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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

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***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 10, October 1990***

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18 April 1991

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

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### **Some Urgent Problems in Regions Inhabited by Ethnic Minorities**

913E0006A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 1-5

[Article by Nong Duc Manh, head of the Nationalities Department of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee]

[Text] In the present difficult situation, for several years now, the ethnic minority groups have made a great effort in renovating the country and have made a number of advances. Nevertheless, few advances have been made as compared with the potential and development requirements of the mountain areas, ethnic minorities, and country. The economic and social development standards in the ethnic minority areas are very low. The natural economy and nomadism are still quite prevalent. Poverty, disease, and illiteracy are still very serious problems in many localities. Recently, negative phenomena such as gambling, the use of opium, and corrupt practices have sprung up again. The reactionary forces and enemy that have made use of the loopholes in the implementation of the nationalities policies have penetrated deeply into our bases and caused serious destruction.

The tribesmen are facing a great challenge: They must gradually move from a natural and backward self-sufficient economy to a commodity economy with a new management mechanism. The commodity economy is a difficult problem even for the majority people in the lowlands let alone for those in the tribal areas with their own separate and complex characteristics (practices, ways of thinking, customs, habits, psychology, and so on). In the past, the positions and policies for solving the problems of the tribal areas often put forth many tasks. But because of the people's stubbornness and the unsynchronized measures, some places implemented the policies only half-way or not at all. As a result, although there were many documents, the actual results were very limited.

Today, with respect to the tribal areas, in my view, efforts must be concentrated on solving the following problems:

First, understanding and the plans for implementing the positions and policies must soon be unified, particularly the economic, cultural, and social development guidelines in the tribal areas. This must be regarded as the task of the entire country and as a task that is part of the country's general economic and social development strategy. At the same time, each nationality in our country, no matter how small or large, must regard this as its task.

The arable land and resources in each region belong to all the people, and each nationality and laborer has the right to use and manage these things. The most important thing is to find a way to exploit the arable land and resources in order to benefit the tribesmen and all of

society. The state must soon issue legal documents and specific guidelines and stipulate rights and responsibilities in this sphere. It must oppose erroneous tendencies that could make it difficult to ensure interests, exhaust the arable land and resources, and cause waste. At the same time, there must be suitable investment policies (regarding capital, materials, technology, and cadres) for the mountain and ethnic minority areas. This must not be regarded as a favor, a state subsidy, or patronage.

The ethnic minority areas must manifest a spirit of self-reliance, dynamism, and creativity and become masters of the land and resources. They must exploit their strengths and not wait for or rely on others. They must not be passive but must strive for and make good use of the state's help. Each locality must build a suitable economic structure and gradually expand the commodity economy by mobilizing many elements in society to participate in production, business, circulation, services, and so on.

Agricultural and forestry: On one hand, the localities must engage in intensive cultivation and multicropping in locations where they can be sure of success. On the other hand, they must encourage each target and organization (agency, school, military unit, economic base, household, and so on) to accept land or forest areas or voluntarily exploit the uncultivated land and barren hills, improve the marshlands and acid and saline soil, and create a variety of production forms (forest gardens, forest farms, animal husbandry farms, and so on) with a variety of suitable plants and animals. This is the only way to quickly increase the number of commodity products. In particular, product processing and distribution must be handled properly, capital for expanded reproduction must be created, there must be money to buy grain and consumer goods, and the essential needs of life must be provided.

More than 1 million nomads must be settled. This is a long-term and difficult problem that involves many interconnected tasks that must be carried out simultaneously. Attention must be given to the reasons for the failure to achieve results in settling the nomads, and practical measures that can be implemented immediately must be proposed in order to overcome the sluggishness. For a long time, in the settled areas, we have given much attention to expanding production, but we have given very little attention to the minimum needs of the people or to improving social welfare. With respect to the various tribal groups (such as the Ruc, Caho, Lahu, Sila, Mang U, Brau, and Romam), the state must implement special measures and use settlement funds and economic development funds in order to create a relatively stable life for them (housing, farmland, production implements, the minimum necessities of life, and so on) in accord with their living conditions within a short period of time. In places where there is little land and the tribesmen want to move, the matter must be examined and handled in accord with the policies, just as people in the lowlands have gone to build new economic zones.

Industry, commerce, and the infrastructure: The main direction in industry is to expand the small and medium-sized processing industries in accord with their investment capabilities and have them engage in joint activities with households. Preliminary processing by the families must be organized carefully. At the same time, attention must be given to investing in modern technical equipment, raising the value of the commodity products, and providing good support for consumption and exports.

In business, the important problem is to carry out the production services and product distribution tasks well. Here, we must mention the role of state commerce. A broad network of trading agents must be organized in the villages and markets and along the main communications routes. State-operated, collective, and private entities must be encouraged to register to carry on business activities (including long-distance activities) in all types of goods allowed by the law, and favorable conditions must be created to enable people to travel freely and circulate commodities. Markets must be built in the districts, villages, and joint villages. The markets must become places where the various ethnic groups gather together, exchange opinions, buy and sell goods, and sign business contracts. They must be places that combine business activities with cultural activities in accord with the traditions of the ethnic groups in order to spread propaganda and teach people about the new and wholesome way of life. Along with markets, joint economic trade centers must be established between the large industrial installations of the central echelon and national defense industrial installations and the industrial and artisan industry installations of the localities. A production and commodities circulation environment must be created, and the appearance of the tribal areas must be improved.

As for the infrastructure of the tribal areas, attention must be focused on three things:

The communications routes must be improved. A number of key communications roads must be built and upgraded, particularly the roads connecting the important economic centers. Additional means of mechanized transport must be provided, the rudimentary means of transportation must be expanded, and water transport must be utilized more. The private forms of transport must not be limited.

Power networks, particularly small-scale and medium-sized hydroelectric networks, must be built in order to soon supply electricity to the people (particularly the people near the hydroelectric power plants). Attention must be given to other forms of energy. These energy bases must be built in accord with the motto: coordinate the capital and manpower of the state, collectives, production units, and households.

The problem of providing water for daily life and production must be solved. Money must be invested, and the existing large dams must be effectively exploited.

Small dams and water towers must be built in the flooded saline areas. Reservoirs must be built in the rocky and high mountain areas. Water conservancy must be tied to hydroelectricity and to afforestation and forest preservation.

Second, along with gradually expanding the market economy, the state—today, the organization with the greatest responsibility is the Ministry of Nationalities—must review all past work in order to formulate an effective plan for gradually developing the economic, political, cultural, social, security, and national defense aspects in a synchronized manner.

Above all, based on the economic results, the production relationships must be boldly adjusted in accord with the characteristics and standards of the production forces. The right of each region and ethnic group to make decisions and choose economic forms in accord with their special characteristics and capabilities must be respected. Forcing people to do things a certain way in a mechanical, formal, and oppressive manner must be opposed resolutely. The state economic organizations must be evaluated based on the productivity and quality standards. Suitable transitional economic forms must be applied broadly from the bottom up. Particular attention must be given to solidifying and building models for expanding the family economy, with this regarded as one of the important strategic guidelines, creating a basis for redividing the labor in each social cell, eliminating the natural economy, contributing to ending the land disputes, and establishing real ownership rights for the laborers to their plots of land.

In planning, in order to advance quickly, the state must give priority to investing in the following:

The basic surveys of the ethnic minority areas must be completed in order to have a basis for evaluating the natural and social conditions of those areas in an integrated and relatively accurate way with the aim of formulating all-round immediate and long-term plans.

Along with the existing bases, additional animal husbandry and crop growing centers must be opened and technical services must be organized to support production (creating new varieties, domesticating imported varieties, using modern technology in the processing of forestry products and special products, and so on). Attention must be given to renovating and raising the technical standards in exploiting and processing natural resources.

There must be specific measures to ensure the supply of a number of necessities such as table salt, lighting oil, medicines, preventive medicines, paper for students, and so on (particularly in places where things are particularly difficult).

Using every means possible, the project to supply water to the population centers in the high border areas, border defense posts, remote areas, and areas with brackish

water must be implemented. An effort must be made to basically satisfy the water needs of the people in these areas by 1995.

Third, guidelines for and new ways of building the ranks of ethnic minority cadres must be determined.

The decisive factor for the long-term and steady development of the ethnic minority groups is, in the final analysis, people. Building a rank of core cadres for each nationality has long been the dream of our party and of the various nationalities in our country. However, this is a very difficult problem. This is related to the educational and cultural development of the entire country and all the people in general and of the mountain areas and tribesmen in particular and to steadily improving the intellectual standards of each ethnic minority group. This depends to a great degree on the policies and positions and on the material conditions and means, with the aim being to train ranks of ethnic minority cadres and intellectuals.

In my view, the immediate tasks are:

Additional capital must be invested (even if this requires reducing investments in other spheres) in building schools and training general school teachers. Adequate numbers of teachers must be provided, particularly teachers on the spot who, after their training is completed, can immediately go to work without having to be transferred to another area.

The system of primary level general schools must be reorganized, particularly in the upland and sparsely populated areas. There should be classes in the hamlets and family associations (private classes can be opened).

Along with the minimum program to eliminate illiteracy, an effort must be made to provide universal Level-I education for children based on the reform program in accord with each ethnic minority group.

Tuition must be waived for the children of lowlands people who have established homes in the mountains and who are encountering many difficulties.

While constantly popularizing the general language, the mother tongues of the ethnic minorities must be respected, and they must be enabled to maintain their mother tongue.

Based on the economic and social development requirements of the mountain areas in general and of each ethnic minority area and group in particular, the system of general boarding schools, work-study schools, vocational schools, college probationary classes, vocational classes, and so on must be expanded and solidified.

As for small ethnic minority groups, measures must be implemented to provide them with training and give them special treatment (in enrolling students, awarding scholarships, providing means of transportation, and so on). Everything possible must be done to ensure that the children of these people attend school.

The short-term training programs must be expanded for leadership and management cadres and for educational, public health, cultural, and scientific and technical cadres, particularly at the district and village levels.

The classes reserved for mountain area and ethnic minority cadres at the party schools, administrative schools, economic management schools, and schools of the mass organizations (both at the central echelon and in the localities) must be restored. Measures must be implemented to give priority to students at these types of schools.

The ethnic minority areas in our country are facing urgent requirements that must be satisfied in order to stabilize the lives of the ethnic minorities, maintain good relations among these peoples, and prevent new and complex problems from arising. It will not be easy to satisfy these requirements. But in my view, the most important thing is to determine the practical tasks that can be carried out immediately. We must not try to do the impossible and not talk a lot but do little. In particular, everyone in society must be made to understand that solving the above problems is a long-term strategic task that is related to the interests of each nationality and to the future and happiness of each person.

#### **Renovate the Social Welfare Policies To Contribute to Stabilizing Society**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 6-10

[Article by Tran Dinh Hoan; not translated]

#### **The Principle of Democratic Centralism**

913E0006B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 11-15

[Article by Nguyen Phu Trong, M.A. in history]

[Text] For many decades, thinkers opposed to communism have constantly attacked the leadership of the communist party and looked for ways to attack the principle of democratic centralism with the aim of destroying the solidarity and unity of the party and smashing the party organizationally. In recent years, along with attacking Marxism-Leninism, which is the party's ideological basis, they have launched a savage attack on the principle of democratic centralism, which is the party's organizational basis. They have criticized the communist party, calling it a dictatorship, and praised those parties that have implemented political pluralism and extreme democracy, with these parties having many factions and opposing groups.

In the present transformation, reform, and renovation movement, reexamining the various viewpoints and theoretical principles, a number of people in our ranks have criticized and condemned the principle of democratic centralism, and some people have even asked that



this principle be abandoned. They say that the principle of democratic centralism is now outmoded and that it was suited to the party's activities only in the period before the party seized power, when the party had to operate in secret or lead the war. They say that implementing democratic centralism leads to dogmatism and dictatorship and that there won't be democracy or humanitarianism in either the party or society.

Are they right or wrong? Should we maintain and continue to implement the principle of democratic centralism? How can the principle of democratic centralism be implemented properly in today's renovation conditions?

First of all, it must be recognized that those who are critical of the principle of democratic centralism and who want to see this abolished, regardless of whether they are bourgeois thinkers who oppose communism, dissatisfied elements, extremists, or people who lack understanding, do have a basis for their views in reality. That basis is the lack of democracy in many communist parties and in many socialist countries for a rather long period of time. In some places, there has been a serious loss of democracy. A number of leaders have been authoritarian, remote from the people, dogmatic, and paternalistic. Some people have become mired in feudalism and war-lord-ism and turned into a "king" filled with power and ambition. There have been cases in which leading cadres have trampled on and oppressed the masses. There have in fact been times when people in this or that place have criticized each other, fought for power, and plotted against and opposed each other. There have been many cases in which the democratic rights of the party members and people have not been respected or exploited. Many times, the activities of the state are very formal, with the state lacking real power. In economic management, the emphasis has been on centralization and unity (with its real nature being bureaucratic centralism). Democracy has been slighted. Planning has been stressed, but the dynamism and independence of the bases have been slighted. Vertical relationships have been emphasized, but horizontal relationships have been slighted, with the result that the plurality, richness, and creativity of the economic elements, economic relationships, and economic installations have not been exploited and the economy has grown slowly.

All of those things are true. But is that the result of implementing the principle of democratic centralism? Is that the "crime" of democratic centralism?

As everyone knows, the statutes of the communist parties have clearly stated the basic contents of the principle of democratic centralism as follows:

The various echelon leadership organizations of the party are to be democratically elected and established based on the principle of secret ballot. The leadership organizations must report to and are responsible to the

Congress at their echelon, to higher echelon leadership organizations, and to lower echelon party organizations.

The various echelon leadership organizations must practice collective leadership along with manifesting individual responsibility and regularly engage in self-criticism and criticism.

The tasks of the party must depend on the importance of each problem, with the problems handled by the party organizations with jurisdiction. For example, problems concerning the lines and basic policies of the party and important problems of national scope must be handled by the national leadership organizations of the party (meaning the national congress of delegates and the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee). As for matters for which the localities are responsible, the local party organizations must handle these matters in accord with the general lines and policies and the decisions of higher echelons.

The resolutions of the party plenums must be approved by majority vote. Before voting, the party members can discuss the resolutions and voice their opinions. But after a resolution is passed, every party member must work to implement that resolution. If there are points with which a party member disagrees, he can maintain his position or voice his views to higher echelon organizations, including the national congress of delegates. But he must still work to implement the party's resolution.

Every party member has the right to discuss the party's work democratically and frankly. They can be elected to, stand for election, or be nominated for positions in the various echelon organizations of the party. They have the right to criticize and question the work of the party. They can voice their opinions when a party organization decides to discipline them.

Party members must submit to party organization and discipline. The minority must yield to the majority, the lower-echelon organizations must yield to the higher-echelon organizations with jurisdiction, and the entire party must submit to the Central Committee.

Thus, the principle of democratic centralism is a combination of centralism and democracy in an organic and dialectical relationship and not just centralism or democracy. Democracy is the condition and precondition of centralism. Centralism is the thing that guarantees the implementation of democracy. Democracy is not an "adjective" of centralism. Making one aspect "absolute" will lead to errors that could damage the party's leadership and strength.

From the very beginning of the struggle to establish the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (the forerunner of the Russian Communist Party), Lenin stated the need to closely coordinate the centralism and unified discipline of the party with broad democracy, meaning that the principle of democratic centralism must be implemented. On one hand, Lenin affirmed that "the party's organizations have been formed in a democratic way.

This means that it is the party members who elect the leaders and members of the executive committees. It is the party members who discuss and make decisions about the political movements of the proletariat. It is the party members who decide the tactical guidelines of the party organizations.<sup>11</sup> discipline be practiced within the party. Each party member had to submit to the discipline of the party organization. The party's ideological unity had to be maintained and solidified through material unity concerning organization. It's impossible to imagine a political organization without unity and organizational restraints. Lenin stressed that "I demand that the party, the vanguard unit of the proletariat, be organized. The party should admit only elements who have a minimum organizational nature."<sup>12</sup> If someone refuses to submit to the party's discipline "it means that he does not want to be a party member and wants to destroy the party."<sup>13</sup> He clarified this by saying that "this leads us to a very important principle in all party organizations and activities: in leading the movements and revolutionary struggle of the proletariat on the ideological and practical fronts, if there must be a strong centralized system, then with respect to enabling the Party Central Committee (and thus the entire party in general) to grasp the movement and with respect to being responsible to the party, there must be decentralization measures, the broader the better."<sup>14</sup> Unifying actions must always go hand in hand with discussing and criticizing things. Broad democracy must be closely coordinated with centralized discipline. After that, when pointing out the urgent tasks of the Soviet regime, the tasks of organizing and managing Russia after the October Revolution, Lenin said that the spirit of democracy must be closely coordinated with centralized and unified discipline. At the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in March 1921, Lenin drafted a resolution on "Party Unity" and said that all factional groups in the party must be abolished. He proposed that the congress give the Party Central Committee the power to use positive measures, including the power to purge any member of the central committee who disrupts party discipline or who allows factionalism to arise in the party. Thus, Lenin never advocated allowing party members to act passively or in a dependent or undisciplined manner. He never allowed opposing factions to exist in the party (as people have said recently).

The principle of democratic centralism is the condition for ensuring that party organizations are united with respect to organization, will power, and action. At the same time, the innovative spirit and creativity of every party member and party organization must be exploited.

Those demanding that democratic centralism be abolished have shown that they do not understand or are intentionally trying to distort the contents and nature of this principle. They seem to think that the principle of democratic centralism concerns just discipline or centralism. They forget that a very basic and important element of this principle is democracy. They cite various examples (some of which are exaggerations) about

bureaucratic centralism, dogmatism, and the loss of democracy on the part of a number of leaders such as Stalin and Ceausescu in order to criticize and condemn the principle of democratic centralism. They don't realize that this is the result of violations of this principle.

Some people have said that the principle of democratic centralism is correct in theory and that this exists on paper only but not in actual practice. It's true that life has witnessed many violations of this principle. There have even been very serious violations that have had serious consequences. Even the specific stipulations to ensure the implementation of this principle are inadequate. But should a principle be eliminated, even if it is correct and necessary, just because it has not been implemented in reality or just because it has not been implemented very well? Wherever and whenever democratic centralism has not been implemented correctly and paternalistic, dogmatic, bureaucratic, or unorganized and undisciplined phenomena have been allowed to occur, resolute steps have had to be taken to overcome these practices and implement the principle of democratic centralism instead of foolishly eliminating this principle. That is the same as "throwing out the baby with the bath water," as criticized by Lenin, or "smashing the flower pot with the mouse," as President Ho criticized.

A number of people have said that the principle of democratic centralism is proper and appropriate for party activities only in secret conditions or in wartime. In such situations, there must be tight discipline and a high degree of centralization and unity. But during peacetime construction when there are no longer any enemies and the people are masters, there is no need to implement centralized, disciplinary, or dictatorial measures. Today, implementing democratic centralism is out of step with the times and a violation of democracy, and this could lead to a return to totalitarian feudalism.

The above view is wrong. Because as discussed above, the principle of democratic centralism is aimed not only at creating unified discipline but also at exploiting the innovative and creative nature and intelligence of the party members and bases. In times of secret activities or in conditions of wartime leadership, the party organizations must be very tight and the party members and cadres must be very disciplined. But it is also very necessary to manifest democracy. Secret activities or wartime conditions require that cadres and party members in all positions take the initiative and be very creative and flexible in carrying out their specific tasks. They cannot sit passively waiting for orders from above. In the long and difficult struggle by our party and people and Vietnam's sacred people's war, there have been countless concrete and vivid examples of the creativity, spirit of independence, flexibility, and cleverness of our cadres, party members, and people. This is one of the important reasons for the great strength of our party and the wonderful victory of our nation.

During today's conditions of peaceful construction, not only must we exploit and expand democracy (because

democracy is a characteristic and element of and the motive force of the new society) but we must also maintain unified discipline and a high degree of centralism. It's impossible to conceive of a combat and leadership organization such as the communist party that is organizationally tight in one situation but loose in some other situation. There are parties that struggled heroically for decades, but recently, because of a momentary lack of discipline and centralism, with the emphasis on democracy only, and because of allowing opportunistic elements and extremists to act freely, there has been anarchy and a lack of discipline. There have been internal splits, a lack of organization, and even factional divisions.

Furthermore, during the peaceful transition to socialism, there are still spontaneous factors, anarchic tendencies, and factional and destructive plots both here or from abroad. In a country such as Vietnam in which small-scale production is still widespread and in which the country is encircled on many fronts, there are countless spontaneous and complex factors and so we cannot relax discipline. The recent past shows that if we expand the multi-faceted commodity economy with plural ownership, switch to an economic accounting mechanism, and use both individual and capitalist elements without carrying on macrocosmic management, without using and reforming things and cooperating and struggling simultaneously, without having plans and laws, and without controlling and regulating things, it will be impossible to avoid dispersal, localism, a lack of organization, and even disorder. How can we explain the negative phenomena that have occurred recently, such as the collapse in the credit and banking sector, the land disputes, the smuggling activities, the export of large amounts of rice, the abnormal prices, and so on, which the state has been unable to control? Could it be that that is the result of failing to tie democracy to discipline and the law and relaxing control and macrocosmic management?

Clearly, in the present situation, we must both expand democracy and maintain discipline. We must closely coordinate centralism and democracy and do a good job in implementing the principle of democratic centralism.

Actually, the "reasons" given by anti-communist thinkers, opportunistic elements, and extremists are not new. These are just repetitions of the old points that anti-communist elements and opportunists have been raising for decades. The only thing that is "new" is that today, these people are more dishonest and malicious. They hide under the cover of renovation or exploit and use the mistakes made by the communist parties to launch fierce counter-attacks.

All of the things discussed above allow us to conclude that the principle of democratic centralism is still not outdated. We cannot and should not abandon this principle.

However, in today's new conditions, we must understand and implement this principle correctly in accord with the new spirit of the age. This must not be done in a mechanical or dogmatic way, and we cannot follow the path of the previous period.

It is difficult to understand the nature and contents of the principle of democratic centralism. But what is even more difficult and decisive is to have a correct mechanism and concrete stipulations and a resolute spirit of struggle so that the implementation of this principle achieves good results.

#### Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, volume 13, page 244.
2. Ibid., volume 8, page 286.
3. Ibid., volume 8, page 424.
4. Ibid., volume 7, page 23.



### Can There Be Pure Democracy?

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
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[Article by Thai Ninh; not translated]

### Some Important Problems of the Vietnamese Economy in the 1990s

913E0006C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 22-26

[Article by Professor Pham Van Nghien, Ph.D. in economics]

[Text] Although a number of initial results have been achieved in producing grain, limiting the rate of inflation, stabilizing prices, gradually stabilizing and improving the lives of the people, and so on, our country's economy still faces many great difficulties. There are many problems that must be solved, particularly in renovating the economic structure and management mechanism and implementing the important economic and social tasks, in order to bring about fundamental changes in the economy in the 1990s.

1. Fighting inflation: In the past period, the state has implemented measures to reduce budget expenditures, such as gradually eliminating state subsidies in capital and credit, ending the practice of making up the losses of the state enterprises, limiting the practice of increasing wages to cover price increases, eliminating the two-price system, increasing credit interest rates with the aim of attracting the idle capital of the people, allowing commodity circulation, and so on. However, in 1989, the budget deficit was still 26 percent (as compared with 17.7 percent in 1988). The cash deficit in 1989 was 1.7 times that in 1988. The money supply in 1988 was 2.8 times greater than in 1987, and in 1989 it was 2.5 times greater than in 1988. Thus, the direct causes of inflation still exist. Capital construction has not been managed well, and little has been done to treat the illnesses of this sector. In particular, the central echelon and localities have continued to build unnecessary projects such as headquarters buildings, meeting halls, and so on. The 1989 expenditure budget for capital construction is 79.3 percent as compared with that for 1986 (1982 prices). In 1989, 1,789 billion dong was allotted for this. Of this, most was earmarked for circulation and so this could not help but have an effect on prices.

One of the most important measures for fighting inflation is to tightly control capital construction investments. The state should invest only in projects that are really important and in projects to build the infrastructure for the economy and society. In order to reduce the burden on the state budget, the private sector must be encouraged to invest money in building schools, hospitals, and so on. The economic units can generate capital in order to carry on their commercial activities. The state enterprises that operate at a loss should issue shares, or they should be sold to people in the private sector or to

foreigners so that they can reequip them, renovate the technology, and reorganize commercial production in an effective manner.

In order to attract the idle capital of the people, the currency policies must apply flexible interest rates and ensure that the interest rate on deposits is always higher than the inflation rate. Issuing public bonds is another measure that can be used to mobilize the capital of the people. However, to ensure that issuing public bonds is effective, the value of the currency loaned by the people to the state must be maintained, and there must be a straightforward relationship between the state and the people.

Balancing the budget is an important measure for solving the inflation problem. Along with reducing expenditures, revenues must be increased. Taxes are the most important source of revenues. Tax evasion is a chronic disease in every age and society. The important problem is for the state to establish a rational tax system that will generate important sources of revenues for the state budget and stimulate the expansion of production and business. Along with the promulgation of a tax law, there must be a strong mechanism for collecting taxes. In Vietnam, neither of those requirements have been satisfied. The tax system has not been perfected and it is not rational. Tax shortfalls are very serious in all the economic sectors.

Improving the production results of society will not solve the problem of inflation, but it is, nevertheless, a basic and long-term measure of every economy in fighting inflation and degeneration. The problem is to improve the results of investment in the economy. Our country's economy is greatly influenced by investment and the use of the fixed assets in the production sectors. During the period 1980-1989, the fixed asset mobilization factor reached a high of 59.8 percent in 1980. It was lowest in 1988, when it reached only 41.6 percent. The average for this period was below 50 percent. Thus, of the capital invested by the state, less than 50 percent was turned into fixed assets. And of the economy's fixed assets, for a long time, only 40-60 percent were used, with the average being about 50 percent. Thus, only 25 percent of the capital invested was used to produce materials and services. That is a terrible waste of budget capital (that includes foreign aid and loans). That represents a loss and ineffective use of 10 billion rubles and dollars during the past period, when friends generously provided us with help. Recently, the state has changed the investment structure and concentrated capital on implementing the three major economic programs. The investment mechanism has been renovated and state subsidies have been eliminated in investment based on having those who engage in business activities invest capital and directly manage the capital from the first step to the last. They have power and responsibility concerning their capital. As for the large infrastructural projects, in order to avoid building very expensive projects that would produce poor results, before the people with jurisdiction make a decision, they must have good economic and

technical arguments for this, and they must seek the opinions of excellent specialists in the sectors concerned.

One thing that must be done is to economize in production and consumption. There has been much talk about economizing, but this has never been done in a serious way and so there has been much waste in the economy.

Along with the positive aspects, the anti-inflation measures have also had unavoidable negative effects. Reducing state budget expenditures for capital construction and reducing the amount of capital invested in this sector has certainly created many difficulties, in terms of jobs, for tens of thousands of laborers in this sector. As a result of eliminating state subsidies in capital, not making up the losses, commercializing the materials, and so on, the state enterprises have encountered many difficulties and a number of workers have lost their jobs. The measures to fight inflation are sometimes in conflict with the measures to fight unemployment, and this has created a vicious circle. Fighting inflation leads to higher unemployment, and fighting unemployment leads to higher inflation. Economists have been studying these two problems since the 19th Century. But even today, the only thing that can be done is to reconcile these two measures, that is, accept a certain rate of unemployment and a certain rate of inflation acceptable to the economy.

2. Providing jobs for laborers: Today, there are no official statistics on the number of unemployed, but a number of economic research organizations estimate that the number of unemployed and underemployed people is approximately 5 million. Thus, from now until the end of this decade, we must create approximately 15 million jobs (each year, another 1 million people enter the labor force). A few special characteristics in the labor situation in Vietnam need to be examined:

The number of laborers has increased mainly in the rural areas (during the period 1980-1988, the population of the urban areas increased by 2.36 million people while the population of the rural areas increased by 7.65 million people, or 76.4 percent of the total population increase during the period). The per capita agricultural area in Vietnam is very low (0.1 hectare), particularly in the key rice areas (in the Red River Delta the figure is 0.06 hectares and in the Mekong Delta it is 0.17 hectares). Thus, it will be difficult to put more laborers into agricultural production, which already has a surplus of labor strength. On the other hand, looking at labor patterns in the economy, in 1980, agricultural laborers accounted for almost 70 percent of all laborers in the country. In 1988, the figure was 72.2 percent, which means that growth has been contrary to the law of changing the labor pattern during the process of industrialization.

Many people have said that Vietnam has advantages in terms of an abundant source of laborers and cheap labor. But a major shortcoming is that few of the laborers have had any technical training, and there is a lack of skilled

workers. This shortcoming has had an effect on bringing in new technology and limited our ability to attract foreign investment capital.

In the technical revolution, there is competition in commodity production and commodity circulation on both international and domestic markets. Commodities can be sold only if they are of good quality and prices are low. Because of this, the technical advances and new technology must be used. Today, the laborers cannot be equipped with rudimentary tools as in previous decades. This is true even in the artisan industry and handicrafts sector. Thus, there must be investment capital in order to create an infrastructure (energy, roads, means of transportation, and so on) and provide the means of production, even though this may be at an average technical level as compared with the level in the world today. To obtain such large amounts of capital, we must rely mainly on the people and economic elements. Because of this, the state must have a mechanism to stimulate investment to expand production and create jobs.

The arrangement of the laborers in the economic sectors depends on the model of economic growth in the coming period. Priority must be given to developing the infrastructure of the economy (energy, communications and transportation, and posts), a number of key heavy industries, agriculture, the processing industry, light industry, and the artisan industry. In conditions in which Vietnam lacks capital and has a surplus of laborers, the emphasis should be on those production and service sectors that require relatively little capital and many laborers. Examples are the ready-made clothing,<sup>1</sup> textile, artisan industry and handicrafts, electronic equipment assembly, and machine industries.

The only way to attract millions of laborers is to expand the textile, ready-made clothing, agricultural products processing, machine production, building materials, stoneware, ceramics, and crystal industries. There must be plans to expand rural industry and attract the surplus laborers in agriculture to participate in industrial production formed on the spot. The artisan industry and handicrafts sector must be expanded based on building microcosmic industries, the artisan industry and a number of handicrafts sectors must be modernized, and advanced technology must be used to enable products to compete on international and domestic markets. The key measure for solving the labor and occupational problems throughout society is the state's economic policy of encouraging people to invest money in expanding production and services, ensuring that those who invest money have ownership rights to the means of production and can hire laborers without restriction (as long as they don't violate the labor law currently in force), ensuring people's right to inherit assets and their right to trade with private individuals and foreign organizations in order to obtain capital, technology, and markets, eliminating the inconvenient practices, and creating confidence among the people regarding the party's and state's policy of developing a multi-faceted economy.

The state recently promulgated a number of economic policies to encourage private economic elements to expand commercial production, and already there have been a number of changes in the economy. The family economy sector has invested thousands of ounces of gold and hundreds of billions of dong in business activities. However, it must also be said that the capital potential and organizational capabilities of the various strata of people and economic elements are very great. Unfortunately, no sociological studies have been made to determine how much capital has been invested by people as compared with their economic potential. The amount of capital that people will invest depends on their confidence in the policies and laws of the state and on the stability of the policies with respect to the economic elements. Today, there are still a number of policy makers, managers, and scientists who view the private and individual economy as something that must "reluctantly" be accepted and as a strange "cell" that must be included in the living organism. Such thinking has generated doubt among the people and caused those with money and business assets to shy away from investing in commercial production.

### 3. Renovating the economic structure based on creating a dynamic economy and expanding commodity production

The economy is a large system, and the smaller systems include the sectors, economic zones, and economic sectors (such as production and consumption). Naturally, these smaller systems can be composed of even lower-echelon systems. Studying an economic system will enable us to determine the primary relationships and stabilize things between the smaller systems. Through this, it will be possible to see the economy's level of development. Let's look, for example, at the agricultural, forestry, and fishing systems. Nationwide, with the exception of a number of areas with abundant grain products and surplus products that can be sold on the markets, most of the agricultural, forestry, and fishing areas, particularly in the midlands and mountain areas, are in a state of self-sufficiency. People produce products mainly to satisfy their own needs. Surplus products are sold at the local markets in order to purchase commodities to satisfy other needs. Economic relations with other areas are negligible. Thus, those can be viewed as independent economic systems. The special characteristic of undeveloped commodity production is a semi-natural economy. There is no close relationship between the agricultural and industrial sectors, particularly the processing industry. Most of the export agricultural products are unprocessed products: latex, logs, coffee beans, string cassava, peanuts, frozen marine products, silk thread, hides, salt, and so on. Processing the agricultural products would increase the value of the commodities and create jobs for laborers. The nature of the

relationships tells the level of development of commodity production. When the product of a production sector is sold to a consumer, the "production-consumption" circle is closed. If that product is used as a raw material and the finished product is sold to someone else, the circle remains open: production-consumption-production.... The product of one sector is the raw material of another sector, meaning that the output of one economic system is the input of another economic system. A close, varied, and stable relationship must be established among the industrial sectors with different technical standards and production scales (relationships concerning the supply of raw materials, the sale of finished products, equipment, and technology, the machining of parts, and so on). The mutually supporting relationships among the industrial sectors is the key to industrial development in the economically developed countries. A large enterprise has a relationship with thousands of small production installations and enterprises. It may even use family workers to do work on contract when it would not be economically feasible to do that work at the plant.

In summary, the weak spot in Vietnam's economy is that commodity production is undeveloped, and the necessary horizontal relationships among the production sectors, regions, and economic units are lacking. This situation stems from the management mechanism. In the past, the economy operated based on vertical systems. Everything from production, capital, materials, equipment, prices, customers, and so on was under the control of higher echelons. The production installations just followed orders. That mechanism destroyed competition, made it difficult to manifest innovations, and resulted in the economy lacking dynamism. Switching to the new mechanism, the relationships in the economy must be established based on voluntary joint enterprise and ties between the commercial production units belonging to the economic elements under the guidance of the state.

### Footnotes

1. Ready-made clothing is one of Thailand's industrial export goods. Each year this earns more than 20 billion baht (\$800 million), which is equal to Thailand's export value of rice.

### Thoughts on Renovating Planning in Our Country

(\*\*\*\*\*\*) Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 90 pp 27-32

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Bang; not translated]

### The Market Mechanism and Points of Alarm

(\*\*\*\*\*) Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 90 pp 33-36

[Article by Vu Hien; not translated]



### The Path Forward for the Ethnic Minorities in Lang Son

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 37-41, 58

[Article by La Thang, not translated]

### Communist Party Members in Renovation

913E0007A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 42-46, 52

[Article by Tien Hai]

[Text] What is a communist party member? In the socialist revolutionary stage, particularly during the present period when the entire party and all the people are carrying on renovation, what must the model of a communist party member be like? Or to put it differently, what are the standards for determining the vanguard role of communist party members? These are questions that must be clarified.

The party's statutes state: Communist party members must be people who have an awareness of communist ideals. They must be loyal to the fatherland and to socialism. They must set an example and manifest an effect in production labor, work, combat, and training. They must have a close relationship with the masses and have the confidence of the masses. But the question posed now is, how must those standards be concretized so that they are in accord with the lofty requirements of renovation? In my view, the answer is as follows:

1. Party members must be strong politically. They must be resolved to struggle for renovation and socialist ideals. They must defend the basic principles of the renovation line, they must defend the party, and they must make positive contributions to solidifying and renovating the party's leadership. They must not waiver. They must remain vigilant in the face of the plots by the imperialists and reactionaries to destroy the revolution. In summary, party members must be strong politically and have a correct attitude and positive attitude toward the renovation movement now being carried out by the party and people.

Renovation is an objective necessity. Correct renovation is aimed at overcoming the shortcomings in the socialist construction line, accelerating socialist construction in conformity with the laws, and achieving good results.

The Sixth National Party Congress put forth the renovation line. To date, reality has shown that this line is correct and in conformity with the laws and desires of the people. Thus, the people have welcomed this and responded positively. A mass revolutionary action movement has been launched. However, we cannot be satisfied or subjective, because this is just the first victory, and things are not yet stable. There are still many unstable factors. Moreover, renovation is a process and revolutionary movement filled with difficulties and hardships. In carrying on renovation, new conflicts

will certainly arise, and it will be difficult to avoid making mistakes. The correct attitude of communist party members must be to resolutely strive for the success of renovation and to resolutely oppose erroneous phenomena and tendencies such as conservatism, slowness, impatience, subjectivism, and negligence. Party members must support the lines and implement the resolutions of the party. However, the party does not want people to support and implement things blindly. Party members must always think, offer suggestions, and contribute to revising, perfecting, and developing the party's lines. But once the party has issued a resolution, party members must implement it resolutely. The qualities, capabilities, and exemplary vanguard role of party members must be manifested concretely in this way.

2. Party members must be model citizens and excellent, honest, and devoted leaders.

The people are the subjects in carrying on renovation. Whether renovation succeeds or fails depends to a great degree on the quality of these control subjects. Party members are citizens, too. But citizens who are party members must be more politically aware than ordinary citizens. In the past, during the national democratic revolution, party members had to set an example in the life and death struggle and make sacrifices in order to liberate the country and seize power. Now, party members must set an example in carrying out the lines, policies, laws, and discipline of the party and state. They must set an example in labor, training, work, and combat. At the same time, they must be able to lead and organize the masses to expand commercial production. They must handle the relationship between individual and collective interests properly, place common interests above individual interests, and dedicate their lives to renovation with the aim of building socialism and defending our socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In today's conditions, the party is encouraging every party member to make every effort, work creatively, and maintain high quality in order to contribute to eliminating poverty and backwardness, make the country rich, stabilize and improve the living conditions of the people, and earn high incomes legitimately. The party is encouraging laborers (including party members) to expand the family economy in accord with the policies in order to raise incomes. The party has given permission to party members who are retired cadres to organize productive labor and service collectives and earn money based on the principle of distribution according to labor in those collectives. The party has also given permission to wealthier party members to contribute capital to labor collectives and state economic units and earn interest in accord with the state's policies. But people who have been party members cannot be exploiters.

Some comrades have said that allowing party members to engage in family economic activities, accumulate business capital, and receive profits but forbidding exploitation "cannot hope to succeed." A question that needs to be discussed here is: What is exploitation? If



this is not clarified, this will have a direct effect on determining party member standards in the present stage. In my view, individuals (including party members) who have capital and techniques should be allowed to engage in a profession and hire workers in order to ensure that the production process is carried out. They must pay the workers in accord with the value of their labor and their actual contributions. Besides their wages, laborers must be paid other income items such as bonuses, sick pay, and allowances for funerals, weddings, and calamities. The relationship between the owner and the laborers must be one of equality, cooperation, mutual help, and mutual responsibility. The owner must carry on production and business within the framework of the law, and he must participate directly in the labor. If things are done this way, this should not, or to put it more correctly, this cannot be called exploitation.

3. Party members must be vanguard soldiers in mass movements. They must have the ability to lead, educate, and persuade the masses. They must have a close relationship with the masses but must not act in a demagogic way or follow the masses.

The party relates to and leads the masses through its members. The strength of the party and the source of the revolution's victories is the close relationship between the party and the people. Thus, the party requires every party member to respect and manifest the ownership rights of the masses. They must understand the wishes and desires of the masses, listen to the ideas of the masses, and look after the daily lives and protect the legitimate interests of the masses. They must resolutely oppose actions that harm the wonderful relationship between the party and the masses.

In recent years, cracks have appeared in the relationship between the party and the people. The people's confidence in the party and in party members has been seriously eroded. During the past several years, with the initial successes of the renovation movement, the confidence of the masses in the party has begun to be restored, but the masses do not have the same wonderful view of party members that they did during the national democratic revolution. Thus, more than ever before, party members must strive to regain the confidence of the people and live in the hearts of the people. They must not remain aloof from the people, stand over the people, or stand apart from the people. The closeness of the people and party members and the results of that closeness are the yardstick for measuring the quality and capabilities of party members. Today, a person cannot be called a party member if he shuns the people or the people shun, ignore, or complain about him.

4. Party members must be enthusiastic about studying and training in order to constantly improve their intellectual and practical organizational capabilities. Put another way, party members must have the ability to carry on renovation.

Renovation is filled with difficulties and hardships. This is because renovation must deal with backward aspects that have existed for a long time and that are so deeply embedded in the social body that they have become customs, policies, and mechanisms. There are difficulties and hardships because renovation contains all-round and profound contents and is related to every sphere of social life and touches everything from the infrastructure to the superstructure. There are also difficulties and hardships because there is no existing model of renovation. The countries that are making reforms and carrying on renovation are both acting and gaining experience. Thus, along with the successes, there have also been many failures. This clear truth has had a very strong effect on our country and generated very complex psychological changes. There has been either confusion and worry, which has led to conservatism and sluggishness, or impatience and negligence, which has led to reckless and irrational actions.

Seeing the complexity of renovation, the party has advocated renovating things cautiously and gradually in a principled way. Once things have been renovated, results must be achieved. Resolute steps must be taken to ensure that renovation does not overturn the achievements of the revolution.

Clearly, with these requirements, unless the cadres and party members are capable people, it will not be possible to carry out renovation successfully. Today, party members must have all-round capabilities. These are lofty requirements with respect to all aspects: cultural, theoretical, scientific and technical, economic management, and legal standards; the ability to think and handle information in order to understand objective reality and objective laws and be able to act in accord with those laws; and practical organizational standards.

There will be people who will say that in today's situation, expecting party members to have such capabilities is just an illusion. Naturally, the party does not require all party members and every type of party member to have the same high standards and capabilities. Depending on the party member and the type of party member, the requirements concerning this or that aspect can be emphasized. Party members are intellectuals, peasants, workers, and so on depending on the work environment and the nature of each task, for which there are different requirements. But one common and unchanging requirement is that all party members must have the will to train and improve their capabilities in all respects so that they can fulfill their tasks in an outstanding manner.

5. All party members, regardless of their position, must respect and adhere to the principle of democratic centralism in party activities, elevate the concept of organization and discipline, and maintain and build solidarity and unity within the party.

In party activities, party members have the right to debate things fairly and honestly, and they can explain

their views and ideas on the various problems. But once a collective resolution has been passed, party members must implement that resolution. Party members have the right to stick to their opinions, but they cannot act contrary to or delay implementing the collective's decisions, the party's resolutions, or the state's policies and laws. Party members must be disciplined in their speech and implement the organizational principles correctly. They must not be careless in their speech or propagate their own personal views and ideas that are contrary to the lines and viewpoints of the party. Party members must work to build and maintain solidarity and unity within the party.

The above are specific requirements for communist party members in the present revolutionary stage and in renovation. Based on these requirements, the echelons and sectors can concretize and further clarify the requirements for each type of cadre and party member. There are party members who serve as leadership and management cadres. There are ordinary party members, and there are party members in administrative organizations, the armed forces, production and commercial units. There are party members who serve as party cadres and as cadres in administrative and mass organizations. There are party members working as economic cadres, scientific and technical cadres, educational, public health, and sports cadres, and cultural and arts and letters cadres. Each type has requirements concerning qualities and capabilities.

Correctly determining party member standards in each stage and period of the revolutionary struggle is a very important and necessary task. But what is even more important is to ensure that party members maintain those standards.

Here, it's necessary to remember the subjective factor of cultivating and training communist party members. But the objective factors have a great and all-round effect on party members.

Party member standards are closely related to the party's political lines. It isn't necessary to analyze this in detail. If the party's lines are wrong, naturally, the ranks of party members will not be good. If the lines are wrong, the party members will lose their sense of direction, and large numbers of party members will commit mistakes. The actual situations of the communist parties in Indochina have proven that.

Party member standards have a rather close relationship to the organizations, particularly the party base organizations. President Ho Chi Minh often said: The party will be strong if the party chapters are strong, and the party chapters will be strong if party members are enthusiastic and set examples. It can also be said that if the party chapters and committee echelons are strong, party members will be strong. If the party chapters and committee echelons are weak, the party members will lack combat strength and can easily become degraded, because the relationship between the party members and

the organization is a cause-and-effect relationship. The realities of party building in our country have shown that quite clearly.

Party member standards are also related to the economic and social management mechanism. For example, if we build a truly scientific management mechanism that is in accord with the laws of economic and social development, that is a very important condition that will force cadres and party members to give attention to the economic results of production and become deeply involved with the production structure and process. Because of this, their concept of responsibility, spirit of ownership, level of understanding, and management capabilities must be improved. For many years, we have been bogged down in an administrative, bureaucratic centralism, and state subsidies mechanism, and this has naturally led to the formation of bureaucratic cadres and party members who have acted arbitrarily. Today, in agriculture, because the management mechanism has been renovated and because cooperative members have been used to form independent economic units, many of the negative aspects of cadres and party members tied to the old mechanism, such as corruption regarding work points and unit funds, have been eliminated. But other negative phenomena have appeared, such as land disputes and the sharing of profits in carrying on joint operations and bids to build pumping stations and power lines. The same is true in the state economic sphere. Eliminating the state subsidies mechanism has reduced authoritarianism, price differentials, the distribution of cheap goods internally, and so on. But because the new mechanism has not been perfected, there are still loopholes, and this has given rise to other negative phenomena. For example, the distribution of revenues, wages, and bonuses is not fair, and bribes are given in buying and selling and in making bids. This shows that if party members are to maintain their model vanguard character, much attention must be given to perfecting the economic and social management mechanism and eliminating the loopholes in this mechanism.

Party member standards must be set within the framework of the law. Our constitution clearly stipulates that each citizen is equal before the law. However, the thing to note is that the real situation in our country today is often very different. There have many instances in which officials have been dealt with according to "ceremony" while ordinary people have been prosecuted in accord with the law. If this continues, it will never be possible to prevent negative phenomena from arising in the ranks of cadres and party members.

Party member standards are also closely related to developing the party and expelling unqualified people from the party. The party is a living organism. It is constantly moving and developing. It must be strengthened by regularly recruiting outstanding people from among the masses and regularly expelling the degraded and degenerate elements. Expanding the party in a careless manner will lead to a situation in which unqualified people are brought into the party. Failing to expel the unqualified

people quickly means keeping people who are no better than or even less qualified than people outside the party. The party must be composed of progressive and outstanding people only. If there are ordinary and bad elements in the party, this will affect the progressive and outstanding people and lower their standards. Thus, to ensure that party members constantly maintain their qualifications, expanding the party and expelling unqualified people from the party must be carried on regularly and seriously and with high quality.

#### **A New Approach to the Problem of Wages**

*CHINHDOANH HANH TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10 Oct 90 pp 47-52*

[Article by Dang Due Dam, not translated]

#### **Retirees—An Urgent Social Problem**

*CHINHDOANH HANH TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10 Oct 90 pp 53-58*

[Article by Nguyen Van Loc, not translated]

#### **Renovate the Organization and Activities of the Local Courts**

*CHINHDOANH HANH TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10 Oct 90 pp 59-61, 52*

[Article by Dinh Van Que, not translated]

#### **The Party and the Intellectuals**

*VIETNAM HANH TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10 Oct 90 pp 62-66, 73*

[Article by Le Trung Nguyet, M.A. in philosophy]

[Text] It can be affirmed that without revolutionary intellectuals there can be no communist party. The party is a product of coordination between revolutionary theory and the workers' movement (in our country, with the patriotic movement). And revolutionary theory is created and propagated in the workers' movement by loyal, revolutionary, and progressive intellectuals and not the working class, which cannot create revolutionary theory. Especially in Vietnam, the number of workers is very small, and they lack cultural standards and so it's impossible to talk about them creating theory.

Today, in the socialist revolution, an objective and urgent requirement is to "intellectualize" the party, particularly the ranks of leading cadres at the various echelons of the party, and build and organize the relationship between the party and the intelligentsia. If socialism lacks intellectuals, it will be transformed, and if the party lacks scientific intellectuals, it will not be able to maintain its leadership role. Does saying this attach too much importance to intellectuals and deny the worldwide historical mission of the working class? No, it doesn't. In Marxist-Leninist theory, the working class has a great historical mission as the class of industrial

workers concentrated in the large cities. But today, what is this working class if it is not the working class that has been and is being "intellectualized" in accord with the requirements of the raging scientific and technical revolution and the necessary demands of a world that is on the threshold of the "third civilization"? In today's conditions, without intellectuals and science, there can be no social progress.

In order to build an organic relationship between the party and the intelligentsia, in my view, attention must be given to the following basic problems:

1. There must be a scientific and correct viewpoint concerning intellectuals.

Steps must be taken to quickly do away with the following simple, crude, subjective, and unscientific view: intellectuals are people who vacillate ideologically.

According to Marxist-Leninist views, the appearance of the intelligentsia is due to the division of social labor into manual and intellectual labor. Lenin pointed out that the term intellectuals includes not only writers but also all educated people and the representatives of people engaged in free occupations in general and of people involved in intellectual labor. Lenin pointed out that the intelligentsia is not composed of an economically independent class but that it is a social stratum composed of people from many classes. The background elements of the intelligentsia are clearly exposed just like the elements of a society that produces material values. The class nature of the intellectuals is something that cannot be denied. But intellectuals are frequently viewed as intermediaries who vacillate and who have conflicts. Naturally, this viewpoint has historical roots. In capitalist society, part of the intelligentsia is close to the bourgeoisie and the other part is close to the laborers.

Examining their nature more closely, it can be seen that the position of the intellectuals is the "position of the classes that produced them and that gave them their strength."<sup>1</sup> Intellectuals are always closely tied to the class from which they came. But at another level, it is the knowledge of the intellectuals that is the decisive factor. Lenin wrote: "The reason why intellectuals are called intellectuals is that they reflect and manifest the growth of class interests and political factions in society in a more conscious, resolute, and accurate way."<sup>2</sup>

The reason why intellectuals manifest the growth of all of society (all of mankind) in a more conscious, resolute, and accurate way is that their knowledge and training have enabled them to clearly understand the laws of social movement and development. Their knowledge enables them to become free and active and gives them the skills to transform the world and use the forces of nature to bring happiness to all of mankind.

It is the interweaving of the class and knowledge factors that have created the nature of the intellectuals. Because

of this, when examining the nature of the intelligentsia, we must look closely at two aspects: their class nature and their labor nature.

## 2. A correct relationship must be established between politics and science

Politics and science are closely related, but they are not identical. In order to make correct political decisions and make accurate, logical, and rational calculations, there must be political sensitivity, presentiment, and intuition.

Furthermore, there are matters, such as implementing the principle of democratic centralism, that are applicable only in party activities and not in scientific activities. The opinions of the majority cannot be used to refute the individual opinions of scientists with respect to some problem. On one hand, the development of science is influenced by politics. On the other hand, science also develops in accord with its own separate laws. True science yields only to the truth and not to power or force. Science cannot tolerate commands and administrative orders.

Because of this, both scientists and politicians must always be truthful, prudent, and self-controlled in order to avoid a situation in which "crazy scholars become great" and "want to be above others," which is a disease that has done and continues to do great harm.

Science is not the "servant" of politics in the same way that philosophy was the "servant" of theology during the Middle Ages. But true science is not outside humanism. History has shown that every cultural renaissance requires humanism. True science is knowledge that is oriented toward mankind. It is the means to reflect and improve the world in interests of the laborers. Politics determines the fate of man, therefore, politics sets the human goals for knowledge. Chemicals can be used to kill insects and rats and make medicines, or they can be used to manufacture weapons to kill people. In Vietnam today, there are many intellectuals who have economic management standards and experiences. But whether they use that knowledge to solve the problems for the national economy or to develop the private economy is, on one hand, controlled by the general mechanism and on the other hand, by the political orientation.

Science requires that politicians take steps to renovate the political leadership activities. Conversely, politics requires that scientists improve their knowledge and be equal to their scientific tasks. But unfortunately, many (but not all) scientists do not have sufficient knowledge to satisfy the needs of the party and nation or sufficient capabilities to affirm themselves as scientists. They do not have the virtues or knowledge to accept each other on the platform of science. Instead, they frequently exhibit envy and small-peasant type pettiness in evaluating the scientific projects of others. Outside the circle of philosophers, who can correctly evaluate this or that philosophical work if philosophers don't respect the creativity of each other? The same is true in the other

sciences. The party has confidence in scientists mainly because of the results of their projects but also because of the self-respect that people in scientific circles have. How can scientists be strong if they don't seek out and develop leading professors and schools of thought in scientific research? No matter how good, a scientist will be isolated unless he has colleagues with whom he can interact. That will definitely affect his scientific creativity. This is not a blunder by politicians, and it cannot be said that politics has failed to give attention to or respect science.

Looking into the past, there have been times in Vietnam when politics has treated science like a "servant." But reviewing the scientific research projects that have been revealed in the newspapers, magazines, and scientific journals, it can be seen that another problem is that the scientific values of "relative truths" are few in number. Most are dogmatic and have little creative strength. There are cases of people seeking the praise of some leader. What is the cause of this? I think that this stems mainly from a lack of intelligence and meticulous, independent, and serious scientific labor. On the other hand, we must also consider the possibility of a type of political opportunism, that is, "knowing which side one's bread is buttered on." Science cannot accept any type of opportunism—thinking one thing but saying and writing something else. Science requires clarity of sight, bravery, honesty, a lack of commercial motives, the courage to voice one's political views, and the ability to engage in self-criticism.

## 3. There must be correct policies on intellectuals

To formulate correct policies with respect to intellectuals in order to exploit their creative potential, the term intellectual must be clearly defined. If intellectuals are viewed as intellectual laborers, in our country today, the intelligentsia can be divided into three groups.

Group 1 includes people usually referred to as employees (or civil servants but not technical cadres). These are non-technical intellectual laborers who do not have to have a college or even middle-school education (such as bookkeepers, cashiers, typists, and so on). Such employees usually perform relatively simple and clearly-defined tasks, and because of this, like skilled workers, they require only a general education.

Group 2 includes technical cadres and people with a vocational middle school, college, or postgraduate education (such as scientific research cadres, engineers, technical cadres, instructors, doctors, writers, and journalists). This is a large social group that includes laborers who specialize in performing intellectual labor and who have high educational standards.

The group of technical intellectuals can be divided into scientific and technical intellectuals, basic science intellectuals, and social sciences intellectuals.

Group 3 includes management cadres, who have both high technical standards and management standards. The management intellectuals can be divided into two



smaller groups. Those who manage production (engineers working in this sphere) and those who manage the various state and social organizations and agencies (basic science and social sciences intellectuals working in this sphere).

When making generalizations about the social class structure and when discussing the division of social labor, we often lump these groups of intellectual laborers into one stratum called "intellectuals." But in order to promote their creative labor, we must see the fundamental differences in the nature of the labor of these groups of intellectual laborers. Because these differences will help us analyze the differentiation process in dividing social labor. Only by analyzing this process correctly will we be able to

Implement the principle of social fairness in socialist society.

Encourage a true work spirit and exploit the intellectual potential.

Reduce the number of "civil servant intellectuals" and stop giving priority to "desk jobs" (these are intellectuals, but the pay for civil servant intellectuals and creative intellectuals must be different).

Reduce to a minimum the state budget funds spent to fatten a cumbersome administrative apparatus that continues to survive under the very vague name "civil servant intellectuals."

In Vietnam, for various reasons, people have long had the preconceived notion that intellectuals are not directly engaged in the production of material goods for society, that they are not a basic stratum, and that they fear manual labor. The result is that society has not treated this group properly in accord with its position, role, and function in society. The education and public health sectors and a number of scientific research organizations (particularly the social and basic science organizations) have frequently been employed in administrative sectors and have received only small amounts of "leftover" capital. For example, investments in education in our country account for only 3.5 percent of the budget. For this reason, education has suffered a serious decline, particularly in the rural and remote mountain areas. Today, there are 8.5 million illiterates in the country. During the period 1976 to 1988, only about 60 percent completed Level-I. In particular, in the Mekong Delta, only 39 percent completed Level-I.

People engaged in complex labor, which used to be a multiple of simple labor, are in many cases paid much less than those who do simple labor. Social surveys have shown that the great majority of scientific and technical cadres are living and working in very difficult conditions. For example:

Working conditions are poor: 87.1 percent.

Work unit has not provided adequate conditions to manifest creativity: 79.8 percent.

Cadre policies (use, training, promotion, wages) are unsatisfactory: 79.8 percent.

Material income is too low: 75 percent.

Organizational leaders do not understand the contents or work that the cadres are doing: 6.1 percent.

Lack of enthusiasm for the organization's work guidelines: 51.8 percent.

Unhappy with the internal relationships and degree of solidarity within the organizational collective: 52 percent.

Naturally, there are still many problems with respect to the quality of our country's ranks of intellectuals. Many people are called intellectuals, hold this or that position, and have studied this and that, but in terms of today's general conditions, their labor results are not in line with their functions.

I would also like to mention a number of other problems related to the policies on intellectuals.

Science can develop only in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy. The dialectic nature of development shows that a science without opposing and conflicting viewpoints will fall into oblivion. The time has come to give serious attention to the "rights of the minority" so that scientists can (without being discriminated against) develop and defend their ideas. Because in science, many times the truth does not belong to the majority but to a single person. Examples are Copernicus and Einstein. Lenin's ideas on publishing "Chuyen San Tranh Luan" at the Plenum of the Russian Party Politburo (b) on 26 October 1920 on the "Ideological Situation in the Party" adhered to the current meaning.

In light of the special functions of intellectuals discussed above, investment in the scientific research, public health, and educational sectors must be viewed as basic investment, because these are the basic production sectors of society. They hold very important positions, because they contribute directly to the reproduction of people and the creation of scientific theories.

The percentage of the investment money given to the social sciences, natural sciences, and technical sciences must be determined. There must be a struggle to eliminate views that slight the social sciences, particularly theoretical subjects. In today's international situation, particular attention must be given to theoretical development. If the party does not maintain its vanguard position in theory, it will not be able to achieve success in the renovation movement to hit socialist targets. History has shown that every national revival requires a philosophical underpinning, a political line, and a vanguard leadership force.

Regulations, measures, and policies regarding all aspects having to do with intellectuals must be determined based on the country's capabilities, on the nature of each type of intellectual, and on their labor results. This includes

wages, housing, writing fees, the supply of information, work conditions, the publishing of their works, scientific activities and exchanges both here and abroad so that they can work with their minds at ease and fully manifest their potential. The following three tendencies must be avoided: The first is the idea of "leveling" things between mental and manual laborers and of failing to see the special functions of the intellectuals. The second is the idea of leveling things among the intellectuals and not seeing the differences in the nature of the labor performed by the different groups of intellectuals. In evaluating the compensation policies, creative intellectuals are often treated the same as civil servant intellectuals. This does not stimulate their creativity. The third is the idea of feudal ranks in scientific activities. Many scientific conferences are still organized as if they were "imperial courts." The "dignitaries" speak first, and if there is any time left, the "common people" get to speak. When selecting people to attend conferences abroad, many times, the selection is made "by position" and not the scientific topics in order to determine who should be sent.

A self-purging and self-renovating mechanism must be developed for the ranks of intellectuals. The "contract 10" mechanism is mainly a mechanism for selecting excellent farmers. The implementation of the contract 10 mechanism has shown that there are many people who know very little about farming even though they are called farmers. In my view, a similar "contract mechanism" should be established for intellectuals in order to really implement the principle of "work according to abilities, payment according to labor." Clear scientific research standards must be set for scientific functions (like the yearly standards on the number and quality of research projects of professors and associate professors).

#### Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 1, page 554.
2. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, volume 7, page 416.

## Solving the Unemployment Problem in Ho Chi Minh City

*VIETNAMIC THANH TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 90 pp 67-70*

[Article by Chu Thai Thanh]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City is one of the biggest and densest cities in the country. Today, the city's population stands at 3,934,000 people. This does not include the approximately 8,500 homeless people who do not have household registrations, the students who live at the colleges and higher schools, the 26,000 cadres, workers, and civil servants subordinate to central organizations who are stationed in the city, or the members of the armed forces. Since the beginning of the year, the unemployment problem here has grown worse. Of the 230,000 people who are unemployed, 80-90 percent are youths. Each year, about 20,000 new laborers are added to the labor force. This has been a serious social problem for the city for many years now.

In recent years, Ho Chi Minh City has tried to create jobs for the unemployed using many forms: expanding small industry and handicrafts production and services, recruiting assault youths and sending laborers to build new economic zones, engaging in cooperative labor with other countries, and so on. Thanks to this, each year, jobs have been found for approximately 100,000 people.

Abolishing the form of recruiting laborers based on norms given from above, many wards and districts in Ho Chi Minh City have formed job recommendation offices. Unlike in the past, these offices do not focus on supplying laborers just in order to fulfill the norms. Instead, they emphasize the professional qualities of the laborers. Besides recommending people for jobs, the offices also train people in an occupation. Thanks to this, once they have been hired by an enterprise, they can immediately manifest an effect by improving the quality of the products, improving the goods, lowering production costs, and earning money for themselves and the enterprise. Trained laborers are more stable once they do find a job. Service and labor supply centers are a new form. Their tasks are to keep track of job sources by sector, technical standards, and economic element, keep track of the targets that need jobs by specific type, and recommend and train unemployed people for production installations that are hiring. During the past 2 years, this model has affirmed its position. More than 20,000 job applicants have been recommended and more than 5,400 discharged soldiers and 11,300 female workers have been trained to work in the machine, chemicals, textile, ready-made clothing, and travel service sectors.

In the face of the difficulties in commercial production, the state-operated production installations have tended to reduce the labor force. Thus, providing jobs is a difficult problem. However, there is a solution to this problem.

Reality shows that allowing the private sector to expand commercial production can attract tens of thousands of laborers. The city recently issued operating permits to more than 200 private enterprises and corporations, which created jobs for 34,000 people.

Joint business ventures between production units in the city and between the city and other countries will also contribute greatly to creating jobs for laborers. Fifty joint production installations with foreign investment capital have hired more than 10,000 laborers. Depending on the job, the enterprises can sign long-term, short-term, or seasonal contracts. Using this method, the Vietnam Animal Products Corporation has hired 2,800 laborers, the Legamex Enterprise has hired 2,900 laborers, the Hoa Cuc Cigarette Enterprise has hired 250, and the Nhu Ngoc Art Objects Enterprise has hired 150. Besides this, through on-the-spot labor cooperation with other countries, the Minh Phuong Production Cooperation Team and the Hung Vuong Refrigeration Enterprise have hired thousands of people. The average income earned by the workers at these corporations and enterprises is 150-200,000 dong per month. Because of these high incomes and because of the measures to promote material interests, the production installations mentioned above have attracted laborers with high technical standards and good skills.

The gradual urbanization of the rural districts, the expansion of the commercial support points, and the expansion of the artisan industry and handicrafts sectors in the rural areas have created many jobs for laborers. By exploiting potential and strengths with respect to commercial activities, travel services, and the processing of export goods, many urban wards have done a good job in providing jobs for the people in the ward. In 1988 and 1989, many wards created jobs for 6-10,000 people.

By helping to expand the family economy, such as raising milk cows, pigs, and chickens and making art objects for export, items made of bamboo, furniture, and rugs, many subwards and villages have created additional jobs for many families with family members who have been laid off or who are old or disabled. In order to create jobs for the disabled, the city has organized an enterprise for the disabled. This enterprise has 60 laborers, of whom 75 percent are disabled people. In 1989, this enterprise contributed 19,640 meters of mats, 6.8 million rubber racks, 115 sets of furniture, and export machinery to society. The enterprise is now able to support itself and is continuing to hire more people.

Sending people to build new economic zones in Duyen Hai, Duc Nong, Song Be, and the Central Highlands is another important direction in solving the unemployment problem in the city. In 1989, 309 homeless households with a total of 1,414 people were sent to build new economic zones. This exceeded the plan by 23 percent. But to date, two-thirds of the homeless have not been organized to go. In order to continue sending unemployed youths and others to the new economic zones, the city is investing in the construction of additional public

projects, housing projects, child-care centers, kindergartens, and communications routes and paying part of the cost of reclaiming land. These forms have provided jobs for laborers, sent people from the urban areas to the suburban areas of the city, helped to balance the population density in each area, tied the laborers to the arable land, and created more and more products for society. However, the city has had to invest rather large sums of money (82 million dong in 1988 and 186 million dong in 1989). It costs about 3.6 million dong to settle one household in a new economic zone. Providing jobs is not easy in conditions in which the state budget is now very limited.

The work quality of the labor forces in the city is declining seriously. About 95 percent of the laborers are unskilled youths. This is an alarming figure and a heavy burden for the city. Experience has shown that to solve the unemployment problem for the laborers, training and vocational education must move forward. The city is guiding the wards and districts in solidifying the material base and the ranks of instructors at the training centers. It is formulating training projects in close connection with reality, and carrying on training in accord with the motto: do things quickly, reduce expenditures, and immediately reinforce the production chain. There are also centers that teach occupational skills and coordinate things with production in order to quickly improve the skills of the students and provide them with additional material conditions. The vocational training centers are being allowed to do things on their own initiative just like an independent commercial production unit. The vocational schools of private individuals, associations, and clubs are gradually being abolished and replaced by schools managed by the locality and central echelon. That is the way to avoid negative phenomena and the way to avoid duplicating the training. At the same time, the schools are focusing on teaching the skills needed by the city: agricultural and marine products processing, ready-made clothing, tanning, services, foreign languages, journalism, ship building and repair, and so on. Besides providing training based on the requirements of production realities and life, the city's vocational centers are actively providing vocational guidance and training to people before they reach work age. This is very important and will prepare the new socialist laborers to grasp science and technology, master the means of production, and put the country into the orbit of the civilized world.

This year, Ho Chi Minh City is striving to provide jobs for 91,000 laborers, of whom 62,000 will have stable work. It will not be easy to hit that target. Above all, the city is concentrating on providing jobs for the following priority targets: discharged soldiers, youths and general school students who have left school, laborers who have returned home after engaging in cooperative labor abroad, and people who have had to leave the state sector. Let me cite a few figures. Today, there are 62,400 discharged soldiers in the city. Of these 17,000 do not have stable jobs. There are 65,000 general school students who have left school. There are 17,000 workers

and civil servants who are out of work. There are 26,500 people who drive pedicabs, 15,000 people who repair bicycles, and thousands of people who sell lottery tickets, steamed rice, and tea. The majority of these laborers are young people: 72 percent are below the age of 30 and 85 percent are below the age of 35. In particular, more than 40,000 youths ages 13 and 14 have registered for work.

In the face of these difficulties, many wards and districts have implemented good measures concerning organizing and providing jobs. Something worth noting is that Precinct 10 has mobilized large sums of money to create more jobs. For example, it has received contributions from the people, used local budget funds, and sought aid from the units, subprecincts, villages, and the people being trained. The precinct has actively coordinated things with the vocational training centers and production installations in order to place people in jobs as soon as they complete their training. The result is that during the first few months of the year, the precinct has trained 95 tailors and 100 shoemakers and found jobs for them at enterprises managed by the precinct. The priority targets all want to work at places where they can earn a high income, but job opportunities at these places are limited, and a number of the people don't have the necessary cultural or occupational standards. In order to resolve this conflict, the precinct has given attention to providing education and defining the concept of choosing work sectors. Thanks to this, a number of people who initially felt that they had not been given the job that they wanted now feel at ease and are doing a good job.

Based on the lessons and experiences of Precinct 10, other precincts and districts in the city are achieving results in providing jobs for priority targets. Besides providing free training for more than 500 discharged soldiers, the Labor Supply and Services Center has found jobs for more than 1,000 people and provided more than 20 million dong to help the precincts, districts, and vocational centers. There are still many difficulties and challenges, but at the beginning of 1990, together with the 300 million dong contributed by the precincts and districts, the city spent 600 million dong to improve the material base for vocational training centers and train and provide better jobs for the priority targets.

Today, the wards and districts in the city are conducting inspections to learn the number, patterns, ages, and cultural and occupational standards of the discharged soldiers and assault youths. They are then analyzing and evaluating things, formulating training plans, and arranging jobs for them in their localities.

Even though Ho Chi Minh City has made a great effort to solve the unemployment problem in the city, this is still a serious social problem that will be solved completely only when the economic and social situation of the country improves fundamentally. With the efforts being made by the municipal party committee echelons and authorities and with the concern of all of society, new changes can be made in solving the unemployment problem in the city, and the dreams of the laborers in Ho Chi Minh City can be fulfilled better.



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