiency of production. We will look at results, not intermediary results, but final results. In the majority of cases, production will be upgraded, not expanded. Priority will not be given to increasing the sources of fuel and raw materials, but to utilizing these sources better. These are the requirements of modern production. And, these requirements will be expressed in resolutions of the party.

The key role in the progress of heavy industry has been given to the machine manufacturing sector. Giving priority to development here means giving priority to those sectors that are truly catalysts in the accelerated advancement of science and technology: the power tool sector, the technical electrical industry, the microelectronics sector, the computer technology sector, the precision implements manufacturing sector and the information industry. The atomic energy sector will be developed at a rapid rate. In the future, from 75 to 80 percent of the increase in demand for fuels and energy must be met by economizing on fuel and energy in every way possible.

Another important task that must be carried out is that of correcting the backward state of development of agriculture. Agriculture continues to develop slowly. The 27th Congress of the CPSU has directed the efforts of the party and all the Soviet people toward bringing about a decisive turning point in the agricultural sector of the economy.

Can this be achieved? It can be achieved, as the party has said, through the supplemental measures mapped out by the party with a view toward increasing the efficiency of agricultural production. Of foremost importance are the

need to increase the fertility of cropland and the need to make widespread use of the techniques of intensive cultivation. The immediate way to augment the supply of grain is to reduce the loss of product during harvesting, transportation, storage and processing.

The new tasks--in industry as well as agriculture--cannot be carried out without profoundly reorganizing the economic mechanism and building a unified, effective and flexible management system that will permit us to more fully realize the capabilities of socialism.

Economic management demands that constant and systematic improvements be made. Frankly speaking, until recently, the true need to improve the management system was, to a large extent, not correctly understood. This work was being carried out in a piecemeal and half-hearted manner. Adherence to old methods, primarily administrative methods, prevailed. Slowness to change our way of thinking inevitably led to a slowness to make changes in our work. Now, as stressed in the Political Report of the Central Committee at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the situation has reached the point where we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements, but must carry out a thorough reform. The significance of this reform lies in doing what must be done to insure that, in practice, the entire domestic production system meets social needs and satisfies the needs of man; that the focus of management is directed toward achieving higher efficiency and equality and accelerating the application of scientific-technical advances; that cadres and personnel are more concerned with the results of their labor; and that socialist initiative and resourcefulness are displayed in every area of the national economy, most importantly in the worker collectives.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU adopted a line based in principle that takes this very direction. This line is designed to strengthen and perfect the centrally planned economic leadership of the state--the fundamental achievement and strength of socialism--on the basis of the immutable principle of democratic centralism. And, concerning this issue, as was pointed out at the congress, the hopes of bourgeois ideologues regarding a departure by Soviet communists from this basic principle of Lenin are groundless.

Recognition of the clear need to shift to new methods of management and business is widely spreading on each level and within each field of the national economy, including agriculture. Of significance as a principle here is the establishment on the central level and within the localities of unified, combined agro-industrial management agencies that have the task of maintaining ties between agriculture and the industrial sectors related to agriculture. This new organizational structure is to be strengthened by means of a suitable economic mechanism, the primary purpose of which, in agriculture as well as industry, is to open the way for the application of economic methods in business. The autonomy of collective farms and state farms is being significantly broadened. The concern and responsibility of collective farms and state farms for the final results of their work will also be heightened. As M.S. Gorbachev stressed in the Political Report at the congress, the heart of the matter lies in creatively applying Lenin's thinking on the grain tax in a manner consistent with modern conditions.

For collective farms and state farms, the intention is to set stable product procurement plans for each year of the 5-year plan. These plans will not change. The contract system and the contracting system will be expanded on the unit, section and household levels, with means of production, including cropland, being provided to units, sections and households for the length of their contracts.

The party emphasizes that, at this sudden turning point, which demands that many things that have become outmoded be discarded, concepts that have become well established, especially prejudices, cannot be allowed to impede us. And if, for example, it is necessary and legitimate to apply economic quotas in place of legally binding norms, this does not mean the abandonment of the principles of planned leadership, but only means a change in the measures and methods of planned leadership. It is truly incorrect to consider every change in the economic mechanism to virtually amount to the abandonment of the principles of socialism. Concerning this issue, M.S Gorbachev stressed that "the highest standards in the improvement of management as well as the improvement of the entire system of socialist production relations must be the acceleration of socio-economic development and the strengthening of socialism in practice."

The profound reforms called for by the 27th Congress of the CPSU require a certain amount of time to be put into effect. Accelerated development, as understood in its broad sense, must be achieved beginning today. Therefore, it is necessary to mobilize, to the highest degree possible, every reserve--economic and organizational factors, psychological and social factors; necessary to make better use of existing production potentials and increase the effectiveness of incentives to work; and necessary to strengthen the sense of organization and discipline and correct the problem of not knowing how to do business. Fundamentally improving the quality of products is a matter of very important significance. Another important source of reserves is the widespread dissemination of advanced experiences and the practice of socialist emulation, emulation which must be directed toward improving the quality of work, toward economizing and saving and toward achieving the targets set in each collective and at each work place.

When presenting these large tasks, the CPSU pointed out the close relationship that exists between improving the life of man and increasing the efficiency of his labor and society. There must be closer scrutiny of the amount of labor performed and the level of consumption and wages must be more dependent upon the productivity and quality of work, with determined steps taken to eradicate egalitarianism and not allow situations to occur in which wages are paid to persons who do no work and bonuses are paid to persons who do not deserve them. A relentless struggle must be waged against income accounts that are not the result of labor. Social fairness must be thoroughly established.

The scale and newness of the jobs that lie ahead are raising very high requirements concerning the nature of the activities of the CPSU, which today numbers more than 19 million communists in all fields of politics, ideology and organization.

But life does not stand still. It is constantly testing the ability of communists to perform the new tasks it sets. And, the party can successfully perform these tasks if, in a process of continuous development, it does not, as pointed out in the Political Report, start believing that it "can never make a mistake" and if it critically evaluates the results that have been achieved and clearly sees what it must do. From this perspective, the period since the April plenum (1985) of the Central Committee of the CPSU has been an unusual period. We very clearly understand that, as M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress, we can no longer avoid the problems that have become full blown in the development of society, can no longer tolerate an irresponsible, undemanding or passive attitude. The party has frankly told the people the difficulties and shortcomings in its work and the steps to be taken to overcome these difficulties and correct these shortcomings. And, having done so, the party is now stronger because it has the active support of millions of laborers.

The new tasks facing Soviet society demand a fundamental reorganization in party work. The essence of this effort is insuring that each organization of the party lives in an atmosphere of examining and revamping the forms of its activities and the methods by which these activities are conducted. Something that is correct should be called by its name. Everything should be decided in public and objectively reported to the upper level agencies of the party and to the masses. Everything that is done must always reflect high demands and frankness. All these qualities must be immutable principles in party work. The party congress emphasized the need to do everything possible to develop the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, intensify the struggle against ostentatiousness and take disciplinary action against cadres and personnel who say they support the reorganization but still think and act in the old way. Determined efforts must be made to thwart every attempt to suppress or oppose wholesome criticism.

Of primary importance is the need to establish everywhere a style of party work that is practical and militant and methods and means of this work that are flexible and effective.

## Part II

The CPSU--the party of genuine internationalists--will combine, in a organic way, the performance of strategic tasks in the nature of a turning point, tasks that will continue the advance of Soviet society down the path of perfecting socialism, with victories in the process of the world revolution.

A youthful world facing the future--such is the view of world socialism presented in the Platform of the CPSU. This definition reflects the major trend of the modern world: social progress in our times is synonymous with socialism, with the formation, perfection and forward movement of socialism. More than one-third of mankind, more than a dozen countries and nations are following this path. They embark on this path from different initial levels of development and under different conditions. For many of these countries and nations, this path has not been smooth, has not been simple, has not been easy to travel without making mistakes.

However, as Marx predicted, despite an infinite number of concrete manifestations of the same infrastructure, there are still milestones pointing the way--the common laws of building the new society. Recognizing these laws and applying them to the specific conditions of every country are what guarantees that the tasks faced will be successfully carried out, that difficulties will be overcome, that antagonisms will be resolved. They are the basis upon which steady progress is made.

A special concern of the CPSU, as emphasized in the party's Platform, is to strengthen, in every way possible, the friendship and develop and improve the relations of the Soviet Union with the countries within the socialist community.

The analysis of the basic trends and antagonisms of the modern world, as set forth in the Political Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, eloquently proves that the destiny of the world and social progress today are more closely tied than ever before to dynamism in the economic and political development of the world socialist system. To accelerate the advance of the overall movement, it is of vital importance that we promote the coordination of actions, coordination which will result in our potentials increasing not only at a linear rate, but at an exponential rate as well.

The moving forces behind the coordination of actions in every field among the countries within the community are the incumbent communist and worker parties. Their political cooperation is steadily increasing and their methods and forms of cooperation are being perfected and revamped.

The 27th Congress, the Platform of the Party and the other documents of the congress have drawn attention to many new factors, factors which show the coordination of actions among the fraternal countries in the economic field. Of primary importance here is that during the past 25 years, in the historic trend toward the internationalization of economic life, a transition has been made, a transition for which all preceding development was a logical preparation, a transition to the highest form of the internationalization of economic life under modern conditions--socialist economic ties. The need to further strengthen ties, their importance being as the material base of the solidarity of the socialist countries, has been emphasized in platform-type documents of the CPSU.

A new and important step down this path was the adoption of "the Joint Scientific-Technical Advances Program of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Until the year 2000." This program plays an especially important role in the acceleration of socio-economic progress by the fraternal countries and is a fundamental guarantee of higher labor productivity and growth in the prestige and influence of socialism in the world.

Loyal to the principles of socialist internationalism, the CPSU, in the documents adopted by the 27th Congress of the Party, has once again stated its interest in and readiness to contribute to the further improvement of social production and the socialist way of life within the countries of our community and to the acceleration of the process of equalizing the levels of economic

development of these countries. For example, in "The Primary Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the Soviet Union During the Years from 1986 to 1990 and Until the Year 2000," it points out the need to continue to work with the other fraternal countries in CEMA to provide international assistance to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia in accelerating the development and raising the efficiency of social production and in expanding the participation of these countries in the socialist international division of labor.

In keeping with the spirit of the times and with the aim of meeting the needs of life, the CPSU is stressing the importance of energy, resourcefulness and initiative. In the view of our party, these qualities must be extended to the entire system of relations among the fraternal countries. Less bureaucracy and fewer orders, fewer committees and subcommittees and more attention to economic levers, to initiative, to socialist resourcefulness, to winning the support of worker collectives--these are the things that are needed today to strengthen the coordination of economic actions.

The mandate of the party's modern policy--accelerating socio-economic development and achieving a situation that is qualitatively new and different within our society, beginning within the economy--is inspiring us to be more interested in, to delve more deeply into learning what the valuable experiences of the fraternal countries and parties are. Every country and every party has made its own contributions to the common storehouse of experience of world socialism. The CPSU has a high evaluation of these contributions and attaches importance to the theoretical and practical work of the fraternal parties.

### Part III

Opposed to the socialist world that faces the future, opposed to international revolutionary and liberation movements is the exploitative capitalist world, a world which, although still strong and dangerous, has reached its final stage.

Today, imperialism poses an increasing threat to the very survival of mankind. The first to use nuclear weapons, it is now preparing to take a new step--a step from which there might be no turning back--carrying the arms race into space.

The main goal of the foreign policy of the CPSU is to insure that the Soviet people are able to work under peaceful, stable conditions. Therefore, struggling against the nuclear peril, against the arms race and struggling to safeguard and build the common peace, peace in the future as well, continue to be the dominant direction being taken in the party's activities in the international arena. Within this framework, the focus of the Soviet Union's foreign policy will be struggling to implement the program set forth by CPSU General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in his 15 January 1986 statement. This program is a program of historic significance. If this plan for the phased elimination of weapons of mass destruction and the prevention of a new world war is implemented, mankind will greet the 21st century in a world without nuclear arms and the danger of his own self-destruction will have been eliminated.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out the special importance of "the foundations needed to establish a comprehensive international security system," these being the principles set forth in the Political Report of the Central Committee. In world politics, these are fresh ideas. The principles presented here are comprehensive, general and constructive. They bring together as one all the aspects of the modern concept of international security--military, political, economic and human.

Attending the 27th Congress were 152 delegations from communist, worker, revolutionary democratic, labor and other parties and representatives of social-democrat organizations. They came from 113 countries on all continents.

Addressing the foreign guests of the 27th Congress of the CPSU at a reception held in the Kremlin, M.S. Gorbachev said that they were not only guests of the congress, but also--in the eyes of Soviet communists--participants in the congress, participants who made their own contributions to the work of the congress. These contributions were their support for the spirit of change and their support for the overseas political strategy of the CPSU.

The delegations from the fraternal parties of the socialist countries were unanimous in their assessment of the 27th Congress of the CPSU as an event of historic significance. The implementation of the constructive plans of the CPSU, as they stressed, will exert a decisive influence upon the progress of the causes in the world and help to further unify the forces of world socialism.

In his speech at the congress, Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPV, observed that the 27th Congress of the CPSU was of great historic significance because it has ushered in a new and brilliant period of development for the Soviet Union and praised the international solidarity of the communists of the entire world in the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism. "The new, revised Platform of the CPSU and this congress of yours--Le Duan said--deeply inspire us. Constantly developing and improving the quality and effectiveness of the comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union are principles of our party and state."

In the exchange of views that took place between Gorbachev and Le Duan in Moscow on 14 March of this year, the leader of the Vietnamese communists, after expressing high praise for the work of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, observed that the documents adopted by the congress are a source of tremendous inspiration, not only to the Soviet Union, but also to all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. He wished the communists and all the working people of the Soviet Union success in carrying out the tasks set by the congress.

History will objectively evaluate the importance of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. "However, today--as M.S. Gorbachev said in his address closing the congress--it can be said that the congress took place in an atmosphere marked by the party's adherence to principles, by unity, by high demands and bolshevik candor, by the public disclosure of weaknesses and shortcomings and by the deep analysis of internal and external conditions in the development of

our society. The congress set a high example of ethics and spirit for the party in its activities, for the entire country."

#### FOOTNOTES

\* Article written for TAP CHI CONG SAN.

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## THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE CPSU IN THE SOVIET UNION'S NEW PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 68-75

[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] The CPSU has always attached importance to ideological work. In the new period of the Soviet Union's development, ideological work is being given even greater attention by the CPSU.

In the current stage, the people of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the CPSU, have the large and glorious task of perfecting socialism in a planned and comprehensive manner, thereby advancing Soviet society farther down the path to communism on the basis of accelerating the country's socio-economic development. The ideological work of the CPSU has the responsibility of insuring the successful completion of this large and glorious task.

As its Platform (new version) emphasizes, the CPSU will do everything that is necessary to make thorough use of the power of Marxist-Leninist thinking to transform in the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development by teaching politics and ideology, teaching labor and ethics to the people and molding fully developed persons who display a positive spirit in social work and combine within themselves richness of spirit, purity of ethics and complete physical fitness.

As the Soviet Union advances farther down the path to communism, the role of ideological work steadily increases, never decreases. As the construction of socialism and communism is accelerated, it increasingly raises large and important tasks in ideological work.

The Platform (new version) of the CPSU sets great targets. Production will be developed in depth to the highest degree possible on the basis of applying scientific-technical advances, reorganizing the structure of the economy and implementing effective forms of management, new forms of organizing labor and incentives to work. In the next 15 years, production capacity will double and undergo a basic improvement in quality. Labor productivity will rise between 2.3 and 2.5 times. The transition will be made to a very highly organized, efficient economy with fully developed production forces, mature social production relations and a dynamic economic mechanism. The development of

science and technology will be accelerated. Collective ownership and national ownership will be brought closer together and, in the future, merge as one. The living and working conditions of the people will be improved and the principle of social fairness will be put into practice. The classes will be brought closer together and the differences between mental labor and manual labor, between the cities and the countryside will be abolished. The Soviet Union will strengthen its national defense forces, maintain security and reach the level at which it is capable of eliminating the strategic advantage of the imperialist powers. It will struggle for peace and progress in the world. It will strengthen and consolidate the party corps, perfect the relations within the party on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism...

The ideological work of the CPSU in the years ahead must inspire the people to make every effort to meet these great targets and complete the large tasks set forth in the party's Platform.

The CPSU will focus the full force of its impact on that which is most important: making each Soviet citizen deeply aware of the critical nature of the current stage of development of the Soviet Union and the turning point it represents. The ideological work of the party will have the aims of awakening activism in labor and social activism, tapping the ability and initiative of the people and mobilizing everyone to make every effort to complete the tasks of the new stage.

As the targets of the revolution grow larger, active participation by millions of persons in the efforts to achieve these targets becomes increasingly important. The CPSU has placed special emphasis upon the role played by the human factor in the process of working to meet the targets that have been set. Ideological work will be directed toward tapping the creativity of the masses in all fields of social life.

The ideological work of the party entails, above everything else, teaching the people about communist ideology, about possessing a high degree of loyalty to communism. It teaches everyone about patriotism and socialist proletarian internationalism. It cultivates in everyone a conscientious attitude toward work and the concept of protecting the property of society. It creates the conditions for the people to come into much closer contact with their spiritual culture. It builds the socialist way of life and eliminates habits that are contrary to this way of life.

The resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU states: "In ideological work, the basic objective is to teach the people to work in the spirit of communist thinking and loyalty to the Soviet motherland, teach them proletarian internationalism, an enlightened attitude toward labor and the property of society and an uncompromising attitude toward everything that is foreign to socialism, to our culture and ethics of collectivism.

Ideological work has the aim of leading Soviet society to the new limits of spiritual life defined in the Party Platform: continuing to consolidate the position of socialist thinking in the consciousness of the people and completely establishing socialist ethical principles, the collective spirit and mutual assistance in the spirit of comradeship so that the broad masses

are brought closer to the achievements of science, to cultural values and become fully developed persons.

The CPSU demands that ideological work be profoundly theoretical and ideological in content; at the same time, it must be a rich source of information. It must be closely linked to the realities of life at home and abroad, meet the rising spiritual needs of the people, be close to the masses and be easily understood by them. The educating of man is closely linked to man's true participation in creative labor for the sake of the interests of the people. Therefore, being closely tied to the realities of life is the foremost requirement of ideological work. In the Political Report presented at the 27th Congress, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said: "In every field of ideological work, life must be our starting point."

Another essential requirement of ideological work is that words and actions go hand in hand. "When party members take the lead, the rest of the village, the rest of the country follow." The impact of examples set by communist party members is very important. Therefore, one principle with which those who perform ideological work must comply is consistency between words and actions.

Ideological work is not simply the work of the propaganda and training sector. It is the common work of the entire party. The CPSU has asserted that every communist party member has the obligation of actively participating in the teaching of politics and ideology.

The ideological work of the party has the following main tasks:

- Cultivating the scientific world view;
- Teaching labor;
- Teaching communist ethics;
- Teaching atheism;
- Struggling against manifestations of alien thinking and ethics and against negative phenomena;
- Struggling against bourgeois thinking.

The foremost task of ideological work is to insure that the scientific world view based on Marxism-Leninism occupies the dominant position within the spiritual life of society. It must teach to laborers the views of Marxism-Leninism concerning philosophy, economics and political sociology. It must continue to creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of researching and summarizing the new phenomena that emerge in social life. It must study the experience of the fraternal countries and fraternal parties within the socialist community and the international communist movement as well as the experience of the national and democratic movements. It must analyze and summarize the achievements of the natural sciences and social sciences. It must help every laborer to grasp Marxist-Leninist doctrine and

raise their political and ideological standards so that they consciously and actively participate in mapping out and implementing the policies of the party.

Labor is the source of the material and spiritual wealth of society. It is the sacred obligation of every person in socialist society. Labor is the principle standard by which the social prestige of a person is measured. It is also the basis for teaching communism to everyone. Therefore, molding within everyone the proper attitude toward work and a readiness to eagerly participate in work for the sake of the interests of society is the focal point of ideological work. The ideological work of the party stresses the development of the initiative and creativity of each person in labor and extols the role of highly productive and efficient labor.

The ethics of the communist incorporate the innate ethical values common to mankind as well as the standards of behavior and interpersonal relations that the laboring people have created in the long struggle against exploitation for freedom and social fairness, for happiness and peace. The ethics of the communist are founded upon loyalty to the goals of the revolution, to the ideals of communism. According to the Platform of the CPSU, communist ethics include:

- Collectivism;
- The humanist spirit;
- Activism and enthusiasm;
- Patriotism and internationalism.

Collectivism is the opposite of individualism. Communist ethics struggle against selfishness, against each expression of individualism. They extol the principle "one for all, all for one."

In socialist society, the relations between one person and another are the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance given in the spirit of comradeship. Not tolerated are actions that insult the dignity of the worker. Communist ethics are imbued with the spirit of humanism because they extol the worker, because they respect the worker.

Waging a tenacious struggle for the ideals of communism, communist ethics inspire man to reach for new pinnacles in creative labor, eagerly participate in the cause of building the country and combat negative phenomena which are contrary to socialism. For this reason, these ethics are characterized by activism and enthusiasm.

The communist ardently loves his fatherland. At the same time, he feels profound affection for the other members of his class in the world, for the workers in the fraternal countries, for the persons struggling against imperialism, struggling for national independence, for progress and peace in all countries. Communist ethics combine patriotism with internationalism. They teach the spirit of being ready to fight and die to defend the

fatherland. At the same time, they relentlessly struggle against everything that reflects big country chauvinism, bigoted nationalism and national selfishness.

Scrupulously enforcing the articles of the Constitution that guarantee religious freedom while denouncing schemes to use religion to harm the interests of society and man, this is the unchanging policy of the CPSU. Heightening the people's activism in work and their social activism and widely disseminating scientific knowledge in every field, this is the correct way to overcome misconceptions concerning religion.

In the struggle against negative phenomena, the party has attached foremost importance to thoroughly eliminating the phenomena of labor discipline infractions, corruption and bribery, speculation and parasitism, alcoholism and drunkenness, hoodlumism and gangsterism, the psychology of private ownership and personal gain, being obsequious or ingratiating toward others. In this struggle, the party is employing the power of public opinion combined with the force of the law. It highly publicizes good models that emerge in social and private life, in the fulfillment of the obligations of the citizen.

In ideological work, special importance is attached to clearly showing the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The exploitation of imperialism and its anti-popular and inhumane nature are exposed. Propagandizing the socialist way of life with its beautiful interpersonal relations is the foremost task of ideological work.

The practice of criticism and self-criticism is a law of development of the communist party and socialist society. In its ideological work, the party attaches importance to practicing criticism and self-criticism. There are persons overseas who specialize in going out of their way to find fault with and use the criticism and self-criticism of communists to detract from socialism. However, their efforts are to no avail. Their distortions cannot tarnish socialism. The obvious truth of the matter is that bravely bringing to light those things that are alien to the character and principles of socialism in order to completely eliminate them proves that real socialism possesses enormous strength. By struggling with itself, overcoming its weaknesses and building upon its strengths, socialist society consciously solves its problems and, as a result, develops strongly and moves farther down the path to communism.

In the ideological work of the party, the mass media play an extremely large role. The press, television and radio persuade the people by means of programs that have a clear political orientation, are current in content, rich in information, aesthetically pleasing and easily understood. The CPSU considers the press to be a strong tool of public information and inspection by society. The resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU emphasizes: "The more the mass media mature and the less they pursue isolated, sensational news, the more successful their activities will be.

The Soviet press is having an increasing large impact upon life. It has recently acquired a new spirit and style. It has been participating in the effort to solve new and complex problems in many fields. The Soviet press

reflects life itself, with all its achievements and contradictions. The Soviet press now reflects a higher sense of citizenship. It is also more militant. It analyzes and criticizes weaknesses and shortcomings in detail. It presents many suggestions of a constructive nature concerning pressing economic, social and ideological issues. It has discarded old formats and now gives much more attention to the vital interests of the masses.

In ideological work, literature and art play an important role. Socialist realist literature and art are based on the principles of being national in nature and reflecting the spirit of the party. Under the party's leadership, literature and art serve the interests of the people and the cause of communism. To the working people, they are a source of joy and motivation. They reflect the will and sentiments of the working people. They help to further enrich the spiritual life of the working people. They are a very good means for teaching and molding socialists. Socialist realist literature and art are intimately tied to the life of the people and faithfully reflect, in a highly artistic way, the realities of socialism. They support that which is new and progressive and struggle against everything that impedes the development of society. The CPSU demands that literature and art reflect the birth of the new world while actively participating in the formation of this new world and helping to mold the new man. In literary and art criticism, the party demands that the indulgent attitude now eroding wholesome ethics be abandoned. The party reminds everyone that criticism is social work, not something that has the purpose of serving the ego and supporting the arrogance of authors.

In its ideological work, the party attaches importance to teaching aesthetics to the working people. It teaches aesthetics to the people, especially to the young generation, through the best works of the literature and art of the nation and mankind. The party considers knowledge of aesthetics to be the source of pleasure in labor, love for one's fellow man and beauty in the life of the working people.

In ideological work, public opinion also plays a large role. The party attaches special importance to molding correct public opinion and building the influence that public opinion has upon practice.

To conduct good ideological work, it is necessary to have material bases. The party is constantly concerned with building material bases for ideological work.

In its nearly 70 years of building socialism and communism, the CPSU has gained much valuable experience in ideological work. We must seriously study this experience so that we can perform our own ideological work well.

Ideological work is the foremost concern of our party. As a result of performing this work well, our party led our people in victorious coordinated uprisings to seize political power during the August Revolution; led our people in defeating the French imperialists and the U.S. imperialists and advancing the entire country to socialism; and has been leading our people in staunchly defending the socialist fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

In the new stage of the revolution, our party's ideological work has the task of insuring the successful performance of our two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

The 5th Congress of the Party defined the basic tasks of ideological work as arming the entire party, all our people and all our armed forces with the basic knowledge of scientific socialism and molding a tenacious will, unshakeable determination and the level of knowledge needed to fulfill both strategic tasks: building socialism and defending the fatherland.

Ideological work has the aims of giving cadres, party members and the people a deep understanding of the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy during the period of transition and causing everyone to make every effort to implement these lines in the most conscientious and zealous manner possible. It shows everyone that we cannot for one moment harbor any illusions about our immediate and dangerous enemy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. It gives everyone a clear understanding of their schemes and actions and constantly builds vigilance, combat readiness and the desire to bravely fight to defend the fatherland.

The foremost task of those who perform ideological work is to propagandize the lines and policies of the party. By educating them in current events and policies, these persons help cadres, party members and the masses to gain a deep understanding of the party's lines and views. By closely observing the implementation of the lines and policies of the party, they discover which aspects of lines and policies are correct and which are incorrect and propose ways to revise and amend lines and policies and make them more complete.

Our party considers it important to teach the fine traditions of the nation and revolutionary traditions to cadres, party members and the people. Teaching about the socialist way of life is an important aspect of our party's ideological work.

In our party's ideological work, importance is attached to teaching revolutionary qualities to cadres, party members and the people and combating individualism, opportunism of every form and negative phenomena.

Molding the new man and a new social consciousness is considered the most important task of ideological work.

As the cause of building and defending the fatherland develops, it raises more new problems. Those who perform ideological work cannot evade these problems, rather, they must deeply research these problems and find solutions to them. For this reason, they must be equipped with knowledge of theory.

Our party attaches special importance to teaching Marxism-Leninism and wages a determined struggle against everything that reflects non-proletarian thinking. The position of the party is that we must deeply analyze and criticize manifestations of petty bourgeois thinking in order to eliminate them and must resolutely struggle against bourgeois thinking, against the remnants of neo-

colonialist culture and against the vestiges of feudal thinking. The strength of our party's ideological work lies in its revolutionary and scientific spirit. Our party attaches importance to honesty in propaganda. The truth is our weapon. It is the position of the party that we tell the people the truth, tell them what has been achieved and what has not been achieved, tell them the advantages in our favor and the difficulties we face, tell them our achievements and shortcomings. It is also the position of our party that ideological work be performed on a scientific basis, not in a subjective, onesided manner, not in an abbreviated, cursory or form for form's sake manner. Only in this way can we wage a sharp and effective struggle against all incorrect and hostile thinking.

In its teaching of ideology, the method employed by the party is to appeal to the consciousness of each person. It equips everyone with correct views so that they can analyze events on their own and respond to events correctly. The party's teaching of ideology is designed to help everyone to adopt the correct views in order to think and act correctly. "Indoctrination" is totally foreign to our party's method of teaching ideology. By appealing to the consciousness of each person, the party's ideological work causes everyone to voluntarily and consciously accept the lines and policies of the party and make every effort to successfully implement them.

At present, ideological work is actively contributing to the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, the aims of which are to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in management, establish the autonomy of economic units in production and business and shift the management of economic units to economic accounting and socialist business practices. These steps constitute a very profound change of a revolutionary nature in economic management. The objective of the ideological work of the party is to cultivate and elevate awareness and thinking so that everyone thoroughly understands the economic management views and policies of the party and casts aside old, outmoded and incorrect views and concepts that stand in the way of our effort to build the new management mechanism. Only by helping everyone to change and improve their way of thinking and working and abandon the old way of thinking, the old way of working created by the old management mechanism and the old subject matter and methods of education is it possible for ideological work to competently contribute to the implementation of the new management mechanism advanced by the party. For this reason, it is the position of the party that we intensify our ideological work with a view toward strongly displaying the spirit of collective ownership and the sense of self-reliance, redoubling our efforts in productive labor and practicing thorough frugality, struggling against negative phenomena and refuting the enemy's psychological warfare arguments.

Late this year, the 6th Congress of the Party will be held. Ideological work must contribute to making good preparations for the party congress. The different areas of the party's work, particularly ideological work, during the past 10 years, especially since the 5th Congress, must be reviewed well. Light must be shed on the issues of our country's revolution in the new stage and correct guidelines must be adopted for ideological work in the years ahead. Ideological work must contribute to truly making the party congress the place where the intelligence of the entire party is assembled. To give

impetus to the mass movement to emulate one another and record achievements in celebration of the party congress, ideological work must have the effect of stimulating a strong and steady advance in every area of the work of the party and state.

Ideological work helps everyone to correctly understand the situation of our country's revolution and confirm the victories that have been won in defending the fatherland as well as the enormous achievements that have been recorded in building the economy and developing the culture so that everyone is inspired by and takes pride in the victories that our people have won. At the same time, it clearly states the difficulties being faced in production and everyday life and clearly analyzes the causes of difficulties so that every effort is made to overcome them. Our party never conceals its weaknesses or mistakes. It openly admits its mistakes and adopts guidelines for rectifying them. In its ideological work, the party extols self-criticism and criticism and emphasizes the sense of organization and discipline, the spirit of speaking and working in accordance with the resolutions of the party. Through timely and correct explanations, the party shows its members and the people the actual situation being faced, gives them a correct understanding of the positions and policies of the party and state, makes them clearly aware of the schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy, exposes their traditional tactics and encourages the masses to display collective ownership and make every effort to overcome difficulties and complete the task of continuously advancing the cause of revolution.

In recent years, our party has recorded many achievements in its ideological work. This work has helped to stimulate the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. It has helped to build the system of socialist collective ownership, build the system of large-scale, socialist production, build the new culture and mold the new, socialist man. We have also gained valuable experience in ideological work. However, our experience is mainly experience in ideological work conducted in the struggle to seize and maintain political power, conducted in the war of liberation and conducted in the war to defend the fatherland. We do not have much experience in ideological work in the building of the socialist economy. Our knowledge of socialism is incomplete. We know even less about economic management. The experience of our Soviet comrades, who are ahead of us in the cause of building socialism and communism, will help us to avoid groping and stumbling about and enable us to perform good ideological work in the new stage of our country's revolution.

It is very necessary to us to study the experiences of the CPSU in ideological work.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: CULTURAL WORK IN THE PRESENT STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5 May 86 pp 76-81

[Article by Tran Van Phac]

[Text] The present stage of our country's revolution is "the stage of continuing to carry out socialist construction and socialist transformation; further strengthening the political and moral consensus among the people; reducing and overcoming difficulties; stabilizing and improving the standard of living; stopping and eradicating negative phenomena; recording important advances in every field; and creating a new balance within the economy while preparing for steadier and stronger strides forward in the next stage." (1)

To actively contribute to the performance of these large political tasks, the strategic tasks, objectives and guidelines for the development of cultural work must be established in a manner consistent with the country's actual conditions. These are truly a very broad, very new and very difficult matter.

To begin with, cultural development must be compatible with the socio-economic situation and designed to support socio-economic objectives. Culture is dependent upon the economy. At the same time, however, culture has a reciprocal impact upon the economy and helps to stimulate economic development. The relationship between culture and the economy is the relationship between the superstructure and the infrastructure. The socialist revolution in our country demands that the development of the economy and culture be balanced and well coordinated. According to forecasts made by economic agencies of the party and state, our country's economy cannot achieve sudden development in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. Per capita production norms on grain and food products, iron and steel, electricity...will also not reach levels that are high. In the reorganization of the economy, large farming areas specializing in the production of rubber, coffee and other crops and large industrial zones producing petrochemicals, iron and steel, nitrogen fertilizer, cement and other products will be established. We will redistribute labor on a nationwide scale and send millions of persons to build new economic zones. Together with building the new countryside, residential centers, cities and towns with a population of roughly 20,000 will be established. Much more will

be done by way of building the road network, the system of small-scale hydroelectric power plants...

The basic features of the guidelines for economic development presented above are very closely related to setting the tasks, objectives and guidelines for cultural development. Lacking this relationship, cultural development immediately lacks a scientific nature.

Cultural development has the aim of meeting the rising wholesome cultural needs of the people. The cultural needs of man are infinite. As society develops, these needs rise. The means employed in cultural activities are also improved and increase in number. For example, today, along with the leaps forward being made in the development of science and technology, we have needs for color televisions, video cassettes, video movies, electronic sound and theatrical lightning.

The constant development of the cultural needs of man is normal and logical. It is necessary to keep abreast of these needs so that cultural development can be planned in a manner consistent with our targets. However, realizing what needs are and satisfying these needs are two different things. We must realize what needs are so that we can plan to satisfy them. However, needs must be satisfied on the basis of the specific conditions of the economy, on the basis of personal income and the ability to spend money to meet these needs. There are some needs that must be satisfied immediately, if material bases permit. There are other needs that can only be satisfied in the future. And, there are also needs that must be directed and cannot be allowed to drift. We are currently guiding the development of culture in this direction. Over the past several years, especially in 1985, cultural and literary-art activities have undergone good changes in many areas, in both professional activities and the mass movement, on the central and local levels, in writing and performances, in the fields of theory and criticism. Marked development has occurred in the building of cultural life at basic units. Progress has been made in the movement to establish the new way of life. However, these changes are only a beginning and are not truly well established. The cultural life of our people is still poor, especially in the countryside and the mountains. The number of new works is very small. The quality of many works of literature and art is still low. The organizational and managerial work of many cultural and literary-art agencies has not been strengthened. This situation helps us to see the essence of our strengths and weaknesses and the contradictions that must be resolved in order to advance the cause of culture under the new conditions that exist today.

A genuinely national culture must have its origins in tradition if it is to develop and change. Our guidelines for the development of culture in the present stage must give special attention to the issue of tradition and change, to the issue of combining the national and the modern.

Vietnam is a country that has a long-standing civilization and is also a place where many cultures of the world have come together.

Vietnam is a community of many nationalities, nationalities that have been closely united in the process of defending and building the country and are

now living more closely together with each day that passes. Each ethnic segment has its own culture and enriches the common culture of Vietnam with its distinctive color.

The country of Vietnam is one, the nation of Vietnam is one. This will to be united stems from the strength of a culture that acquired a distinctly Vietnamese identity at an early date.

In summary, our long history has created for the nation of Vietnam a unique identity and a fine tradition. However, besides this fine tradition, we must also see the full extent of the conservatism and backwardness that are the legacy of thousands of years of a feudal society and stagnant, small-scale production. The influences of Confucian thinking, Buddhist thinking and the various kinds of reactionary thinking under old systems are still pervasive. The way of thinking and the style of the small-scale producer are still quite widespread. While we must clearly understand its fine aspects, we must also clearly understand the limiting aspects of tradition in order to create the new cultural values of unified, socialist Vietnam in the new age.

In the present stage, we must continue to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. In the ideological and cultural revolution, "accelerating the work of building the new culture and molding the new man" and "doing a better job of promoting efforts to build the new system and the new economy" are still considered the tasks of foremost importance.

In order for cultural work to effectively carry out this glorious mission, the specific tasks in this work today and in the years ahead must be defined. These tasks are:

--Cultural work must constantly raise the socialist awareness of the people; bring Marxism-Leninism into the position of dominance within the spiritual life of our people; and promptly publicize and disseminate the lines and policies of the party among cadres, party members and the masses so that everyone has a deeper understanding and appreciation of national independence and socialism under the new conditions that exist. It must continue to build the spirit of socialist patriotism, national pride and revolutionary vigilance and endeavor to complete the reunification of the country politically, economically, culturally and socially in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses. On this basis, a struggle must be waged against each tactic of ideological and cultural sabotage of imperialism, in general, and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in particular; against the bad influences of neo-colonialist thinking and culture; against bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking and to eradicate the influences of feudal thinking and the corrupt customs of the old society; against the liberal thinking, disorganization, localism and partialism of the small-scale producer; against exploitation, speculation and parasitism; and against embezzlement, theft and other negative phenomena.

--It must raise the overall level of knowledge of the people, most importantly of cadres and party members, and insure the gradual emergence of men and women who are fully developed, are capable of achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency in each field of social activity and lead a civilized way of life.

--It must mold the socialist character and the socialist way of life, a way of life imbued with the principle "one for all, all for one" and within which the individual is respected and everyone possesses the sense of collective ownership, fulfills obligations and responsibilities and knows how to combine personal interests and common interests.

The process of molding the socialist character and the new way of life is the process of transforming old customs and habits and establishing new customs and habits. It is the process of teaching the revolutionary philosophy of life and world view, the process of socialist culture struggling against capitalist culture.

--It must build a socialist system of culture and literature-art that is national in nature, reflects the spirit of the party, is popular in character, is impregnated with communist humanism and employs socialist realism as its creative method.

Together with creating the conditions for creativity, full importance must be attached to work in the fields of theory and criticism with a view toward establishing a system of literary and art criticism that meets high standards and is closely linked to the ideological work and leadership of the party.

--It must establish the right of collective ownership of the people in the field of culture from two perspectives: the enjoyment of cultural values and the creation of cultural values. To do this, it is necessary to raise the aesthetic standards of the people, make culture a part of their everyday life and actively develop cultural life on the basic level, with special attention to ethnic minority areas, border areas and former resistance base areas. It must develop cultural life within the district and bring together within a single entity the district cultural center and the population centers within the district. It must develop cultural life in the major municipalities and establish cultural centers that typify the new culture, especially in the capital Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

Along with defining the specific tasks of cultural work in the present stage, it is also very important to establish the cultural objectives and norms that we must seek to achieve in this stage. We can divide these objectives into the following five groups:

1. The objectives in improving the cultural life of the people.

In the present stage, efforts must be made to raise the people's level of enjoyment of culture in the following areas: reading books, newspapers and cultural products, attending films and art performances, visiting museums and exhibits. Cultural projects and cultural facilities must be built as permitted by the capabilities of the national economy. An effort must be made

to establish by the year 2000 one cultural complex for every district and a number of necessary cultural facilities for each village under the guideline "the state and the people working together." On the central level, cultural facilities must be national cultural projects, such as a cultural palace, a national theater, a national movie hall, an exhibit hall, a concert hall, a cultural park, etc.

Under each 5-year plan, we must try to build one or two national projects, beginning in the capital Hanoi.

We must raise the aesthetic standards of the people, with special importance attached to teaching aesthetics to children. The teaching of music and painting must be incorporated in the program of general schools and trade training schools. The mass media must be developed with the aim of widely publicizing the lines and policies of the party and state.

## 2. The objectives in the creation of cultural values.

The party and state will provide accelerated investments in an effort to successfully produce major cultural and literary-art works of high ideological and artistic value that are worthy of the nation and the times. We must accelerate the training of talents in the fields of cultural and literary-art creativity, research, theory, performing and instruction. We must produce projects in the fields of research and theory that are of value from the standpoint of culture and literature-art.

## 3. The objectives in preserving cultural values.

In the space of the next 10 years, efforts must be made to complete the collection and classification of cultural values; preserve classical literary and theatrical works; build ethnic museums; and plan the preservation of ruins and monuments throughout the country and within each province and municipality.

By the year 2000, we must complete preparations for and begin work on preserving and reconstructing the ruins for which this work is planned: the Hung Temple, Con Dao Island, the Ho Chi Minh Trail, Dien Bien Phu, the Citadel in Hue and the ruins related to the Ho Chi Minh campaign. We must complete the writing of the histories of the various fields of art. Traditional trades and traditional meals must be preserved.

## 4. The objectives in establishing the new, socialist way of life.

We must continue to promote the campaigns to establish the new way of life, build families of the new culture, establish new wedding and funeral customs, establish a new way of public life, eradicate superstitions and make inroads against social ills and other negative phenomena. A number of rules and regulations must be adopted to insure good results in our efforts to establish the new way of life, combat superstitions and combat neo-colonialist culture and the various types of decadent, reactionary culture.

5. The objectives in improving and gradually modernizing the material-technical bases of culture.

We must quickly improve the technology and production facilities of the cinematography sector to insure normal production. The percentage of films that are color films must be raised. The quality of existing cultural products, such as musical instruments, film projectors, fine art materials, records and so forth, must be improved. We must set up new production units, such as shops producing stage equipment, equipment and materials for the fine arts, etc. We must expand and modernize existing production units and modernize the colleges of culture and art and the museum and library sectors. We must research organizing the domestic production of other kinds of widely used equipment (radio transmitters and receivers, television transmitters and receivers, audio and video tapes, microphones, loudspeakers, amplifiers and generators) and high grade materials (paper of all types, black and white film, color film, magnetic tape...).

To successfully carry out these tasks and meet these objectives, effective and well coordinated measures must be taken.

To begin with, we must constantly cultivate on the part of each person, especially cadres and party members, a correct understanding of the important position and role of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country, which is currently being given very little attention.

The leadership provided by the party on the cultural and literary-art front must be strengthened even more. At present and in the years ahead, the requirements in strengthening the party's leadership on the cultural and literary-art front are:

--Increasing the knowledge that the leadership cadres on the various levels have of culture and literature-art and strengthening the cultural and literary-art staff apparatus of the party committees from the central to the local levels.

--Improving the party's leadership methods and the management methods of the state with the aim of bringing cultural and literary-art activities in line with the goals of the revolution; closely managing cultural and literary-art activities to insure that they reflect the spirit of the party and to encourage creativity and inquisitiveness in the field of art.

--It is necessary to strengthen the organizations of the party within the system of cultural and literary-art agencies and units and constantly improve the qualities and heighten the sense of responsibility of those party members who perform cultural and literary-art work with a view toward successfully implementing the line and views of the party concerning culture and literature-art.

We must build wholesome cultural and literary-art organizations that are compatible with the special characteristics of cultural and literary-art work. At the same time, we must build a corps of cultural and literary-art cadres who possess the qualities and talents needed to actively contribute to the

building of the new culture and the molding of the new, socialist man in the period of transition to socialism in our country.

In cultural development, the policy "the state and the people working together" is entirely correct and creative but importance must still be attached to appropriate investments by the state in the construction of material and technical bases and in the creation of favorable conditions for writers and artists to engage in creative labor as efficiently as possible.

We must bring the combined strength of all society to cultural development, most importantly to those sectors and circles that are highly related to this work, such as the armed forces, the education, public health and physical culture-sport sectors and the mass organizations (the trade unions, Youth Union and Women's Union). For example, the Ministry of Education should immediately introduce the teaching of music and painting at kindergartens and general schools with the aim of cultivating the aesthetic aptitudes of children while they are still very youth, etc.

International cultural and literary-art cooperation must be intensified for the purposes of engaging in cultural exchange with foreign countries, introducing our culture and literature-art to the world and selecting the very best attributes of world culture and literature-art to introduce to our people. In international cultural cooperation, we must improve the quality and effectiveness of cultural and literary-art activities, with special importance attached to their ideological quality. In addition, we must always be conscious of winning decisive victory for socialist culture and literature-art and winning the support of and uniting with progressive cultural and literary-art forces in the world, especially in the capitalist countries, struggling for peace, democracy and social progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 51.

7809

CSO: 4210/10

TOWARD THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY DURING THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: BUILDING AND DEVELOPING THE ELECTRONICS AND INFORMATION THEORY SECTOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 82-85, 81

[Article by Professor Nguyen Xuan Quynh, Ph.D.]

[Text] During the past 10 years, many developing countries have selected the electronics and information theory sector as one of their leading economic sectors and even consider it to be an industry that serves as a lever in stimulating the development of the other industrial sectors as well as the entire national economy. The extremely rapid progress and widespread penetration of electronics and information theory in each field of production and each socio-economic field are a salient feature of the present scientific-technological revolution. Scientific and technical advances in electronics and information theory are becoming important ways to raise labor productivity, improve the quality of products and services and bring about important changes in economic, cultural and social life and in the modernization of security and national defense.

Today, it is difficult to find a power tool, even the most simple, on the world market that does not have an electronic control unit designed to provide maximum energy conservation and operating efficiency. Electronic equipment, such as robotic arms and robots, especially intelligent robots, permit the total automation of production lines on the scale of entire enterprises and permit man to explore the oceans, explore outer space and become the master of creative labor in harsh environments. Electronic and information theory technology are liberating man from strenuous, simple labor so that his efforts can be focused on creative labor of a highly systematic and controlled nature. Since the emergence of microprocessors, that is, programmed electronic control units, the production tools of mankind have undergone a basic, substantive change, science has become a direct production force and the intellect of man has become an integral part of each type production tool.

The distinctive characteristics of a highly civilized and developed society are the universal availability of information and the promptness and accuracy with which information is handled. The birth and development of electronic computers have fundamentally changed the mode and scale of mankind's processing of information. Information was previously directly processed by

man. Today, electronic computers perform this task. As a result, man can process a huge amount of information at an extremely high speed (billions of calculations per second). Today's huge computers have tens of billions of bytes of memory. The electronic computer, especially the microcomputer, has made its way into each activity of man, including family life. The direct installation of microcomputers in devices, power tools and industrial equipment has helped to markedly raise labor productivity and product quality and make optimum use of raw materials and energy. In particular, in the field of economic and social organization and management, the electronic computer has led to a true revolution in the technical sciences: the information theory revolution.

In our country, although the electronics industry has only recently been established, electronic equipment, including pieces of modern equipment, have been in use for a long time and made major contributions in the struggle to win independence and reunify the fatherland. Our party and state have concerned themselves with the development and application of electronic and information theory technology in the information and liaison sector, the posts and telecommunications sector, the radio and television broadcasting sectors, scientific research, public health and everyday life; in industrial production and communications-transportation; and especially in the fields of security and national defense. At present, a number of initial industrial installations of the electronics sector have been established in our country. They are factories that produce civilian electronic equipment (the assembly of radios, televisions...), factories that produce electronic components and a number of enterprises that produce special purpose electronic equipment and provide electronic services. In the field of information theory, besides the computing centers and enterprises, we also have the Vietnam Computer Corporation, which provides unified, nationwide information theory services in the areas of both hardware (equipment) and software (program support). In the fields of national defense and security, many electronic installations have been constructed, primarily installations that repair and operate military electronic equipment. In addition, electronic service facilities have been established within a limited scope in many ministries and other production sectors. The establishment of the Electronic and Information Theory Technology General Department in 1984 was an important step forward in building and developing the electronic and information theory technology sector in our country.

In the fields of research and training, we have established a number of electronic and information theory research centers scattered among the research institutes and colleges. These centers conduct research primarily on the basis of key programs of the state and have recorded a number of initial results. To accelerate applied research with the aim of quickly introducing scientific and technical advances in electronics and information theory in production, the state has established the Institute of Electronic Technology Research. During the past 30 years, we have trained many electronics engineers to support the war of national liberation and the construction of the national economy.

However, the development of the electronic and information theory sector of our country is only in the initial stage:

Our country's electronics industry has only recently come into being and is still in an underdeveloped and backward state compared to the general level of development of the electronics industry in the world. As regards information theory technology, we do not have one industrial installation that produces both hardware and software.

State investments in the electronics industry are still small and decentralized.

Our electronics industry does not have close ties to the world electronics industry, not even to the electronics industry of the countries within CEMA; therefore, we have yet to obtain international assistance or participate in international exchange.

However, besides these difficulties, we also have very basic advantages in our favor for developing this young industrial sector of the country. The resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses and Political Bureau Resolution 37 mentioned the important position of the electronics sector within our country's economy and set guidelines for the development of this sector over a period of many years. We also have an abundant source of diligent, dexterous, intelligent and highly creative labor that is well suited to the electronics industry.

We have sources of all the raw materials needed to develop the electronics industry and ever-expanding cooperative relations with the fraternal countries within the socialist community and with other countries. Our corps of scientific cadres in electronics and information theory, although still small, is fully capable of learning and becoming the masters of modern electronic and information theory technology.

Building and strongly developing the electronic and information theory sector in our country in the years ahead are a pressing requirement. Electronic and information theory technology must become a leading sector of the national economy, an important component of the technical sciences with a view toward thoroughly developing the intellectual potentials of the Vietnamese. On the basis of the general line of the party on the development of science and technology, on the basis of research results, of forecasts and plans for the development of the various socio-economic sectors, we feel that the electronic and information theory sector must develop in accordance with the following guidelines:

--Accelerating the application of electronic and information theory technology within the various socio-economic sectors:

Under this guideline, special attention must be given to applying information theory technology in the formulation of our country's economic plans. The formulation of plans involves processing information with the aim of making scientifically based decisions. Importance must be attached to applying electronic and information theory technology in the fields of production management, economic management and social management. Applying this technology in the automation of the control of production processes, in the automation of the processing of data in basic investigations and scientific

research and in design work is also a very important guideline. We must soon apply scientific and technical advances in electronics and information theory within the information and liaison sector in order to improve the quality of the information network. In the mass media, it is necessary to apply the achievements of electronic and information theory technology to improve the quality of radio and television broadcasting. We must gradually introduce electronic and information theory technology in industrial production, first to insure the proper operation of existing equipment and control systems. The latest achievements of electronic and information theory technology must be boldly applied to help gradually upgrade the technical and industrial system of our country's economy.

--Developing the production of electronic and information theory equipment to serve domestic and export needs:

In the past 10 years, electronic component production costs have declined 100 times and are continuing to decline by 20 to 30 percent each year. Therefore, in view of the fact that we have little investment capital, we should begin our development in this area by assembling electronic and information theory equipment to serve domestic and export needs. By taking this approach, we will be able to utilize the abundant labor and minds as well as the dexterity of the Vietnamese. We will gradually accumulate capital to develop our country's electronic and information theory industry. We will quickly establish plants to assemble information theory equipment, from microcomputers to peripheral equipment, intelligent terminals, local information theory networks... The mass assembly of civilian electronic equipment, such as radios, cassettes, radio receivers, televisions and so forth, will be organized to serve the people and serve export needs with the aim of accumulating capital.

Importance must be attached to the development of the software industry in order to produce software for application and exportation. The software industry holds many possibilities of becoming a strength of ours. In information theory technology, software is steadily growing in importance, accounting sometimes for as much as 70 percent of the total cost of equipping with microcomputers. Our scientific cadres are fully capable of mastering and displaying creativity in this field.

In researching the manufacture of materials, we must select types of materials for which there are domestic sources of raw materials, types which we are able to research and produce and which will yield high economic returns, such as magnetic materials that contain rare earth elements, which are very widely available in our country.

--Providing increased repair services and improving, partially modernizing and increasing the reliability of electronic and information theory equipment:

At a time when we are unable to expand the production of electronic and information theory equipment, providing increased repair services and increasing the reliability of existing equipment and the equipment that will be imported in increasingly large quantities are matters of strategic importance. It is necessary to develop the organizations that provide repair

services for the electronic computer systems on existing automated production lines, such as those at the Hoang Thach Cement Plant, the Vinh Phu Paper Mill and so forth and for valuable electronic equipment; the organizations that provide repair services for the electronic equipment in use within the various socio-economic, security and national defense sectors, especially those sectors that have few scientific-technical cadres who specialize in electronics (the public health sector, the cultural sector...); and the shops repairing civilian electronic equipment. Importance must be attached to making full use of the latest achievements of electronic technology to gradually modernize existing electronic equipment with a view toward enhancing the technical properties and extending the life of this equipment.

To build and develop the electronic and information theory technology sector in accordance with the guidelines presented above, we must actively take the following measures:

We must provide increased investments in the creation of material-technical bases for the electronic and information theory technology sector. Only on this basis can the electronic technology sector develop at a rapid rate and yield large economic returns for the country.

We must train a corps of information theory cadres who are fully capable of meeting the needs of the electronic and information theory technology sector.

This is a matter of great importance because information theory products are products of the intellect, because man and his intellectual ability are the decisive factor in the development of information theory. We must quickly train all types of information theory cadres: equipment and systems research and design cadres and software development cadres; instructors; engineers, operators, mechanics and production cadres; and applied information theory cadres. The training of electronics and information theory cadres must be immediately incorporated in the programs of related colleges. Training facilities must be fully equipped to insure that high quality training is provided.

International cooperation must be strengthened with a view toward building the electronic and information theory sector and developing it at a rapid rate by means of a correct and bold policy on cooperation.

To begin with, it is necessary to research every possibility for cooperation with the countries within CEMA and do our best to make good use of the favorable terms extended to our country by the fraternal countries. We must also attach full importance to establishing cooperation with other countries that have reached an advanced level of development in electronics and information theory.

It is necessary to rapidly establish an efficient information processing network in our country. Such a network will make important contributions in resolving socio-economic management problems and optimizing the economic development plans of our country while yielding very large economic returns.

To make the electronics and information theory sector one of our leading industrial sectors, thereby making decisive contributions to raising the labor productivity and economic efficiency of the various sectors of the national economy, we must, in the years ahead (1986-1990), quickly implement the program to apply electronics in our country.

The strong development of electronic and information theory technology is a law in all countries that want to advance their national economy to the modern level of development. Successfully building an advanced electronic and information theory technology sector in our country will yield large economic returns in our work of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

7809

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TOWARD THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY DURING THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: BUILDING AND DEVELOPING THE BIOLOGY INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 86-89

[Article by Professor Nguyen Lan Dung]

[Text] There has recently been much talk in the world about the biology industry, an industry that is considered one of the leading sectors in the development of science and technology. Between now and the year 2000, the biology industry is one of the five areas of priority on which the member countries of CEMA will "focus their efforts and organize well coordinated, close cooperation."

The biology industry is industrial processes based in biological systems. It is the application of scientific and industrial principles to material processes that use biological catalysts to create products and treatment processes. These biological catalysts are microorganisms, enzymes and animal and plant cells that can be grown and transplanted. The products produced consist of food products, animal feed, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, building materials and even metals. The treatment processes include the treatment of household garbage, industrial trash and waste water and the production of biogas.

History has witnessed five different eras in the development of the biology industry. The achievements of each era have been far surpassed by the achievements of the next, many of the more recent of which can be considered remarkable:

The pre-Pasteur era (prior to 1865); the Pasteur era (1865-1940); the antibiotics era (1940-1960); the post-antibiotics era (1960-1975); and the new era of the biology industry.

Today, with the discovery of reverse transcriptase (or revertase) and the use of plasmids of bacteria to transfer mutant genes from one cell to another, man has turned a new page in the history of the development of biology and ushered in a period of being able to synthesize and combine genes. Today, scientists have in their possession restrictases, ligases and transferases to cut, splice and transfer genes. Man has forced the cells of many microorganisms to accept

many new genes and, under the control of these genes, these microorganisms can synthesize kinds of proteins never before produced. There are many such remarkable achievements that can be cited, for example: the synthesizing of insulin (1977), somatostatin (1978), the human growth stimulant HGH (1979), the bovine growth stimulant BGH (1980), interferon (1980), ovalbumin (1978), the hepatitis B virus antibody (1979), human albumin (1982), the enzyme urokinase (1982) and the proteins of the Epstein virus, the Herpes virus and the Rabies virus (1982); the transfer of antigen genes from bacteria to plant cells (1983); the transfer of the cellulase enzyme gene from one microorganism to another (1983)...

A new horizon is opening before researchers in the field of genetic engineering. Many stimulants, vaccines or immunoglobulins are planned to be put into production on an industrial scale and used widely in the world in the next few years: insulin (1985), anti-cancer interferon (1987), anti-viral interferon (1987), a vaccine against type B hepatitis (1990), a human growth stimulant (1990), etc. Genetic engineering and bioprocess technologies have also opened large prospects in the production of an anti-malaria vaccine, many types of veterinary vaccines, aminolaevulinic acid, which has a herbicidal effect, and various types of sweet proteins (such as thaumatine and monelline--which are rich in nitrogen and are many times sweeter than sugar). A very large and concerted effort is being made by scientists worldwide to achieve the special goal of transferring the Nif gene (the gene that produces nitrogen fixing enzymes) to plant cells in order to create varieties of grain that do not require nitrogen fertilizer.

In summary, the biology industry is proving the enormous capabilities it has to resolve the problems of grain and food, of improving the material welfare and health of man, of protecting the environment.

In the face of the exceedingly large and very encouraging achievements of the revolution in the biology industry (also called the second revolution in molecular biology), what must our thinking be, which actions must we take in order for all these achievements to gradually be applied in our beloved socialist fatherland, thereby helping to reduce the very acute difficulties we continue to encounter with grain, livestock feed, energy, fertilizer, pesticides, enzymes and metals?

It must be clearly understood that, in this field, we are still rather far behind those countries that have developed economies. Except for a few existing fermentation enterprises, such as the distilleries, breweries and MSG plants, and some plants producing soysauce, vinegar, edible mushrooms, vaccines...we produce hardly any of the fermentation products that have been talked about since the Pasteur era. For a country with a population of more than 60 million to not have industries that produce antibiotics, vitamins, plastic resins, simple proteins, microbiological pesticides and fertilizers...is a very serious detriment. We cannot allow this situation to continue.

The matter is not that we lack the conditions needed to build and develop our country's biology industry.

To begin with, we have available sources of the primary raw materials of the biology industry (bagasse, flour, cellulose-rich raw materials, sea products, natural gas and even petroleum in the not-too-distant future).

We have a warm climate and, in many areas of the South, fermentation can be carried out virtually throughout the year without the need for additional warming. With our very abundant solar radiation, we can widely develop the use of photobiotic reaction tanks to extract products from algae, from the bacteria of garbage and from bacteria produced through photosynthesis.

We have a natural microbiological ecosystem that is exceedingly diverse and rich. Many experiments have shown that many species of microorganisms can be isolated in our country that are highly active and highly able to withstand adverse cultural conditions.

We have made significant preparations from the standpoint of developing a corps of scientific and technical cadres (college and post-graduate training) and the fields of science related to the biology industry (including the modern fields of genetic engineering, bioprocess technologies...).

Although we do not yet have much research equipment, if we learn to rationally coordinate the use of our equipment, we will have a rather full supply, including very modern equipment. Much research has been conducted to prepare for the introduction of the biology industry in many different fields.

We also have the tremendous international assistance we receive under the joint program in the application of scientific and technical advances between now and the year 2000 of the CEMA member countries.

On the basis of the five foremost tasks of the biology industry as defined in the Joint Science and Technology Program of CEMA, we can organize the very good implementation of the key research program of the state in the biology industry and very thoroughly organize cooperation and socialist economic ties with the member countries of CEMA.

As regards the task of producing active biological ingredients and new pharmaceutical products for use in public health, which will permit the early diagnosis and treatment of serious diseases, such as virulent cardiovascular disease, genetic diseases and infectious bacterial diseases, including viral infections, we feel that our efforts should be concentrated first on infectious bacterial diseases. Specifically, we must soon make active investment in the construction of factories producing antibiotics and facilities producing vaccines. New generation drugs should only be selected for the purposes of research and test production with the aims of training cadres and preparing them to adopt the new advances of the world.

As regards the production of microorganisms through the methods of recombining genes and cells to protect plants, combat pests, produce microbial fertilizers, produce plant growth regulators and produce new, high yield varieties and hybrids of agricultural crops that withstand the unfavorable factors of the environment, we feel that it is necessary to build, in the immediate future, factories or plants that produce microbial pesticides,

microbial fertilizers and the growth stimulant gibberellin and necessary to accelerate the use of plant tissue culture in order to rapidly reproduce valuable plant varieties or to produce the active ingredients of plants. The use of genetic engineering to create new varieties must be carried out on a selective basis at a number of laboratories that have the necessary equipment and many cadres who have been or will be trained overseas.

As regards the production of feed supplements of high value to livestock and biologically active substances to raise livestock yields and the use of new methods in recombining genes and cells to prevent, diagnose and efficaciously treat the principal diseases of livestock and poultry raised on an industrial scale, we suggest that we first focus our efforts on the construction of enterprises or plants that produce yeast biomass, fiber biomass, algae biomass, raw antibiotics, raw vitamin B12 and lysine. The use of genetic engineering in veterinary work and zygote culture must be carried out on a scale designed to provide practical experience while making full use of international cooperation in these brand new fields.

As regards the development of new biological industries to produce products of high value for use in the food products industry, the chemical industry and other industrial sectors, we suggest that priority be given to the development of exported food products (white wine, medicinal liquor, liquor, dinner wine, edible mushrooms, *Auricularia polytricha*, fish sauce, sour sauce...), everyday food products (MSG, soysauce, vinegar, yeast, bread, dried food products...) and important chemicals (acetone, butanol, dextran, acetic acid, lactic acid...).

As regards the development of biology industries to efficiently process the discarded materials of agriculture, industry and the cities and use waste water and waste gases to produce biogas and various types of high quality fertilizer, we suggest that our immediate efforts be focused on guiding the construction of stations to treat waste water in combination with producing algae biomass and yeast biomass for livestock production; the rapid construction of garbage treatment enterprises to make fertilizer and process livestock feed from the discarded materials of industry and agriculture; the production for widespread sale of single household or multihousehold biogas generating tanks; and the accelerated use of microbiological measures to combat oil pollution and pollution caused by the fertilizers and chemicals used in agriculture and industry.

To be able to take rapid and steady strides forward while endeavoring to carry out the tasks described above, we hereby make the following five specific suggestions:

1. We should soon develop organizations that are strong enough to closely control and unify research and development in the biology industry. These are: the board of directors of the Biology Industry Research Program, the Biology Industry Production Science Federation and the Museum of National Species of Microorganisms, with the eventual establishment of a biology industry general department (under the Council of Ministers) and a biology industry institute (under the Vietnam Institutes of Science). In the immediate future, attention must be given to making additional investments for

the purpose of upgrading the microbiology research facilities that have been established.

2. The state should invest an appropriate amount of capital in and fully avail itself of international aid plans in order to immediately construct a number of the most important enterprises in the biology industry with the aim of producing antibiotics, vitamins, lysine, organic media and microbial pesticides.

3. Research students and students in practical training should be assigned to research and receive practical training in the biology industry in the developed countries, especially in the fields of genetic engineering and bioprocess technologies. We must establish ties and cooperation among many domestic and foreign laboratories for the purpose of selectively carrying out basic research and developmental research in these brand new fields.

4. We should organize the rapid and stable introduction in production within the provinces, districts and even individual production units (state farms, cooperatives, wards, schools, army units, hospitals and so forth) of fermentation products for use in agriculture and everyday life, products produced under simple standards using domestic, self-manufactured equipment (open fermentation using species of microorganisms that are highly capable of withstanding adverse conditions or closed fermentation in special environments).

5. We should organize better support of science, beginning by re-examining the selling prices of scientific materials, chemicals and equipment, establishing a schedule of priority post and telecommunications charges for scientific cadres and establishing regulations on the management of scientific research funds and funds for the application of technical advances (which give financial autonomy to the directors of research projects).

7809

CSO: 4210/10

LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD: RESPECTFULLY PRESENTED TO THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 p 90

[Text] My name is Ngo Thi Ut. I will be 79 this year, my husband 82. Not knowing when I will depart this life, permit me to hastily write a few lines, which I respectfully send to my beloved party.

In 1948, when accepted into the party, I joined with the belief that "parents give birth to children, the party gives birth to spirit," not "god gives birth to spirit" as was commonly held. As a result, for many years, I constantly forged in myself the thinking of the party and, through countless difficulties and hardships caused by natural disasters and enemy attacks, have continued to steadfastly march behind the banner of the party to this very day.

During the 22 years that I have been receiving a state pension, I have been living amidst the love and care of family, comrades and compatriots. Following behind me, all the young persons in my family wholeheartedly support the party--10 of 14 have the honor of being in the party's ranks.

The greatest dreams in a person's life--Independence, Freedom and Happiness--have become a reality for me, even though many difficulties and hardships remain.

I will feel profound affection for and deep devotion to the esteemed party until the final moment of my life.

Ngo Thi Ut  
(Phu Hiep Subward, the Municipality of  
Hue)

7809

CSO: 4210/10

## ARISING FROM A ZONE OF "DEAD LAND"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 91-96

[Article by Huu Duc]

[Text] The Dong Trieu State Farm in Quang Ninh Province, a model unit for the 441 state farms of the country, was recently awarded the title "Heroic Unit" by our party and state. In the more than two decades since its establishment in 1963, the Dong Trieu State Farm has become the center for the national breed of hogs (Mong Cai hogs) and has contributed many outstanding achievements to hog production nationwide.

The farm has 1,470 hectares of land, 50 percent of which can be used in agriculture and forestry. The balance of its land is barren hills, arid ground, "dead land." The terrain in the area is divided into 10 zones by 9 streams that run for more than 30 kilometers from one end of Dong Trieu District to the other, in between which are many populated areas. The farm lies completely within the Dong Trieu arc, is enveloped by high mountains and is frequently hit by tornadoes caused by the northeast seasonal winds. Therefore, microclimatic areas characterized by high temperature variations have formed and drought lasts from September until May of the following year. These features have a direct influence upon how the state farm organizes and manages its production.

The year 1973 marked a turning point for the farm. It was the first year that it earned a profit, nearly 26,000 dong (+), thus ending 10 years of operating losses.

During the following 10 years (1973-1982), the value of the farm's total output rose 5.2 times. Labor productivity increased 3.4 times. Profits rose 8 times. Income per cadre and worker increased 7 times. Each year, the state farm supplied to the state from 5,000 to 6,000 breeder hogs of all types, 100 to 200 tons of meat, 450 tons of fruit and thousands of cubic meters of wood. It also supplied more than 2,000 boars, 20,000 reserve sows and 29,000 meat hogs to 237 livestock production units in 30 provinces and municipalities.

In each of those 10 years, the state farm also excellently completed the task assigned under the state plan and earned a higher profit with each passing year, a total of nearly 1.8 million dong. During the past several years, the

state farm has displayed an even higher sense of self-reliance by using its own liquid capital to expand its production, business and animal husbandry, plant fruit trees, release fish for cultivation, build additional housing and schools and raise the standard of living and improve the working conditions of workers. It has contributed to the state budget some 3 million dong, enough to nearly repay the capital allotted by the state, and earned a profit of 2.3 million dong.

Many persons visiting the farm have shared the same feeling: if the Dong Trieu State Farm can do what it has done under such difficult circumstances, other places can also develop agriculture well and help to bring prosperity to the country.

From a socio-economic standpoint, the 23 year process of building the Dong Trieu State Farm, a process that has been marked by both setbacks and successes, reflects several prominent factors that have made the state farm the heroic unit that it is today.

First, the building of a rational economic structure has been closely tied to the implementation of a dynamic management mechanism compatible with the specific circumstances of the farm.

During its first 10 years, Dong Trieu changed its livestock production guidelines 4 times and crop production guidelines 5 times. During that period, there were also times when the farm operated at a loss even though still raising breeder hogs. The main reason for this was the failure to define in clear detail a rational economic structure among the various sectors in order to support the farm's primary area of production.

Thereafter, the state farm gradually implemented a system of crop allocations that competently supports its main area of production (the production of hog breeding stock) and insures a profitable business. The farm has devoted 15 highly fertile hectares of its 60 hectares of flat land to the cultivation of vegetables for use as hog feed. From this land, it annually harvests 120-130 tons per hectare, enough to feed nearly 850 special breed sows and other types of hogs of the farm. The remaining land is planted in rice and subsidiary food crops, which are processed, used as a grain feed and provide for 20 to 30 percent of the feed fed to hogs.

Steeply graded, rocky land on which the layer of topsoil is thin and the construction of water conservancy projects is impossible is used to raise fruit trees, timber bearing trees and Stylosanthes grass for buffalo and cattle pasture. To date, the state farm has planted 106 hectares of Nephelium bassacense, 11 hectares of plums, 180 hectares of jackfruit, 20 hectares of tea, 20 hectares of lemons, dozens of hectares of Stylosanthes grass, which provide pasture for 180 head of buffalo and cattle, and 300 hectares of eucalyptus and beefwood forests, a total of 1.5 million trees. The value of the products harvested from the fruit and forest trees annually reaches 3 to 4 million dong. The state farm's beef buffalo and cattle graze in the shade of the jackfruit, Nephelium bassacense and eucalyptus trees. Hogs graze on the land planted with plum trees. The flowers of trees and plants are used to raise bees for honey. Lowlying areas and wet areas have been developed into

more than 10 hectares of lakes and ponds, which annually produce 8 to 10 tons of fish.

The state farm has not only combined agriculture, forestry, livestock production and the cultivation of aquatic products, but has also availed itself of the advantages afforded by the structure of its production to practice rational cultivation, combined labor with arable land well and used and improved the natural conditions of each soil zone to establish an economic structure consisting of many different types of products and goods. Today, these soil zones are considered separate resource areas of the state farm. The soil of Trieu Phu is jackfruit soil. The soil of Trieu Son is Nephelium bassacense and lemon soil. The soil of Trieu Hai is tea soil. And the soil in the center of the farm is plum soil. Thus, the economic structure of the Dong Trieu State Farm reflects both a high level of specialization and a general business, the components of which support one another and cause production to develop in a manner that is balanced.

To insure that the impact of this rational economic structure is achieved, the state farm has successfully established an appropriate, dynamic and highly efficient management mechanism. Deserving of attention is that the state farm has creatively applied the resolutions and directives of the party and state and implemented product contracts in both livestock and crop production. It has established a system of labor quotas, economic quotas and technical requirements in each livestock and crop production job. On the basis of this system of quotas, it assigns tasks to production units and enters into complete wage fund contracts with production units. Production unit chiefs directly enter into contracts governing wages, material costs, production costs...with the director. The state farm has organized specialized production units for each type crop and species of livestock. These units are divided into specialized sections, such as the plowing section, the crop production section, the cultivation section...of the crop production sector and the breeding section, the indirect personnel section, the sanitation section, the feed processing section and so forth of the livestock production sector.

Each month, the state farm sends plan work groups down to its production units to check and certify the quantity and quality of work performed, guide units in implementing their plan and examine initial data and original documentation to determine the extent of losses or profits each month from each crop and species of livestock. In this way, it upholds the right of collective ownership of the laborer in the work of the production unit and helps the unit to practice accounting and efficiently regulate its work. Moreover, as a result of clearly defined economic and technical quotas and on the basis of the contract unit price assigned by the unit chief and section chief, workers immediately know what their wages and bonuses are, consequently, they have displayed initiative and made technological improvements in order to raise labor productivity. In the past, unit and section chiefs had to supervise workers. Now, with the new management mechanism, everyone knows, from the standpoint of the final results of production, what their obligations and interests are and, therefore, works hard. As a result, everyone from

production units chiefs to section chiefs and workers have begun to adopt the new style of work, knows how to practice economic accounting and is interested in and helps one another.

Closely tying wages to a system of awards and penalties, the state farm has used this economic lever well, combining it with the production emulation movement and the molding of the new, socialist man. A worker who achieves an advanced level of job performance in a section that is not an advanced section receives a bonus of 100 percent. If this worker is in an advanced section, he receives a bonus of 130 percent. If he is a member of a socialist labor section, he receives a bonus of 200 percent. If, during the next period, he continues to achieve an advanced level of job performance and does so within an advanced section or a socialist labor section, he receives a bonus equal to 20 percent of the bonus received during the previous period. If a worker commits a disciplinary infraction and the disciplinary action taken against him is a warning or more, he must repay his initial bonus. The use of workpoints, award points and penalty points also serves a good purpose in the management of labor. Each workday at the state farm is worth 10 points: 4 points for working an 8-hour day, 3 points for meeting one's quota and 3 points for meeting technical standards. Higher productivity is rewarded by a workpoint bonus based on the percentage by which the labor quota is exceeded. Production unit chiefs, section chiefs and technical cadres who perform the tasks assigned to them well also receive a workpoint bonus. Combined with these awards are penalties. The heaviest penalty is for violating internal rules and production standards, 10 to 20 points for each violation. The penalty for taking time off without a reason is 20 points. An hourly penalty is assessed for coming to work late and leaving early. Production unit and section chiefs and technical cadres who do not complete their plan are penalized from 20 to 30 points. The higher their responsibility, the greater the penalty is. The percentage of each type labor to which awards are made is clearly stipulated. For direct production workers, the coefficient is 1.5, for indirect labor, 0.7. As a result, indirect production components have been streamlined. Awards for innovations that result in technological improvements and the rationalization of production are based on the savings they generate for the state farm and are paid in accordance with the general policy of the state. In addition, the farm also offers incentive awards.

In the 8 years that it has been paying product contract wages and taken a number of appropriate management measures, the state farm has raised the labor productivity of the worker, saved tens of thousands of mandays each year, solved a labor shortage of some 100 persons per year and raised the average wage to the current level of 420 dong per person per month (new money). The experience of the Dong Trieu State Farm in implementing product contract wages was reported at a sector-wide conference and has been effectively applied at many other places.

To develop production and achieve even higher economic efficiency, the state farm has established joint businesses and economic ties with the district, agricultural cooperatives and economic organizations of the province and gradually expanded its relations with other localities. Its starting point being its own economic structure and management standards, the state farm has established rather strong ties that have produced practical economic returns

and has not fallen into ties that are ties in name only, are unwholesome or only serve illegitimate interests. Specifically, the farm has, on the basis of its own strengths, introduced scientific and technical advances at the hog breeding farms of the province, district and agricultural cooperatives and improved the breeder hog herds of these places in order to achieve high yields and earn a profit. It has entered into a joint business with the district to raise meat hogs for exportation, earning from these exports an average of 28 dollars per person at the farm.

These joint businesses and economic ties have helped the Dong Trieu State Farm to build a stable breeding system, develop agriculture, forestry and the processing of livestock feed, strengthen its material-technical bases (pens, buildings, means of transportation and items needed for cultural and social activities) and accelerate the production of export goods to trade for materials and equipment in order to provide some of the materials and equipment needed under its production plan on its own. Through these joint businesses and ties, the state farm has increasingly played the dominant role of a state farm within the district and province, benefited the locality in practical ways, won the support and assistance of the locality and strengthened the alliance of workers and farmers. The local people have worked with the farm to protect its products (in previous years, the farm lost as much as 20 to 30 percent of its total output each year). The farm's "determined to win" self-defense battalion has effectively contributed to the maintenance of order and security within the locality.

Secondly, it has taken positive and determined steps to introduce scientific and technical advances in production.

The first purpose of introducing scientific and technical advances in production is to improve the quality of breeder hogs. This has been the technical factor of decisive significance in the survival of the farm. The application of scientific and technical advances is carried out in all areas of production: breeds, the care of livestock, feed, veterinary services... This effort has been closely linked to the requirements involved in improving the management of production and business and has been carried out using existing equipment and personnel. As a result, the farm possesses many practical capabilities and conditions for making these advances a reality.

Through self-reliance and with the guidance of the Breeder Hog Corporation and Central Industry, the assistance of the animal husbandry research institutes and the cooperation of the agricultural colleges, the Dong Trieu State Farm has successfully improved the pure bred Mong Cai hog herd. At first, the farm had only 30 basic brood sows scattered here and there, which it used to supply itself. Today, the farm has become a national breeder hog center with more than 850 high quality brood sows, the best in the country. In conjunction with inspecting and selecting hogs for breed qualities, the farm has also brought in groups of high yield boars and sows from the locality and from advanced hog production units in order to do a good job of producing pure bred breeding stock. The farm is especially interested in selecting and developing increased sexual activity in breeding stock; keeping the breeder hog herd at a stable level; and building a sufficiently large core herd to replace the hogs taken out of production each year with the aim of strengthening the genetic

advances that have been made in breeding stock. As a result, the quality of breeding stock has markedly increased: from 34.46 percent special grade, 43.03 percent grade I, 20.8 percent grade II and 1.71 percent grade III to 43.82 percent special grade, 51.27 percent grade I, 4.07 percent grade II and virtually no grade III. The sow herd produces from 1.6 to 1.8 litters per year, with an average of 8 to 9 weaned pigs per litter, each weighing an average of 7 kilograms. The market weight of 10 month old hogs has been raised from 64 kilograms to 80 kilograms, with the record weight being 100 kilograms.

Together with breeding, the farm has attached importance to the care and strengthening of the hog herd and to processing feed in accordance with economic-technical standards and quotas for each type hog. At the same time, with feed sources continuing to pose many difficulties, it has gone to the trouble of finding substitute feeds, changed the ingredients of feed and feeds hogs rationed portions. As a result, it has reduced the number of feed units per kilogram of weight gain from 7.02 to nearly 6.5. The farm has developed a high yield breed of hogs and also reduced feed costs. This has caused total production costs to rise at a slower rate than the increase in the total weight of hogs of all types.

As regards the care of the hog herd, the farm feeds various types of nutrients to young pigs, administers periodic, sealed inoculations, has established a safety zone and has adopted internal regulations on visits and the purchase of feed by workers. As a result, not one epidemic has occurred in the past 23 years.

In crop production, the farm has implemented a policy of "developing forest trees first, moving ahead on the basis of forest trees" through appropriate technical measures and has made efficient use of equipment already on hand to level ground, plow and harrow fields and transplant and promptly spray trees. To practice intensive cultivation of the trees planted, it has successfully planted a group of green manure plants: senna, Tephrosia candida and Stylosanthes grass. These green manure crops were planted during the period of capital construction in fruit orchards (before these trees were providing shade). They have supplied hundreds of tons of green manure per hectare and can be cut and left lying at the base of trees to control weeds, retain moisture, combat erosion, increase soil fertility and raise crop yields (the yield of Nephelium bassacense is 50-107 quintals per hectare; the lemon yield is 120 quintals per hectare; the plum yield is 45 quintals per hectare; and the tea bud yield is 10 quintals per hectare). The largest result achieved by the farm in this area can be said to be the establishment of a group of crops that grow well and are balanced with the ecosystem under the natural conditions of its locality.

To more widely introduce scientific and technical advances in production, the farm has given its attention to promoting the movement to make technical innovations and improvements. More than 100 such innovations and improvements have been applied, saving the farm millions of dong. A rather high percentage of these innovations has been made by direct production workers.

Thirdly, the farm has taken practical steps to look after the living conditions of cadres and workers.

The party committee, board of directors and trade union of the farm have placed the task of looking after the material and cultural lives of cadres and manual workers on a level equal in importance to the farm's production task.

The farm has set up stable population centers and loaned to each worker family 300 to 500 square meters of land for the construction of a house and for use in the household economy. From its welfare fund, it has given a loan of 2,000 dong to each family, which is gradually deducted from wages over a period of 5 years. The farm has organized building material production and housing construction forces. It allocates all the building materials needed to build a 30 to 50 square meter brick and tile house to families of disabled veterans, war dead, key cadres and persons who have been emulation warriors or advanced laborers for many consecutive years. It sells building materials at low prices to families who do not meet supply standards. Today, more than 70 percent of worker families have an attractive tile house, a fruit orchard, a fish pond and a hog pen and receive assistance from the farm with breeding stock, feed and veterinary services. The farm also contracts with families to raise meat hogs, which provides the farm with an additional 40 to 60 tons of meat each year and each family with 20,000 to 25,000 dong in income. As a result, many families have a rather high income and the household economy has had a marked impact in supplementing the collective economy. The state farm also concerns itself with the daily meals of its workers. As a result of incentives introduced to increase food production by raising vegetables, hogs and fish for use in collective kitchens, collective kitchens are supplied with 20 to 27 tons of meat, 5 to 6 tons of fish and hundreds of tons of green vegetables each year. All food collected is allocated on a priority basis to the collective kitchens and child care centers. All cadres and manual workers receive mid-shift meals free of charge (the cost is paid by welfare funds). The state farm has launched a movement to make full use of land to produce grain and subsidiary food crops, process feed and raise hogs for exportation in exchange for cloth and essential furniture. As a result, each worker receives, on the average, 36 kilograms of meat and fish and one set of good clothing each year. The farm's consumer cooperative, which has its own account and practices separate accounting, sends goods down to production units on Sundays and outside work hours and distributes goods fairly, in exact accordance with standards and to the correct persons.

Since 1981, as a result of not being allotted money for capital construction, the farm has been carrying out capital formation on its own in order to construct additional buildings and housing and purchase equipment for its warehouses, child care centers, kindergartens, basic general school and work-study middle school. All school age children of cadres and workers attend school. The farm looks after the living conditions of teachers. The club has a wired radio network and television. Literary-art and sport activities are regularly organized for workers.

As a result of looking after material and cultural life in these ways, the farm has not only given cadres and workers a permanent sense of security about their jobs, but also drawn their children, who are educated, able-bodied and

benefit from the job experience of their fathers and older brothers, into its corps of cadres and workers. The cadres and workers at the farm consider it to truly be their home and have made practical contributions to changing the face of the countryside there.

It can be said that, having brought itself to life in a zone of "dead land" and gone through periods of instability, the Dong Trieu State Farm, while still facing difficulties, has laid a solid and strong socio-economic base and built momentum for new strides forward. In view of their great honor of being awarded the title "Heroic Unit" by the state, the cadres and workers of the Dong Trieu State Farm will surely build even further upon the role of the socialist state farm in setting an example.

#### FOOTNOTES

- + All monetary figures in this article not otherwise noted are old money (HD).

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## THROUGH THE HEROIC UNITS OF THE CULTURAL SECTOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 97-99

[Article by Tran Anh]

[Text] The distinguishing characteristics of our heroic collectives are their will and efforts to create the material and spiritual strength needed to excellently complete tasks under conditions and circumstances replete with difficulties, hardships and sacrifices. The practical activities of the three heroic units of the cultural sector, the Tien Bo Printing Plant, the Central Documentary and Scientific Films Enterprise and Film Production Unit Number 1 of Ben Hai District in Binh Tri Thien Province, also prove this.

The cultural line of our party is correct and creative. However, in practice, one place or another, sometimes because of a lack of awareness or insufficient efforts, has no lack of "reasons" to give light attention to and neglect cultural work. In the face of difficulties with funding, materials and specialized equipment, more than a few cultural units have displayed confusion and perform their work in an ineffective manner lacking initiative. The first successful experience of the heroic units of the cultural sector is that they have been determined, as a result of attaching appropriate importance to the role of culture and literature-art, to overcome each difficulty and create the conditions needed to excellently complete their task.

On the Vinh Linh battle line, determined to "win victory over the U.S. invaders on the cinematography front," Ben Hai District Film Production Unit Number 1 (Binh Tri Thien Province) found ways to safely show films at night as well as during the day, outdoors as well as deep underground in tunnels, thereby meeting the need of the people and soldiers to view films. To promptly inspire our armed forces and people in combat and productive labor, the film makers at the Central Documentary and Scientific Films Enterprise have constantly been present at places in the forefront of our turbulent revolutionary life, recording valuable images of feats of arms, of achievements in labor, production, science and technology, of major changes in social life. In a spirit of intense and continuous emulation, the spirit that the entire plant is one battle position, the Tien Bo Printing Plant has printed mountains of political materials and documents, books and newspapers

of high quality to promptly support the work of propagandizing and publicizing the lines and policies of the party and state and supply many publications of high value to readers.

Using cultural products to make an impact upon life and help to change the revolutionary thinking, feelings and actions of the masses is the common characteristic of the conscious activities conducted by these heroic units. Ben Hai District Film Projection Unit Number 1 selected films suited to the local people and showed films that easily penetrated to the innermost feelings of people at those times when puppet soldiers came across to stand guard on the northern side of the Hien Luong Bridge. The unit organized the application in the production and life of the masses of scientific experiences presented in its films, such as how to make duckweed, how to make improved vehicles, how to establish new cultural models... The Central Documentary and Scientific Films Enterprise has produced hundreds of films with themes closely associated with our people's life of combat and productive labor and their activities in other fields, such as "Vinh Linh--Steel Fortress," "The Brunt of the Waves and Wind," "Unforgettable Days and Nights for Hanoi," "The Tragic Defeat of the Beijing Aggressors," "Power Line Up the Da River," "Diseases of the Intestinal Tract," "Aviation in Vietnam," "The Garden Economy," etc.

Through their brave and steadfast activities, the heroic units of the cultural sector have helped to build the cultural life of the laboring people and gradually implement the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the field of culture in an effective way. Their thinking is that the cultural products in their hands are the property of the people and they have looked for every way to deliver these products to the masses quickly, in large numbers and with high quality. Ben Hai District Film Projection Unit Number 1 has continuously raised the norm on the number of persons attending films in the area of which it is in charge. The Tien Bo Printing Plant and the Central Documentary and Scientific Films Enterprise have overcome very many difficulties with funding and supplies to continuously increase the number of attractive pages printed and the number of valuable news, documentary and scientific films produced. These units have properly maintained, made economical use of and achieved the highest possible returns from their cultural equipment. Their attitude of providing thorough support together with the interesting measures employed to bring cultural works to the masses, such as introducing films, holding seminars with persons of various age groups concerning cultural products, learning the language of the Van Kieu in order to annotate films in their language and so forth, have helped to gradually raise the cultural standards of the ethnic minorities and their ability to engage in cultural activities and create culture. The laboring people find in films, in the pages of books, materials, documents and so forth answers to their questions and a source of inspiration motivating them to strive for new achievements. As a result, they have actively participated in building material bases for cultural work, building cultural organizations and directly participated in cultural activities.

The conditions and circumstances of the heroic units of the cultural sector are no better and are frequently worse than those of other units. Thus, which factors, which moving forces have helped them to conduct highly effective activities? Ben Hai District Film Projection Unit Number 1 showed films

continuously and safely under the harshest conditions of nature, of time and space filled with bombs and shells. The Central Documentary and Scientific Films Enterprise has resolved shortages of raw materials, supplies, machinery and parts that once had to be purchased from foreign countries, constantly displayed initiative, conducted research and experiments on its own, steadily improved its film making techniques and achieved international standards. The Tien Bo Printing Plant, which is striving to free itself from the mode of operation based on state subsidies, has firmly adhered to the principles of economic management and financial management, met and exceeded labor productivity norms and norms on the payment of profits to the state, created jobs, maintained the income and stabilized the living conditions of workers, avoided negative phenomena... In the final analysis, it is because these heroic units know how to implement the system of socialist collective ownership within their unit. They have made every effort to display self-reliance in developing their potentials and have tapped the initiative and dynamism of their cadres and workers. In the face of difficulties, these persons, instead of sitting idly by, have always tried to move ahead and worked with one another to change circumstances in accordance with their needs. Displaying the spirit of collective ownership, they have made a positive impact upon existing objective conditions in order to create the new objective conditions needed for their work.

To effectively exercise ownership, the cadres and workers of these heroic units have always worked to improve their knowledge, thinking, sentiments, will and organizational skills. These sentiments and this will are the guidelines, are the inner force behind the conversion of their intellect into determination, into revolutionary actions taken to complete tasks. Many cadres and workers of the Central Documentary and Scientific Films Enterprise and the Tien Bo Printing Plant bravely sacrificed their lives while steadfastly remaining at their positions in work and combat. Despite every hardship and sacrifice, the film makers of the enterprise have remained in the areas of heaviest fighting and always been present at places fraught with danger to promptly record scenes of U.S. aircraft being shot down in the skies over Vietnam, record evidence of the crimes of the U.S. invaders and Chinese expansionists...

Besides knowledge, besides revolutionary sentiments and will, the persons of these heroic collective also possess the ability to organize actions. They know how to combine one person's skills with those of another, how to combine persons and material bases in order to give themselves more strength with which to excellently complete their task.

The process of these heroic units struggling to complete the tasks assigned to them in a way that yields high results has, therefore, also been the process of gradually building, forging and cultivating their sense of socialist collective ownership and their ability to exercise this ownership.

In summary, the heroic units of the cultural sector have used and developed to the fullest extent possible the means and methods of cultural activity and truly bound culture to the revolution and put it in the service of the laboring people. While making every effort to serve and help to improve the cultural life of the people, these heroic units have added to the national

archives hundreds of thousands of meters of film and millions of printed pages--priceless volumes of living history that eloquently prove Vietnam's stand in recent decades, clearly portray how the Vietnamese act in the face of the challenges of history and record the process of the nation of Vietnam continuously elevating its stature in the new age. The heroic units of the cultural sector have supplied to us valuable lessons and experience and set a positive direction for the other units of the sector, thus helping to advance the cause of building and developing the new, Vietnamese socialist culture.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S ECONOMY--ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIRECTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 100-103

[Article by Yen Van]

[Text] During the early years of the 1980's, many unforeseen difficulties arose within Czechoslovakia's economy. Above everything else, these difficulties were caused by the worsening of the international situation and the majority of the imperialist countries intensifying their policy of discrimination toward the socialist countries. On the other hand, as observed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, there were also a number of weaknesses and deficiencies in economic leadership, which were most evident in the failure to make flexible and consistent use of the factors of intensive development and the slowness with which scientific achievements and technological advances were being applied. The consequences of this situation caused the rate of development of the Czechoslovak economy to drop during the first 2 years of the seventh 5-year plan (1981-1985).

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia promptly analyzed this situation and mobilized the entire party and all the people in a determined effort to find and make use of potentials and carry out the tasks set by the 16th Congress of the Party (April 1981) in a consistent manner. The party and government of Czechoslovakia enacted a number of emergency measures designed to maintain economic balance, both domestically and overseas, and lay the groundwork for restoring national income to its previous rate of growth. These measures included changes in the fields of investments and imports, changes in the structure of production and consumption, price adjustments, etc.

Thanks to these timely decisions by the Party Central Committee, Czechoslovakia managed, even in 1983, to restore development to its national economy and subsequently went on to complete its seventh 5-year plan (1981-1985) in fine fashion. National income rose at the average annual rate of 3.2 percent. Social labor productivity rose by approximately 9 percent between 1980 and 1985. Industrial production increased by 15 percent and agricultural production by 9.8 percent compared to the previous 5-year plan.

Between 1970 and 1985, national income rose by 80 percent (92 percent of which was the result of higher labor productivity); social production by 70 percent,

agricultural production by 34 percent, the real income of the people by 109 percent and the average wage by 50 percent.

These achievements have laid real foundations for the steady and strong development of the economy in the years ahead.

Industry, the primary sector in the Czechoslovak economy, employs 40 percent of the country's labor force and produces 70 percent of national income. The mechanical engineering, power and metallurgy sectors account for more than 30 percent of total industrial output. The machine manufacturing sector, which is considered a "traditional" sector of Czechoslovakia, is endeavoring to supply the national economy with new production equipment and technologies. The chemical industry has established several new sectors which produce synthetic materials. The nationalization of industrial enterprises and the planned management of the national economy have enabled Czechoslovakia to achieve a high degree of centralization in production. Current industrial output is 13.5 times higher than during the period preceding World War II. This means that the volume of industrial products produced in the space of less than 1 month today is much larger than the volume produced during an entire year under the capitalist system, even though before the war. Czechoslovakia is one of the countries that leads the world in industrial development.

Through cooperativization and mechanization, agriculture has become a highly developed production sector employing advanced farming techniques. Agricultural output has risen at the annual average rate of 2 percent (at a time when agricultural output has risen by 1.4 percent in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1.8 percent in France, 1.4 percent in Austria...). Czechoslovakia has surpassed many capitalist countries in the per capita output of some primary agricultural products. Compared to the period preceding the world war, Czechoslovakia's agricultural output has doubled even though the number of persons in agriculture now stands at only one-third of the population and the amount of farmland available has decreased. As a result of the increasing modernization of agriculture, Czechoslovakia has shifted and will continue to shift a significant number of agricultural laborers to other sectors of the national economy.

Special importance has been attached to the application of science and technology in production. The focus of this effort is areas of key importance, such as the application of electronics within the national economy, synchronized automation, the application of flexible production systems, the development of nuclear energy, the research and development of new building materials and new industries and the development of the biology industry. Czechoslovakia has built a large corps of scientific and technical cadres, a corps that consists of nearly 200,000 persons. Combined units consisting of manual workers, technicians and specialists from the Institutes of Science that have been established at enterprises to study ways to rationalize production have directly and quickly solved technical problems that have arisen in the production process, thereby creating the conditions for agricultural machinery to be operated with high efficiency. The innovations and inventions movement has been encouraged and promoted and has produced practical benefits. On the agricultural front, all cooperatives in

Czechoslovakia today are fully staffed with all types of technical cadres in the crop production, veterinary, economic management, machine repair and other sectors, all of whom have an academy or vocational middle school education.

As a country whose economy is developed but whose sources of raw materials and building materials are not abundant and whose domestic market is small, Czechoslovakia considers participating in socialist economic ties to be a matter of major importance in increasing the country's economic efficiency. Through increased economic trade with the fraternal socialist countries, Czechoslovakia meets 77 percent of its fuel and raw material import needs, 74 percent of its machinery and equipment import needs and 63 percent of its common industrial goods import needs. At the same time, Czechoslovakia exports to the countries within the socialist community many machines and pieces of equipment and many industrial goods. Between 1970 and 1985, the total value of foreign trade nearly doubled. In 1985, the member countries of CEMA accounted for more than 74 percent and the Soviet Union alone accounted for 55 percent of the value of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade.

It can be said that in Czechoslovakia today, in practically every field of production, strong material-technical bases have been built, socialist production relations have been established throughout the national economy and scientific-technical potentials are quite large.

On the basis of the comprehensive achievements that Czechoslovakia has recorded, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia maintains that the key issues facing Czechoslovakia today are to accelerate socio-economic development, significantly increase the efficiency of the national economy and, on this basis, raise the standard of living, meet the material and spiritual needs of the people at a higher level of qualitative development and create increasingly favorable conditions for the balanced development of man.

Based on an analysis of capabilities and needs in the continued development of society until the year 2000, the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which was held in Prague from 24 to 28 March of this year, set the following targets for the next 15 years: raising national income by two-thirds while reducing the consumption of energy by one-third and the consumption of metals by 40-50 percent and raising labor productivity by two-thirds. Under the eighth 5-year plan (1986-1990), national income will rise by 18-19 percent, 92 to 95 percent of which must be achieved through increases in social labor productivity. This demands that national income grow at the annual rate of 3.5 percent and that these increases be achieved without increases in the supply of raw materials, building materials or energy.

The congress confirmed that meeting these targets is the basic task of the party's economic strategy, a strategy based on the rapid and comprehensive development of the economy in depth. The primary measures to be taken here are: accelerating the application of scientific-technical advances and new industrial methods in production and reducing production costs to the lowest possible level; fully participating in the joint program of the CEMA member countries for the application of scientific-technical advances between now and the year 2000; bringing about changes in the structure of production; improving management and planning; applying economic mechanisms which insure

the increased and effective participation of the worker in management; and raising the specialized standards and tapping the dynamism of the worker. The congress also set the tasks of establishing and strengthening the sense of organization and discipline everywhere; mobilizing each and every person to participate in productive labor; waging a determined struggle against formalism, conservatism, inertia, laziness, violations of public property, the lack of discipline and the habits of the old way of working; and changing the psychology and methods of activity of man.

More closely combining personal interests with the interests of society, providing increased material incentives to the worker and strengthening the principle of distribution in accordance with labor have been established as strict requirements in stimulating the development of the economy in depth. In the next 15 years, according to the resolution of the congress, the people's level of consumption will rise by at least 50 percent and approximately 1.5 million new apartments will be constructed. The output of consumer goods, especially high quality machine and electronic products, will rise rapidly. Civilized commerce and the services will be improved and expanded. Priority will be given to meeting the people's needs in the fields of education, public health, social services, housing, entertainment, the environment and other needs related to raising the standard of living.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers developing the economy in depth--which is the only way to move Czechoslovakia forward--to be a difficult and complex task. This task must be carried out with the effective and active participation of all the people. Therefore, people are the decisive factor in the implementation of the plan. For this reason, along with tapping the creativity of the worker with the aims of achieving higher labor productivity and further raising the standard of living, the party demands that each cadre and member constantly work as hard as possible to achieve higher standards in every field, set good examples in everything he does and in his way of life, be worthy of his role in the new stage and be determined to lead the masses in the successful implementation of the party's resolution.

Together with feeling a profound sense of enthusiasm over the brilliant results of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the people of Czechoslovakia are now joyously celebrating the 65th anniversary of the party's founding (16 May 1921-16 May 1986). During these memorable days, the communists, working class and people of Vietnam extend to the communists, working class and people of Czechoslovakia our heartiest congratulations. We wish the people of Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia headed by the esteemed General Secretary Gustav Husak, success in implementing the resolution of the 17th Party Congress, success in moving Czechoslovakia ahead even more strongly in the cause of building developed socialism and advancing to communism, thereby making even more positive contributions to building the strength of the socialist community and strengthening the position of socialism in the peaceful emulation with capitalism.

7809

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## SOME IMPORTANT DIRECTIONS IN ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 86 pp 104-106

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] The Communist Party of Romania has set targets for the year 2000 that will make Romania, once a backward agricultural country and today a developing agro-industrial country, a developed agro-industrial country, a country that has an advanced industry, a modern agriculture, highly developed science and technology, a country in which all the people have a high standard of living, one consistent with scientific standards, and develop both materially and spiritually in a way that is wholesome. As planned, by utilizing the latest technologies, industry and the other key sectors of the Romanian economy will be brought to a high level of development in terms of automation, automated controls and robots. Romania's level of technology, labor productivity and product quality will rise and take their place among the most advanced in the world.

The main guidelines for achieving the above mentioned targets are: making every effort to apply the latest achievements of science and technology; further modernizing production, primarily industry and agriculture; constantly improving the structure of the economy and the management mechanism; rapidly raising labor productivity; making full use of raw materials and energy sources; sharply reducing the consumption of materials; constantly improving product quality; and improving the competitive position of Romania's exports in the world and the returns from these exports.

Of foremost importance in continuously improving the structure of industry is the need to further strengthen the domestic raw material and energy base so that Romania gradually achieves self-sufficiency in energy. Therefore, priority must be given to the development of the mining sector and the energy sector. On the other hand, importance must be attached to conserving on raw materials and energy in consumption and production. At the same time, special importance is being attached to the development of those sectors that have the effect of stimulating technological development, create high productivity and high product quality and are highly competitive, such as the electronic, computer and microelectronic equipment industries and the shipbuilding industry. The basic guidelines of industry are to carry out development in depth; tap existing potentials; focus efforts on retooling and upgrading

existing technology; make very limited use of capital to increase production capacity; and make the greatest possible effort to reduce the consumption of energy and fuel to the lowest possible level with the aim of achieving the high standards of the world in this field.

In the space of the next decade, Romania plans to meet its own needs for energy by giving priority to the development of atomic power and diversifying the electric power sector.

Agriculture, which consists of crop production, livestock production and fishing, is the second basic sector of the Romanian economy. Together with defining agriculture as the dominant sector and deciding to modernize the entire economy, Romania considers agriculture to be the base of the national economy. To concentrate on developing agriculture, Romania has, over the period of several recent 5-year plans, given agriculture the highest rate of increase in capital investment of all the sectors of the economy and will continue to do so in the future. Today, a true revolution is occurring within Romania's agriculture. The objectives of this revolution are to further strengthen the technical bases of agriculture, improve the organization of labor and the structure of agricultural production and change the way of working, living and thinking of collective farmers with a view toward bringing their standards up to the requirements of industrialization and modern technology. On this basis, Romania will stimulate the strong development of agriculture and meet the rising requirements of the production and life of all society. Maintaining that the most important need in agriculture is to accelerate the improvement of soil by constantly expanding the amount of area under cultivation, Romania is endeavoring to put, by 1990, 60 percent of its agricultural land under a modern irrigation system and mechanize all agricultural production, with increasing amounts of fertilizer being used. With the constant improvement of breeds, the livestock sector will produce an increasingly large output of meat of increasingly high quality.

In conjunction with the process of developing the economy, the problem of centralizing capital has increasingly become an acute problem. Facts show that there is a very close relationship between the needs to develop the economy and raise national income--which are the only ways to raise the standard of living and expand production--and that portion of income allocated to meet the consumer needs of individuals and society. Establishing a reasonable ratio between consumption and capital formation per a given volume of national income has become the issue of foremost concern to all countries. Throughout the past 20 years, Romania has been devoting more than 30 percent of its national income to capital formation. This is a rather high rate and has been the most important factor in the economic achievements recorded by Romania today.

Today, Romania has built an economic potential which permits it to vigorously shift to development in depth, with importance attached to developing existing potentials, accelerating the upgrading of enterprises and equipment and allocating capital for key projects of long-range significance. Within the context of development in depth, Romania considers productivity and efficiency to be important and will make every effort to achieve the highest possible returns from each lei invested. The aim here is to insure that the economy

grows at an average and stable rate while investment capital grows at a slower rate. In Romania, investment capital has grown at an average annual rate of more than 8 percent during the past 20 years. Now, it is projected to increase at the rate of only 1.3-2.5 percent during the years from 1986-1990.

Developing production forces must go hand in hand with constantly improving production relations and improving the organization and management of the economy. In this area, Romania is endeavoring to develop its economy in accordance with a unified, nationwide plan that combines, in a way that is balanced, the requirements of all economic sectors, most importantly of industry and agriculture, of heavy industry and light industry, and closely ties the development of the economy to the development of culture, science, technology, education and public health. Revamping the economic management mechanism is considered the basic factor in continuously improving production relations. The important principles being applied in the management mechanism are self-management in production and financial autonomy. In Romania, all economic units as well as the entire national economy are working to establish a mechanism that will make it possible to tap the spirit of initiative and creativity, the voluntary spirit and the consciousness of the masses and basic units, with the most important factors being to constantly raise labor productivity and develop production.

In the improvement of the management mechanism, Romania attaches importance to applying the law of value and the other objective economic laws and redoubling efforts to do away with everything that reflects economic management based on subjective desires, on voluntarism with no regard for objective laws while struggling against the lax approach of allowing laws to control production and the market. In this spirit, Romania is trying to build a new economic and financial mechanism based on the principles of firmly maintaining planning and combining, in a scientific way, centralism and democracy, administrative management and self-management by the masses. Under Romania's economic management mechanism, attention is given to making widespread use of economic levers, closely linking the income of the worker to the results of his work and using material and psychological incentives to constantly achieve higher productivity and efficiency.

Romania considers reforming the education system along the lines of combining education with practical application in production and with scientific and technical research to be the factor of decisive significance in socio-economic development. At the same time, it has increased the training of management cadres and technical workers and raised the cultural standards and scientific-technical knowledge of all the people. In recent years, Romania has invested a rather large amount of capital in education, the technical sciences and the social sciences.

Romania also attaches importance to developing its economic relations with foreign countries, most importantly with the socialist countries within CEMA. In keeping with the spirit of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Romania, Romania is trying to contribute to the activities of CEMA and striving to establish a good division of labor and good cooperation in

production and in scientific research between itself and the other member countries, thereby helping to give CEMA an increasingly large role in the socio-economic development of its member countries.

The above are some important directions being taken under the eighth 5-year socio-economic development plan (1986-1990) and until the year 2000 that were approved at the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Romania held in November 1984. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Romania, the fraternal Romanian people are working hard to make the party's economic strategy a reality. At present, the people of Romania are joyously commemorating the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Romania (8 May 1921-8 May 1986). On this occasion, the communists and people of Vietnam extend to the communists and people of fraternal Romania our hearty congratulations. We are confident that, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Romania headed by Ceausecsu and despite the many difficulties that have been frequently pointed out by Romania's leaders, the people of Romania will record increasingly large achievements on the path to the targets that have been set. We sincerely look forward to further development of the cooperation and mutual assistance between Vietnam and Romania in the spirit of friendship and socialist solidarity that has always existed between the two parties and peoples of our two countries.

7809

CSO: 4210/10

END

INDEX TO TAP CHI CONG SAN No 5, May 1986

[The following index is provided as a service to JPRS consumers.]

A

Allende, Salvadore  
on Ho Chi Minh, 40  
Andre, Max, 69  
Auriol, Vincent, 70  
Austria  
agriculture in, 125

B

Barjot, Admiral, 67, 68  
Bidault, G., 65, 66, 67  
Binh Tri Thien Province, 120  
Blum, Leon, 68, 70

C

Cambodia, 42  
Castro, Fidel  
on Ho Chi Minh, 40  
Ceausecsu, N., 131  
CEMA, 106, 108  
and Cuba, 81  
and Mongolia, 81  
and Vietnam, 81  
Vietnam's electronics industry and, 102, 104  
China, 89, 90, 122  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 124, 126, 127  
16th Congress of, 124  
Communist Party of Romania, 128, 131  
13th Congress of, 130  
CPSU, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42  
27th Congress of, 32, 38, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 85, 86, 88  
Political Report at 27th CPSU Congress, 74, 75, 77, 80, 86  
Czechoslovakia, 124  
agriculture in, 124, 125  
and CEMA, 126  
and Soviet Union, 126  
industry in, 124, 125

D

D'Argenlieu, Admiral, 65, 66, 72  
Dong Trieu State Farm, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119  
Ducroux, Jacques, 65, 70

E

Ehrenburg, Ilya, 68  
Eighth CPV Plenum  
resolution of, 3, 18, 27, 91  
Eisenhower, D., 40

## F

Federal Republic of Germany  
agriculture in, 125  
Fifth CPV Congress, 3, 4, 11, 12, 15, 18, 90, 91, 95  
electronics industry and, 102  
Fourth CPV Congress, 11, 12, 45, 58, 95  
electronics industry and, 102  
FRANC TIREUR Newspaper, 68  
France, 40, 41, 43, 44, 89  
agriculture in, 125

## G

Gandhi, Indira  
on Ho Chi Minh, 40  
Gorbachev, M.S., 81, 82  
at 27th CPSU Congress, 74, 77, 78, 79, 82, 86

## H

Ho Chi Minh, 1, 7, 8, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47  
1946 visit to France, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73  
as Nguyen Ai Quoc, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53  
as Nguyen Sinh Cung, 46  
on culture, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61  
PRAVDA and, 47  
V.I. Lenin and, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47  
Husak, Gustav, 127  
Huynh Thuc Khang, 63, 72

## I

Indochina, 60  
Indochinese Communist Party, 42, 44

## J

Juin, Marshall, 64, 65, 67

## L

L'ORDRE Newspaper, 69, 70  
Laos, 42  
LE COMBAT Newspaper, 69  
Le Duan, 58  
at 27th CPSU Congress, 82  
Le Duc Tho, 9  
Leclerc, General, 69  
LIBERATION Newspaper, 70  
Limonniere, Admiral, 68

## M

Moliere, General, 72  
Moutet, M., 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71

## N

Ngo Thi Ut, 111  
Ninth CPV Plenum  
    resolution of, 3, 27

## P

Poldes, Leo, 65, 66  
Political Bureau  
    Resolution 37: 102

## Q

Quang Ninh Province, 112

## R

Romania, 128  
    agriculture in, 128, 129, 130  
    and CEMA, 130, 131  
    industry in, 128, 130

## S

Sainteny, Jean, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71  
Salan, General, 66  
Second CPV Plenum  
    resolution of, 18  
Seventh CPV Plenum  
    resolution of, 3, 18, 27  
Sixth CPV Congress, 3, 14, 18, 25, 26, 31  
    preparations for, 91  
Sixth CPV Plenum  
    resolution of, 3, 18, 27  
Southeast Asia, 41  
Soviet Union, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 60  
    United States and, 38

## T

Thorez, Maurice, 65, 70  
Truong Chinh, 72

## U

United States, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 56, 57, 89, 90, 120, 122

## V

Viollis, Andree, 69