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

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SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE CONSTITUTION, PROPERLY CONDUCT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION

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[Editorial in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 1-3--previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 071, 14 Apr 81, pp K3-K4]

[Text] The emergence of the SRV's Constitution is an important event in the political life of our state and people. The eighth plenum of the fourth party Central Committee has specified the measures to insure the scrupulous implementation of the Constitution. Let all our party, armed forces and people study and implement the Constitution and use it as a sharp weapon in socialist construction and national defense.

The new Constitution reflects our people's will and aspirations. It is consistent with the spirit and content of the resolution of the fourth party congress on the need to grasp proletarian dictatorship, develop the working people's collective mastery, determine the relationships between the Communist Party's leading role, the working people's collective mastery and the managerial role of the state in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The SRV's Constitution is the constitution for the period of our entire country's transition to socialism. It combines the experiences of 35 years' building and consolidating the people's administration in our country. It inherits the 1946 and 1959 Constitutions and develops the achievements in implementing these two Constitutions. It is an assertion of our people's revolutionary gains over the past 50 years and determines the trend and objectives of the Vietnamese society's development in the new stage.

The new Constitution is the current fundamental law of our country. It institutionalizes our party's revolutionary line and major policies in the new stage. It is a guide for the actions of all our party, armed forces and people during the period of transition to socialism. If scrupulously implemented, it can help insure our people's success in building socialism and defending our socialist fatherland. To insure the scrupulous implementation of our Constitution, it is necessary to launch a widespread political activity drive for our cadres and people to study and discuss the implementation of the Constitution. The objective of this drive is to help everyone thoroughly understand the ideas, viewpoints and basic content of the Constitution, uphold the people's responsibility for exercising the right to collective mastery and use the Constitution as a ideological basis for implementing the party's line and policy and state policies and laws. Along with this drive, it is necessary to step up the socialist emulation movement to overfulfill the 1981 state plan.

In the study and discussion of the implementation of the Constitution, our cadres, party members and state employees must review and promptly correct all wrongdoings, such as failure to set an example in implementing party policies and state laws, embezzlement of public property, bribe-taking, waste, misuse of authority and function, oppression of the masses, violation of citizen's rights and the people's collective mastery, lack of a sense of responsibility and damaging socialist property and the masses' interests.

The people must observe and criticize managerial work by state and party organs, mass organizations, cadres, party members and state employees as well as their own shortcomings in the discharge of the duties and responsibilities of citizens regarding the common state and social affairs, such as respect for and protection of socialist property, payment of taxes and debts to the state, fulfillment of the grain obligation, respect for social order and so forth.

Propaganda and indoctrination work must be permanently carried out among the cadres and people in order to help them scrupulously implement the Constitution.

The National Assembly election constitutes an important link in the implementation of the Constitution. According to the decision of the seventh session of the Sixth National Assembly, the election of the Seventh National Assembly will be conducted on Sunday, 26 April 1981. In exercising the right to collective mastery, our people throughout the country should positively participate in the forthcoming election of the Seventh National Assembly. Like previous national assemblies, the Seventh National Assembly must assume the functions of the highest organ of state authority in the spirit of the new Constitution. It must meet the requirements of the situation and of our people's revolutionary tasks during the coming 5 years (1981-1985).

As far as its composition is concerned, the Seventh National Assembly must reflect the all-people solidarity bloc in the Vietnam Fatherland Front which is based upon the peasant-worker alliance led by the working class. Our assembly deputies must be worthy representatives of our people. The Seventh National Assembly must be composed of representatives of workers, the collective peasantry, socialist intellectuals and other laboring components in our society. Our assembly deputies must be loyal to the socialist fatherland and trusted by the people and must have a sense of respect for state laws and the working people's right to collective mastery. They must also be prestigious people, able to motivate the masses and fulfill their duty as representatives. Our people will surely vote for those who deserve to be their representatives at the Seventh National Assembly and who can undertake the important affairs of state and the entire people.

The election of the Seventh National Assembly is related to the consolidation and strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the development of the working people's socialist collective mastery. It is an important task of the Seventh National Assembly to elect state leading organs responsible for organizing and guiding the entire people in building and defending the fatherland and in fulfilling their international obligations.

Our party committees and administrative organs at all levels must correctly carry out the guidelines and measures set forth by our party, National Assembly and government in order to insure that the forthcoming National Assembly election is conducted in a truly democratic way and with great success.

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STUDYING THE CONSTITUTION--IMPLEMENTING THE CONSTITUTION: THE SOCIALIST STATE AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 4-10

[Article by Professor Doan Trong Truyen]

[Text] The history of our state and the realities of life today face us with a contemporary problem: our state must be knowledgeable of and skilled in management, especially economic management, based on the socialist mode of business. This is a very profound theoretical as well as practical matter.

I. The Socialist State and Its Role as the Economic Center

The history of the development of states through the ages has shown: along with the development of social production, the state has participated ever more directly in the activities within the economy. The objective requirements of production as manifested in the close ties and mutual dependence among the various sectors and economic areas, especially in the stage of developed capitalism, laid the objective foundation for the state to participate ever more deeply and directly in the process of regulating, coordinating and guiding economic activities.

Thus, how do we explain the increasing participation of the state of the superstructure, the tool of dictatorship of the ruling class, in economic and social life?

To answer this question, we must return to the important conclusions reached in the theory of socialized production and labor and the theory concerning the dialectical relationship between politics and the economy. Within a backward, decentralized, disorganized small-farmer economy, economic intercourse among the different areas and regions was virtually non-existent or only insignificant in nature. With the birth of large-scale mechanized industry, the entire face of a country's economy changed; high labor productivity and a surplus product led to strong exchanges and trade among economic areas. The development of the processes of agglomeration and specialization of production brought about the need for cooperation and federation in production. Once a high level of agglomeration and specialization was achieved, social production required extremely tight regulation and coordination, required control from a center. The scale of developed production and the conditions needed for the production process went far beyond the scope of an area, even an entire country. Thus, with the development of production

forces, the socialization of production and labor reached a high level and created the need for the economy to be directed from a single center. This is the first conclusion.

The second conclusion that must be drawn from the analysis of the process of the socialization of production is that an objective capability has emerged from the new conditions of production: the capability to plan the economy. Even under capitalism, due to the development of production forces, there has developed a need for planning economic development. The capitalist states in some developed countries have made major efforts to formulate economic development plans; however, they have failed to fully achieve this in order to coordinate activities throughout the entire national economy. Socialism, having been born of capitalism, established the ownership by all the people of the primary instruments of production after abolishing the private ownership of the primary instruments of production and carries out the planning of the entire unified national economy. The socialist state, which is the legal representative of the owners of the instruments of production, the working people, manages the national economy in accordance with a unified plan. The planning of the economy, which was a potential under capitalism, has become reality and practice under socialism. Thus, regulating and coordinating the national economy from a center and managing it in accordance with a unified plan has become an objective necessity and a subjective, realistic capability as a result of the high level of development of the socialization of production and labor plus the existence of the socialist state.

Under the new conditions of socialism, the state is not only the political center, but the economic center as well. The relationship between the state and the economy is a dialectical relationship in which the nature of the state reflects the nature of the economic relationships within society; at the same time, the state can employ the full measure of its strength to have a strong impact upon the economy. In essence, this is the dialectical relationship between politics and the economy. Politics, which is the clearest manifestation of the economy, not only passively reflects economic relations, but also has a positive impact upon the economy. The capitalist state uses its influence to have an impact upon the economy for the sake of its continued existence and the continued existence of the ruling classes it represents. The socialist state manages the economy to achieve the lofty objective of meeting the constantly rising needs of the working people on the basis of developing production. The socialist state not only leads and manages the economy, but also directly carries out economic activities through its system of agencies. Thus, the state does not have an impact upon the economy as an external political power, but directly organizes the economy and has an impact upon it from within. Clearly, when the development of production forces and the processes of specialization reach a high level and require control from a unified center, it is difficult for any political power outside the state, regardless of how complete this apparatus might be, to fulfill the role of guiding and coordinating the economic activities within society. The process of the socialization of production itself lays the premises for the state to fulfill its above mentioned role as center of the economy. Large economic organizations whose scale of production encompasses many areas of the country and whose activities go beyond the scope of a country and new sectors with newly developed technologies that bring

about changes in the economy and society led to the need for the state to play a positive role in economic activities. And, as a result, the activities of the state are no longer confined to the scope of using policies and laws to regulate economic activities, but also involve directly controlling material bases and guiding economic activities. To fulfill this role, the socialist state uses the tool of planning in order to manage the entire economy as a single entity. Thus, the state permeates the economy and, within the economy, the agencies of the state are the organizers and managers of economic activities and are closely linked to the various economic organizations. Without this closeness, without permeating the economy, the state is no longer a socialist state.

The socialist state fulfills its role as economic center by performing such functions as planning the national economy as a unified entity, directly leading and managing the units and organizations of the socialist economy and organizing foreign economic activities.

The socialist state in the period of political transition to socialism also performs an extremely complex and important task, the task of carrying out the socialist transformation of the non-socialist segments of the economy and establishing comprehensive state management of an economy that consists of many different segments. This very important task can be considered a function of the state throughout the period of transforming the economy and building the socialist economic system; it is the implementation of comprehensive state management of the non-socialist segments of the economy (the capitalist economy, small-scale commodity production, joint public-private corporations, a high form of state capitalism and so forth). The fundamental element in fulfilling this management function of the state is to coordinate administrative measures (strict inventory and control of various forms) with economic measures (through the use of economic levers and production and business activities). This function is determined by the nature of the state as the economic center and the political center; the state provides management by means of both political authority and economic power, that is, the infrastructure of the socialist state.

In the period of transition to socialism, the struggle between the two ways of life in economic and social life is still a sharp struggle and our socialist state must transform the capitalist economy. Together with the struggle against capitalism, which "although it has been toppled still holds power," we must transform the sea of small producers. In this sharp struggle, it is very necessary that the state intervene and provide assistance by means of its political power and economic strength. In the period of transition to socialism, the policy of the state must be designed to enable every non-socialist segment of the economy to exist and develop in a manner that supports the effort to restore and develop the economy of the country. On the other hand, it is necessary to limit, to the lowest possible level, anarchy and the development of capitalism, thereby insuring that the economy is gradually brought within the orb of socialism and that the socialist segments of the economy have the conditions needed to steadily develop and eventually occupy the key positions of the national economy and control the entirety of the country's economic life.

If we correctly understand the objective need for and the complexity of the period of transition--in this period, from both an economic and a political point of view, socialism exists but does not exist--the dictatorship of the proletariat state will have the basis needed to adopt a correct policy and a scientific attitude that is consistent with objective laws and consistent with the interests of socialism. In this spirit, it is necessary to criticize the impetuous attitude of wanting to very rapidly establish state-operated and collective economic units and develop the political power of the state to an excessive degree in defiance of the laws of economic life in order to establish new production relations that lack the necessary foundations within industrial installations, communications-transportation installations, within the agricultural economy, etc. It is rightism to not develop the political power or display the superior political nature of the new system in order to stimulate the birth of the socialist economy; however, it is "leftism" to purely use political power in a manner that exceeds the capabilities of the economic base in order to resolve economic problems. At present, we must criticize the attitude of giving light attention to the role played by the state in inspecting and supervising the private economy, the tendency toward free commerce and the heavy emphasis upon the market mechanism. In the realities of our country, lax management by the state has allowed the private bourgeois and petty bourgeois economic forces to develop; taking advantage of the difficulties of the economy, these powers have attacked socialism in the fields of production and distribution. It is necessary to fully exercise the role of the socialist state as the political center and the economic center; we must employ the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only political but economic as well, in a unified relationship between politics and the economy in order to carry out socialist transformation and build the socialist economy.

II.

As the political center and the economic center, the state, in order to fulfill its management functions, organizes a system of management agencies on the various levels, extending from the central level to the basic level. This system of management apparatus consists of two structures: the state structure and the economic structure; corresponding to them are the state management apparatus and the business management apparatus. The socialist state fulfills its socialist business management function vis-a-vis economic organizations (production, circulation, business and so forth) through the state management agencies (the ministries, people's committees, services and so forth).

Under the socialist state's functions of managing the economy so that it constantly develops and permeates the activities of the entire national economy more deeply with each passing day on the basis of the development of socialist society, the organization and operations of its economic management apparatus are very closely linked and become increasingly closely linked to the economic structure and the production and business operations of this structure. In actuality, the state apparatus and the economic apparatus have permeated each other; a component of the state organization is performing a portion of the function of directly managing production and business and the organizational procedures and operations of this

component are directly linked to the organizational procedures and operations of the production-business units in accordance with the requirements of production and business. However, in every case, the ministers and high ranking leaders of the state still participate in the production process as state managers. Even in the case in which a ministry accepts plan norms from the state and provides management of the economic activities of an entire sector, in essence, both the minister and the leadership of the ministry are legal representatives of the working people's ownership of the instruments of production as it applies to the public property assigned to the minister and the collective of the ministry in order to carry out the management of production and business. In terms of political economics, the essence of sector-wide unified cost accounting is to insure closeness between the interests of the collectives and the individual workers within the sector and the common interests of all of society on the basis of socialist business principles. This is a mode of management that increases the effectiveness of the use of technical equipment, labor and materials in production and increases the returns from the system of social production. However, it cannot turn the minister and the ministry management agency, a component of the state, into a party in production relations that carries out production-business activities and participates in the initial distribution of national income.

The state organization is closely linked to the national economy, has a close relationship with the economic structure and is under its control. It must be on the basis of the requirements of the economic structure that is taking shape (with consideration to development over the next few years) that the management apparatus is organized; on the other hand, due to its dynamic nature, this management apparatus has a positive impact upon the economic structure, helping to create the new economic structure and stimulate the development of social production through the organizing of efficient economic relationships. However, in the final analysis, the starting point for organizing the state apparatus is the level and requirements of development of the economy. It is on the basis of an analysis of the components of the economic structure and the relationships of the various sectors, areas and economic units that management requirements are established and it is on this basis that the structure of the state management apparatus is determined.

Differentiating between the structure of the state organization and the structure of the economic organization is of important theoretical and practical significance in organizing the economic management apparatus. This socialist state fulfills its economic management function in two ways: state administrative management and business management. The organization of the economic management apparatus also consists of two types: the state agencies that provide economic-administrative management and the economic organizations that operate and manage businesses. These two organizational structures are governed by different laws, operate in different ways and have different forms of organization. The administrative management agencies of the state (the Council of Ministers, the ministries, the people's committees, the services and so forth) formulate management plans, policies and regulations, set forth management guidelines based on the law and guidelines for scientific and technical development, evaluate organizations and cadres and conduct inspections; they are the state budget agencies; they must be organized in the most

streamlined manner possible and direct their efforts toward supporting and inspecting the various economic organizations. The production-business organizations are organizations that directly fulfill the function of organizing and conducting economic activities (production, distribution, circulation and so forth) and provide management based on the socialist mode of business: they are cost accounting organizations that have financial autonomy and have the status of an individual under the law; they are organized on the basis of the principles of agglomeration, specialization and cooperation and federation in production.

Another matter that has a decisive influence upon the state organization is the mode of management that is employed to manage the national economy. Only on the basis of the economic structure is it possible to establish the overall structure of the management apparatus: the economic structure only sets forth general requirements regarding the organization of the apparatus. The mode of management that is employed by the state is of decisive significance not only because it defines the standards for the relationships of the management apparatus in the process of having an impact upon the constituent components of the national economic structure, the sectors, the localities and the territorial areas, but is also of extreme importance to the organizational structure of the state apparatus. For example, we are providing management based primarily on the administrative-subsidy style of management and, as a result, the administrative agencies perform the task of organizing and managing the production and distribution of products in an administrative, bureaucratic way for all units on all levels, from the central level to the installation level. By shifting to the socialist mode of business management, we will more closely link management agencies to production and establish a more direct relationship among the economic organizations in the production and distribution of products, thereby reducing the number of intermediary levels. Under these conditions, the state agencies, especially those on the upper level, must perform many more state management functions: drawing up estimates, formulating long-term plans, formulating guidelines for scientific-technical development, management policies and regulations and so forth; under the conditions of cost accounting, the apparatus of the state more fully fulfills its function in a suitable economic structure and the economic management agencies are more dynamic and more closely linked to the economy.

In the matter of the state organization fulfilling its economic management function, there is another decisive factor, namely, the corps of cadres, the number, types and quality of management cadres. So much importance is attached to this factor that, in some countries, they select talented persons before determining the structure of the management organization of an agency or unit; on the basis of the specific characteristics, the strengths and the weaknesses of the managers that have been selected, they establish a suitable organizational structure and select suitable assistants with a view toward developing the talents of the manager and the effectiveness of the management apparatus as much as possible. The human factor in organization, especially in the organization of economic management and the state organization, is a very decisive factor; a corps of management cadres that is of high quality (proficient, resourceful, skilled in organization, especially organization based on the socialist mode of business) is the decisive factor in the state organization having a positive

impact upon the development of the economy, the perfection of the economic structure and the heightening of the efficiency of management based on the new mode. Conversely, if the corps of cadres is weak, the organization will be cumbersome, management will be ineffective and might even restrict the development of the economy. Organization and management are both a science and an art; when talking about this art, we are talking about the human factor, about the special skills of each person.

Our socialist state must correctly fulfill its role as the economic sector and must always maintain its role of guiding economic activities and guaranteeing a new economic order, one consistent with the principles of socialism. Our state, from the central level to the provinces, districts and villages, must always attach importance to perfecting and strengthening the law and use the socialist system of law as the tool for regulating economic activities, thereby insuring the successful performance of economic and political tasks in the period of transition to socialism. The state cannot intervene in the production and business activities of the state-operated economic units, collectives and individuals and must fulfill its regulatory role by means of plans and economic levers, by adhering to the law and having a positive impact upon all activities in the production, circulation and distribution of products; these are the central tasks of the state organization on all levels in the economic field. In actuality, there has been a tendency in the construction and organization of the state to turn the state into a purely administrative organization and separate it from the economic base, thereby causing the state to become bureaucratic, to become divorced from the economy and establishing an apparatus of many intermediary echelons and levels, thus posing difficulties in production and social life. This bureaucratic, cumbersome state management apparatus has, in actuality, exacerbated the decentralized and fragmented nature of production and, in many fields, it has interrupted the continuous nature of reproduction and disrupted the unified nature of the national economy. Under difficult circumstances, it has created additional conditions for the emergence of departmentalism and partialism in the localities and installations and the emergence of bureaucratic centralism within the central agencies. In our thinking as well as in practice, there has even been a tendency to give light attention to the management function of the state as an economic center, which has led to state agencies abandoning their state management function and taking over the function of enterprise directors, thereby intervening in a direct and crippling manner in production-business activities. This actually reduces the role played by the state, reduces the state management function and weakens the state's jurisdiction.

Developing the role played by the state as political center and economic center, firmly grasping the dialectical relationship between the organization of the socialist state and the economic structure and the socialist mode of economic management and thoroughly implementing the principle "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state provides management" in the construction of the socialist economy, these are the important factors in consolidating our organization and strengthening our socialist state.

**THE NATURE OF OUR STATE AND THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY AS
EXPRESSED IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 10-14

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Minh]

[Text] A matter of foremost importance with which every constitution must deal is defining the nature of the state. Even in bourgeois constitutions, despite sophisticated camouflage, the bourgeois nature of the state is still revealed.

The new Constitution of our country, which was ratified by the National Assembly on 18 December 1980, states: "The state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a dictatorship of the proletariat state"(Article 2). This is a new and important step forward in the process of development of our revolutionary state.

The dictatorship of the proletariat state is a new style state.

In the history of man, there has been the slave state, the feudal state and the bourgeois state. Although they differ in form, the style of these three states has been the same: they have been states that represent the private ownership of the instruments of production, the exploitation of man by man and the dictatorship of an exploiting minority over the vast majority of the people.

More than 100 years ago, Marx and Engels showed the proletariat that it must arise and topple the bourgeois state in order to "establish itself as the ruling class."⁽¹⁾ The founders of scientific socialism also revealed that the proletariat must use the state established by it to take the instruments of production from the hands of the bourgeoisie and build a new and beautiful society based on its concept of society. However, due to historic circumstances at that time (no revolutionary situation existed), Marx and Engels did not visualize how the new style state established by the proletariat should be organized.

For this, it was necessary to wait until the Paris Commune. On the basis of the Paris Commune, Marx reached many important conclusions and formulated his theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat state.

Summarizing the law in effect during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, Marx stated:

"Between capitalist society and communist society there is a period of revolutionary change from one society to the other. Corresponding to this period is a period of political transition in which the state can only be a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The proletarian dictatorship state was first established in Soviet Russia and then in a number of other countries, including our own.

It is a new style state.

It differs from all states that preceded it in that it abolishes the private ownership of the instruments of production and, on this basis, abolishes the exploitation of man by man; establishes the public ownership of the instruments of production; it is led by the working class and has the alliance of workers and farmers as its foundation; it establishes a dictatorship over counter-revolutionaries and the exploiting classes.

It is the dictatorship of the vast majority of the people over the exploiting minority.

In our country, the state has experienced three stages of development in order to be the dictatorship of the proletariat state we have today.

In 1945, the August Revolution achieved success. With the 1946 Constitution, our state, a democratic republic, was born after our people toppled the colonial system and the feudal officials. The 1946 Constitution was the Constitution of the period of the national democratic revolution.

After fighting a war of resistance against the French colonialists for 9 years, the North, with the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu (1954), was totally liberated and began the transition to socialism. The 1959 Constitution was born. Our state was a people's democratic state that had the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And, in the South, our people had to continue to struggle to complete the national democratic revolution with a view toward reunifying the fatherland.

In 1975, with the great victory won in spring, the South was totally liberated and the country was reunified. Under the leadership of the party, the entire country began the advance to socialism. Our new Constitution established our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat state.

The historic mission of this state is to "implement the right of collective ownership of the working people and mobilize and organize the people in simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution; abolish the exploitation of man by man; crush all opposition by domestic counter-revolutionaries and every act of aggression and sabotage by foreign enemies; successfully build socialism and

eventually achieve communism; and help to strengthen peace and promote the revolutionary undertaking of the people of the world"(Article 2).

This mission of our state is so large because of the special characteristics of our country's revolution, the most important ones of which are that our country's production is still primarily small-scale production and we are advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

The socialist revolution is the most profound and thorough revolution. We must build everything from the bottom upward, must build a new infrastructure as well as a new superstructure, must build the new political system, the new economy and the new culture and must mold the new, socialist man.

The class nature of our state is also seen in the fact that it guarantees the right of collective ownership of the working people. This is a contribution by our party to the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat state. "The dictatorship of the proletariat state is the clearest expression of the leadership of the party and the right of collective ownership of the working people."(2)

The concept of perfecting the right of socialist collective ownership that was developed by our party has been codified in Article 3 of the Constitution. It is being the master in the fields of politics, the economy, the culture and society; it is ownership on a nationwide scale, ownership within each locality and each installation; it is being the master of nature, the master of society, the master of oneself.

The Constitution also defines a mechanism for guaranteeing the implementation of the right of ownership: exercising ownership by means of the state (through the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels); exercising ownership by means of the various social organizations (the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, the Vietnam Association of Collective Farmers, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Women's Union); the masses directly exercise ownership at the installations.

The collective owners are "the working people, who include the working class, the class of collective farmers, the various strata of socialist intellectuals and the other laborers, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class"(Article 3).

The class nature of the state is never in contradiction with the national nature of the state. As soon as it was founded, our party adopted a correct nationalities policy. Only a Marxist-Leninist party can adopt a correct policy regarding the nationalities question. Article 5 of the Constitution states that "the state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the unified state of the nationalities that live together in the country of Vietnam, nationalities that have equality of rights and obligations... The state must have a plan for gradually abolishing the differences among the various nationalities with regard to their levels of economic and cultural development."

One new point recorded in this Constitution is the establishment of the Nationalities Council, which has the tasks of "researching and making proposals to the National Assembly and the State Council concerning nationality issues; helping the National Assembly and the State Council supervise the implementation of the nationalities policy"(Article 91).

The class nature of our state is also seen in our foreign policy. It is: "To strengthen the fraternal friendship, the militant solidarity and the comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism while protecting and developing our friendly relations with neighboring countries; to unite with the people of the countries struggling for national independence and social progress; to implement a policy of peaceful coexistence between different political and social systems, non-intervention in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit; to actively support and contribute to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, hegemony and racism for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism"(Article 14).

Another major issue that is codified in the new Constitution is the leadership role of the Vietnam Communist Party.

Clearly, "the closeness between socialism and national independence is the greatest truth of our times."(3) Therefore, only under the leadership of the party of the working class can nations advance to socialism and communism. To fulfill its glorious historic mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat state absolutely must be led by the communist party. This is the first time that a Constitution of our country has so clearly stated in its clauses the leadership role played by the party: "The Vietnam Communist Party, the vanguard unit and the militant command staff of the Vietnamese working class, which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, is the only force leading the state, leading society, is the primary factor determining every victory of the Vietnamese revolution (Article 4).

This is a very new point compared to the 1946 Constitution and the 1959 Constitution. Although the Vietnamese revolution has always been led by the party, due to the historic circumstances that existed at the time, the 1946 Constitution did not contain this article. In 1959, the situation was different, our country's Constitution openly mentioned the leadership role of the party but only in the introduction to the Constitution, not in the various articles of the Constitution.

In actuality, the leadership role of the party is not only expressed in Article 4 of the new Constitution, but is evident throughout the entire Constitution. The line of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage, that is, the line of advancing to socialism, the viewpoint concerning socialist collective ownership, the lines on building the economy, the culture, society, strengthening the socialist system of law and so forth, which were set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party, have also been codified in the new Constitution.

More than one-half century ago, when he was influenced by Marxism-Leninism, Uncle Ho led the Vietnamese revolution into the orb of the world revolution. He wrote:

"Only by liberating the proletariat is it possible to liberate the nation; both of these liberations can only be the undertaking of communism and the world revolution."(4)
"The only path to follow in order to save the country and liberate the nation is the path of the proletarian revolution."

The articles of the new Constitution deeply reflect the feelings of the people concerning the leading party and their absolute confidence in it.

These provisions of the Constitution are consistent with the feelings of the people and consistent with the laws of history. The party has long been considered beloved by everyone. Today, now that the leadership role of the party has been "incorporated in the law," has been "embodied in the state," this deep feeling has been made public, has been made official by means of the law of the state. Be he a party member or not, every citizen of Vietnam has the right and the honor to consider the Vietnam Communist Party to be his party. This is a new development.

Another very unique aspect is that Article 4 of the new Constitution states: "The organizations of the party operate within the framework of the Constitution." This reflects the very correct application of the theory concerning the party leading the government. The party leads the state but does not replace the state. The party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages. The state manages in accordance with the law, the highest law being the Constitution. And, the Constitution, as well as the other laws, in general, is the codification of the line of the party. Scrupulously implementing the Constitution is the same as complying with the line of the party. This stipulation has the effect of helping to prevent and correct manifestations of arbitrariness and autocracy by some cadres and party members. It is also in this spirit that Point 3 of Article 2 of the Statutes of the Vietnam Communist Party states that one of the tasks of the party member is to "scrupulously obey the Constitution and the laws of the state" and "the party compels all organizations, cadres and members of the party to respect the authority of state agencies and scrupulously comply with the law and the decisions and directives of state agencies, considering this to be the discipline of the party."(5)

For one-half century, our people, fighting under the glorious banner of the party, have won victory after victory.

Today, the leadership role of the party is formally recorded in the new Constitution. Implementing the Constitution is the same as implementing the line of the party. Everyone, be he a member of the party or not, is becoming increasingly aware of this oneness. This awareness will surely be turned into revolutionary action.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "The Communist Manifesto," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 78.
2. Le Duan: "Lam chu tap the--noi dung co ban cua Hien phap moi," [Collective Ownership--the Basic Content of the New Constitution], TAP CHI CONG SAN, [COMMUNIST REVIEW] No 12-1980, p 6.

3. Ibid., p 2.
4. Nguyen Ai Quoc "Day 'cong ly' cua thuc dan Phap o Dong-duong!" [This is the "Justice" of the French Colonialists in Indochina!], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 97.
5. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 69.

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THE ELECTION LAW OF THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 14-18 and 37

[Article by Phan Trung Ly]

[Text] On the basis of the New Constitution, the National Assembly delegate election law was adopted by the National Assembly on 18 December 1980.

This election law will help to further heighten the role of the highest organ of state power and gradually perfect the collective ownership system in our country.

1. Guaranteeing True Equality in Elections Is One of the Basic Principles of the National Assembly Delegate Election Law

Through sophisticated deception, bourgeois law has developed many tricks for insuring that power is won by the bourgeoisie in elections. The basic principles of bourgeois law are based on the power of money and hide behind the labels of "freedom," "equality" and "fraternity." The tricks and conditions established by bourgeois law restrict the right of working persons to vote to the lowest possible level.

Conversely, socialist law creates every condition for the people to exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations. The principle of true equality is respected and upheld by socialist law. Article 2 of the National Assembly delegate election law states: "All citizens of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, regardless of their nationality, sex, social stratum, beliefs, religion, cultural level, occupation and time of residence, who are 18 years of age or older have the right to vote and those who are 21 years of age or older can be elected to the National Assembly, except for persons who are insane and persons who have had these rights taken away from them by the law or the People's Court."

Bourgeois election law uses the differences in "nationality," "sex," "social stratum," "religious beliefs," "level of education," "occupation" and "time of residence" to protect the special rights of the bourgeoisie and limit the rights of the working people; however, our election law states that there is no discrimination in these areas because our system is the system of collective ownership of the working people and is always creating the conditions to mobilize the working people to participate in exercising their rights and fulfilling their obligations as citizens.

In capitalist society, the gap between having the right to vote and being elected is very wide and usually cannot be bridged by the vast majority of the people. A person who has the right to vote and wants to be elected must meet all sorts of conditions (especially conditions concerning property). As for us, except for the age requirement, all persons who have the right to vote can be elected to the National Assembly. It is necessary for the age requirement for being elected to the National Assembly to be higher than the age at which a person can vote because, in addition to the requirement of being aware of the citizenship rights and obligations of each voter, the National Assembly delegate must meet a number of other requirements, such as experience in life, the level of social and political awareness needed to resolve problems related to national policy and the welfare of the people, etc.

The superior nature of our system is seen in the following: under our election law, the state guarantees that military personnel have the right to vote and can be elected to the National Assembly the same as all other citizens. (In the capitalist countries, military personnel do not have these rights).

In capitalist society, voting results are dependent upon the amount of money spent by each candidate; to win an election, each candidate must spend millions of dollars to buy votes; as the value of currency has changed, the amount of money spent has constantly increased. For example, in 1846, when Lincoln ran for president of the United States, his supporters spent 200 dollars to gather votes for him; today, each candidate for the Congress must spend 5 million dollars and each candidate for president must spend 100 million dollars; in order to be introduced as a candidate for president at the national congresses of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, each candidate must spend 10 million dollars.

In our country, in order to provide the material conditions for all citizens to exercise their political rights as recognized under the law, Article 7 of the National Assembly delegate election law stipulates: "The costs incurred in holding an election of National Assembly delegates shall be borne by the state budget."

In order to guarantee the true right of ownership of the citizen in elections, the law stipulates that, except for special cases, "voters must cast their own votes and not rely upon others to vote for them..."(Article 36); in all cases, "when votes are being cast, no one is allowed to see them, including election officials..."(Article 38). When voting, voters must be aware of the fact that they are helping to elect the National Assembly, the highest agency representing the people and the highest agency of power of the state. They must understand that, in an election, they are not only deciding who to elect, but are also helping to determine the direction that state activities will take.

2. The Role of the Mass Organizations in Elections and in the Introduction of Candidates

To uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, it is extremely necessary to heighten the role played by the mass organizations, in general, and their role in elections, in particular.

This National Assembly delegate election law establishes a worthy position for the Vietnam Fatherland Front, which is an organization that fully reflects the solidarity of all the people and the political and spiritual unanimity among the people, teaches and mobilizes the people to display a high sense of collective ownership and is the firm foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat state. Article 6 of the law states: "Together with the various agencies of the government, the Vietnam Fatherland Front has the responsibility of organizing the election of delegates to the National Assembly." All of the subsequent articles of the law clearly express this fact; all of the decisive elements in the process of preparing for and holding an election involve the participation of the Front on the central level as well as the local level.

The role of the Front is affirmed in the holding of elections as well as in the organizing of the recall of a National Assembly delegate when he or she is no longer worthy of the trust of the people. Article 66 of the law states: "The State Council decides to hold an election to recall a National Assembly delegate on the basis of a resolution presented by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front or the Fatherland Front Committee of a province, a municipality directly subordinate to the central level or an administrative unit on an equivalent level."

The key element in an election is the introduction of candidates; it is this element that most clearly reflects the nature of the state and the system.

In the capitalist countries, the introduction of candidates is the work of one group of capitalists or another, one party or another. In our country, the introduction of candidates is the work of each citizen, of collectives of persons exercising ownership. In capitalist society, the right to introduce a candidate, regardless of the label given to it, be it "freedom" or "equality," regardless of whether the candidate belongs to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, is the sole right of a school of sharks, the right of the owners of the instruments of production, the right of a small minority that controls the majority of the country's wealth.

Article 26 of the National Assembly delegate election law of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam confirms that the right to introduce a candidate is a right belonging to the working people and states: "In every voting unit, the Vietnam Fatherland Front Committee coordinates examining the opinions of the collective of working people on the basic level with holding talks with the various political parties and mass organizations to introduce the ballot of candidates." Compared to previous regulations, this represents a long step forward by us down the path of building the system of socialist collective ownership.

According to Article 26, a person who wishes to be a candidate for National Assembly delegate must be introduced by the Vietnam Fatherland Front Committee. Article 24 of the 1959 National Assembly delegate election law stated: "...Individuals have the right to place their own names in nomination." The purpose of this article was to take the South into consideration at a time when our country was still partitioned and the discussion and introduction of candidates by collectives was still something

new to some persons. Today, every citizen understands that the best form of ownership is ownership exercised by means of the state through one's mass organization. Facts have shown: in the elections of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Legislatures of the National Assembly, there were only three persons who placed their own names in nomination (two of whom placed their name in nomination for one legislature after another) but not one of these three persons won election. Thus, the practice of individuals placing their own names in nomination is perfunctory, unsuitable and unnecessary and must be eliminated. And, not recognizing the practice of individuals placing their own names in nomination reflects respect for the right of collective ownership of the working people under the new conditions that exist.

3. The Right of the People To Supervise and Impeach the Delegates They Elect

From the time they are placed in nomination until the end of the term of the National Assembly, National Assembly delegates are under the supervision of the people. The law guarantees that the people shall fully exercise their right of supervision so that "the persons who are elected to the National Assembly will always try to be worthy of being the faithful servants of their compatriots and be diligent, frugal, honest, just and devoted delegates who wholeheartedly serve the fatherland, serve the people, serve socialism"(1), as taught by the revered President Ho Chi Minh.

Every voter, every citizen has the right and responsibility to supervise the implementation of election law. Each person, each level, each sector and each organization must scrupulously comply with the socialist system of law in elections; the National Assembly delegate election law stipulates that voters have the right to supervise from the time voting roles are being drawn up (Articles 23 and 24) and candidates are being placed in nomination (Articles 26, 29 and 31) until election results are being checked (Article 24).

In order for the people to properly exercise their right of supervision, Article 74 of the law states: "Each person has the right to denounce illegal actions during elections or the impeachment of National Assembly delegates. Anyone who impedes the exercise of this right or retaliates against persons who denounce such acts can be punished by up to 3 years in prison."

The right of the people to supervise is always closely linked to their right to impeach National Assembly delegates. Developing upon Article 7 of the new Constitution, which states "...Voters have the right to impeach National Assembly delegates and people's council delegates if these delegates prove themselves to be unworthy of the trust of the people," the National Assembly delegate election law devotes an entire chapter to the impeachment of National Assembly delegates. This chapter of the new law reflects the superior nature of our system. It emphasizes once again that "in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people," as stated in Article 6 of the new Constitution.

The impeachment of delegates who are not fully qualified to represent the people reflects the nature of our state, a state "of, by and for the people." By establishing the right of voters to impeach the delegates they elect, the socialist state has given to the people a vital tool in exercising their right of ownership, insured

that the responsibility of delegates to voters is fulfilled and actualizes the power of the people over the agencies that they elect.

The right to impeach delegates and the impeachment procedures set forth in the law are new and necessitated by the requirements of the actual situation. Lenin said: "Denying and refusing to implement the right of impeachment and postponing or limiting the implementation of this right are the same as rejecting democracy and totally abandoning the main principle and task of the socialist revolution that has begun in Russia."(2)

4. The New National Assembly Delegate Election Law Is a Law Reflecting the Gradual Perfection of the System of Socialist Collective Ownership

The election law gives the State Council the right to designate a specific number of delegates for each election unit based on the population; units that have the same population will elect the same number of delegates. The population of each unit is the basis for computing the number of delegates elected by the unit. This principle, combined with the fact that the country is in the period of transition to socialism, will gradually perfect the system of socialist collective ownership. This reality demands that the interests of the part, the interests of the locality be subordinate to the interests of the whole, the interests of the entire country.

In this spirit, the election law gives priority to the capital, the ethnic minority areas and a number of other cases.

As regards Hanoi, the capital of the country, the country's political, economic and cultural center and the home of the vital agencies of the entire country, Article 9 of the law stipulates: "...The State Council shall designate a suitable number of delegates for the capital Hanoi."

If computed on the basis of the population, some administrative units on levels corresponding to the provincial level and the municipalities directly subordinate to the central level (specifically, at this time, the Vung Tau-Con Dao special zone) do not have a population large enough to elect a National Assembly delegate. To insure that the provinces, the municipalities subordinate to the central level and administrative units on similar levels have the delegates needed to represent the will and aspiration of the people and speak for the people of these units at the National Assembly, Article 9 of the election law states: "The provinces, municipalities subordinate to the central level or administrative units on similar levels shall elect at least two delegates."

In order to implement the plan of the state and "gradually abolish the differences among the various nationalities with regard to their levels of economic and cultural development"(Article 5 of the new Constitution), the election law gives attention to designating an appropriate number of National Assembly delegates for the ethnic minorities, that is, a number that represents a higher percentage of the population than the national average. In order for the compatriots of the ethnic minorities to be able to exercise their right of collective ownership and participate in the management of the state and the management of society, Article 10 of the law states:

"The number of National Assembly delegates representing the ethnic minorities at each legislature of the National Assembly shall be designated by the State Council, which shall insure that the ethnic minorities have a suitable number of delegates representing them within the National Assembly."

The National Assembly delegate election law promulgated in late 1980 is the legal basis upon which our people can exercise their right of collective ownership in elections. The period from the first decree on elections in 1945 to the National Assembly delegate election law promulgated in 1980 represents an entire period of history. The new election law marks a stage of growth in our development of the socialist law. Actively and scrupulously complying with the newly promulgated National Assembly delegate election law is the right and obligation of our entire party and all our people and will insure the success of the upcoming election of National Assembly delegates.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by President Ho at the Congress of the People of Capital to congratulate the candidates for National Assembly delegate in Hanoi as their names are placed in nomination, 24 April 1960, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 25 April 1960.
2. V.I. Lenin: "The Draft of the Decree on the Right To Impeach," Collected Works, Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 35, p 126.

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SOME MANAGERIAL PROBLEMS IN THE BUILDING OF A NEW CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 19-25

[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] The state's management of culture must be closely linked to the party's cultural leadership. Maintaining that culture is only a spiritual, ideological front and, as a result, only concerning ourselves with political and ideological content in our leadership of culture is incorrect. At present, when the tasks of the revolution require that we build a new culture, cultural leadership cannot be of this type, rather, we must lead the building of the new culture in terms of its material base, organization and forces and must provide guidance concerning the spiritual and ideological content of culture.

Culture is the sum of spiritual activities, activities which are expressed in different forms: organization, material bases, movements and so forth. They are the prerequisites to the people exercising their right of collective cultural ownership and both enjoying and creating culture. Therefore, it is necessary to consider them to be the bases for establishing the specifics involved in the work of building the new culture, which consists of the following points:

1. Building a system of culture, literature and art of socialist content and a profound national nature;
2. Building cultural installations throughout the country and gradually establishing cultural centers from the installation to the national level (with systems of cultural projects within these cultural centers, such as palaces of culture, libraries, museums, book stores and so forth) that have movements that encompass all strata of persons and are organized in a manner that insures correctly oriented activities.
3. Establishing cultural, literary and art movements that become mass movements.

Culture, literature and art have special characteristics in creative activities; therefore, the leadership and management of culture must reflect a firm grasp of these special characteristics and not consider cultural work (especially literature and art) to be the same as any other work. If we consider culture and art a production process, this process would have the following special characteristics:

--The organization of production is sometimes collective and sometimes individual. Each individual must complete one production process in order to produce one product; or, in the case of a production collective, every individual within the collective must repeat his task in the process of constant creativity and change, never to duplicate his effort. The products (works of art or performances) are produced one at a time and each one is different; technology can only be employed in certain cases to achieve wide dissemination of these products (books and films).

--Investments must always be made early, investments are large and comprehensive and the product cannot be foreseen with complete accuracy.

--The amount of time until harvest is generally long. The financial, economic harvest sometimes shows neither a profit nor a loss, sometimes shows a profit and sometimes even shows a major loss; however, the spiritual harvest is frequently large, too large to be measured, and has an impact that might last for generations. As the quality of the product (the work of art) becomes increasingly high, its value increases over time and space and the size of its market cannot be measured.

--In the face of the requirement of always being creative, the product that is produced must be new (and different) but a "laboratory" cannot be used in its production. The product must be tested in the feelings and the evaluation of the masses. The product might be successful at an early date or a late date, might be successful for a short time or a long time and might even experience a defeat before achieving success.

Cultural, literary and art activities are both material and spiritual activities. Their product and effectiveness are primarily spiritual. However, material activities and material conditions (raw materials, paper, film, theaters, musical implements, materials for sculpting, architecture, paintings and so forth) must be used to express this spiritual quality; therefore, cultural, literary and art activities have an economic side and an ideological side. As a result, the management of culture by the state also raises many questions.

To begin with, the management of culture must be expressed in a state plan and budget allocations. At present, cultural-social cost constitute more than 12 percent of the national budget and are divided into four groups:

--Group 1: the educational sector, which receives about 31 percent of the cultural-social budget;

--Group 2: the public health sector, which receives more than 23.5 percent of the cultural and social budget.

--Group 3: the war invalids and social affairs sector, which receives nearly 40 percent of the cultural and social budget.

--Group 4: this group consists of the five sectors of culture, physical education and sports, radio and television broadcasting, the news service and the protection of mothers and infants, which receive nearly 7.5 percent of the cultural and social budget.

This division into groups reflects the attitude that culture is an item of secondary importance. And, on the basis of these budget allocations, culture is the least expensive tool. How can such a budget meet the requirements of developing cultural work on a suitable scale?

An investigation of 20 villages in the North showed that the annual per capita expenditure on culture range from a low of 3 xu in one village to a high of 24 dong in another village. This reveals a legal shortcomings, namely, that the cultural sector does not have the conditions needed to have an impact upon the smooth development of the entire sector throughout the country in accordance with a unified program or design; instead, development is still heavily dependent upon the preferences or limited understandings within each locality.

Culture consists of many activities of an economic nature. Some of these activities have the purpose of creating cultural products. The use value of a cultural product is primarily its spiritual value; however, at the same time, it is also a product in the nature of a commodity, a product that has a trade value, such as films, works of art, books and pictures. In order to produce cultural products, it is necessary to conduct activities of an industrial nature, such as producing films, printing and distributing books, pictures and so forth. There are also cultural products that do not exist in a physical form, but only exist in the activities of specially trained persons: songs, music and theatrical performances. The articles used in these activities are the materials, means and implements of artistic activities and a type of cultural product: musical instruments, artistic ornaments, cosmetics, jewelry, props, broadcasting equipment, loudspeakers, microphones, various types of lighting, etc.

The production and supply of the items mentioned above generally occur as follows:

All of these items might be materials (in the form of raw materials, supplies or products) used in cultural and artistic activities which are supplied by the various industrial sectors, such as the mechanical engineering sector, light industry, the chemicals sector and so forth with the cultural sector only distributing them to units for use.

Or, all of these items might be produced by the cultural sector itself and supplied by it to the various units within the sector for their use and supplied, at the same time, to all units of the other sectors throughout the country that engage in cultural and artistic activities.

The various types of items mentioned above have several special characteristics:

- a) Some are items that are commonly used in everyday life, used by many sectors or the populace as a whole, such as cloth, cosmetics, lightbulbs, paper and rouge.
- b) Some types are special purpose items used in the cultural and art sector but not used, or used only very slightly, by the other sectors and the people.

- c) Some types of items for cultural activities are not required in large quantities but do have special qualitative requirements and many different complex specifications.
- d) Some are items that are special purpose items at first but, as society develops and the economy improves, they become items that are widely used among the people, such as photographic film, art paper, oil pastels, recording equipment, etc.

With regard to the items mentioned above, some persons maintain that the cultural sector should not manage their production but only manage work agencies because the cultural sector does not know how to perform economic work or carry out production. There are also persons who maintain that the production and supply of items related to cultural activities must be totally organized by the cultural sector. Both of these opinions are incorrect in one respect or another and difficult to implement.

In actuality, some cultural activities have been and continue to be of a production nature: the production of films (feature films, animated films and so forth) and some products have technical-artistic requirements that must be met by specialists of the cultural sector, such as the production of musical instruments, the production of records, the production of oil pastels, etc. Thus, the cultural sector is not simply a work management sector but must be a sector with production and business management. Investments in and the balancing of plans for the cultural sector must not only be investments in a type of activity but must be computed the same as they are for a sector with production and business activities related to the daily lives of the people. Cultural management does not simply mean the management of spiritual activities or the management of expenditures, rather, it is necessary to also manage production activities. Therefore, placing culture in the field of non-material production activities is not totally correct.

In addition, it is necessary to give attention to formulating a policy for investing materials and finances in art. In making this investment, consideration must be given to the special characteristics of creative activities instead of considering this investment to be the same as an investment in any material production sector or any sector that produces consumer goods. Consideration must also be given to the possible artistic value of the product in question.

The state's management of culture and art consists of managing the activities of the Ministry of Culture and even the activities of the literary and art associations. These associations must be considered basic mass organizations of the party in addition to the Youth Union, the Women's Union and the Trade Union. At present, the professional associations of the literature and art sector have more than 300 members, all of whom are active artists. In addition, nearly 20 provinces have local literature and art associations or are establishing associations. Each locality has hundreds of members. These associations have always been considered organizations that only engage in activities that require expenditures. None of these associations has the permission (because, in actuality, they do not have the ability) to conduct economic activities in order to earn a profit, acquire revenue and broaden the scope of their activities, especially to create material conditions for the creative activities of artists to be carried out smoothly. Meanwhile, the support provided by the state is still much in the nature of "assistance." The state has not expressed any special

concern in order to make appropriate investments in the field of spiritual production; therefore, the associations cannot operate as mass organizations engaged in "spiritual production."

Directly evaluating the position of the associations, making appropriate investments in their activities, placing "orders for goods" from these associations and establishing legal regulations so that the associations can develop their activities in spiritual production, these are the important aspects of the cultural management function of the socialist state.

Another management function designed to develop cultural work is that of building a corps of cadres for the cultural sector. The cultural sector encompasses many different activities; therefore, it is necessary to have very many different types of cadres. However, generally speaking, it can be said that cultural work requires the following primary types of cadres:

- Leadership and management cadres;
- Art cadres (or, more correctly stated, artists);
- Economic-cultural cadres;
- Cultural technical cadres.

Among these various types of cadres, the training of artists poses the greatest difficulties. The training of artists involves the training of persons who possess special talents, strong creative ability and intense enthusiasm for art. Thus:

--We cannot recruit artists in a sweeping fashion. We must establish an entire system in order to develop artistic talents, beginning with the youngest age groups, everywhere in the country. At present, we do not have such a system. As a result, it is possible that we have wasted many special talents.

--We must provide thorough training in one field of art beginning in childhood and not wait until students have finished general school before entering a specialized sector, as is the case with the other sectors, in order to provide them with a suitable amount of time to engage in artistic activities. Dancers, acrobats and the majority of actors and singers are at their peak between the ages of 17 and 35. Some fields of art require 7 to 10 years of study and others even longer before a person can participate in the activities of this field.

--In many fields of art, training must be based on the one student-one teacher method, even one student and many teachers.

--It is necessary to establish the conditions needed to maintain the health of students, insure their physical development and insure that they can engage in creative activities even in the course of their studies.

--Students must have a very broad knowledge of society and a very deep knowledge of their special field and must engage in arduous and detailed training.

The management cadres of the cultural sector must be qualified in economic management, organization and politics and must have broad knowledge of the various fields of cultural and art activities. The cultural sector requires many types of management cadres. Some are general management cadres and some are cadres who manage a work installation, such as a palace of culture, a museum or a library. Some cadres manage an enterprise that produces products that meet the special requirements of art. Some cadres manage art units (theaters, cultural entertainment groups and art studios), etc.

The cultural sector is experiencing a very serious shortage of all types of cadres. There is no one to succeed the general management cadres at the ministry and the services because we have never trained these types of cultural management cadres. At the same time, the cultural sector has not formulated long-term or short-term cadre training plans. It can be said that we do not have reliable foundations upon which to formulate such plans. This is because our state has never adopted any regulations concerning the system of cultural activities for the entire country or for the various levels, from the central level to the basic level. Whereas the education sector has adopted regulations on a system and network of schools in order to forecast development and uses this as the basis for planning the training of cadres and the public health sector has regulations on the system and network of public health facilities, the cultural sector has no such regulations. The opinions concerning the system of cultural services and the network of cultural activity installations and organizations are opinions of a professional nature and relate only to the cultural sector. And, even these opinions involve many questions related to the other sectors (such as broadcasting and wired radio) that have not been resolved and concerning which agreement has not been reached. For this reason, the various types of cadres of the cultural sector are in a state of instability. In many provinces, cadres receive elementary and advanced training in order to perform professional work for the cultural sector but as many as 80 percent of them are assigned to different jobs. At present, the following situation also exists: anyone can be a cultural cadre and cultural cadres are also assigned to other jobs.

In order to plan cadre training, we must standardize cadres. To achieve cadre standardization, we must establish regulations on the system of organizations and the network of cultural installations from the central to the local and installation levels.

At present, the cultural sector has temporary regulations on the projects that must be established in district towns and in villages. For example, a district must have the following projects (and activity organizations):

- A district palace of culture (including information activities).
- A district library.
- An exhibit area.
- A park.

--A people's theater (outdoor).

--Depending upon the district, a district can also have a museum or tradition hall and business installations (such as movie theater book store and photography store).

The projects mentioned above, together with the radio station or wired radio system, the level III school, the district hospital and the district athletic field, create the cultural center of the district. In the villages, a number of projects have also been proposed; at present, however, the cultural sector is encouraging the villages to build and establish village palaces of culture by making full use of old facilities (palaces, temples and meeting halls) or build new, temporary style facilities; where conditions exist in terms of building materials, permanent facilities should be constructed.

This is not to mention the historic ruins and scenic areas that must be repaired, constructed and provided with staffs in order to perform maintenance work and provide services that attract tourists.

The establishment of the projects and organizations mentioned above must be officially required by the state under regulations before we can establish a stable basis for calculating the need for each type of cadre for the sector and, on this basis, plan the training of cadres and the network and system of elementary and advanced training schools.

Moreover, from the standpoint of the management of the sector, the cultural sector can only formulate its planning, determine the specific capabilities of the various localities and forecast the stages of cultural development of the entire country if it is given the task of managing and using capital.

As regards the organization of the apparatus and the forces engaged in cultural activity, problems still exist. On the village level, the situation varies very widely. Moreover, the production organization of cooperatives is not stable. The South is still in the process of cooperativization. In the North, cooperatives are still being divided and merged. There is no uniform model of the apparatus on the village level.

The above mentioned situation demands that we quickly stabilize the organizational model from the provincial to the village levels as this is the only way we can achieve stability in cultural work.

Another problem is that of legal management and policies.

At present, we do not have a uniform body of law nor a system of policies designed to insure the implementation of the cultural line of the party.

The Ministry of Culture is the agency responsible for the development of all cultural work, consequently, it must be the organization responsible for managing the law and policies that pertain to culture. Assuming this responsibility will mean observing implementation and having the authority to prosecute (under the supervision of the

Council of Ministers) violations of cultural law and policy as well as having the authority to research and disseminate cultural policies consistent with the requirements of the development of cultural work.

At present, many sectors and many localities are very seriously violating the cultural laws and policies promulgated by our state such as trespassing upon and destroying cultural vestiges, storing prohibited cultural products, such as films, pictures, books and magazines of the enemy and even organizing the illegal collection of money (for films and plays) or taking it upon themselves to trade or sell cultural products to foreign countries. These violations of cultural law and policies have harmed, in more than a small way, the property of the country and the precious assets of the nation and brought disorder to the effort to build the new culture of the country.

In its activities, the cultural sector must comply with many different policies, which are generally of the three following types:

--General policies of the state with which all sectors must comply.

--General policies of the state which the cultural sector must apply in a manner consistent with its special characteristics.

--Separate policies of the cultural sector designed to meet the special requirements of the culture and art sector, requirements that other sectors do not have, most notably the writers' emoluments system, copyrights and the various policies regarding artistic activities.

At present, however, the regulations and policies that have been established are not being implemented on a uniform basis throughout the country; many points in these policies are only being implemented on the central level while the localities implement them in a manner dependent upon specific conditions. At the same time, many localities have special characteristics that differ very widely; therefore, many aspects of these policies cannot be implemented on a uniform basis.

Moreover, we are still experiencing much confusion with regard to coordinating management by sector and management by territory (locality). Management by sector does not guarantee or create the conditions for good management by territory. Conversely, management by territory has not helped us to achieve uniform management of the sector. We must consider this a temporary situation and take steps to correct it, the sooner the better.

The state plan must reflect the viewpoint of considering cultural development to be a political task of equal importance to the economic construction task. At the same time, as regards the guidance of work, the guidance of the development of cultural work, it is necessary to insure that cultural activities fulfill their educational function. The educational function of cultural activities must include political education, ideological education, the teaching of feelings, the teaching of aesthetics and the elevation of the soul and character; in summary, teaching persons to be fully developed spiritually.

In order for the face of society to reflect a highly developed culture, we must adopt a comprehensive and well coordinated plan for building the economy and culture of the entire country and adopt integrated planning in order to gradually develop cultural work.

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THE STATE COORDINATING WITH THE PEOPLE TO BUILD AND DEVELOP THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 26-30

[Article by Bui Thanh Khiet]

[Text] In the reform of education, what would a reasonable step be at a time when the educational needs of the people are constantly increasing but the conditions needed to maintain the quality of instruction and learning are in very short supply?

During this school year (1980-1981), all of the educational sectors have enrolled many students:

- + Child care centers: 1.2 million children
- + Kindergartens: 1,680,000 children
- + General schools: 11,390,000 students
- + Trade training schools: 54,000 students
- + Vocational middle schools: 55,400 students
- + Colleges and academies: 150,336 students (at 91 schools)
- + Classroom supplementary education: 770,000 students
- + On-the-job supplementary education: 1,200,000 students.

As stated in the report on the 1981 state plan, one of every three persons in our country is attending school. However, the educational needs of our people are constantly rising, especially in the South since total liberation was won and the country was reunified. With regard to general school education alone, all of the schools in our country are only able to enroll 71.4 percent of the total number of children of general school age (11,390,000 students of the 16,700,000 children of general school age).

The provinces and cities that have the most students are:

- Nghe Tinh: 788,000 students, 91.8 percent of the children of general school age;
- The capital Hanoi: 604,000 students, 90.9 percent;
- Ha Nam Ninh: 729,000 students, 88.8 percent;
- Ho Chi Minh City: 809,000 students, 77.2 percent.

The provinces which, due to a shortage of schools and teachers, have fewer students are:

- Kien Giang: 457,000 students, 64.6 percent;
- Minh Hai: 245,000 students, 60.7 percent.

In the mountainous jungles and highland areas, general school education is still developing slowly; not many boarding schools for teenagers and children in the ethnic minority areas have been opened.

If we look at the number of students compared to the population of the entire country, we find that the figure is very high; however, this figure still does not meet the requirement of the revolution of endeavoring to enroll the vast majority of teenagers and children between the ages of 6 and 15-16 in basic general schools, primarily level I schools. We must endeavor to insure that every child receives an equal education without regard for their family circumstances, nationality or locality.

On the other hand, if we examine the matter of establishing reasonable and well coordinated balance among the various educational sectors, we see that the vocational educational sector is designed to train additional manual workers and technical and professional personnel and to build a reserve of labor for the country, labor which the country does not have all of the conditions needed to develop, that can continue on to the various levels of general schools and is closely linked to the industrial complexes, the economic zones and enterprises.

Our country recently emerged from the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and now is being threatened with aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Our country's economy is still poor; over the past several years, natural disasters have seriously damaged the crops in some areas. Our country has a large number of children; the cultural level of our country's working people must still be raised by a significant degree in order to meet the requirements of socialist construction. Following the total liberation and reunification of the country, the educational needs of our people became very large. We face two rather acute problems: first, we must support the lives of teachers and educational management cadres; secondly, we must provide adequate conditions for teaching and learning, such as schools and classrooms, classroom equipment and paper as well as toys for children at child care centers and kindergartens, etc.

In the face of these difficulties, a good way to gradually and reasonably carry out the reform of education is to develop education while maintaining the quality of education.

According to the 1981 budget plan (data of the Ministry of Finance), the budget allocation for general school education has been increased 15 percent compared to 1980. In the face of the country's difficult situation, this represents a very large effort on the part of the state with regard to education; however, if we only rely upon the budget, it will be impossible to successfully develop education throughout the entire country in the years ahead. The majority of the budget is allocated for the payment of salaries of cadres and teachers. The fund for capital construction, material-technical bases and school equipment is still very small compared

to the number of students, which is rather rapidly increasing each year. This is a common concern of our people, especially of the cadres and teachers of the education sectors as regards the development of education and educational reform throughout the country.

The Political Bureau resolution on the reform of education reads in part: "The reform of education...is of very important significance to the future of our nation, the future of our fatherland. Therefore, our people, who are rich in patriotism and love of socialism, who have a tradition of desiring to learn and learning well, will, if mobilized and guided well, surely overcome every difficulty, develop upon positive factors and make worthy contributions to the development of education in a manner that reflects increasingly high quality and on an increasingly large scale."(1)

The resolution also sets forth the following guideline: "The mass organizations must play their key role in education and in mobilizing all the people to contribute their intellect and energy to the reform of education and the implementation of the educational line of the party."(2)

In the process of leading the revolution, our party has mobilized the creative, positive factors of the people of our entire country and combined the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with the experiences and traditions of our nation in order to build the large educational system that our country has today.

One of the primary prerequisites for achieving the educational objectives of the party is to establish material bases, such as schools, school equipment and so forth. With this understanding in mind, the working people at many places have made an effort to contribute to the development of schools and classes, with the people at some places paying more than nine-tenths of the cost of school construction. The tradition of supporting and assisting teachers so that they have the necessary working conditions and can improve their standard of living has been developed upon. On the other hand, in villages that are advanced in education, in a number of subwards of the capital Hanoi (such as Kim Lien and O Cho Dua), in Hoc Mon District and a number of subwards of Ho Chi Minh City and even in remote rural areas and wilderness, mountainous areas, teachers and the people are expanding the campaign to intensify the teaching of revolutionary ethics at schools. The people have displayed an intense desire to care for the young generation; among families, society and schools there is coordination in the teaching of children, in helping students to comply with the five teachings of Uncle Ho and, at the same time, in helping the school build its corps of teachers into a strong and stable collective of socialist educators.

Our country has Cam Binh Village in Nghe Tinh Province, which is a bright and complete example of the state coordinating with the people to develop education, which has been studied by the entire country and cited and praised by the Education Commission of the United Nations and whose experiences have been disseminated to other countries of the world.

In North Vietnam, on the basis of the production relations that have been transformed and are being perfected, many cooperatives have gained experience and put the

construction of public schools on a regular basis at the very outset. The people of Vinh Bac District in Haiphong and Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province constructed a system of brick and tile child care centers, kindergartens and general schools. The people of Yen Dung District in Ha Bac and the people of a number of villages, such as Vu Lac Village in Thai Binh Province and Kim No Village in Hanoi, have helped teachers with eating and housing facilities and have distributed land and cropland to them so that they can produce additional vegetables and grain. Some districts, such as Dien Chau and Ky Anh Districts in Nghe Tinh, have united the various schools within the district and created a "Teach well and learn well" emulation movement that is uniformly developed throughout the district, both in terms of teaching children and in terms of general school education.

In the South, education has developed strongly since liberation day. Many places have taken the initiative and overcome their difficulties, have developed upon positive factors and have skillfully coordinated investment efforts of the state with contributions by the people, by production installations, by the armed forces and by the various sectors in order to build schools and acquire increasingly diverse equipment for learning, teaching and scientific research.

Phu Phung Village in Ben Tre Province has launched a movement of all the people to care for, raise and teach children, of all the people attending schools. In many provinces, cities, precincts, districts, villages and subwards, in many sectors and mass organizations, many practical problems have been resolved: Ho Chi Minh City distributes grain to teachers who live far from grain stores within the villages and subwards, which is deducted from grain collected under taxes and has doubled the allowance to teachers for teaching additional classes after hours. Dong Nai, Song Be, Tien Giang and Ho Chi Minh City send vehicles to pick up teachers who work far from their homes or sell them bus tickets at low rates. In Hoa Thanh District in Tay Ninh Province, the Association of Students' Parents has conducted a campaign to provide teachers with additional rice and a subsidy in addition to their salary. The people of Dac To and Kom Pong Plong in Gia Lai-Kontum Province voluntarily support teachers so that teachers can send their salaries and grain to their families. In Can Duoc District in Long An Province there were only 30 classrooms following liberation day; the people contributed money, rice, building materials and labor to build another 270 classrooms. The people of Dien Khanh and Ninh Hoa Villages in Phu Khanh Province, in addition to providing teachers with eating and housing facilities, have also provided them with land and farmland for production. The people of the Ea Phe and Ea Dong Tribes in Krong Pach District in Dac Lac Province have constructed wooden schools, child care centers and kindergartens by means of their own labor. In Dien Ban District in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, each family has contributed 10 unbaked bricks to the village and the village has baked these bricks to build schools. The people in the mountainous areas of the central provinces, the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo have harvested timber and hired labor to build schools and make desks and chairs for classrooms. Xuan Loc District in Dong Nai Province constructed 28 classrooms with desks and chairs for teachers and students in the 1979-1980 school year. In Cai Lay District in Tien Giang Province, following the long flood in 1978 in the Mekong River Delta, the people, although encountering numerous difficulties, contributed rice and money to be traded for wood in order to restore schools and contributed 400 sets of desks and chairs. My Tho City has mobilized the people to build 55 classrooms and make 250 sets of desks and chairs.

The people of the four districts of Phung Kiep, Thot Not, Long My and O Mon in Hau Giang Province have contributed more than 1,500 quintals of rice and contributed the labor to build 271 classrooms, build one level III school and make 375 sets of desks and chairs. In An Giang Province, the people of Chau Phu, Phu Tan and Cho Moi Districts have taken the initiative and constructed complete schools and then turned them over to the educational agencies.

The armed forces and the people's public security forces, especially the border security troops and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, are not only the nucleus of the movement to wipe out illiteracy and teach supplementary education classes, but are also the main forces in the effort to build schools at places that are encountering many difficulties as a result of enemy attacks and natural disasters.

Clearly, the people of our entire country, from the North to the South, have, once they have been mobilized well, displayed the spirit of collective ownership and made positive, creative contributions to education. Our people are coordinating ever more closely with schools, thereby making direct contributions to education and creating a favorable environment for the molding of the new, socialist man. As a result, coordination between the state and the people has become a principle in the development of the system of socialist education in our country. It is an important and practical prerequisite to carrying out the task of educational reform throughout the country.

However, the mobilization of the people to participate in building and developing the system of socialist education is not uniform and has not become a broad, revolutionary mass movement throughout the country. In many localities, even in areas in which production is carried out smoothly and the lives of the people are comfortable, there are still manifestations of relying upon investments by the state to develop education. At these places, the mobilization of the people to contribute their intelligence, manpower and material to educational development is still disorganized; the various forms of organization that coordinate the state and the people and the activities of these organizations are still limited. At many places, leaders mobilize the people to build schools and help teachers while worrying about violating policies.

The potential for the state coordinating with the people to care for education is very large; however, this potential is not being strongly or uniformly developed because we do not have an organizational mechanism which insures that all of the people are mobilized to participate in this effort.

At a time when the country is still encountering many difficulties, mobilizing the people to participate in building and developing the educational system is very necessary. In the future, as development proceeds more smoothly, educational work will continue to always be the revolutionary work of the masses. Therefore, the coordination of the state and the people in building and developing the educational system must take the form of an organizational mechanism so that we can make full use of the various social, economic and cultural factors in the effort to care for and teach the young generation with a view toward achieving high returns throughout the process of socialist construction.

At present, in order to carry out educational reform throughout the country, it is necessary to quickly establish a broader form of organization of the people, an organizational mechanism that has the function of more effectively participating in educational work, not merely as a representative of the parents of students, but as the representative of society, of all the working people. In this organization, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Vietnam Education Trade Union, the Vietnam Women's Union and the Association of Students' Parents, which have always actively participated in education, will continue to play the role of the key forces in the implementation of the system of all of society caring for and teaching children.

This organization should have the responsibilities of serving as the staff of the party committee echelon and the people's government in the field of education; serving as the center mobilizing and rallying each force of society and each educational factor for the purpose of implementing the line of the party on educational reform; and serving as the tool of the people so that they can truly participate in the management of schools and the management of educational work and develop upon the social nature of the education sector.

This organization, the People's Educational Council, as suggested by the Central Educational Reform Commission, must be established on the provincial (and municipal) level, the district (precinct) level and the village (subward) level. The People's Educational Council will have the task of assembling forces that guide and manage educational work, that is, the mass organizations, production and cultural installations, scientific research facilities and individuals who have experience and prestige, in order to support educational work.

Developing the role of the people in educational work and implementing a system whereby all of society cares for and educates the young generation and the state coordinates with the people in building and developing the system of socialist education will achieve the educational goals and implement the educational principles adopted by our party and continue our nation's traditions of educating man, a desire to learn, respect for teachers and devotion to duty. These steps will also develop the tremendous, deep potentials of our people and insure that educational reform is carried out strongly throughout our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Bureau Resolution on Educational Reform, Part VI, Point 3.
2. Ibid.

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THE ELEMENTARY AND ADVANCED TRAINING OF MANAGEMENT CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 31-37

[Article by Le Van Giang]

[Text] I. A Pressing and Basic Problem

In socialist construction, besides the tremendous achievements we have recorded, we are also encountering numerous difficulties and displaying numerous shortcomings.

On the one hand, this situation originates in the objective characteristics of our country's revolution. On the other hand, it is also due to subjective causes, one of the most important of which can be said to be: our corps of management cadres has not been fully prepared in terms of its size or its quality for socialist construction.

This is not only very evident in the South ever since liberation (1975), but has also been increasingly evident in the North ever since 1955. Correcting this situation has become a basic and pressing problem, a constant and foremost concern of our party and state. In the effort to build the corps of management cadres, the selection, elementary training, advanced training, assignment and promotion of cadres are inter-related and must be performed well, with the decisive factors being the elementary and advanced training of management cadres.

This problem was raised by our party in 1956, when one-half the country had been liberated and the task of building the economy and culture in the North had become one of the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. However, because we lacked experience, we failed for a long time to develop a clear and full idea of how to train management cadres; as a result, this work was carried out in a piecemeal, slow fashion and, although certain results were achieved, these results were limited.

Since 1973, under Political Bureau resolution 225, our corps of management cadres has been rather significantly rearranged: we have promoted many young cadres who possess scientific and technical qualifications for management work and opened many advanced training classes in science, technology and economics for veteran management cadres. This can be considered the first major change in our corps of management cadres since the August Revolution in 1945.

However, to date, we have not established a suitable, clearly effective program and organization for the elementary and advanced training of management cadres.

This is because we have not based our efforts on the tasks and characteristics of management work in order to determine which knowledge management cadres must possess and determine a suitable form of organization for the elementary and advanced training of the various types of management cadres.

II. The Tasks and Special Characteristics of Management Work

People say that they are managing an organization (an agency, school, hospital, enterprise, store and so forth) and also frequently say that they are managing a situation, an activity (such as managing health, managing thinking, managing technology and so forth). Actually, these two objects of management--an organization or activities--are only one because every organization is defined by a number of activities (schools are for teaching and learning, hospitals are for health care, stores are for buying and selling products and so forth); conversely, every activity is always carried out within the scope of a specific organization (technical management within an enterprise or economic-production sector, the management of thinking within a party chapter, within an agency and so forth). For this reason, the object of management work is always an organization whose function it is to conduct a certain number of activities; in what has become commonly accepted terminology, we can say that the object of management work is a system. The task of management work is to insure that this system fulfills its function with the highest possible efficiency, with optimum efficiency. As an object of management work, a system can be large or small, complex or simple and encompass many or few different elements but it always consists of a certain number of persons.(1) Therefore, the first and major characteristic of management is that it always is the management of the activities of a collective and, it is through the management of these activities that an impact is made upon material or biological (if any) factors in order to achieve a predicted result. In this meaning, management is primarily organizational work.(2) Due to this characteristic, we must, in the elementary and advanced training of management cadres, equip them with the knowledge, experience and qualities necessary for them to fulfill their function of managing the activities of others.

The second major characteristic of management is its integrated nature. First, this is due to the fact that the object of management is a system that encompasses many different elements; a collective of persons and means and material bases; the management cadre must have the responsibility for managing, either directly or indirectly, all of these different elements. Secondly, it is due to the fact that a collective of persons always consists of persons with different qualifications and occupations and different activities. Thirdly, it is due to the fact that persons themselves, who are the prime object of management, are not machines; managing their activities does not simply mean managing specialized matters in their activities, but also encompasses the specifics involved in organizational work, cadre work, ideological work and rear service work. Thus, the integrated nature of management is expressed in two areas: the specifics involved in the matters with which management deals as well as the various types of measures (mobilization, administrative, educational, economic and so forth) employed in management.

The third major characteristic of management and its central form of activity is the making of accurate and timely decisions. A decision is a directive calling for action that is binding upon a collective of persons. The making of decisions is a special function of management: in this significance, management is, in essence, command work, control work. Saying that the making of decisions is the central measure, the special function, the essence of management in no way means that management only or primarily involves the use of orders nor does it mean that management is arbitrariness, is bureaucratic centralism. We say that making decisions is the central measure, is the special function, the essence of management in order to show that all other measures are either designed to prepare for the making of a decision (such as seeking the opinions of others, conducting democratic debate, tapping the intelligence of the collective and listening to the opinions of everyone) or designed to implement a decision (such as persuasion, mobilization, education, organization, inspections and so forth). Saying that making decisions is the central measure, is the special function of management also means that the primary abilities and qualities of the management cadre are expressed in whether or not he can make accurate and timely decisions and whether or not he is responsive and thorough, cautious and resolute, knows how to solicit, listen to and respect the opinions of the masses and, at the same time, is willing to assume responsibility, knows how to differentiate right and wrong in the different opinions that are expressed, knows how to select an optimum plan of the various plans that are proposed, knows how to be patient and persuasive and, in particular, knows how and is willing to make a decision when a decision is required and (this is especially important with regard to us at this time) knows how to make good use of the corps of scientific and technical cadres in order to prepare decisions and implement these decisions.

The fourth major characteristic of management is that it always encompasses organizational work, cadre work and ideological work. This is the cause and effect relationship among the three major characteristics mentioned above. Even a production section chief who is only in charge of about 10 workers must perform such jobs as making assignments, assigning responsibilities (organizational work), offering praise, maintaining discipline, deciding salaries, (cadre work within the scope of the authority assigned to him or suggested by the upper level) and providing motivation, using persuasion and providing guidance (ideological work). Of course, higher and larger management functions require that more complex organizational, cadre and ideological problems be resolved. We should not think that because there is a deputy commander or a specialized apparatus within a unit in charge of cadre work, organizational work or ideological work that the other management cadres (the commander, the other deputy commanders, the persons in charge of the various offices and sections and so forth) need not perform cadre work, organizational work or ideological work: the deputy commander in charge of rear services, for example, must at least be responsible for organizational work, cadre work and ideological work regarding the cadres, manual workers and civil servants within his rear service apparatus.

On the basis of the special characteristics mentioned above, it can be seen that the objectives of and the specifics involved in the elementary and advanced training of management cadres are similar in some respects and dissimilar in some respects to the objectives of and the specifics involved in training at the colleges and vocational middle schools. These schools train cadres primarily to solve specific scientific

and technical problems, not primarily to provide management; metallurgical engineers to cast iron and steel, crop production engineers to carry out technical measures in crop production, etc. In order to become the director of an enterprise, it is necessary to have a college level education in technology or economics (in actuality, this is not always necessarily the case); however, this education is not enough because a technical cadre must have knowledge of economics, an economic cadre must have knowledge of technology, must know how to organize, know how to lead, in summary, must know how to manage.

For a long time, we have been using the term economic management cadre to denote two different types of cadres: one type is the management cadres within the economic, production and business sectors, such as the directors of machine enterprises, the directors of state farms, the minister of a production-business ministry and so forth; the second type consists of cadres, employees and specialists engaged in planning, supply work, statistical work and accounting. These two types of cadres are very different in terms of their standards, functions and knowledge (although both types require some of the same knowledge). The second type is trained by the colleges and vocational middle schools. The first type can be promoted from among persons in the second type who have work experience but they can also be selected from among technical cadres who have actual production experience (and, in special cases, they can also be selected from among military cadres and political cadres, as we have been doing for quite some time and even the developed countries have been doing under certain conditions).

The use of the same term, "economic management cadre," to denote the two different types of cadres mentioned above can cause and actually has caused confusion and very adverse consequences that have led to the lack of a clear concept concerning the similarities and differences in the program and organization of the elementary and advanced training of these two types of cadres, especially the first type.

In order to avoid confusion, we should use the term "production and business management cadre" for the first type, meaning: the management cadres in the economic-technical sectors and the production-business sectors. The second type should be called "economic cadres" (or theoretical economic cadres, professional economic cadres, economic research cadres, cadres in charge of specific economic fields and so forth). The term "economic management" should only be used to denote one aspect of the function of production and business management cadres, the function of providing management by means of economic measures.

III. Organizing the System for the Elementary and Advanced Training of Management Cadres

Management was once primarily an art dependent upon talents and experiences. With the development of modern society, with the scientific and technological revolution, management is becoming a science.

Therefore, organizing the elementary and advanced training of management cadres in a planned manner has become necessary in the modern age, in the socialist countries as well as the capitalist countries. We cannot merely wait for the spontaneous

development of management cadres through the realities of their work as we once did. In our country, the training of management cadres is even more pressing and important work because we must rapidly advance directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Thus, what kinds of knowledge must management cadres have?(3)

1. The line of the party and the positions, plans, policies, laws, systems, rules and regulations of the state, of the upper level (for example, the director of a machine enterprise must know the economic development line of the party and must have a firm grasp of the positions, policies and plans of the party and state regarding the development of mechanical engineering, the regulations regarding the organization and cadres of the upper level concerning the enterprise, the position and role of the party, the Trade Union and the Youth Union within the enterprise, the regulations on the hiring of manual workers, civil servants and so forth).
2. Theoretical, scientific, technical and professional knowledge (for example, the director of a machine enterprise must possess necessary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of machine technology, of the machine enterprise economy, of the scientific organization of labor, of the attitudes of laborers, of operations research, etc.).
3. The principles and experiences needed to organize their own work in a scientific and efficient manner (how to hold meetings, receive guests and deal with cadres, manual workers and civil servants, how to conduct personal research, how to assess the situation, how to set up files, arrange data and so forth). In particular, in the work of management cadres, the making of accurate and timely decisions is of key importance to the quality of management; therefore, management cadres must have knowledge of principles, regulations and so forth and must comply with them to insure that their decisions are never or only very rarely incorrect; when necessary, they must know how to use modern tools to help them make decisions, such as the various methods of processing information, the optimum method of probability, the systems method, electronic computers and so forth).

These are the three types of knowledge that must be presented in the elementary and advanced training of all types of management cadres. Of course, the depth and extent of the specific knowledge required and the specific points of knowledge required vary among the various types of management cadres. Generally speaking, our corps of management cadres consists of two types of cadres, each of which has its own strengths and weaknesses:

- a) One type consists of cadres who do not have the necessary knowledge of science and technology but who do have knowledge and experience in organizational work, in mobilization work and in management within the field of political struggle and military struggle. Not all of the experiences they have gained are suitable for application in the fields of culture and economics but, if they are applied in a manner consistent with circumstances, they will prove to be very valuable and will reduce, by a very large amount, the amount of time spent in study and research by the management cadre in his new job. Moreover, these cadres have been forged and challenged, consequently, the majority of them can stand firm in the face of complex situations. However, because they do not possess or do not possess enough scientific and technical

knowledge, these management cadres find it very difficult to become "involved," very difficult to sympathize with the difficulties and aspirations of the collective that they manage, consequently, they also find it difficult to use the knowledge and experiences gained in their former jobs in a manner consistent with their new environment, especially with regard to making accurate and timely decisions.

b) The second type consists of scientific and technical cadres who have matured within the sector: these cadres are a very important strength of this corps of cadres; however, their immediate weakness is that the majority of them do not possess the necessary comprehensive knowledge of management (they possess the technical knowledge but not the economic knowledge or vice versa needed to manage production sectors; have little understanding of organizational work, cadre work or ideological work) and the majority of them have little practical experience in management. These weaknesses are causing some of these cadres to experience confusion in their new task and many of them are still not fulfilling their role.

As a result, it is very necessary that we train the two types of cadres mentioned above under different requirements.

We must have a system of schools and classrooms for the elementary and advanced training of management cadres. Such a system would eventually become an organic component of the unified national education system in modern society.⁽⁴⁾ However, in contrast to the systems of general school education, vocational middle school education, college education and trade training, the system of management cadre elementary and advanced training schools and classes should not be organized as an independent, self-contained system but must be coordinated with the college system (and, to some extent, with the general school and vocational middle school systems) in the performance of its task. As mentioned above, some of the knowledge that a management cadre in a particular sector must have is the same as the knowledge that must be possessed by specialized cadres of the same sector who have a college or post-graduate education; therefore, it would be best for them, before they begin to work as management cadres, to receive a college or post-graduate education in their sector or trade; if they do not have a college or post-graduate education now, they must participate in full or special classroom or on-the-job training based on the school year or the certificates issued by colleges. (The management cadres at small and underdeveloped installations can study at vocational middle schools and, if they have a general school education, can attend cultural education classes for adults).

However, graduating from college or a vocational middle school is not enough to perform management work. A director of a metallurgical enterprise who is a metallurgical engineer still lacks knowledge of economics and if he is an industrial economic cadre, he lacks knowledge of technology; these kinds of knowledge can be gained by self-study through many years of work at the installation but they must also be acquired through regular supplementary education; this supplementary education can be achieved in post-graduate training classes at colleges (including the modernization of technical or economic knowledge in order to keep abreast of the development of science).

Such knowledge as leadership methods and the work methods of a management cadre, the methods of making decisions and necessary knowledge of organizational work, cadre work, ideological work, the positions, policies, laws, rules and regulations of the party and state as they relate to management and so forth is, generally speaking, not contained or contained only in small amounts in the curricula of the colleges and vocational middle schools. And, these kinds of knowledge are main elements in the training of management cadres once the corps of management cadres has achieved a college level education (as is the case in the developed countries of the world at this time and will be the case in our country in about 15 years). Knowledge of leadership methods, work methods, the methods of making decisions and so forth is of a scientific nature, an empirical nature and in the nature of an art (in the future, the scientific nature of this knowledge might become its prime characteristic). For this reason, at this time, one important way to disseminate this knowledge is by training based on the so called situations method (for complex situations, electronic computers must be employed). Providing this type of training will be the task of separately organized management cadre training schools or classes; part of this task can also be assigned to the colleges and party schools in order to organize a streamlined system of management cadre training schools and classes, one that quickly has an impact.

We must make an effort in the next 5 years to establish the system of training schools and classes mentioned above and endeavor in the space of the next 10 years to insure that our corps of management cadres is the complete master of its work. This is one of the prerequisites to bringing about a basic change in the situation surrounding our work at this time and accelerating economic construction and socialist construction in our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term management is also sometimes used to denote cases in which the object only consists of objects such as equipment, plants and livestock. For example, it can be said that a person is managing a machine, managing a field or managing a herd of cattle; in such cases, no one calls the person performing this "management" work, be he a manual worker or a technical cadre, a management cadre if they only care for and operate a machine, care for a field or care for a herd of buffalo but do not manage a collective or other persons in order to have this work performed (if there is such a collective, "managing a field" actually means managing an organization, such as a production unit or a number of manual workers and technicians working on the field).
2. In its narrow meaning, organizational work means arranging an apparatus and defining its functions; in its broad meaning, it also encompasses cadre work. The organizational work referred to here is the organization of implementation.
3. Here, we are only talking about the knowledge and abilities of management cadres, not their qual — and ethics, even though these two aspects are closely related.
4. Up until the end of the 19th Century, the national education system only consisted of general school education and the college (academy) system; in the 20th Century, the system of vocational middle schools and the trade training system were gradually

conceived and established as an integral part of the unified national education system; it can be predicted that by the end of the 20th Century, the management cadre training system and the system of regular post-graduate training will become a standard system and be part of the unified national education system.

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RESEARCH: SOME THOUGHTS ON BROADENING THE PRODUCTION-BUSINESS INDEPENDENCE OF STATE-OPERATED INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 38-43

[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] At present, as we know, our economic management mechanism has many drawbacks and weaknesses, such as bureaucratic-subsidy administrativism, the failure to apply economic laws well, the failure to attach importance to economic returns, the failure to give attention to employing economic measures, the failure to correctly coordinate the three interests and so forth. One of our shortcomings in economic management is the failure to uphold the production-business independence of installations. The ministry is an administrative-economic agency but it performs many jobs that lie within the scope of production and business and resolves production and business problems by means of administrative measures; therefore, its effectiveness is minimal. The enterprise is a production-business organization but it lacks the necessary independence, consequently, the conditions for its development are limited. This confusion between administration and business, which, in actuality, is administration overpowering business, has made it impossible for either administration or business to completely fulfill their function. Therefore, in order to improve economic management, we must improve it in a comprehensive fashion; however, the key issue is that we must clearly differentiate between administration-economics and production-business and both broaden and uphold the production and business independence of the enterprise.

Production installations, in general, and enterprises, in particular, are the cells of the economy, are the places that directly utilize labor, equipment and natural resources to produce wealth for society, are the places that turn the lines and policies of the party into reality and are the places that concretely express the right of economic collective ownership of the mass of manual workers. Enterprises, like everything else in nature and society, primarily develop as a result of their internal forces and, at the same time, as a result of being acclimated to their external environment. For this reason, broadening and upholding the production and business independence of the enterprise are a factor of decisive significance in the continued existence and the effective development of enterprises.

On the other hand, the highest principle of socialist economic management is democratic centralism. Decisions should be made wherever there is the fullest supply of

information and wherever the decision can be made rapidly and correctly; the fewer decisions that are made on the upper level, the better. In the final analysis, management is the work of tapping the creativity of the masses. Broadening and upholding the production-business independence of the enterprise are the same as broadening the scope of decisions and upholding the right of ownership of the masses in order to fully implement this principle. When we say broadening the production-business independence of the enterprise we do not mean broadening it without bounds, but correctly establishing the relationship between the enterprise and the state in economic management.

The objective of socialist production is to create much use value in order to satisfy the needs of all of society; however, light attention cannot be given to value. Socialist enterprises as well as the other economic installations have the direct task of achieving this objective. For this reason, the socialist enterprises cannot operate in any way they please, but must operate within the orb of socialism, operate on the basis of the guidelines of the plan of the socialist state, which stipulate the following:

--What the enterprise must contribute to the state in the form of material resources and value;

--The authority of the enterprise in the process of carrying out production and business activities;

--The interests of the enterprise and the enterprise director himself and what their material responsibility is if they meet or fail to meet the demands of the state.

When we say that we should broaden the production-business independence of the enterprise we mean that enterprises must have broader and fuller rights throughout the production-business process, from the preparation of investments to the marketing of products, from planning and the establishment of horizontal economic relationships to export-import rights, from the right to make decisions concerning organization, cadres and labor to managing production and business activities and so forth in accordance with the regulations of the state.

Broadening the production-business independence of enterprises is a process that is closely linked to the process of improving economic management. Recently, the Council of Ministers decided upon a number of programs and measures designed to develop the production-business independence of enterprises. Here, we shall only present a few thoughts concerning the basic and long-range guidelines in this area.

Planning is the main tool of the economic management system; therefore, when we talk about the production-business independence of the enterprise, we must first talk about independence in planning, that is, about the system of legal norms of the state assigned to the enterprise. At present, the state assigns nine norms to enterprises. We should conduct an examination and determine which norms the state should assign to enterprises and what enterprises should be allowed to do. To achieve the above mentioned objective of the system of socialist production, should not the state only assign to enterprises four basic norms? Of these four norms, two would pertain to the responsibility of the enterprise to the state:

--A norm on the primary products that must be completed and delivered to marketing agencies, including export goods, in exact accordance with economic contracts; this is a use value norm that would compel the enterprise to satisfy the requirements of the national economy.

--A norm on profits and the accounts submitted for inclusion in the budget; this is an integrated value norm which requires that the enterprise operate its production and business in a manner that yields returns.

The other two norms would involve the responsibility of the state to the enterprise:

--The supplies and equipment provided by the state;

--The capital investments provided by the state budget.

Aside from these, it might not be necessary to assign to enterprises other norms, such as norms on productivity, quality, production costs, labor, wages and so forth because, in order to complete the primary norms mentioned above, the enterprise must establish and meet these norms in the process.

The method employed to formulate plans could be as follows: on the basis of the overall requirements and capabilities of the economy, the state would inform enterprises of their control figures. The enterprises, on the basis of these control figures and their capabilities, could establish relationships with concerned economic organizations (supply, marketing, construction, transportation and so forth) in order to sign economic contracts and formulate specific plans for presentation to the upper level. Those requirements that could not be met by the enterprise would be met by the upper level. The upper level would adjust (create additional capabilities or reduce requirements) and assign the official plan to the enterprise. Thus, the plan would become a legal plan when it was supported by economic contracts and the process of implementing the plan would be the process of implementing these economic contracts. In essence, these are the specific involved in formulating plans from the basic level upward and coordinating the plan with the use of market relations.

One very important matter in guaranteeing the independence and the plan of the enterprise is for the upper level to formulate and assign long-term plans, primarily 5-year plans, to the enterprises. Only with long-term plans do the enterprises have the foundation needed to set goals, formulate programs, formulate various economic and technical plans, sign economic contracts and prepare the conditions needed to implement plans. Facts have long shown that with yearly plans, which are usually not assigned until the start of the year, enterprises cannot take the initiative in their production or business and, as a result, have no choice but to "live on administrative subsidies."

Whereas we say that organization is the matter of decisive significance once the correct political line has been adopted, here, after guaranteeing the planning independence of the enterprise, we must guarantee the organizational independence of the enterprise or the plan will be nothing more than a plan on paper. The organization referred to here consists of the apparatus, cadres, laborers and even wages because

wages are related to personnel. In this area, the authority of the enterprise has long been severely limited. It is suggested that the following changes be made: the enterprise director must have the authority to organize the production and organize the management of the enterprise and determine how many shops, offices and sections should exist in order to insure the good performance of the political task; in the course of the enterprise's development, the director should have the authority to research and determine how to improve the organization of production and management to be consistent with the requirements of the enterprise. As regards cadres, the director must have the right to select and assign office heads, assistant office heads and the chiefs and assistant chiefs of shops. As regards staff and labor, the enterprise director must have the authority to research and determine the makeup of the enterprise's staff and to increase or reduce the size of it in a reasonable manner in order to insure a constant increase in labor productivity. At the same time, he should have the right to hire labor and train workers as well as take disciplinary action against or fire workers. The experience of the Con Dao Fishing Enterprise has shown that as a result of giving the director the authority to hire and take disciplinary action against labor, the enterprise has trained a corps of workers that is suited to its requirements, thereby causing good results to be achieved in production and business. Some persons are concerned that, in view of the fact that we face a surplus of labor, giving the enterprise director such broad authority will cause the enterprise to only select good workers and fail to implement the general policy on the distribution and use of labor. It is true that we have a surplus of labor; however, it must be realized that the primary problems regarding enterprises are raising labor productivity and accelerating production and the resolving the problem of social labor, in general, is the function of other agencies; this additional task should not be assigned to enterprises.

As regards wages, the state should, for the foreseeable future, assign the enterprise a total wage fund norm (computed on a wage ceiling per unit of product) in order to closely link wages to production and the staff of the enterprise in order to insure an increase in production and a reduction in the staff as a result of which the average wage of each person will increase and vice versa. At the same time, we will continue to conduct research to determine if the state needs to assign a wage fund to the enterprise or not or prepare the conditions needed to assign a wage cost ceiling per unit of product norm to the enterprise because wages are related to the staff, production costs and the accumulation of capital and the enterprise director, in order to insure that the norm on the payment of accumulated money to the state is met, naturally must look for every way to resolve the wage problem well.

At this point, one question can be raised: might something unfavorable occur if the director is given such broad authority in the fields of organization, cadres, labor and wages? Analyzing this question from a theoretical point of view, nothing unfavorable can be seen. In order to implement the material resources norm and the norm on payments to the state and, at the same time, satisfy the interests of both the enterprise and its workers, the director cannot do anything that is unfavorable, such as establishing a large staff, hiring unqualified labor, selecting cadres who lack talent or wasting the wage fund. To the contrary, every director must think, study and conduct research in order to select and decide upon optimum plans that benefit his enterprise as well as the state.

Finances, prices and marketing are also a field that have a major influence upon production and business. In this field, it is suggested that the enterprise director be given the following authority: the enterprise director should have the right to research and find every way to utilize and manage the fixed and liquid capital of the enterprise in the best possible manner and the right to create additional capital using the profits of the enterprise and use bank credit to expand the production and business of the enterprise.

As regards the various funds of the enterprise, the director should have the right to use them in the way that best benefits the production, business and living conditions of the enterprise.

With regard to prices, such as the prices of agricultural raw materials, the enterprise director, on the basis of the price framework of the state, should have the right to enter into discussions with the localities and agricultural cooperatives in order to negotiate specific prices. The director should not try to purchase these raw materials at low prices because farmers would not want to sell them. The director should also not try to purchase these materials at high prices because high prices make it impossible to implement the norm on accumulation. These two limits compel the director to calculate the most reasonable purchasing price for raw materials, a price that satisfies the interests of the state and farmers. As regards product prices, the enterprise, as stipulated in the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, has the right to set the prices of new products and the state sets the prices of products that go into mass production. The central level has given the enterprise this right because, for a long time, enterprises have not wanted to produce new products for the reason that they had to wait too long to have prices approved and this affected the production and business operations of the enterprise.

With regard to marketing, generally speaking, all of the commodities of enterprises are marketed through state-operated commerce. However, should not the enterprise director be given the authority to market products in order to make space in warehouses and make capital available if, for some reason, state-operated commerce cannot accept these products as agreed in the economic contract and if, after a certain period of time, state-operated commerce still does not accept them even when requested by the enterprise? In addition, the enterprise director should have the right to market test products and subsidiary products if state-operated commerce does not negotiate with the enterprise to purchase them.

As regards exports and imports, enterprises have long been directly using imported raw materials, supplies, equipment and spare parts and producing export goods; however, they have known virtually nothing at all about the world market, prices, foreign currency, profit or loss and so forth because everything has been determined by the state. It is the state that has had to figure out how to earn foreign currency and how much foreign currency is needed to acquire imports. In the exportation of goods, the foreign currency that has been earned belongs to the state and the state either earns a profit or suffers a loss. These practices have led to a situation in which the enterprise cannot take the initiative in its production; thus, how can we talk about accelerating our exports and establishing a balance between exports and imports? This is not to mention the fact that, under the policy that has existed for a long time,

no enterprise likes to produce export goods because, instead of being provided with incentive for producing such goods, enterprises earn less for producing exports than producing goods that are sold at home.

In keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, which states that all economic organizations of the state can engage in foreign trade and that production must be closely linked to the market, including the foreign market, the upper echelon must uphold the independence of the enterprise in exports and imports. Specifically, the state, that is, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the concerned ministry, only provides economic-administrative management in the area of exports and imports and decides such matters of principle as which products to export and import, how many products to export and import, to whom and from whom products should be exported and imported, prices and so forth. The corporations or large enterprises have permission from the state to directly resolve specific matters. For example, our state and the Soviet Union sign an agreement in principle to export to the Soviet Union so many tons of tea and import from the Soviet Union so many tons of cotton at a certain price during the next 5 years. The specifications of these products, product quality, packaging, specific shipping and receiving procedures and deadlines and so forth are directly discussed by the Federation of Tea Enterprises and the Federation of Textile Enterprises with the central economic organizations of the Soviet Union and specific contracts are signed.

As regards foreign currency, we will eventually implement a policy of using exports to pay for imports, a policy under which every enterprise that needs imports must export products in order to pay for these imports; those enterprises that export many products will be able to import many products and those enterprises that export few products will only be able to import a few products (except in special cases). When necessary, enterprises can borrow foreign currency in order to do business in the field of exports and imports. Only in this way is it possible to heighten the responsibility of enterprises as regards exports and imports. In the immediate future, it is necessary to implement the policy promulgated by the state which allows enterprises to use 10 percent of the value of the exports contained within their plan and 50 percent of the value of the exports produced over and above the plan to import supplies and spare parts needed to produce export goods.

In addition, enterprises should also have independence with regard to conducting visits to other places and conducting surveys in order to gain an understanding of the market and learn technology, sending workers for training at enterprises in friendly countries and participating in international exhibits and fairs using their own foreign currency.

In addition to independence in the fields mentioned above, enterprises should, generally speaking, have the independence to establish direct relations with other enterprises, state farms and other economic organizations to discuss necessary matters and sign economic contracts with a view toward insuring the good implementation of their production-business plans.

Authority must be closely linked to responsibility. If they have authority but not responsibility, especially responsibility for materials, enterprises might abuse their

authority in order to do things that are incorrect. For this reason, the state will issue specific regulations concerning the material responsibility of the enterprise, especially of the enterprise director, in the implementation of the state plan. If the enterprise fails to complete its plan, fails to deliver all the products required to the state, fails to contribute the full amount of money for inclusion in the budget, fails to repay debts to the bank, fails to implement economic contracts or is involved in cases of misappropriation, waste and so forth, the director and deputy directors of the enterprise shall, depending upon the seriousness of their shortcomings and the reasons for them, be subjected to disciplinary action ranging from a warning, a reduction in salary, dismissal and firing to prosecution under the law. In addition to paying damages, such enterprises might not be allocated capital or money with which to pay wages.

Responsibility must also go hand in hand with rights because, without rights, there is no motivation for achieving economic development. In addition to offering awards, something which we have been doing for a long time, it is important that the state issue specific regulations concerning material rights. For example, if an enterprise completes and exceeds the quotas of its state plan, it should be allowed to use all or the majority of the profit over and above its plan to award its cadres and manual workers. In addition, cadres and manual workers who record outstanding achievements can be given time off in addition to their yearly vacations and persons who record special achievements can be allowed to visit foreign countries.

In order to create the conditions for establishing the enterprise's independence in production and business, it is necessary to strengthen the enterprise, to strengthen its production forces and perfect its production relations.

On the basis of established production guidelines and the established scale of production, it is necessary to take another inventory of fixed assets and determine which elements in the production line need additional equipment; equipment that is not being used must be returned. Attention must be given to strengthening the machine section or shop so that it can do a good job of manufacturing spare parts and making technological improvements for the installation.

If necessary, the production sections and shops should be rearranged to suit the production line and the management apparatus should be improved in order to make it simplified and streamlined, reduce intermediary elements and increase its effectiveness; on this basis, it is necessary to redetermine the number of cadres and manual workers needed per unit in accordance with the requirements of production and business operations.

It is also necessary to take another inventory of liquid capital, determine a reasonable level of stockpiled raw materials and supplies, a level which insures that production requirements are met, and look for every way to utilize backlogged raw materials and supplies, the quicker the better.

It is necessary to promulgate or to re-examine and amend the internal rules on management and technical regulations and codes, widely disseminate them among cadres

and manual workers and conduct inspections to insure strict compliance with them by everyone.

Broadening and upholding the production and business independence of the enterprise are a matter of major importance in insuring returns from production and business.

The above are some of our initial thoughts, thoughts that have been presented with a view toward contributing to the present effort to research and improve our economic management.

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THE ADVANCE BY M'DRAC DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 44-46

[Article by Nguyen Van Nguyen]

[Text] M'Drac District in Dao Lac Province was established in 1977. The district has a population of 8,826, 3,400 of whom are laborers. It has three villages consisting of 47 hamlets and one small town. The district measures 196,000 hectares, 60,000 hectares of which lie in grasslands and the rest consists of forests and rocky mountains. The amount of land under the cultivation of grain is insignificant and very poor in quality and, because the district has no large rivers or streams, water sources become depleted during the dry season; annual cassava yield is only about 2 to 3 tons of fresh cassava per hectare and the yield of upland rice is only about 0.5 ton of paddy per hectare. As a result of the monoculture of grain and nomadic farming, the people have usually experienced a shortage of food for 5 to 6 months each year.

The people encounter very many difficulties in their daily lives and the political base is weak. Taking advantage of this situation, reactionaries have engaged in propaganda activities designed to distort our policies and sow divisions among, tempt and intimidate cadres and the people, disrupt order and security and cause panic among the masses.

In the face of this situation, the M'Drac District party organisation has led the people of the various nationalities within the district in becoming the masters of their lives, the masters of their villages.

The Initial Changes

Three years ago, this piece of land was nothing but dry fields and burned grasses and poverty was evident in all villages; today, life has undergone some significant changes. Grain production has risen from 791 tons in 1977 to 3,223 tons in 1980; the average amount of grain per capita has risen from 110 kilograms to 440 kilograms. Once lacking food, M'Drac District has now achieved complete self-sufficiency in grain and has begun to fulfill its obligation to the state, contributing to the state roughly 100 tons of paddy per year. The livestock production sector, the industrial crop sector, the afforestation sector, the handicraft sector, the artisan sector and so forth have also developed, thereby bringing about initial changes in the structure of the economy within the district.

The development of the production of grain has been closely linked to abolishing nomadism and shifting to stable crop production and intensive cultivation. New material-technical bases have been established and many rather complete reservoirs and irrigation ditch systems have been constructed, thereby creating fields capable of producing two crops of wet rice per year. This is the most profound revolutionary change that has ever occurred for the compatriots of the various nationalities in the district. Closely linked to this revolutionary change has been the production relations revolution. One hundred percent of the farm families in the district have joined production collectives or agricultural production cooperatives.

As production has developed the living conditions of the people have been constantly improved, order and security have become increasingly stable and the compatriots of the various nationalities have become increasingly confident in the leadership of the party, in the new system.

The results mentioned above, although they are only initial results and are not very large, can provide us with a number of lessons concerning the guidelines and stages of development of a mountain district.

Lessons and Experiences

As do many other mountain districts, M'Drac District has strengths in its livestock production, forestry and industrial crop production. To develop these strengths, it is first of all necessary to resolve the problem of grain for humans. The problem facing the district at this time is whether to achieve self-sufficiency in grain or rely upon grain supplied by the state in order to develop livestock production, the forestry trade and industrial crop production. The selection of one of these directions is of decisive significance to the entire process of the district's development. On the one hand, in view of the economic situation, the natural surroundings and the farming habits of the locality, the grain problem can be resolved by means of settled farming and intensive cultivation. On the other hand, as regards M'Drac District, achieving self-sufficiency in grain is a matter of immediate economic and political significance as regards stabilizing the living conditions of the people and strengthening the confidence of the compatriots of the various nationalities in the party and the new system; it is also the basic premise for broadening and developing the various sectors and developing the potentials and strengths of a mountain district. We maintain that this is the crucial factor and that once the difficulty with grain has been resolved, all other problems will be easily solved.

To implement this guideline, M'Drac District, in the space of only 3 years (1977-1980), virtually eliminated the shortage of grain, a shortage that had existed for generations. And, on the basis of resolving the grain problem, it has opened and developed various sectors and brought about a new change in the distribution of labor within the district.

When we talk about settled farming and intensive cultivation within the district, it is first of all necessary to talk about water conservancy, the clearing of land for cultivation and the improvement of fields. This has been a revolution carried out by means of the reorganized labor of the compatriots of the various nationalities in order

to change farming habits and implement the new method of working. As a result, all new material bases that have been created are the product of collective labor and newly cleared and newly settled farmland has been put under collective ownership. With this type of land, the district party committee has taken the position of not distributing land to farmers, but farming it collectively. Thus, agricultural cooperativization has become a matter of pressing importance; it is not only consistent with the requirements of the masses, but is also a basic prerequisite to developing the returns from the use of arable land and applying new techniques.

By means of collective labor, in the space of 3 years (1977-1980), the compatriots of the various nationalities in the district invested tens of thousands of mandays in order to construct water reservoirs, build dozens of kilometers of plot embankments and irrigation and drainage ditches, clear thousands of hectares of land for the cultivation of wet rice, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, etc. The effort to abolish nomadic farming practices has been closely linked to mobilizing the compatriots of the various nationalities to use human wastes, livestock manure and so forth to fertilize their fields. As a result of strongly implementing the various measures of intensive cultivation, rice yield increased from 1.5 tons per hectare in 1977 to 5 tons per hectare in 1980; the output of rice and subsidiary food crops has increased rapidly and the living conditions of the people have been markedly improved. This is the force that motivated 100 percent of the farm families within the district to begin earning their livings collectively, beginning with production collectives and advancing to agricultural production cooperatives. The development of grain production and the increased labor productivity of the persons engaged in grain production have permitted labor to be withdrawn from crop production in order to develop livestock production and open other sectors and trades. At present, throughout M'Drac District grain has become the firm springboard for investing labor in the clearing of wilderness, improving and using the 60,000 hectares of grassland to raise buffalo and cattle, carrying out afforestation and opening artisan and handicraft sectors, such as brick and tile production installations, saw mills, machine repair shops, agricultural product processing plants, etc.

The structure of the labor force has changed: not only does the labor within the crop production sector include labor raising rice, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops and laborers carrying out afforestation, but labor has also been assigned under the guideline of reducing the amount of labor in the crop production sector while increasing the labor in livestock production and the artisan and handicraft trades within the district.

The redistribution of labor to the trade sectors as mentioned above is only in the initial stage; however, the stand and steps taken by the district are, generally speaking, firm. This is due to one reason: M'Drac District has practiced self-reliance while receiving material and technical assistance from the state. However, instead of relying upon the state, it has taken the initiative in resolving the grain problem and coordinated its labor with its land and forests, the origin of all wealth.

The M'Drac District Party Committee has provided good guidance in order to effectively implement the established guideline. The district party committee has maintained close

contact with installations and led and guided installations in carrying out the program of the district well. The leadership of the party organization here does not stop at directives, resolutions, propaganda and mobilization but is also seen in leaders who do what they tell others to do, in leaders who turn directives and resolutions into reality by means of revolutionary action and in cadres and party members who set good examples for the masses to follow. In order to abolish nomadic farming and establish settled farming and intensive cultivation, it was necessary to build water conservancy projects and establish rice paddies; at first, however, the masses had no confidence in this decision because, for thousands of years, no one in the district had ever given any thought to water conservancy or rice paddies; the compatriots of the various nationalities also had never used buffalo and cattle to plow fields, used fertilizer on fields and so forth. Therefore, cadres and party members had to "practice what they preached" and achieve practical returns in order for the masses to eagerly and voluntarily follow them.

When the living conditions of the people are improved and both economic and political interests are satisfied, as the compatriots of the various nationalities here say, "everyone is comfortable and speaks with the same voice." This is confidence in the party, in the line of advancing to socialism; it reflects the thinking of how to make the cooperative increasingly stable and strong, how to fulfill the obligation to the state better with each passing day, how to raise the standard of living and achieve increasingly broad and tight unity against every distorted argument and scheme of division of the enemy. It also reflects the desire of the compatriots of the Central Highland nationalities to become the masters of their lives, the masters of their villages.

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MOLDING THE NEW STYLE IN LEADERSHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 47-51 and 64

[Article by Le Quang]

[Text] The resolution of the Political Bureau on organizational work pointed out: we must "mold an urgent, practical industrial style characterized by planning, the calculation of returns and decisiveness." Spreading this spirit, Le Duc Tho emphasized the importance of the industrial style in practical guidance, considering it to be part of the science of organization that we must grasp in order to apply well.

This seemingly familiar matter is actually new to us, because shifting from a long-standing, deeply rooted habit to a totally new way of thinking and working is not simple. However, with a full and deep understanding of the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, each of our cadres must be highly determined and must steadfastly struggle to gradually win victory in this field. Only in this way can the correct lines and policies of the party and state become reality.

The industrial style in leadership activities is basically synonymous with the style of large-scale production or the scientific style that we call the new style of leadership.

The style of leadership is a system of work methods, standards and attitudes which the leader (or the leadership and management agency) must regularly apply for the purposes of carrying out assigned tasks as well as resolving problems that arise in the process of providing leadership. It is the entire process of applying (in a distinct and representative way) principles, methods and means in order to lead and manage a collective of workers, a collective in combat and so forth. In essence, the style of leadership is the form of expression of the most complex socio-political, socio-economic and socio-psychological relationships in the process of leading collectives of laborers, relationships which we generally call management relationships. It is inappropriate to have too broad an understanding (one that encompasses both objectives and principles) or too narrow an understanding (one that only takes into consideration the personal style or skills of each person) of this concept.

The style of leadership has a strong impact in many areas upon the activities and the results of the work of the entire organization; frequently, it is of decisive

significance. Of course, this impact is positive if the style is correct and, conversely, is negative if the style is not good.

The new style in leadership work--the Leninist style--must become the common style of our corps of cadres. This never negates the unique style of each cadre, which reflects the diversity of each social activity and also reflects the artistic nature of leadership and management work. On the basis of his experiences and strengths, each person might prefer to use (with good results) different methods and techniques; one person might like to maintain a certain "distance" between himself and the lower level while another person prefers a close relationship; one person might be intense and energetic while another person might be calm and reserved, etc. This is harmless as long as the Marxist-Leninist principles and style of leadership that we are discussing are maintained.

When examining and evaluating the activities of a leadership cadre (or leadership agency), we must not only give consideration to what they do, but how they do it as well. In actuality, there is no shortage of persons who perform similar jobs but achieve totally different results because their methods are different. Knowing how to create efficiencies in organization, the work environment and the work process will create a reasonable relationship between "leadership costs" and the results achieved. Herein lies the skill of a cadre, an organization. For example, to evaluate the manual skills of workers (before seeing these skills expressed in the actual product they produce), one need only examine how they arrange their work area and their movements. It would be difficult to call an officer who possesses a wavering (not cautious) style or a reckless (not brave or resourceful) style a skilled commander even though he might have won victories on the battlefield. Similarly, an economic management cadre who does everything in a rush, does not make calculations or preparations, ignores objective laws and so forth is an example of a poor workstyle, which indicates limited ability.

The most important characteristics of the style of leadership that was established and implemented by Lenin are: highly ideological and party oriented; a constant and close relationship with the masses; the unity of theory and practice; the full and correct use of management principles and a grasp of the principles employed by the leader to provide guidance; urgency and attention to detail, etc.

Reflecting communist ideology is the first characteristic of the new style of leadership of each leadership cadre because, lacking it, he is no longer a revolutionary cadre. Communist ideology would not be real if it were only expressed in ideals, in world view, in general political viewpoints. What is of practical significance in the ideology and party nature is that the cadre must express a high level of agreement with the line and viewpoints of the party and resolutely implement and protect the line of the party; each thought and action of his must be based on the interests of the party and he must wholeheartedly serve the people. The principled nature of a new style proletarian party demands that each party member and cadre absolutely comply with the line and policies of the party and care for the lives and interests of the masses with all of their confidence, zeal and intelligence. Herein lies the strength of the party.

This is especially important in view of the fact that our country is experiencing difficulties and challenges and faces an insidious scheme of the enemy to undermine us in every way, the most dangerous way being sabotaging us internally in order to weaken our party, the organizer of each victory of our country's revolution. We can sympathize with a number of cadres and party members whose impetuous thoughts are prompted by legitimate motives; however, we cannot lend a sympathetic ear to those who say whatever they want to say, who speak in an unprincipled manner about matters pertaining to the lines and policies of the party because such talk can quite possibly help the enemy inadvertently.

A close relationship with the masses is an important characteristic of the new style and was considered by Lenin to be "the primary prerequisite to success in every endeavor." Maintaining a close relationship with the masses is actually an inherent characteristic of the class nature of the proletarian party. It is regrettable that with the party in political power more than a few cadres do not have a full or deep understanding of this. Some persons have virtually become "revolutionary officials"--they live apart from the masses, are indifferent to the daily difficulties of the masses and even intimidate the masses.

This matter is not only a matter of feelings, a matter of an ordinary relationship with the masses, but is actually part of the stand and viewpoint of the cadre concerning the masses. To correct this mistake, it is not enough for the leadership cadre to merely change his relationship with the masses and his attitude toward them, rather, it is necessary to successfully establish an organizational mechanism designed to truly uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses on the basic level; insure the unity of the three interests (the interests of the state, the collective and the laborer) in every decision and measure; teach and mobilize the masses to intensify the productive labor movement, with importance attached to economic measures, to providing incentive on the basis of the material and spiritual interests of the laborer; and primarily gain a clear understanding of the situation in order to take measures to resolve the specific daily difficulties of the masses.

The leadership cadre who possesses the new style must be a person who makes full and correct use of the principles of socialist management and has a firm grasp of the principles employed by the leader to provide guidance. Of the management principles that have been promulgated by the state, the leadership cadre must always have a firm grasp of and obey the "one commander" principle, that is, the commander system. It can be said that this is a very difficult, very complex matter. The requirements of the leader are to insure that the party organization provides comprehensive leadership and inspection and, on the other hand, to fulfill the responsibility of the commander, discharge the authority given to him, dare to make decisions and dare to assume responsibility. Respecting the leadership of the party in no way means relying upon or waiting for the party committee echelon to issue an opinion concerning everything that pertains to management. Being decisive does not mean being dictatorial and not respecting the right of collective ownership of the masses. In addition, the leadership cadre must have a grasp of the necessary principles of guidance. These principles are: integration, balance, continuity, simultaneousness and smooth pace. The principle of integration requires that the leadership cadre look at all of the work that has been performed over a relatively long period of time and grasp the cause and effect relationship among these jobs and among the aspects of each job

(economic, political and so forth). At the same time, he must set forth the central, key jobs to be performed during each stage of the plan. The principle of balance requires that the leader create and maintain optimum returns in all aspects of leadership work, such as formulating plans and organizing their implementation, production, improving living conditions, existing capabilities, requirements that must be met, etc. The principle of continuity demands that the leader bridge the gaps between the past, present and future in his management activities. Each specific job must be performed in a complete and efficient manner. The principle of simultaneousness (also called the parallel principle) requires that the leadership cadre fulfill his management functions in a manner that is consistent with the management situation. While devoting appropriate time and energy to key, central jobs, he cannot ignore the other jobs that must be performed. The principle of smooth pace demands that the leader arrange his work so that it is performed at a stable, scientific pace consistent with one's own requirements and capabilities and is performed on a regular basis.

The talented leader is a person who knows and knows how to apply these principles in his management work and knows how to take the initiative in preventing and overcoming unexpected developments in his work. To achieve this, one must, of course, be farsighted, know how to make accurate predictions and bring scientific organization to his work plan.

The new leadership style demands that the leader have a scientific viewpoint, be skilled in his work, understand the science of organization and the science of management and possess certain knowledge of a special field. In other words, he must be well versed in both theory and practice.

The scientific attitude of the leader is, on the one hand, to respect the objective laws that apply to his work and, on the other hand, to display a high degree of dynamism in applying these laws. The contemporary issue is the need to fully recognize the impact of the economic laws in the initial stage of the period of transition. The mistakes of "leftism" or rightism will surely be the result of not having a firm grasp of laws and not understanding the actual situation. We have learned a rather large number of profound lessons of this type, such as restrictive bureaucratic planning, sweeping investments in capital construction and the promulgation of more than a few specific policies that do not provide incentive for production and do not tap the zeal or talents of workers, policies that the realities of life are demanding be changed.

In contrast to the scientific viewpoint in the style of leadership is empiricism, which is still rather widespread among many of our cadres. True, the experiences that have been gained are valuable assets and we have won many large victories as a result of them; however, not all of these experiences are still of value under the new conditions and circumstances that now exist or in the face of the new tasks. At the 9th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin forthrightly stated: "We have begun the task of building our economy on the basis of our experiences of yesterday. However, this is a basic mistake of ours (1); and, he stated: "When the situation changes and we must perform tasks of a different type, we should not look behind us and employ methods of yesterday." (2)

The leader who possesses a correct style must be sensitive to the new, must know how to discover and implement methods and forms of organization for performing work that are consistent with the new changes in life; he must wholeheartedly support and cultivate new factors from the time they first emerge. "The cadre who is not conscious of this, who is not sensitive to the new, who does not take the time to study and learn about things, who is incapable of engaging in creative, independent thought in the process of complying with the line and policies of the party is not a good cadre and will, sooner or later, be overtaken by life." (3)

In resolving organizational problems on the basis of the scientific viewpoint, it is absolutely necessary to seek to achieve the highest possible returns. This principle must be understood in its broad meaning, not simply as immediate economic returns, but as comprehensive, permanent socio-economic returns. The socialist business thinking that the management cadre must have is totally different from the capitalist business thinking of "everything for maximum profit." However, very many of our cadres (primarily economic management cadres) lack full concern for or skill in business, in the creation of much material wealth for society in order to meet the needs of everyday life and support socialist construction.

The scientific nature of the style of leadership is also seen in working on the basis of programs and plans, making thorough preparations, firmly grasping the matters of key, central importance, providing constant supervision, conducting routine inspections, promptly making readjustments and correcting mistakes and giving attention to gaining experience. Lenin demanded that each leadership cadre make an effort to separate themselves from confusion, from disorganization, from platform and rostrums, from dissertations and bureaucrats in order to emerge themselves in a system of work.

The opposite of this style is the style of doing as one sees fit, of working in a piecemeal fashion, in an unplanned manner and always being caught off guard by "unexpected developments" due to a lack of knowledge, due to the lack of a comprehensive view of every aspect of the problem at hand and the style of beginning all aspects of a job at once without firmly grasping the key elements or concentrating on guiding those elements that are of central importance. The unavoidable results of these unscientific methods of working are "mobilization without motivation," that is, every job remains unfinished, it is difficult to achieve practical returns and impossible to summarize and evaluate work. These practices are an important "culprit" in the development of sluggishness and organizational weakness in the implementation of resolutions, which we must make every effort to overcome.

The new leadership style also demands that the leader be extremely urgent, that he know how to organize and guide his own work in the most efficient manner possible.

The spirit of urgency is closely linked to high labor productivity and is an attribute of the industrial style. It is not the minute to minute urgency experienced in combat, but continuous and synchronized urgency in every component of a machine, in which slowness in one component causes slowness in and difficulties for the entire system.

A leadership cadre who possesses an urgent style takes action immediately after making a decision; moreover, he even displays a sense of urgency when preparing for

and making his decision. Wavering, hesitation and the failure to make a quick decision (once the necessary conditions have ripened) waste much valuable time and frequently cause opportunities to be missed and the entire job to be ruined.

While performing his work, the person who possesses an urgent style is always looking for ways to rationalize and improve his work methods in order to reduce the amount of time needed to complete his work and eliminate "dead" time. Such persons usually perform a number of "overlapping" jobs, that is, while performing one job, they gradually prepare for another. Promptly gaining experience from every job that is performed is a manifestation of the urgent style; as a result, experience is rapidly gained and work skills are rapidly improved.

We cannot sympathize with persons who, proclaiming themselves to be cautious and steady, actually lack a sense of urgency. Urgency is not synonymous with rushing just as being cautious has nothing at all to do with being leisurely, with working without haste in the style "there is plenty of time left" and "take it easy at the start of the year and rush toward the end of the year," a style seen among a good number of cadres. There are jobs that have been "put on the shelf" for month after month, some of which have been there for so long they are no longer necessary. This could be due to a low spirit of responsibility, to the "eating all day but doing nothing" style of work or to laziness; it might also be due to procrastination. Regardless of the reason, this style is harmful and must be forged and rectified in accordance with the guideline of "not allowing today's work to be put off until tomorrow."

There is nothing contradictory between the urgent style and the style of easily, calmly, effectively and systematically performing one's work as a result of knowing how to organize working conditions well. When good preparations are made and the person knows exactly how he will perform his work, good results can still be achieved without rushing around at the end of the year to make up for what was not done at the start of the year; this means fewer difficulties for the person involved and fewer difficulties for others.

To bring about a profound organizational change in keeping with the spirit of the Political Bureau resolution, we must truly carry out an organizational revolution in the full meaning of the term. This revolution must not only involve establishing certain organizations and abolishing certain apparatus, rather, more importantly, we must completely change our way of thinking and working. No one maintains that this will be easy; however, we have no other course to choose if we wish our revolution to continue to advance.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 251.
2. Ibid., p 253.

3. Le Duan: "May van de ve can bo va to chuch trong cach mang xa hoi chu nghia,"
[Several Matters Regarding Cadres and Organization in the Socialist
Revolution], Su Phat Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p 13.

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TEACHING COMMUNISM TO THE YOUNG GENERATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 52-57

[Article by Vu Cong Can]

[Text] Crushing the ruling system of the exploiting and oppressing classes is an earth-shattering undertaking filled with hardships and difficulties but building the new society, socialist and communist society, the most lofty dream of mankind, is work that is many times more difficult.

The role of being the shock warrior carrying this glorious burden under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party falls to none other than the young generation. In order for the young to be fully capable of completing this historic mission, it is of key importance that the communist party train them, that it teach communism to the young generation.

Possessing an extremely profound political world view and broad strategic vision, Marx and Engels were especially concerned with the young generation, highly evaluated the role played by them in the revolution and pointed out that the future of all mankind is totally dependent upon teaching the growing generation of young workers.

Inheriting and developing upon the doctrine of Marx and Lenin in a brilliant manner, Lenin, on the basis of his confidence in the revolutionary zeal, the creative ability and the powerful forces of youths, considered teaching and training the young generation to be a task of decisive significance in the revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat.

The founders of ever victorious Marxism-Leninism pointed out: teaching communism to the young generation, the purpose of which is to train the future masters of the country, train the persons who will directly build the new society, is a matter of very large significance, one closely related to the survival of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the victory of socialism and communism.

After the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin, with the party in political power, expressed special concern for organizing, teaching and forging the young generation. He pointed out that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party of the working class must attach particular importance to teaching communism to

the young generation because one of the vital tasks of the party during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to carry out the transformation of the older generations and to teach the new generations in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Lenin frequently pointed out that the party must enlighten and mobilize young manual workers, farmers, students and intellectuals to participate in the revolutionary movement, participate in socialist and communist construction and, in this manner, teach and train them to be forces that constantly supplement the party and the state management apparatus in order to "replace the old Bolshevik guard."

Touching upon the specific subjects involved in the teaching of communism to the young generation, the classicists of Marxism-Leninism harshly denounced the reactionary system of education under capitalism as a slave system of education designed primarily to train persons who work for hire, to cause the young generation to develop in a crippled manner; they pointed out that only by abolishing the exploitation of man by man is it possible to have all the conditions needed to teach communism and train strata of fully developed persons who are capable of successfully building socialism and communism. This system of education must encompass academic education, physical culture and a polytechnic education--as Marx wrote in 1866 in "The Directive Concerning a Number of Matters to the Delegates of the Provisional Central Committee"--in order to train the young generation to be new, fully developed socialists who live a harmonious and diverse collective life and personal life.

Developing upon the arguments of Marx and Engels, Lenin revealed that teaching communism to the young generation involves teaching the laws of the development of society, of the proletarian revolution and of communist construction. Understanding these laws helps the young to make steady progress and teaches them how to make progress in order to win victory on the path of revolution.

The teaching of communism to the young generation involves arming them with the spirit of determination to topple the old world, combat every form of exploitation, erase the remnants of small-scale production and backward customs and habits and establish the collectivism of the proletariat; involves teaching the young generation love of the socialist fatherland, teaching them to always be highly vigilant, be ready to fight and die to protect the independence and freedom of the country and be ready to participate in the strengthening of the national defense system and the building of powerful armed forces; and involves equipping the young generation with the proletarian international spirit so that they recognize that the successes and failures in the struggle by the proletariat of each country are closely linked to the successes and failures of the world revolutionary movement and recognize that they must support, in both word and deed, the revolutionary movement of the working class and oppressed peoples of all countries.

Teaching the subjects mentioned above is the same as teaching communist ethics to the young generation because: "The basis of communist ethics is the struggle to consolidate and complete communist construction. This is also the basis of communist training, the study of communism and the teaching of communism."(1)

Transforming the old society and building the new society are the most important task of the communist youth union and the young generation when the party is in political power. The teaching of communism to the young generation in this situation must have the purpose of mobilizing and organizing youths so that they actively participate in building and developing the economy and culture and are truly worthy of being the shock force in socialist transformation and socialist construction.

To build the economy and raise labor productivity in order to triumph over capitalism, it is necessary to have knowledge, necessary to be the masters of science and technology. To truly become the masters of the country, the masters of society, youths must grasp and use science. Lenin emphasized: "It would truly be a mistake to think that we only need be imbued with communist slogans, with the conclusions of communist science but do not need to be imbued with the sum of the knowledge of which communism itself is a result." (2) Without a modern literature, "communism is nothing more than an aspiration."

The process of building the new society--socialist society and communist society--is not an easy process, rather, it is a process filled with difficulties and hardships that must be overcome. This difficult but glorious path demands that youths possess the revolutionary-offensive spirit; therefore, Lenin taught that the teaching of communism to youths must equip them with the spirit of determination to overcome difficulties on the basis of teaching them absolute confidence in the ultimate victory of socialism and communism. The young must be armed--through the teaching of communism--with a tenacious revolutionary spirit, with Bolshevik resolve and with an unshakable spirit in order to overcome temporary setbacks, especially initial setbacks, and continue to advance directly toward the great goals of socialism and communism. Tolerating laziness among youths is contrary to the requirements of the teaching of communism.

As regards the method employed to teach communism, the founders of Marxism-Leninism pointed out that communism should not be taught by the old method, a method divorced from both life and the struggle; we should not immerse ourselves in classrooms or limit ourselves to reading books and materials on communism. "The teaching of communist youths does not involve having them attend lectures on civility or the rules of etiquette. This is not education" (3), rather, the teaching, the study and the practical training of the young must be closely linked to the labor of manual workers and farmers. The learning process of the young must be arranged in such a way that in each village and each city youths are resolving one practical problem or another in collective labor each day, even the most trivial and simple of problems. It must be as Lenin taught: "The young generation can only learn communism when each stage of their practical training, their education, their learning has been closely linked to the continuous struggle of the proletariat and the working people against the old society of the exploiters." (4) The revered President Ho often taught: "A year begins with spring...a lifetime begins with youth. Youth is the spring of society." (5) Always confident in the country's youth and having pinned hopes upon the young generation, our party and President Ho always attached importance to the mobilization of youths and to the training of the young generation, considering it to be an extremely important revolutionary task of strategic significance of the entire

party. Party Secretariat resolution number 181 dated 25 September 1968 on the mobilization of youths stated: "...Strengthening the leadership of the mobilization and the training of youths to be the loyal and outstanding inheritors of the revolutionary undertaking of our party, thereby insuring victory for us today and tomorrow, is an extremely important revolutionary task of strategic significance."(6) Proud of and confident in the young generation and considering youths to be the collective masters of the present and the creative masters of the future of the country, our party has confirmed: "The bright future of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland lies in the hands of youths, teenagers and children."(7) When he departed from us, the revered President Ho thoughtfully instructed in his Testament: "Training the revolutionary generations of tomorrow is very important and very necessary work."

The loyal and outstanding inheritors of the glorious revolutionary cause, the persons who will carry the ever victorious banner of the party to its final destination are the generations of new youths, the Vietnamese communist young generation. This new generation of youths must represent the essence of the most beautiful traditions of the nation, be new socialists who possess the revolutionary ethics and qualities of the working class and, at the same time, must possess an academic, scientific, technical and economic management education and the ability to engage in practical activities to transform the old society and build the new. They must be fully developed persons who live a harmonious and rich collective life and personal life, who know how to live on the basis of love and reason and who possess the following special characteristics: they are collective masters who work, possess socialist patriotism and possess the proletarian international spirit.

In order to train the young generation to be new socialists who meet the requirements of the glorious revolutionary tasks of the country and the nation, it is necessary to teach communism to the young generation well.

In the teaching of communism to the young generation, the matter of foremost importance is the teaching of communist ideals, the Marxist-Leninist scientific world view and revolutionary ethics in order to train the youths of the entire country to be new socialists who possess lofty ideals and a heroic character and who "live, fight, work and study in the example of the great Uncle Ho." It is necessary to teach ideals to youths by having them study the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the party's line on the socialist revolution, the historic mission of the young, the struggle between the two ways of life and the situation and tasks of the country.

Teaching labor--an important part of the teaching of communism--occupies a special position in the molding of the new, socialist man. It is necessary to teach youths to love to work, without regard for what their occupation is, teach them to take pride in their work, to work in a voluntary manner and to consider "work to be a sacred obligation, to be our source of life and happiness."(8) Teaching labor also means teaching the young generation the concept of constantly struggling to raise their level of education, their scientific and technical level, their management qualifications and the occupational level; it means teaching the new style of work: working in a disciplined, technical, creative and highly productive manner.

Importance is attached to the teaching of socialist patriotism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the teaching of communism to the young generation of

Vietnam so that youths, regardless of the circumstances in which they find themselves are always firm, always resolved in the face of every difficulty and challenge and always ready to fulfill their obligation to the fatherland and their noble international obligation, thereby contributing to the world revolution.

Teaching tradition is also an extremely important part of teaching communism. It is necessary to teach to the young generation the fine traditions our nation has developed over the 4,000 years of building and defending the country, the history of our party, the personality and career of the great Uncle Ho and the tradition of glorious revolutionary struggle of the working class, the people's armed forces and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union; we must train the young generation to respect and deeply love their compatriots and comrades and bravely struggle to defend the truth, to protect the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state.

In the teaching of communism to the young generation, we must also concern ourselves with establishing the socialist style of life because it, too, is an important element in molding the character of the new, socialist man. We must help and guide youths in establishing as the noble purposes of their lives as struggling for the total victory of communist ideals, always taking the initiative and displaying a sense of responsibility to society, correctly understanding and establishing social relations, living in accordance with the guideline "one for all, all for one" and implementing the civilized style of life.

The teaching of communism is a comprehensive education; therefore, in conjunction with teaching politics and ideology, it is also necessary to mobilize, organize and help the young to raise their cultural level, improve their scientific, technical, economic management and military qualifications, improve their physical conditioning, be able to appreciate and create literature and art and possess both the knowledge and ability to be the masters of society, the masters of nature and the masters of themselves.

In the teaching of communism to the young, the level of militancy must regularly be heightened. On the basis of molding and cultivating within youths revolutionary thoughts and feelings, we must mobilize youths to struggle against the hostile thinking of the Beijing reactionaries and imperialists and thwart the psychological warfare tricks of the enemy; sweep away the poisons of neo-colonialism and the influences of bourgeois thinking and the decadent style of life; overcome the remnants of feudal thinking, criticize petty bourgeois thinking; and wage a determined struggle against individualism, liberalism, the lack of organization, the lack of discipline, laziness, parasitism, disdain for manual labor, the theft of public property, earning a living illegally and the other bad customs and habits that are harming youths in more than a small way.

The teaching of communism to the young demands the constant improvement of the methods and forms of education so that they are diverse, interesting and consistent with the special characteristics and attitudes of the young, consistent with each category of youth.

Experience has shown that the most effective educational method is to have youths participate en masse in revolutionary action movements and to educate them through

these movements. We must forge youths in the realities of the revolution, labor, combat, studies, social activities and collective life. We must bring the methods of learning and the methods used to conduct political activities up to date; adopt basic political education programs that are consistent with each type Youth Union member and youth; and organize groups within the basic organizations of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union to research Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party. Importance must be attached to establishing models of good persons and good work and to increasing the number of these models in order to teach youths.

Forms of education that are diverse, interesting and suited to youths, such as club activities, lectures, forums, special activities, visits, propaganda activities, exhibits, libraries, books and magazines, radio, television, literary and art activities, scientific and technical activities, physical culture and sports and so forth, must be widely utilized. Besides the various forms of classroom education, importance must be attached to establishing a close relationship with each Youth Union member and youth, especially to helping youths who are encountering difficulties and backward youths.

Teaching communism to the young generation is a very large and very painstaking job, one that must be begun when youths are still children and teenagers and must be carried out among youths at schools, youths within the army and youths in the production, cultural, scientific and technical sectors so that the various educational processes are continuous, united and closely coordinated and create a new quality of training.

With the party in political power, the teaching of communism, which is designed to train a generation of new, fully developed youths, is the common work of society, especially of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system. Under the leadership of the party, it is necessary to fully tap the combined strength of the state, the mass organizations, society and the family in order to teach the young generation on a large scale. Le Duan has advised: "The organizations of the party and the government must rely upon the Youth Union in order to carry out their new and weighty economic tasks and resolve complex scientific and technical problems. Through these intense social activities, we must teach and forge youths so that they become worthy collective masters in society, in production and in everyday life." (9)

The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the organization that has a direct role in the teaching of communism to the young generation, must take the initiative in making proposals to and closely coordinating with the various sectors and mass organizations in order to achieve the combined strength of all of society and cause it to have an impact upon the young generation. Full use must be made of the propaganda and education facilities, means and tools of the Youth Union, the party and the state agencies to teach the young generation; at the same time, we must continue to build additional material facilities for the teaching of the young generation, such as tradition rooms, Uncle Ho rooms, halls of culture, clubs, libraries, swimming pools, athletic fields and so forth. Attention must be given to strengthening the educational system of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union on the various levels, with importance attached to building the network of lectures at installations and further improving the quality of work performed to support the task of teaching communism to the young generation, such as theoretical research, press activities, radio broadcasting, television and publishing.

In the teaching of communism to the young generation, revolutionary elders, communist party members, heroes and emulation warriors, educators, social and natural scientists, veteran workers, cadres of the people's armed forces and so forth play an extremely important role. If they take the initiative and maintain regular ties with youths, these older generations will bring to youths beautiful thoughts and feelings, grand dreams and ambitions, knowledge and creative ability, valuable experiences and heartfelt words of advice, thereby making a positive contribution to the teaching of communism to the young generation.

The great Soviet poet Mayakopski wrote: "Communism is the youth of the world built by youths." How true! However, the young generation can only complete this glorious historic task in an outstanding manner when it is firmly tempered through the teaching of communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 357.
2. Ibid., p 345.
3. Ibid., p 357.
4. Ibid., p 356.
5. "Những lời kêu gọi của Hồ Chí Minh" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, Volume I, p 73.
6. "Văn kiện Đảng về Công tác thanh niên" [Party Proceedings Concerning Youth Work], Thanh Niên Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, Volume 2, p 199.
7. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 156.
8. "Những lời kêu gọi của Hồ Chí Minh,"...Volume VI, p 177.
9. Lê Duẩn: "Đuổi là oo ve vàng của Đảng, vì độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội, tiến lên giành những thắng lợi mới" [Advancing under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 136.

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[Text] In the ranks of our cadres and party members, besides the large number of comrades who lead an honest life and display abilities, thus proving themselves worthy of the title of communist militants, there remain those who turn themselves into a kind of clinging vine, live as hangers-on and take refuge under the protective umbrella of other people, considering the other person a talisman that will help them make their way in life.

Why do they have to seek such an umbrella for themselves? We can find a comprehensive answer to this question only if we take pains to observe life around us. The crux of the matter is the effect of the umbrella. The following episodes have actually occurred in certain locations:

There was the case of a person whose capabilities and quality were quite mediocre, even poor. But surprisingly, he was still given promotions, fast salary increases and many privileges. Closer scrutiny finally revealed the secret: The man had a protective umbrella.

There was the case of a ranking cadre who had committed a mistake so serious that he was subjected to disciplinary action. But thanks to his protective umbrella, he was immediately transferred to another locality, another unit, another organ, to undertake a more important job in a higher position and with a larger salary. Thus, the very person who had been disciplined in one place was promoted in another.

There was also the case of Mr A, who was brought before his unit for collective criticism for a mistake he had made. Resorting to aid from a protective umbrella however, he was cleared of all charges. But that was not all. From the position of being the criticized, he suddenly became the critic of his critics. In philosophical terms this would be described as the beginning of the transformation of opposites, with the guilty becoming the innocent and vice versa.

However, that is not the end of the story. We have seen people who not only blatantly committed wrongdoings but also proceeded in a way, as to challenge others around them. They seemed to want to tell everyone: Criticize me if you like, but words will never hurt me. Who are these formidable people? They are persons with a protective umbrella over their heads.

It does not take more than these few examples to show the importance of the role of an umbrella. This also makes it easy to understand why there are people who will move heaven and earth to secure a protective umbrella.

Obtaining an umbrella is no easy task. Yet, those who set this task as their permanent objective in life can try many, different ways. They can rely on family relationships, depend on the help of close friends and acquaintances, resort to flattery and cajolery, or use gifts, which are simply forms of bribery.

No matter which method is used, things generally proceed along the following lines: First, prepare a complete list of relatives and friends in high places as well as superiors. Then try by every means to win their favor. By so doing, they will find a satisfactory umbrella sooner or later.

Experienced umbrella users are often not satisfied with having only one umbrella; to them, the more umbrellas the better for if one fails to provide the needed protection, others will certainly come to hand. With one umbrella they can rest easy, but this is not entirely safe; hence the need for a few more--and for a good measure of safety, the second umbrella must be bigger than the first and the third larger than the second.

Why must they go to such lengths? The answer is that they have learned to do so from the reality of life: For commonly enough, in many cases one has to use several umbrellas before he attains success.

It is necessary to distinguish between the search for umbrellas and the filing of complaints. These actions are basically different. Some persons, knowing that they are innocent or feeling that their shortcomings do not warrant the severe disciplinary action meted out, file complaints to higher echelons. Such actions are not to be taken as seeking a protective umbrella.

Those who seek an umbrella are actually after a protector and supporter for base private goals. All umbrella users share the same basic nature of running after individual goals, but they display different external traits. Some hide the fact that they have protective umbrellas, while others deliberately make it known to everyone thinking this will increase their importance and prestige.

Whether to seek a protective umbrella and turn oneself into a parasite or to lead an honest and upright life is a matter involving neither one's work nor social status, but one's quality. Some persons, despite their ordinary positions, maintain an attitude of propriety, uprightness and self-confidence. Meanwhile, a number of cadres, although highly placed and commanding authority, still run about in search of a protective umbrella. While keeping themselves under the shade of the umbrellas of more influential people, they may serve as protective umbrellas for others.

As umbrella users cannot exist without the providers of umbrellas, there is a cause-and-effect relationship between the act of using and providing umbrellas. Some people, while holding that it is indeed bad and wrong to seek protective umbrellas, consider it perfectly alright to provide umbrellas. They are mistaken; for in judging whether an action is right or wrong, good or bad, we must consider its objectives. It is quite a different story when we find, in many cases, persons subjected to unjust and prejudiced discipline who are exonerated thanks to the clearheadedness and positive action of the organization or a certain superior cadre. This act of exoneration is aimed at protecting the truth, the party's principles and the law of the state. It justly deserves encouragement and praise and is completely different from the act of providing a protective umbrella under discussion here.

Providing a protective umbrella involves individual objectives. One who agrees to serve as a protective umbrella for others is often prompted by one of the following reasons: to prove his high position and real authority to others; to do a favor for relatives or close acquaintances; to flatter his ego; to fulfill his part in a bribery deal and so forth.

Both umbrella users and providers should be criticized because their actions stem from selfish goals and are ethically unacceptable to communists. Furthermore, such actions seriously violate party discipline and state law. They harm the Marxist-Leninist principle on cadre work and make it impossible to tell good from bad, right from wrong. They will breed internal disunity and lead to the weakening and collapse of the organization. They will undermine the confidence of lower echelons in higher ones, of cadres in the organization and of the masses in the party.

Dealing strictly with our own shortcomings is a manifestation of the desire for progress. Therefore, although the aforementioned negative phenomenon are not prevalent, we deem it necessary to introduce it for discussion so that we can avoid and correct it.

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THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN CHINA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 61-64

[Article by Chu Mong]

[Text] The "crisis of confidence" in China is a contemporary issue in the western press. The 3 July 1980 issue of the French newspaper LE MONDE stated: "The crisis of confidence in the regime (Beijing) has arisen at the same time the 59th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party is being celebrated (1 July 1980)." In Hong Kong, a journal that supports Deng Xiaoping has also mentioned "a crisis of confidence that China is experiencing." The article "What Does the Crisis of Confidence Indicate?" printed in China's PEOPLE'S DAILY on 10 October 1980 asked: "Why are the masses, especially youths, suspicious in outlook and why has the crisis of confidence emerged in China?" Having raised this question, the official organ of the Beijing administration has proposed no other solution than to appeal for all crimes to be blamed on Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four."

Thus, Beijing ruling circles have been forced to admit that the "crisis of confidence" is the significant phenomenon in the daily life of Chinese society at this time. The more than 900 million Chinese have lost confidence in their rulers but must still continue to live under the rule of the imperial rulers in Trung Nam Hai, whom they hate and disdain and in whom they have very little trust or, at the very least, view with skepticism. This is truly the terrible political-spiritual tragedy of the century.

It must be said that, immediately after the founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 December 1949, the people of China placed their confidence in Mao Zedong, in particular, and the Beijing government at that time, in general.

However, under the goal of building "Chinese power" as a tool for achieving the ambition of "ruling the world," China has been the scene of reckless "great leaps forward" movements and then the "great proletarian cultural revolution" followed by continuous changes since the death of Mao. Tragedies have piled one on top of another in China. The domestic price that has had to be paid has been the death of hundreds of millions of Chinese due to starvation or oppression or both of these reasons at the same time. The Chinese economy, system of education and culture have been set back by decades. In foreign affairs, turning friends into enemies and enemies into friends, the Beijing ruling circles have pursued a policy of opposing the Soviet Union, Vietnam

and socialism while closely collaborating with the imperialist powers and international reactionaries.

In the modern day world, the attitude taken toward Vietnam is considered by the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world to be the "test of gold." When they waged a war of aggression against Vietnam between 17 February and 18 March 1979, the Beijing ruling circles revealed their true nature as a bureaucratic, militaristic clique of big country expansionists and hegemonists. It can be said that this war stripped away the final vestiges of their mask and completely revealed their counter-revolutionary nature of the reactionary pro-Mao clique in power in Beijing.

In a report leaked to the outside entitled "Proposals for Building the Chinese Army," Nie Rongchen, vice chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP, wrote: "The war against Vietnam awakened the disdain of the cadres and soldiers (of the Chinese army) for war. After the war, we gave the persons who participated in the war 2 weeks leave and 20 people's dong so that they could return to their homes and propagandize our victory in the war. This use of material incentives to encourage and bolster sagging morale indicates the serious nature of the many different problems that have resulted from the military campaign against Vietnam."

By carrying out the war of aggression against Vietnam, Beijing ruling circles took the first step in implementing their plan of expansion into Southeast Asia. However, they not only failed to achieve their objective, but have also had to bear serious, harmful consequences. Some material losses cannot be compensated for, such as the 62,500 soldiers of the Chinese army who were killed or disabled along the Vietnamese border. ver, t e Beijing regime considers human life the same as trash. During the sessio f the Chinese National Assembly held in early September 1980, Chinese Minister of Finance, Wang Bingqian, had to admit that the Chinese national budget for 1979 incurred a deficit of 17.60 billion people's dong, 2.04 billion of which were the result of expenditures on the war of aggression against Vietnam. This was a heavy blow to the already crassed economic and financial system of China and to the "four modernizations" that Beijing is pursuing.

However, the deepest wound inflicted by the Beijing regime upon itself in the war of aggression against Vietnam was the political-spiritual wound. Beijing's aggression against Vietnam exposed to the people of the world and the people of China both the counter-revolutionary nature and the insane schemes and ambitions regarding expansionism and hegemony which Beijing ruling circles are pursuing now and will pursue in the long-range future.

In the international arena, the Beijing regime has been tragically isolated. From all regions of the world have come stern denunciations of the aggressors and appeals and warnings concerning the threat to peace and security not only in Indochina and Southeast Asia, but to the entire world resulting from the collaboration between Beijing and the imperialist powers and international reactionaries.

The changing situation on the Vietnamese border has had a reciprocal impact upon the internal Chinese situation. As Nie Rongchen admitted, the war of aggression against Vietnam pushed the "crisis of confidence" in China more deeply into a state of

discouragement, confusion and skepticism and has pushed Chinese society into an even weaker state.

Having "sown the wind" in the war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists were forced to "reap the storm" in the United States through the "crisis of confidence," the "structural crisis" and so forth. Following in the tracks of Washington, the Beijing regime, having "sown the wind" in the war in Vietnam, must "reap the storm" in the shattered confidence of the people of China.

Together with the war of aggression against Vietnam, changes within China have proven that the "crown princes" of Mao, regardless of their shade, have continued to follow the path of big country expansionism and hegemony charted by Mao. The "thinking of Mao Zedong" is frequently referred to by the persons within Beijing ruling circles as the "foundation of each line and policy" of the present day Beijing regime. In everything from the "four modernizations" to the "reform of the civil service system" and the "restructuring of the economic structure," the Beijing reactionary authorities have but one ultimate goal: to build a powerful Chinese war machine using the blood, tears and sweat of hundreds of millions of Chinese citizens. This is the source of and will continue to cause towering miseries in China. The "effect" of this "cause," the "crisis of confidence," is bound to continue.

Recently, in the final months of 1980 and in early 1981, behind a smokescreen of "unity and stability," a new round in the sharp struggle for power among the Deng, Hua and Ye factions has been under way. This new round is not only taking place within Trung Nam Hai, but might spread to the basic organizations throughout China, thereby pushing hundreds of millions of persons into a bitter fight against one another in the style of "bosses fight bosses, servants fight servants."

On the other hand, under the billboard of the "four modernizations," the Beijing regime is making every effort to borrow money from the capitalist imperialist countries in order to purchase new weapons and build an industry to support preparations for war. They are learning capitalist business procedures and methods and pushing the Chinese economy into a new state of confusion, frustration and decline. In the face of obvious defeats, the Beijing regime has found it necessary to "readjust" their new economic plan and this "readjustment" could last from 3 to 5 years, even throughout the 1980's. The western press has "praised" Beijing ruling circles as persons beginning to plant the "tree" of capitalism in their economic garden; but, having done so, they quickly harvested such "fruits" as inflation, unemployment, budget deficits, foreign debt and so forth, the chronic maladies of capitalism.

On the basis of the realities mentioned above, which they have witnessed on a daily basis, the people of China have become even more aware of the counter-revolutionary nature of the Beijing authorities. As a result, the "crisis of confidence" has become increasingly serious and prolonged in China.

The "crisis of confidence" is gradually eroding the pillars of the Beijing regime. It is a timebomb placed in the heart of this reactionary regime.

Having risen from the tragedies resulting from the reactionary domestic and foreign policies established on the basis of the "thinking of Mao Zedong," the "crisis of

confidence" is having a reciprocal impact by leading these lines and policies to new defeats.

Is it merely a coincidence that the two "crises of confidence" in this century are simultaneously occurring in China and the United States, two countries that are separated by the vast Pacific Ocean? Actually, it is the ambition of the U.S. imperialists to be the "international gendarme" and the ambition of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists to be "the ruler of the world" that have led to the collaboration between these two extremely reactionary forces of our times. On the other hand, the defeat of both of these reactionary forces in the attempt to achieve their ambitions (both were defeated on the Vietnam and Indochina battlefield) is the cause of the "crisis of confidence" as specifically seen in their weakness in the political-spiritual field, which has, at the same time, revealed the reactionary nature of the ruling circles in both Beijing and Washington.

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WHEN WASHINGTON GOES IN SEARCH OF A NEW STRATEGY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 81 pp 65-70

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] Ronald Reagan, the 40th president of the United States, assumed office on 20 January in a boisterous, costly ceremony, one very much in the style of a Hollywood movie star.

World opinion, which closely followed the election campaign that was held in America in 1980, is now trying to gain an understanding of the domestic and foreign policies of the Reagan administration and expressing many different opinions and evaluations. Will the global strategy of America undergo major change? What will the military strategy of the Reagan administration be? What are Reagan's strategic goals in the years ahead? What are the possibilities that these goals will be achieved?

A New Reagan Strategy?

Reagan often said that he would adopt a new strategy by means of numerous new policies, one completely different from the strategy of Jimmy Carter, who, in Reagan's estimation, "led the United States from one crisis to another, from one defeat to another and sullied the honor of the United States."

During the election, Reagan's slogan was "peace through strength." Reagan's overall policy is to very rapidly increase the military strength of the United States in all areas: tactical nuclear weapons, battlefield nuclear weapons and every type of strategic weapon; to very rapidly increase the U.S. military budget to more than 160 billion dollars, 200 billion dollars and 240 billion dollars in each of the next 3 years; and to intensify the effort to equip all branches of the Air Force, Navy and Army with modern equipment. The weapons production apparatus of the United States has been encouraged to operate at full capacity. In his actions, Reagan threatens to use military force wherever and whenever the United States considers its interests and the interests of the other western countries to be challenged and threatened. Casper Wineberger, Reagan's Secretary of Defense, has also exclaimed: "The U.S. must make every effort to catch up to and surpass the Soviet Union in military strength; the American army will be equipped with very many of the most powerful weapons; the

U.S. government will not hesitate to strongly increase military expenditures to meet this requirement"; David Jones, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, has revealed; the U.S. fire-fighting force, also called the rapid deployment force, which Carter intended to build up to 110,000 troops with the 82nd Division serving as the nucleus of this force, is projected to increase nearly three-fold, to 300,000 troops under the Reagan administration! Recently, the Pentagon has accelerated the construction of the Diego Garcia Military Base in the Indian Ocean as well as a number of large military bases in Israel, Egypt, Oman, Somali, Kenya and so forth in preparation for large-scale military intervention in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and South Asia.

The Reagan administration is flexing its muscles. This is clearly evident in the statements that have been made as well as in the work that has been started. The entire progressive world, especially the three revolutionary currents of our times, is heightening its vigilance and preparing to deal with the position of strength policy of the new U.S. President in order to maintain peace on the planet and protect the creative labors of all nations. The progressive world is vigilant but not frightened; it is vigilant but still dignified, calm, serene and relaxed. Because, we realize that there is nothing to fear in the new military policy, position and strategy of the Reagan administration; this strategy has been born against the background of the difficulties and defeats of the imperialist United States; it cannot change the balance of power or the strategic deployment, which are very unfavorable to imperialism; the subjective desires and the obstinate, blind actions of the Reagan administration will only bring new and heavy defeats to America.

When the Hawk Flies in Panic

Actually, Reagan is not the originator of the so called new global strategy of America. In early 1980, Carter completely changed the strategic policy of the U.S. government by proposing what the western press calls the "Carter doctrine," thereby bringing about a major turning point following 3 years in power marked by heavy defeats in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, South Asia, Southeast Asia and so forth. The originator of the new strategy was none other than the "invisible government," the government that controls true power in the United States, namely, the strongest and most powerful financiers on Wall Street. At the conclusion of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's, they panicked when they saw the very rapid and steep decline of imperialism and the change in the balance of military power in the world in a manner increasingly unfavorable to them in all strategic regions of the world. The United States has encountered nothing but defeats and frustration. "For a long time, they have looked to the future with fear." On this momentum, they have found themselves in an extremely poor position. Some truly special cases have occurred as they follow the laws of the history of mankind; at the very end of the 1970's, in 1979 alone, the United States was continuously dealt very heavy blows. They included the collapse of the Pol Pot genocidal regime in Kampuchea, which brought about a major change in Southeast Asia, they included the collapse of Iranian dictatorship, an ally and, in essence, a lackey of the United States, which was once considered the strongest military and economic ally in the Middle East; immediately thereafter, Iran became a burning issue for Washington as a result of the intense anti-American movement there. They also included the very rapid collapse of the

executioner Somoza in Nicaragua, to which Washington did not dare react in order to save Somoza, thereby placing the entire Latin American continent, the backyard of America, in an urgent situation: the progressive revolutionary banner of our times might become deeply and firmly implanted on this continent. Then, in late 1979, the Afghanistan issue broke out with the collapse of the reactionary government, a lackey of imperialism, and the expansionists, thereby completely changing the situation in the strategic region of South Asia and recording a large and sound victory for the revolution in this region.

U.S. financiers panicked in the face of so many heavy blows. In the 1st quarter of 1980, Richard Nixon, the influential hawk of the U.S. Republican Party, quickly sounded the alarm in a number of newspaper articles and one perturbing book entitled "A Real War," in which he emphasizes that the United States is suffering large losses, that imperialism is suffering large losses and that the strength and position of America have declined in a perilous fashion; if this trend continues, in the space of only 20 more years, that is, when the 20th Century draws to a close, "the United States will only have a 50 percent chance of survival."

The emergence of Ronald Reagan, who was known in the 1980 presidential campaign as a conservative, as old fashioned, as bellicose, and Reagan's subsequent election were the result of a new political movement in the United States. U.S. financial powers began to realize that the death of imperialism could become inevitable and that they must do everything in their power to avoid this "fate" in order to survive and, moreover, to once again gain control over the entire world, which is slipping from the grasp of imperialism as it weakens. Panic, fear, indignation, bitterness and revenge, these are the attitudes of U.S. political circles, of Reagan and the present advisors of the U.S. President. A recent and very significant development on the part of the U.S. imperialists has been that their top officials have bragged at great length about the stability, the soundness and the permanence of the capitalist system and imperialism; their self-confidence has evaporated and given way to panic and fear.

Returning to the position of strength policy; frantically intensifying the arms race in order to try to win back the military superiority that was lost; being ready to intervene militarily whenever deemed necessary in any region of the world; Western Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa and so forth; not suffering another defeat in the face of the strong offensive power of the three revolutionary currents; being ready to stir up trouble, foment rebellions and play the role of international gendarme; rallying forces led by every power of the old society to counter-attack the revolutionary forces of the world and so forth, these are the new strategic policies of Washington, are the contents of the military strategy that the Reagan administration is beginning to implement under the order of the strongest financial powers of America.

The global strategy of the United States during the 1940's was "massive retaliation" based on exclusive possession of nuclear weapons. It was based on confidence in the absolute military superiority of the United States.

The "flexible response" global strategy of the 1960's was a strategic step backward taken by the United States when it lost its exclusive control of nuclear weapons;

however, it, too, was based in confidence in the military and economic power of the United States and the clever coordination of an iron fist and hand with importance attached to conventional armed forces in a vain attempt to repel the national liberation movement.

The "real deterrent" global strategy proposed in the 1970's amidst heavy defeats for the United States in Vietnam and Indochina, which was another important strategic step backward for Washington, was based on the realization that U.S. capabilities are limited and that the United States did not have the strength to instinctively react to every challenge. Confidence in the real strength of the United States had been badly shaken.

Today, at the start of the 1980's, U.S. ruling circles have set forth another new strategy. It is a return to the position of strength policy at a time when the strategic strength and superior strategic position of the United States have markedly declined. Although this strategy was proposed by someone who is very bellicose and aggressive, in substance, this strategy is another strategic step backward. Firm confidence in victory has disappeared. The strategic goals of the Reagan administration are rather "modest": to prevent the situation from worsening; to prevent America and the imperialists from suffering new, heavy defeats; and to save imperialism from destruction. It can be observed that this strategy is to maintain the survival of a social system that has been denounced by history and is in the unavoidable process of destruction.

The Dark Shadow of the Defeat in Vietnam

Reagan as well as Alexander Haig, U.S. Secretary of State, Richard Allen, National Security advisor to the U.S. President, and Casper Weinberger, U.S. Minister of Defense, mention Vietnam when talking about the new strategy of the United States: "The post-Vietnam period of America has concluded"; "the Vietnam shock of the United States has ended"; "the malady of Vietnam, which caused U.S. political circles to hesitate and waver in the sending of U.S. combat troops overseas, is no longer"; "the United States under the Reagan administration has entered a new period: the period after the post-Vietnam period."

Many commentators on U.S. strategy have also observed that the heavy defeats of the United States in all regions of the world have borne some of the signs of the terrible defeat of the United States in Vietnam. In recent years, deterred by this horrible defeat, America has not dared to directly intervene in the countries of Africa or the Middle East, in Nicaragua, Afghanistan or Kampuchea.

Actually, the subjective desires of Reagan and his confidants are one thing while objective truth is another thing altogether. Many commentators on contemporary western events have observed: the longest, most costly war and the most thorough defeat of the United States in Vietnam will surely have very deep and very long consequences for America. U.S. soldiers, having lost confidence in victory, will find it very difficult to accept another blind expedition on a remote battlefield, regardless of how much the U.S. psychological warfare apparatus tries to motivate

then. U.S. society has adopted a new attitude toward the U.S. Army, toward the U.S. military uniform, consequently, following the Vietnam war, the U.S. Army changed from a system of military service to a system of professional soldiers. However, there still are not enough volunteers for the Army; therefore, Reagan is going back to the military draft. Even when Carter aggressively threatened to use the iron fist in the Gulf of Iran, in the end, he only launched a commando operation with 16 aircraft and 180 airmen and Green Berets, which suffered such a shameful defeat that the Pentagon was forced to restrict all discussion and comment concerning it. It was a typical defeat of the U.S. Army in the "post-Vietnam" period, one that fully reflected the crisis of confidence, the crisis of fighting spirit, the crisis of tactics, the crisis of technology and the crisis in the command system.

Western commentators have very logically observed that an entire generation of American armed forces must still lick the deep wounds suffered on the Vietnam battlefield and that the Vietnam malady of U.S. political circles will last until the end of this century and might even last into the start of the next century.

Beyond the Reach of Washington

Reagan enters the White House at an unfavorable time. It is not the fact that he is, at more than 70 years of age, the oldest president to enter the White House. Reagan's poor timing has to do with the fact that he enters the White House at a time when the United States has become very old and weak, at a time when U.S. imperialism is rapidly declining and at a time when the comprehensive crisis of the United States has reached perilous proportions! The strategic intention of preventing the situation from becoming worse lies beyond the reach of Washington. It not surprising that Reagan has turned to the past with his now famous lament: "Oh! The beautiful days of bygone years!"

The so called new strategy of Washington will surely meet with total bankruptcy. Its fate is surely none other than the fate that befell previous bankrupt policies. Because:

--The balance of power in the world over the past 63 years, ever since the outbreak of the great October Revolution, has constantly changed in a manner unfavorable to the United States and the reactionary powers. The awakening of hundreds of millions, of thousands of millions of persons on all continents has caused them to arise and become the masters of their destiny, to struggle for the noble goals of our times of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress; this struggle is becoming increasingly intense and cannot be impeded. The three powerful revolutionary currents of our times are regularly being supplemented by new forces, new energies and new experiences and constantly taking the strategic offensive in every region of the world despite all the obstacles, difficulties and counter-attacks posed by the enemy.

Militarily, the United States cannot win back its position of superiority. During the period in which the United States was carrying out the war of aggression against Vietnam, the military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries grew very much. The United States might be planning to win back its superiority but time

is not on the side of the United States. As time passes, the U.S. economy will encounter even more serious problems. The position and power of the United States will only continue to decline in every respect.

The United States can greatly increase military expenditures and very sharply reduce all other expenditures; Reagan has begun to do exactly this. The French newspaper LE MONDE has observed: under the Reagan dynasty, every day will be Christmas for the financial circles specializing in weapons production in the United States; they will reap huge profits. However, the very sharp reductions in social, educational, public health, insurance and other expenditures will surely lead to incalculable political and economic consequences and pose the danger of causing anger and opposition to break out on the part of the people. Moreover, even if the U.S. military budget exceeds 200 billion dollars in fiscal year 1982, the U.S. President cannot buy what is needed for the real force of the United States: a strategic position. Because it has no strategic position, the United States has aggressively sent into the Gulf of Iran four aircraft carriers with more than 200 of the most modern combat aircraft, more than 160 warships and more than 80,000 troops; soon, it might double or triple this force, even increase it by four or five times; however, Reagan and his confidants have not determined whether the United States will dare to use or not use this force, have not determined how it will be used and have not determined the consequences. The lack of a strategic position means the lack of the lever needed to exercise power. The lack of this lever has faced the many military forces of the United States with the danger of being worth "practically nothing" in reality.

The new strategy of the United States emphasizes the need to restore the unity of the allies assembled behind the United States. Reagan and Haig constantly talk about an "understanding," about "exchanging opinions" and about "joint action" among the United States, the countries of Western Europe and Japan. However, the trade wars between Japan and the United States, between the countries of Western Europe and the United States and between Japan and the countries of Western Europe have, in keeping with the law of profit, become increasingly severe. Political circles in West Germany and France are still suspicious of Reagan's excessive flexing of his muscles, maintaining that Reagan's method of thinking is too simplistic, is politically naive and represents "the mind of a 13 year old child in the body of a 70 year old man mesmerized by the military power of the Soviet Union; U.S. Secretary of State Haig is nothing more than a rude and petty military officer! Despite grumbling by the United States, West Germany is still broadening its trade with the Soviet Union (up to nearly 10 billion dollars per year) and is maintaining its contract to buy more than 5 billion dollars worth of natural gas from the Soviet Union. The countries of Western Europe are still criticizing Washington's lack of clearheadedness regarding the Palestinian issue because of its consistent denial of the existence of Palestine as a nation; they are very cautious about the extremely large military presence of the United States in the Middle East and the Gulf of Iran, maintaining that they see no deterrence resulting from this presence, only the instigation of a larger anti-American movement in the Arab and Islamic countries of this region. America wants to persuade the countries of NATO to strongly increase their military expenditures under the guideline of "sharing the heavy burden"; however, Western Europe, France,

Belgium, Holland, Italy and so forth are extremely cautious. The feeling on the part of many segments of political circles in Paris, Bonn, Rome and so forth is for the United States to not compete or create excessive tensions with the Soviet Union but to maintain an international detente that benefits all sides. The new strategy of Washington is encountering caution, is being met with disdainful shrugs and even with reprimands and attempts to dissuade Washington from its new strategy on the part of the allies, who consider themselves to be wiser and more abreast of the times. It looks as though it will be a long time before Washington can assemble its allies so that all of them march to the order of the White House and the Pentagon!

The objective conditions mentioned above are the inevitable factors that will lead U.S. strategy to certain defeat. The poor ability to control the administration of Reagan himself and of his confidants, such as Haig, Weinberger, Allen and so forth makes it even more probable that the United States might make a subjective mistake in a specific domestic or foreign policy decision and, as a result, court even more serious defeats. Western opinion maintains that Reagan and his cohort are very ordinary persons who lack experience, are devoid of creativity and lack intelligence. It can be stated that the Reagan administration is a weak administration. The aggressiveness and arrogance of this administration are manifestations of panic, of the fear of defeat, of obsession with defeat.

To be sure, the new strategy based on strength proposed by the Reagan administration cannot reverse the situation, cannot successfully counter-attack the three surging revolutionary currents. Reagan intends to go down in U.S. history as a powerful president, as a great president! It will be as difficult for him to achieve this objective as it would be to thread the elephant of the Republican Party through the eye of a needle!

The iron laws on the development of the history of man and the strength of the united struggle of the three revolutionary currents of our times have been and will determine the bankruptcy of every American strategy. All previous strategies of the U.S. imperialists have met with bankruptcy. The same fate awaits the new strategy being formulated in Washington.

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