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Southeast Asia

Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 6, June 1989

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Renovating Cadre Evaluation

902E0036A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 1-3

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Huong, deputy head of the Organization of the Central Committee]

[Text] The resolution of the party's Sixth National Congress of Delegates clearly states that renovating cadre work requires renovating cadre evaluation, because evaluating the cadres is the decisive element in cadre work. Whether the tasks of promoting, reassigning, and rearranging the cadres, providing training, implementing the policies, and selecting probationary cadres for leadership positions both now and over the long term are carried out correctly depends on whether the cadres are evaluated correctly. Cadre evaluation affects not only cadre work but also affects each cadre personally. Thus, cadre evaluation is an issue in which the cadres, party members, and the masses are very interested.

Looking back at an historical process, because the cadre evaluation viewpoint of the party has been basically correct, the party has been able to score many achievements in selecting talented people and using the cadres. And because of this, the party's cadres have continually matured and the party's political tasks have been carried out successfully.

But along with the correct aspects, for many years and particularly today, party evaluation has exhibited various weaknesses and shortcomings:

First, there are major differences of opinion concerning cadre standards. In some cases, people even hold opposing views. The reason for this is that people's understanding of the lines and their understanding of socialism and renovation are different. Naturally, different views on cadres standards will lead to different viewpoints on cadre evaluation.

Today, one of the important elements of cadre standards is clear understanding and high resolve in implementing the renovation line put forth at the party's Sixth National Congress of Delegates. In evaluating cadres, this standard must be regarded as the leading standard. If there is unanimity concerning cadre evaluation, it will be easy to determine who really wants to carry on renovation, who is conservative, and who uses renovation for his own personal interests.

Cadre standards have not been maintained, and individual motives have been inserted in applying the standards. The cadre standards stipulated in the resolution of the Sixth Congress and the resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Sixth Term) are the standards by which to measure the quality and abilities of each cadre. It is essential that people hold to those standards. People have not understood the standards, and this has led to erroneous evaluations, which is a shortcoming. If individual motives are inserted into this, even greater mistakes will be made and even more damage will be done. Lack of understanding of the cadre

standards is often manifested by the fact that at different times, different aspects are emphasized in evaluating the cadres. There is a lack of unity. This deviation has resulted in cadres being promoted even though their work results have been poor and they have not carried out tasks suitable to their position. Some cadres have even been put in positions of responsibility even though they have less knowledge and ability than subordinate cadres.

The concept of a feudal hierarchy is still deeply embedded in a number of cadres, and this has resulted in their failing to understand the cadre standards. What is even more dangerous is inserting individual motives into the process of using the standards when evaluating cadres. A rather widespread manifestation of this is that cadre evaluations have not been disclosed publicly, and this has resulted in some cadres being given preferential treatment while others have been discriminated against and mistreated.

There is a lack of democracy in cadre work, and there have occasionally been serious violations. A very clear manifestation of this is in evaluating cadres. Even though the outside appearance is one of collectivity and democracy, in reality it is the people in power who make the decisions. This makes it impossible to use and implement the cadre policies correctly. Things are not done fairly or objectively, and the good and the bad are mixed. Once democracy in cadre work is violated, many negative aspects will arise, such as a fear of speaking frankly and a fear of being crushed and becoming ineffective. Also, there are a number of opportunistic cadres who have used this loophole for individual purposes. Those who evaluate cadres must be impartial and objective for the common good. But not everyone can fulfill this requirement. Individualism is present in all of us to some degree, but the degree differs from individual to individual. Thus, if democracy is not implemented fully and seriously, it will be impossible to avoid making mistakes in evaluating, assigning, and using cadres.

The work of managing the cadres and the ranks of those who organize the cadres has not been renovated. Because the cadres have not been monitored closely and people are not knowledgeable about the work of the cadres, cadre evaluations have been one-sided and inaccurate. An extremely important quality for cadres is loyalty. The resolutions of the Sixth Party Congress and the Fifth Plenum of the Party Central Committee (6th Term) clearly stated that to renovate cadre organization, the first task is to renovate the ranks of those involved in cadre organization from the central echelon to the primary level. Although the ranks of those engaged in cadre organization are basically good, their level of knowledge is low and not in accord with the renovation requirements. There have also been manifestations of individualism and a lack of loyalty, which has affected objectivity in evaluating the cadres.

Evaluating cadres correctly is difficult, because this is a science that concerns understanding people. There is an

old saying to the effect that "Only if you stay awake will you know how long the night is and only if you live to old age will you know loyalty" and "find the right man in the right place." Evaluating a cadre correctly takes time. Selecting cadres with good morals and adequate talents is a process of examining things very carefully and in great detail. In the coming years, there will be a shift from the generation of cadres who have been trained and tested in the revolutionary period to the generation of cadres who have matured during subsequent periods. This transfer between generations of cadres has the nature of a law. It is very important and will determine whether the renovation of the country succeeds or fails. This can be ensured only by renovating cadre evaluation. Only by renovating cadre evaluation will it be possible to find cadres with the moral qualities and talents to replace those who preceded them and find cadres who are worthy of the trust of the cadres, party members, and masses.

Renovating cadre evaluation does not mean simply renovating methods and procedures. Rather, this must start from renovating people's understanding concerning quality standards and the knowledge and capabilities of the cadres in renovation, because renovation requires that the cadres, particularly the leading cadres, have good political quality, intellectual capabilities, and practical organizational talents. If they lack one of these factors, they will not be able to carry out the work effectively. Quality and talent go hand in hand. You can't emphasize one and ignore the other.

Renovating cadre evaluation must also be related to implementing democracy and openness in evaluating cadres. Evaluating cadres is difficult. Because of this, this cannot be based on the ideas of just one individual. This is a collective task. Implementing democracy in cadre work in general and in cadre evaluation in particular must be regarded as a matter of principle. Only in this way will it be possible to eliminate negative aspects and errors in evaluating the cadres.

Another important task to ensure the renovation of cadre evaluation is to renovate cadre management. It should not be thought that organizational cadres always understand cadres fully and objectively. Those who understand cadres the best are usually those who are directly involved in managing the work and assigning tasks to the cadres and masses subordinate to those cadres. If cadre management does not rely on the ideas of the people who truly understand the cadres, there will not be an adequate basis for evaluating the cadres correctly. Another important requirement of renovating the ranks of organizational cadres is to improve the standards of these cadres and replace those who lack capabilities and who cannot satisfy the requirements of the present renovation movement.

In the next 3 years, the cadres will have many tasks to do. They must provide support in preparing for the various echelon congresses and the party's Seventh National Congress of Delegates. They must also prepare the ranks

of cadres in order to carry out the transfer of leading cadres. These great tasks can be carried out successfully only if we have a correct viewpoint on evaluating cadres and correct methods of selecting cadres.

The Agricultural System

902E0036B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 4-9

[Article by Dao The Tuan, instructor and academician]

[Text] Recently, the application of a systems concept to study the expansion of agriculture has grown more and more rapidly. This trend toward integrated research has been promoted for two reasons:

Concerning scientific methodology, analyzing things and dividing a problem into smaller parts in order to study the matter in depth has caused researchers to forget the overall picture.

In practice, separating each aspect and each factor has led to one-sidedness and dead ends, and it has not been possible to achieve the results desired.

In agricultural production, expanding one production sector or focusing on one factor of development has made it impossible to achieve the results desired. This is because agriculture is a complex system, and its development depends on a combination of complex factors.

The Agricultural System

Within the agricultural system are biological systems (crops and animals), activities based on the laws of biology (exchange of energy and matter), and economic systems (business activities) such as enterprises in which activities are carried in accord with economic laws. These two types of systems are interwoven, because every activity contains the two aspects of a problem.

In actuality, the agricultural system is a unified system consisting of two subsystems. But to date, these have always been studied separately.

1. The agricultural ecosystem is an element of the natural ecosystem. It consists of living things (plants and animals) and an exchange of energy and matter with the natural surroundings and generates the primary yields (crop growing) and secondary yields (animal husbandry) of the ecosystem. The main difference between the agricultural ecosystem and the natural ecosystem is that the agricultural ecosystem is influenced more by human activities.

2. The socioeconomic system consists primarily of human activities in producing all the material goods of society. The agricultural economic system is part of the national economic system in general, and the rural social system is a part of human society in general. The rural socioeconomic system includes both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Recently, some people have

said that the agricultural system includes all the non-agricultural activities in the rural areas (industry, construction, communications, trading, services, and so on). There is an exchange of energy and materials between the agricultural-rural system and the industrial-urban system. The activities of the agricultural-rural system are influenced by the state's policies on agricultural, rural area, and economic matters in general.

Another viewpoint is that the activity structure of the agricultural-rural system is a combination of the activities of the peasant households. The economic system of the peasant households is actually a complex economic system consisting of many production sectors and many economic activities, such as production, processing, supply and demand, and credit. Besides the peasant households, there are also cooperative activities among the peasant households through the collective economic organizations (cooperatives).

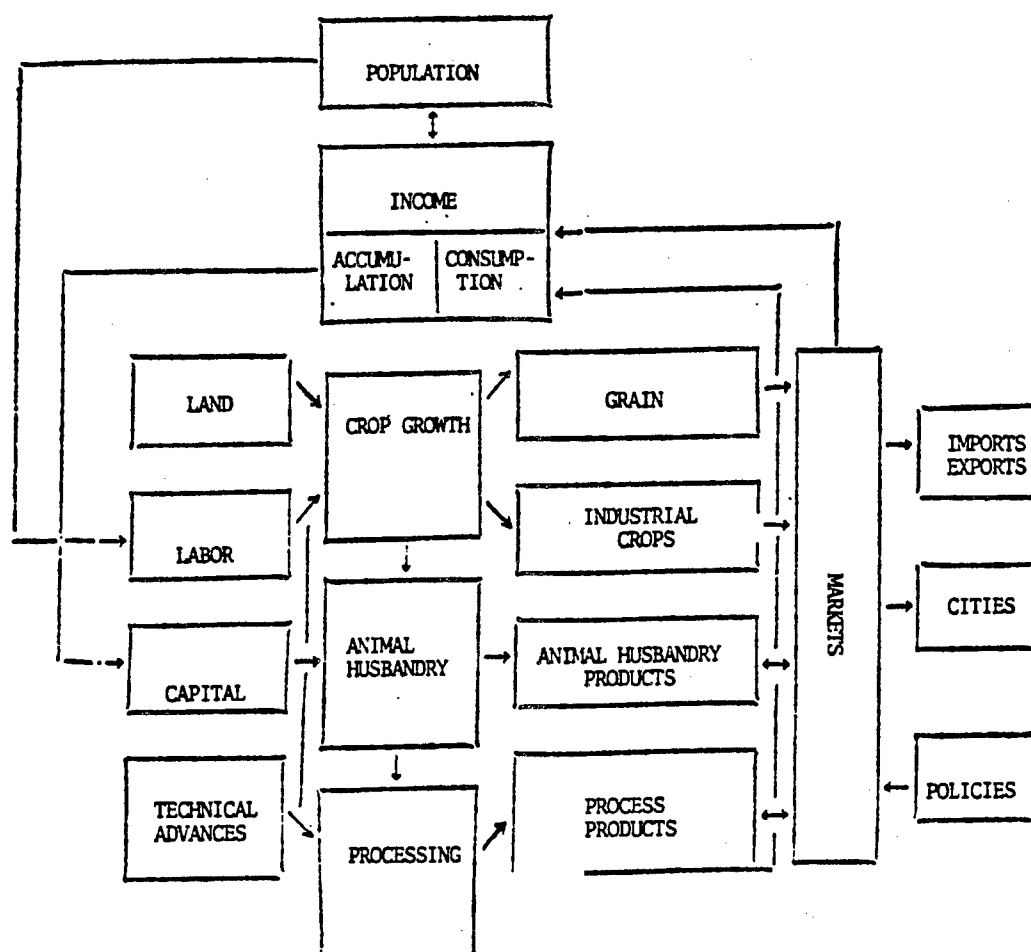
Because of this, the agricultural system differs from the agricultural ecosystem in that in addition to the surrounding environment and biological factors, it also

contains socioeconomic factors. The following is a model of the agricultural system as we see it:

Expanding Our Country's Agriculture Based on a Systems Viewpoint

In the past period, our country, like a number of other developing countries, has used the development strategy known as the "green revolution" strategy, focusing on a number of key agricultural products, that is, rice, wheat, and corn. This has been done by concentrating investments on a number of important development factors that are easy to improve, such as high-yield varieties, water conservancy, chemical fertilizers, and insecticides. This development method can be carried on in only a number of areas having favorable conditions. But these technical advances are not suitable for those areas where the ecological conditions are difficult, such as drought and floods and poor soil. In the favorable areas, yields have almost reached their upper limit. The cost of agricultural materials has increased, and this has reduced the investment results and slowed the rate of development.

MODEL OF THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM



To step up agricultural expansion in the coming period, we must look for another development strategy that is suited to the difficult ecological conditions, that does not demand large investments, and that will generate good economic results.

In the developing countries, the population and labor growth rate (approximately 3 percent a year) is high, and industrial expansion cannot absorb the increased number of laborers. Thus, as agriculture expands, agricultural labor increases, too. The techniques that we use today are mainly capital-intensive techniques that require few laborers. These are the techniques of advanced countries that have much capital and few laborers. As a result, unemployment has increased during the process of development.

The main contradiction in the development of our country's economy today is that the rate of development must be fast, but our investment capabilities are limited. To resolve this contradiction, we cannot look just to foreign investment, because these capabilities are limited. We must discover and mobilize sources of strength within the system. These sources include:

Arable land: The arable land must not be developed extensively by opening additional areas but intensively by relying on multicropping and intensive cultivation.

Labor is a major source (based on the experiences of the East Asian countries), but we still regard this as a difficulty.

The capital of the people: To date, we have not mobilized much of this capital. This is because we lack a policy. We have allowed the people to consume much, and accumulation has not achieved good results.

Technical advances suited to difficult ecological conditions and labor-intensive technology that requires little capital and that will save energy must be used.

The purpose of mobilizing these sources of strength in an integrated manner is to use the "systems effect," which we feel is the basis of the new agricultural development strategy. According to systems principles, the synchronized, coordinated, and organized effect of the factors can generate a much greater effect than the sum of the individual effects. This characteristic of the system is referred to as "emergence," which is often used in economic management.

The operation of the system must aim at hitting the specified targets. In our agricultural system in the past period, only one main target has been set, that is, to have high yields, particularly high grain yields. Because of this, everything possible is done to hit this target regardless of this price. No attention has been given to other targets necessary for the development of the system. Normally, a system has many targets. Some of the targets

are in conflict and some are in harmony. The relationship between the targets must be resolved correctly in order to enable the system to develop in a satisfactory and convenient manner.

To develop the agricultural system in our country, the following targets must be hit:

1. There must be a high but stable rate of expansion. Usually, these targets conflict with each others, because in many cases, raising yields reduces stability. Actually, if the yields of a system are not stable, this will greatly reduce the rate of development. One of the laws of ecology is that the more varied the system, the greater the stability. Thus, creating a more varied system will increase stability without conflicting with high yields.

2. We need high yields, but this does not refer to yields in general but to yields of agricultural products. Thus, the target of the system is to have an agricultural surplus. At present, our agriculture has a self-sufficient nature. We must promote commodity production. Promoting processing and expanding the markets will stimulate the production of commodities.

3. Our country's agriculture must not only produce sufficient grain but also produce many export products. Grain and agricultural export products often compete with each other for area and investment capital. However, experience has shown that if there are export products, not only will this production not conflict with the production of grain, but this will stimulate the production of such agricultural products as winter vegetables and subsidiary food crops and animal husbandry products. The strengths of labor-intensive agricultural systems in the world are the cultivation of vegetables and the raising of livestock.

4. In order to solve the surplus labor problem, jobs must be created for the peasants by increasing the number of crops per year, promoting animal husbandry and processing, and expanding occupational sectors in the rural areas. To create many jobs, occupations requiring little capital must be expanded, and techniques requiring much labor must be applied. Creating more jobs will create the conditions necessary to increase the rate of development.

5. The average rate of increase in peasant incomes affects mobilizing laborers and increasing capital accumulation for expanding production. In the present situation, this problem cannot be solved by increasing the prices of agricultural products, because increasing prices will cause inflation. The way to increase the incomes of the peasants is to increase integrated incomes by making production more varied, increasing the value of the products by expanding processing, and utilizing the technical advances in order to lower the cost of producing agricultural products.

In that way, the agricultural system will have a system of targets. Coordinating these targets will strengthen the system and cause the system to expand rapidly.

In the coming period, our country's agricultural system must reach a rapid rate of expansion, mainly by mobilizing the internal strengths of the system and maintaining the system mentioned above through self-reliance instead of relying on outside influences.

The following are guidelines for arranging the agricultural system based on the spirit mentioned above:

1. The Crop Growing Sector

The crop growing sector is the key sector in the agricultural system. Its structure determines the activities of the other sectors.

In the past, the crop growing sector expanded rapidly in the favorable areas thanks to the techniques of the Green Revolution. But recently in these regions, yields have begun to stagnate or even decline. In the difficult ecological areas (areas with floods, droughts, and acid and saline soil), there has not been any clear development, and these areas still lack suitable technological advances.

In the coming period, we have two possibilities for expanding crop growing:

To promote intensive cultivation in the difficult ecological areas by relying mainly on varieties of rice and subsidiary food crops that are suited to these conditions (varieties that can withstand saline and phosphoric soil, drought- and flood-resistant varieties, and varieties that require little investment capital).

To increase the number of crops per year in the favorable and relatively favorable areas by relying on the technological advances concerning subsidiary food crops (in the north, winter crops).

To expand crop growing in the coming period, we must rely mainly on "system effects" by rearranging the crop system in accord with the arable land conditions and different water systems. We must rely on systems of rice varieties suited to the ecological conditions and vary crop growing production. Drawing farming maps is the basis for doing this. We must apply the integrated technical advances in order to fully exploit the advantages concerning nature and labor and make effective use of the investment capital. Varying the crop varieties and types of crops is another measure to increase the system's stability. Besides this, we must use a percentage of varieties that are resistant to harmful insects and diseases in order to reduce the amount of money spent on pesticides.

The subsidiary food crops crop rotation pattern, with two rice crops during the winter season, must somehow be arranged to hit the following targets:

Provide additional grain through processing.

Expand animal husbandry in order to aid crop growing.

Provide exports in order to import additional technical materials.

In the heavily populated areas, varying production will create the conditions necessary to step up intensive cultivation and increase grain yields.

2. The Animal Husbandry Sector

Our country's animal husbandry sector is presently achieving poor economic results. It does not have the characteristics of commodity production and is aimed mainly at making use of agricultural by-products.

To expand animal husbandry in order to create additional jobs, increase the incomes of the peasants, and help expand crop growing, steps must be taken to turn animal husbandry into a commodity production sector. Today, the incomes of the peasants are still low, as is the demand for meat. Thus, livestock must be raised for export. The labor-intensive agricultural systems such as those in China and Taiwan rely mainly on exporting meat. Looking at our country's animal husbandry system, it can be seen that the amount of grain consumed to produce one weight unit of meat is very high. The reason for this waste is that the animal feed lacks protein, the herds of boars and sows are too large, and the breeds of pigs have too high a percentage of fat.

To improve the animal husbandry system, we must apply the following synchronized and integrated measures:

Produce additional feed rich in protein (soybeans) along with corn. Organize the processing of supplemental feed in order to balance the feed among the families that raise hogs.

Do a better job of organizing artificial insemination, increase the reproduction capabilities of the sows, and organize veterinary work better.

Replace the fatty breeds of hogs with leaner breeds of hogs.

The animal husbandry system also includes chickens, ducks, geese, buffaloes, cattle, and goats. These animals must be studied based on a systematic viewpoint in order to make improvements and increase results.

3. The Processing and Occupational Sectors

Expanding the occupational sectors in the rural areas will have a major effect on expanding agriculture, because that will help to provide additional jobs and increase the incomes of the peasants. This will also create sources of investment capital in order to expand agriculture, because the occupational sectors usually have higher labor productivity than agricultural production.

In addition to the sectors that are related to industry and small industry, attention must be given to expanding agricultural processing and using the raw materials of agriculture, because this will stimulate the expansion of agriculture. Processing the agricultural products will increase their value. This is a sector that can be greatly expanded, because there are no limitations concerning

raw materials. Because the techniques used in processing subsidiary food crops consume little energy and use simple equipment and because this can be done as a cottage industry, a subsidiary food crops (manioc, sweet potatoes, potatoes, and corn) processing system has been formed. This has stimulated the cultivation of subsidiary food crops, reduced animal feed production costs, stimulated market expansion, and created a very strong systems effect.

4. The Management, Circulation, and Distribution System

The most important target of the agricultural system is to have high commodity yields.

Regarding the division of labor between the peasant households, today's agricultural production practices of the peasants have a great effect on the proportion of agricultural commodities. Today, at the cooperatives, not every peasant household is proficient in crop growing. Expanding processing will make it possible to effect a redivision of the labor. If the fields are turned over to those households skilled in crop growing, crop yields will increase and the percentage of agricultural commodity products will be higher.

Putting the cooperatives in contact with the markets will also stimulate commodity production. The majority of

the peasants are unfamiliar with marketing practices. The cooperatives must serve as middlemen to help the peasants distribute their commodity products and supply them with sufficient agricultural materials and essential consumer goods. The policy of the state also plays an important role in stimulating commodity production. The prices of agricultural products, the agricultural products and materials exchange rates, tax and bank interest rates, and the rate of exchange must be determined in a rational manner in order to encourage the peasants to step up commodity production. The form used to mobilize the capital of the peasants is another important measure to expand production. Because of this, credit activities must be improved, and capital contributions using stock must be organized.

The peasant households have engaged in production, processing, trading, and credit activities in the past. Thus, in today's agricultural system, there must be such activities. The state must return these functions to the peasants and help them carry out these functions. If this is done, better results will be achieved.

Ecological Economics

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 10-13

[Nguyen Van Truong; article not translated]

The Problem of Ownership in Socialist Construction

902E0036C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 14-18

[Article by Le Huu Nghia, Associate Professor, MA in Philosophy]

[Text] Today, the process of reform and renovation in the socialist countries (including our country), has encountered a fundamental problem in the theory and practice of socialism. I am referring to the problem of ownership of the means of production. The reform and renovation movement has exposed our shortcomings regarding viewpoints on ownership in a socialist system. Thus, in order to carry out reform and renovation successfully, we must change many of our theoretical viewpoints concerning socialism, among which is the matter of socialist ownership.

In Vietnam, during the 2 years since the Sixth Party Congress, the matter of ownership has undergone many changes. Along with the positive changes, which have stimulated production, the ownership problem has also given rise to many complex phenomena. There are many problems that must be solved, and a number of deviant tendencies have arisen.

Thus, there must be a more basic and deeper understanding of the problem of ownership under socialism. This will contribute to a better understanding of socialism, which in turn will create a scientific basis for formulating policies and measures to build and manage the economy in accord with our country's present socialist path.

As we know, in the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote that "communists can summarize their theory into the following single formula: eliminate private ownership."¹ With this, Marx and Engels pointed out the basic difference between communism and capitalism, saying that a system of public ownership must be created concerning the means of production and that steps must be taken to abolish private ownership—the source of the division of society into antagonistic classes, of the system of human exploitation, and of other social evils. However, we have not understood or applied the ideas of the Marxist classics correctly. We have failed to see that eliminating the system of private ownership and establishing a system of public ownership are long-term tasks that do not depend on our subjective wishes but on the level of development and developmental requirements of the production forces. Because of this, the system of public ownership cannot be implemented fully during the transitional period and the period of socialism. This is because establishing a system of public ownership must proceed from the bottom up and from the simple to the complex.

Our understanding of the problem of ownership has been full of mistakes. For example, our view of public ownership has been one of the "bigger and purer, the better."

We have regarded public ownership as a goal in itself and as the standard by which to measure the superiority of socialism. We have viewed all-people ownership and state ownership as identical. We have made state ownership absolute, ignored other forms of ownership, and viewed production relationships as being identical to ownership relationships. Because of this, after altering the old form of ownership and establishing a system of public ownership using the state enterprise and collective forms, we have regarded this as having completed the establishment of the new socialist production relationships. We have also viewed the reform of individual ownership as being identical to establishing cooperatives. The consolidation of the new production relationships has been viewed as synonymous with the expansion of public ownership. We have stressed changing ownership relationships concerning the means of production and slighted solving the problems of organization, management, and distribution measures. Thus, we have actually ignored the problem of ownership, which has made it impossible to consolidate the system of socialist ownership. This is because production relationships form a system composed of many relationships: ownership relationships, management relationships, and product distribution relationships, in which ownership relationships are the foundation. Ownership relationships are at the center of production relationships. Bringing these into existence and manifesting them externally must be done through the management and distribution relationships. Without correct management and distribution relationships, socialist ownership will be distorted and eroded as has happened in here and in fraternal countries. Conversely, having correct management and distribution relationships will strengthen socialist ownership and manifest its superiority. Not only will the system of socialist public ownership be recognized in law, but what is even more important, it will have real contents. Thus, slighting management and distribution relationships is the same as slighting ownership relationships.

Ownership relationships are an element of production relationships. Thus, solving the ownership problem must be done in accord with the laws of production relationships and in accord with the nature and level of the production forces. Previously, we wanted to eliminate private ownership quickly and establish state and collective ownership. But we did not consider the level and developmental requirements of the production forces. The nature and level of development of the production forces are not subjective elements that follow people's wishes no matter how good their intentions. People can't simply stipulate an ownership system, an ownership structure, forms of ownership, or an ownership scale. Even in socialist conditions, as long as private ownership continues to play a positive role in the development of the production forces, it will continue to exist in various spheres to a certain degree. A particular form of ownership will continue to exist as long as it can help expand production. Thus, recently, the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries have permitted the restoration

and development of a number of ownership and economic forms, such as individual economy, contracting, household contracts, and stock, that had previously been eliminated.

Rushing to eliminate non-socialist forms of ownership and establish socialist ownership will not only fail to stimulate the production forces but will also retard or even destroy the production forces. Previously, a widespread phenomenon in our cooperatives, factories, and enterprises was that the laborers were separated from the means of production. They were not concerned about the property or the results of production. Corruption and theft were rife. In this situation, the system of public ownership transformed socialist property into ownerless materials and so no one was responsible for this property. As a result, the superiority of socialist ownership depends on whether it is in accord with the production forces, on whether it can create formulas to coordinate the laborers with the means of production, and on whether it can generate high productivity, good quality, and good results.

In order to expand the production forces, there must be a direct effect on the production forces and on the production relationships, because the production relationships are the social form of production. The production forces can develop in a favorable manner only if there are suitable production relationships. It is improper to separate production relationships from the production forces. Today, our country is in a period of transition, and there are still many economic elements. Because of this, there are still many forms of ownership. The existence of various forms of ownership stems not only from the special characteristics of the transitional period but also from the uneven standards of the production forces in the various regions and sectors and from the fact that the requirements for exploiting the potential of the economy vary. Today, there are economic spheres in which the state enterprises are not as productive as the collectives and in which the collectives are not as productive as individuals. Private ownership can still stimulate production and contribute to improving the standard of living. Thus, we cannot focus solely on all-people forms of ownership and slight other forms. If they are in accord with the laws of the state and the requirements of social development, contribute to exploiting the country's potential, stimulate production, and help improve living conditions, all forms of ownership are beneficial and can remain in existence.

The various forms of ownership do not exist in isolation, separated from other "on different sides" but have a mutual effect and overlap each other. They compete with each other and are linked to each other. The process of linkage and struggle between the various forms of ownership is basically controlled by laws of economics. Consolidating and manifesting the guiding role of the state economy does not mean annexing the other economic elements and making them a part of the state economy or limiting the other economic elements. Their

various forms must be adjusted to the ownership, management, and distribution systems, and the economic management mechanism and policies must be renovated in order to "loosen up" things for them and put the non-socialist economic elements in the socialist orbit. To do this, the state economy must be active, effective, and profitable. The inferiority of the state economy as compared with the private economy is not predetermined. Above all, in order to renovate and expand the state economy, it must be "opened" by renovating the management mechanism, developing the independence of the enterprises, renovating the economic and social policies, and renovating state economic management and commercial production management. The state economy must grow and seize control of the key positions in the national economy. It must gradually increase its percentage in the economy. It must increase productivity, improve quality and results, and set an example for the other economic elements. With the exception of a number of enterprises that produce key products in the national economy and that require the support of the state, the other state economic bases must strive to handle things themselves, expand on their own, borrow money on their own, accumulate capital, revise the production, circulation, and distribution plans, and coordinate things and compete with the other economic elements in order to grow. The state must implement a policy of giving priority to the state economy, but it must not give state subsidies or do anything to create dependence on the state.

In order to develop a multi-faceted socialist economy, the state must "take stock" and check all the economic elements. Through doing this on a regular basis and implementing various economic policies such as tax, price, credit, and currency policies, the state will stimulate the economic elements to follow the socialist path.

Using the transitional economic forms correctly is very important. Through the use of these forms, we will be able to vary the ownership forms and create intermediary ownership forms by coordinating the various forms of ownership: state with collective, state with individual, collective with individual, and state with collective and individual. Thus, we must implement means of production contracts in the state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, contract forms, forms of public enterprises and banks, and joint public-private enterprises. These are vital forms for solving the ownership problem and mobilizing sources of capital for production. Contributing capital, carrying on commercial production, sharing the profits, and guaranteeing the interests of all parties will help attract sources of new capital for the high-profit production sectors and expand commodity production.

The ownership problem cannot be separated from the matter of economic profits. Economic profits are a part of ownership relationships, and at the same time they are a manifestation of the ownership relationships. Thus, if the profit relationships are not appropriate, the ownership relationships will have a formal nature, and they

will be eroded. On the other hand, if the ownership forms are changed, it will be impossible to guarantee profits. The matter of economic profits is a socio-economic problem that is closely related to the labor activities of man and to the formulas for manifesting the existence and social nature of man. Profit relationships play a central role in the formation of the contents of labor relationships. Thus, the reaction of people to the profit problem is a very sensitive matter. If the profits of a particular person are not maintained, that person will be indifferent about public property and lack a sense of responsibility concerning social ownership. Thus, in order to elevate the spirit of responsibility of the laborers with respect to social ownership, this responsibility must be linked to their economic interests. Social interests must be linked to collective and individual interests. Interests must be guaranteed not only for society in general but also for each individual and for the lives of each person. This is because when the means of production belong to the laborers, with respect to social class, it is not just class interests that are being guaranteed but the interests of each individual.

In order to guarantee the interests of the laborers, they must become the real owners. The constitutions and laws of Vietnam and the other socialist countries state that all property and power belong to the laboring people. But what is written in the laws and what exists in fact are not always identical. Something that is rather widespread in many socialist countries is that the laborers are separated from the means of production. There are even cases in which the means of production are "usurped" under the name of collectivization and socialist public ownership, which means that people have actually lost their ownership rights. This will give rise to bureaucratism, special privileges, and usurpation of the means of production. The laboring masses will not be masters of the means of production, and their democratic rights will be violated. Thus, the ownership problem is also tied to the problem of democracy, and because of this, in order to democratize social life, the ownership problem must be solved.

In a society with a state and basic formulas, in order to objectify society's recognition of the rights to the means of production and products of the laborers, there must be laws, above all laws concerning ownership. In this, it is necessary to stipulate the principles of action in relationship to the means of production. With the credentials of a legal sphere, ownership can be viewed as a relationship of man's ownership of materials. Only through theoretical analysis can we see behind the relationship between man and materials, which conceals the relationship between man and man, the medium of which is materials (mainly the means of production). With the credentials of an economic sphere, ownership is a reflection of the relationship between man and man in the production process. This means that ownership must lie within the activities and be tied to use. If it isn't, it will not be living ownership. In societies built on a system of private ownership of the means of production, the laborers do not own the means of production but must use the means

of production to produce goods for the exploitive class. On the other hand, in a socialist system of public ownership, the laborers are both the users and owners. But in fact they are the owners with the credentials of members of a class and of laborers. They are not owners with the credentials of labor collectives or individuals. Not unexpectedly, public ownership is often explained as common ownership of everything, with nothing belonging to any one individual and without any individual interests. Thus, actual conditions and suitable forms must be created so that the laborers will become the owners in fact, pay attention to the property and production results of the enterprises and cooperatives, and manifest the capabilities and elevate the sense of responsibility of the labor collectives and individual laborers in implementing the ownership rights and participating in managing and distributing the fruits of the labor. The ownership themes in all-people ownership must include many themes, not just one theme, with the state representing unity. Steps must be taken to ensure that the property belongs to everyone and to each collective and individual and that collective property belongs to the cooperatives and each cooperative member. This is the only way to avoid "ownerlessness" and "indifference."

Footnote

1. Marx and Engels, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, vol. 1, p 559.

Socialism and Intellectuals

902E0036D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 19-21

[Article by Nguyen Dang Quang, editor-in-chief of GIAO DUC LY LUAN]

[Text] What is the position of the intellectuals in scientific socialism?

You can search for an answer in the school textbooks on scientific socialism. Those books discuss many topics: socialism and war, socialism and religion, socialism and the family, and so on, but there is no chapter, not even a subsection, on the problem of socialism and the intellectuals. Has modern socialist theory forgotten the problem of intellectuals?

In order to be certain, we looked in "primary" sources such as "C. Marx and F. Engels, Development and Expansion of the Theory of Scientific Communism" by B.A. Tsa-ghin (Progressive Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, in Vietnamese) and "Scientific Socialism—Excerpts from the Classics" published by the Marxist-Leninism Textbook Publishing House. But we did not find anything in these books about this. Even those books that discuss loyalty and the ideals of the founders of scientific socialism do not contain any chapters on "Socialism and the Intellectuals" or "Marx and Engels on Intellectuals." Is this because they assigned only a

minor role to intellectuals in forming and developing scientific socialism and in building the new society?

I would like to set aside those two questions until the organizations responsible respond. Below, I would like to present my views on the matter of socialism and the intellectuals.

Scientific socialism has its roots in modern economic relationships and in the class struggle of the proletariat. But according to Lenin, socialism and the class struggle appear simultaneously, and the one cannot exist without the other. They start from different preconditions. The precondition of scientific socialism is a profound understanding of science, and those who understand science are the intellectuals, not the proletariat class. Thus, socialist awareness is an outside factor that has become part of the struggle by the proletariat class. It does not arise spontaneously from this struggle.

Based on this observation, we are forced to re-examine the relationship between scientific socialism and the proletariat and intellectual classes. Ever since it was formed, scientific socialism has been closely tied not only to the proletariat class but also to the forces of genuine, progressive, and revolutionary intellectuals. Modern socialism was created by a number of these people. And it has been reviewed throughout by revolutionary intellectuals in every country where scientific socialism has become a part of the revolutionary struggle of the laboring people of the world. Everywhere, it is the youths, students, and intellectuals who are the most enthusiastic about and the first to accept the socialist theories developed by Marx and Engels. This is an historical truth. But for various reasons, this has not been explained adequately or correctly. It seems that if the emphasis is placed on this, this is contrary to the proletariat viewpoint, because intellectuals are always regarded as members of the petty bourgeoisie who vacillate and who must be reformed by the proletariat. The most extreme manifestation to occur in a socialist country was when intellectuals were forced to go into the rural areas to be reformed by the poor peasants. Is such a policy in line with Marxism-Leninism?

Scientific socialism does not place the proletariat (manual laborers) in opposition to the intellectuals (mental laborers). In a letter sent to the International Congress of Socialist Students in 1893, Engels wrote: "You must strive to make youths realize that an intellectual proletariat must be formed from the ranks of students both alongside and within the ranks of its friends, the handicrafts workers. The mission of this class is to play an important role in the coming revolution."¹ He said that the "liberation of the working class requires the participation of doctors, engineers, chemists, agriculturists, and other specialists. The problem is that the task of winning leadership rights is not reserved just for the political apparatus but for all elements of social production. There must be firm knowledge, not boastful arguments."²

After the October Revolution, Lenin posed the matter in line with Engel's viewpoint on the relationship between socialism and the intellectuals.

Thus, in scientific socialism, the problem of the intellectuals occupies just as important a position as the historical mission of the proletariat class and the problem of the worker-peasant alliance, and that is without mentioning the issues of family, religion, and so on. The great and rapid changes during the past century have given the problem of the intellectuals an even more significant position requiring the development of new concepts.

We all know that thanks to two great discoveries made by Marx—the concept of historical materialism and the concept of surplus value—socialism has become a science. These two points have spawned new factors and changed the position of the problem of the intellectuals.

Today, science (including both technical science and social science) has become a direct production force. This means that more and more intellectuals are directly tied to the worker class in the process of social reproduction. As Engels predicted, the intellectuals and workers are standing shoulder to shoulder within the same ranks.

With the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the developmental tendency of the world is to advance gradually toward an economy of intellectuals in which the surplus value created by the physical laborers is declining while the surplus value created by the activities of intellectuals is increasing. For example, in some countries, the contributions by the information sector account for up to 40 percent of the national income. Thus, it is the intellectuals who are creating a greater and greater share of the surplus value. In capitalist societies, they are exploited just as much as the manual laborers.

The changes mentioned above, which represent a turning point, require us to renovate our thinking about the problem of socialism and intellectuals. The two social forces that were once separate now form a single, unified force: a intellectual-worker force, or worker-intellectual force. The theory of scientific socialism must give attention to this great turning point. If it doesn't, it will become outdated.

To date, real socialism has appeared only in countries with an average or very backward level of development. What is lacking and the greatest difficulty in these countries is a cultural standard. Lenin wrote: "We know that socialism can be built only by using the cultural elements of capitalism, and the intellectual class is one of those elements."³ In these countries, to overcome poverty and backwardness and build socialism, the role of the intellectuals in socialism must be understood correctly. If the problem of the intellectuals is misunderstood, the attempt to build socialism will fail and things will be slow and backward.

Seventy years of building socialism have taught us important lessons on how to deal with the relationship between socialism and the intellectuals. In the revolutionary process, there is often a conflict between politics and the intellectuals and between the leaders and the intellectuals. Every time that this is handled incorrectly, the conflict creates even greater problems for the revolution and for the creative energy and contributions of the intellectuals. There are many reasons for the mistakes, and these are often related to the specific circumstances of each country or revolutionary period. But in my view, the main reason is that we have not formulated the question of intellectuals in scientific socialism correctly. According to the explanations given in books and in the lectures given at school and in theory classes, it seems that the only problems in scientific socialism are the problems of the proletarian class and the peasant class. The problem of the intellectuals is ignored or mentioned only when discussing policies on dealing with or using intellectuals. The problem of socialism and the intellectuals cannot be simply converted to social policies on intellectuals.

This problem concerns the nature of scientific socialism, because the theory of scientific socialism is a crystallization of the intelligence of mankind.

This problem has to do with other problems that are decisive for the survival and development of socialism—both in theory and in practice—because socialism on the threshold of the 21st Century must keep up with capitalism with respect to intellect, humanism, and democracy.

The problem of the intellectuals is also of great importance to socialism as mankind steps into an industrial civilization. This is a problem that requires "retrospective and renovation."

Footnotes

1. Marx and Engels, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, pp 6, 552, 553.
2. Ibid.
3. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, pp 37, 266.

Improving the Quality of Theoretical Research

902E0036E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
No 6, Jun 89 pp 22-25

[Article by Do Nguyen Phuong, deputy director of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] Ever since the Sixth Party Congress, theoretical research has made notable progress. However, we still don't have projects of suitable range, and we have not reached theoretical conclusions capable of satisfying the requirements of revolutionary realities, of the renovation movement, or of ideological activities in the party and throughout society. Improving the quality of the theoretical research projects must be regarded as a leading concern, above all of the theoretical research organizations and of those involved in theoretical work and the social sciences.

On the other hand, it must be realized that never before have the conditions for theoretical research been so favorable as they are today. The demands that the party and revolution have posed for theoretical work are a strong motive force for the scientific organizations and theoretical researchers. The varied "orders for social goods," which are not easy to fulfill, provide a vast space for researchers to manifest their intelligence and talents if those people really do have confidence. Furthermore, the party has not just made demands. By expanding democracy and openness, by promulgating renovation policies using basic guidelines, and by expanding ideological freedom and democratic debate, the party has opened the way and created a more favorable social environment for theoretical research. The important thing is that from the revolutionary practices during the stage of renovation after years of slowness, people are now beginning to investigate and study things. This provides a vital and varied source of materials for research activities. If the ranks of scientists and the theoretical research organizations are organized well, the methods are adjusted to realities, and research is carried on properly, I am sure that excellent results will be achieved and that this will contribute to developing the party's theory.

It is not easy to correctly evaluate the quality of Marxist-Leninism theoretical projects. The standard of truth is reality. This point does not require any further discussion. However, an important question is why it is necessary to evaluate the quality of a project instead of waiting for the test of reality.

A theoretical conclusion arrived at through the research process has value only if it can solve a problem of revolutionary practice or of life. This is the Number 1 requirement of theoretical activities. Articles and papers removed from reality and actual life have no connection to the ideological activities in the party or society and will not be of any benefit. Using Lenin's mode of speech, only when theory "becomes reality," is necessary to reality, and can be applied to and tested by reality will

theory be worthy of its role. To reach that point, theoretical researchers must be properly trained. They must grasp the methodology of dialectical materialism and have revolutionary courage. They must also have high moral qualities, a party spirit, and a real sense of civic responsibility.

Theories don't have to give specific answers to every problem posed by reality. Only the leading organizations, managerial agencies, and people engaged in practical activities have sufficient information and the necessary conditions to do that. They must provide the leading organizations and cadres with fundamental theoretical conclusions to provide help in formulating a methodology for understanding and solving specific problems. And within limits, theories can make predictions about the direction of socioeconomic and ideological development. This is the most important thing to leaders. Today, the general level of theoretical understanding of our cadres and party members has increased notably. The most effective way for theory to manifest its social role is to implement theoretical scientific projects to stimulate and guide people and encourage them to think and study things. Naturally, this is not justification for allowing theory to become too abstract or stop at general conclusions.

Theoretical research projects must contribute to developing the party's theory. We all know that in leading socialist construction, in actuality, the party must have a theory of scientific socialism with respect to targets, contents, lines, and paths. That theory must constantly be supplemented and developed. Some views are correct in general but need to be made more concrete. Some views must be revised so that they are in accord with the changing situation, and some views are outmoded and need to be abandoned. Moreover, many new problems have arisen. These need to be studied and analyzed carefully. Theoretical work must participate in all of these processes and in scientific work concerning these things.

Theoretical research must also contribute to the ideological work of the party. Thus, every product of theoretical research must have an effect as a propagandist, agitator, and weapon to defend the party. They must encourage renovation, stimulate the positive factors, criticize deviation, and oppose manifestations of negativism. The theoretical research projects must contribute to illuminating the targets and paths chosen by the party and people, preserve the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, affirm the leading role of the party, and criticize manifestations of vacillation, vagueness, and pseudo-science. Marxist-Leninism theory is self-critical by nature. It is the product of an ideological-theoretical struggle against distortion and anti-scientific theories.

In order to improve the quality of theoretical research, the main direction of research must be determined. Our research efforts must be concentrated on the problems of the transitional period in our country, particularly in the

economic sphere. But this does not mean giving attention only to the "points" and ignoring basic research. In order to solve the urgent problems, we must become deeply involved in studying the basic theoretical problems: what is socialism and from where are we starting.

The fundamental principles, the viewpoints and guidelines, and the major policies for the renovation process mentioned at the Sixth Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Sixth Term) are both the basic and pressing problems of theoretical research on the present period of transition to socialism in our country.

The renovation movement itself is a target that must be studied. It will not be possible to carry out all-round renovation unless we have clarified the following questions: What is renovation? Is making renovations synonymous with correcting mistakes? What is to be renovated and what is to be passed on? On what guidelines and principles should renovated be based? What are the factors holding back renovation? What conditions will ensure that renovation succeeds? How can you have "change [doi] without newness [moi]."

Running throughout this research process is the dialectical law on unity between the general and the particular of the socialist revolution in general and renovation in our country in particular. Here, deviations on one front or another have led to theoretical errors, dogmatism, and subjective voluntarism. Studying the problems of the transitional period and of the new turning point poses a great challenge for stability and depth in maintaining the dialectic between the general and the particular. What is similar and what is different about renovation in our country as compared with reform and renovation in fraternal countries? If one thing is different, there may be many different answers. It is essential that theoretical and ideological activities have a correct understanding concerning processes and standards.

The process of making renovations and improving the quality of theoretical research is a process of restoring and adhering to the motto of relating theory to practice and curing the diseases of abstractness and scholasticism. Those engaged in theoretical research must take the lead in opposing bureaucratism and in resisting the tendency to abandon reality and remain aloof from life. If we remain aloof from reality, it will not be possible to fully understand the urgency of the problems or set standards for research work. The breath of life and sympathy for the aspirations and suggestions of the laborers are the sources of life and development of revolutionary theory.

Reviewing the progressive examples is a very effective theoretical activity. As we know, based on the experiences of the Communist Labor Friday, Lenin posed many very important theoretical questions. One of the reasons why Marxism-Leninism is so strong is that its founders gave great attention to reviewing both the successes and defeats of the communist and international worker movements. As for us today, it is essential

that we review practices. It is through these specific practices and activities that theory can be checked, corrected, supplemented, and developed.

Democratizing theoretical activities and increasing ideological freedom are particularly important conditions for improving the quality of theoretical research. Facing the complex problems of social life and revolutionary reality, it is not easy to make correct judgments right away. During the process of searching for and discovering things, mistakes may be made. And erroneous ideas may nevertheless contain a few rational elements. Only through frank and open exchanges of opinion based on a scientific spirit will we be able to find the truth. Respecting the ideas of the scientific organizations, realizing that it is normal for scientists to make mistakes, and eliminating the concept of having a monopoly on the truth and refusing to listen to views different from your own—that is what is meant by a democratic atmosphere. This is the most favorable environment for the development of theory. However, the development of Marxist-Leninist theory requires great stability concerning the class concept in both conducting research and holding debates. This is based on the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory is the world view of the working class and the tool that serves the interests of the laborers. Viewpoints that deviate from the working class viewpoint will become senseless not only with respect to their goals but also in terms of the scientific credibility of those views. Democratization and free debates in theoretical activities is not synonymous with unrestricted arguments concerning non-constructive ideas. Lenin stressed that "debates should be held only with the right people based on Marxist theory, and the goal of these debates should be to discover the truth. The basis for carrying on a proper debate is loyalty to socialism and a resolve to stand on the side of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie."¹ As for the limits of debate, Lenin said: "Solving problems by saying that 'that is the end of the argument' is not correct. But theoretical debates are one thing. The political line of the party and the political struggle are another matter entirely."² More than anyone else, those active on the party's theoretical front must have a clear concept concerning those boundaries.

Just as in other scientific spheres, the quality of the theoretical research activities will be good only if the party and state pay adequate attention to all aspects, that is, to clearly defining viewpoints concerning the relationship between politics and science and between lines and theories, to setting the direction of research, to organizing coordinated forces, to providing information, and to solving the problems concerning policies, the material base, and research expenses.

To ensure that theoretical research achieves results, it is important to conduct surveys and follow the theoretical achievements of fraternal countries. Naturally, those achievements must be accepted selectively and analyzed in order to apply them creatively to the specific conditions of our revolution.

Footnotes

1. Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, pp 36, 300.

2. Lenin, "Bibliography," PP 43, 122.

Post-Harvest Work and Solving the Food Problem in Our Country

902E0036F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 26-30

[Article by Le Doan Dien, Ph.D.]

[Text] Food is the leading problem in the world. The amount of useful food depends not only on crop yields but also on harvesting, storage, processing, and use formulas. The world agricultural sector can be divided into two stages, pre-harvest and post-harvest, with each stage having its own special techniques. Post-harvest activities are responsible mainly for solving the problems having to do with preservation such as field harvesting, threshing, winnowing, drying, classifying, purchasing, transporting, and storing and processing agricultural products in order to maintain and improve their quality.

In the pre-harvest stage, poor harvests are a common phenomenon, and many measures have been devised to prevent this in a timely and effective way. Because investments have been made on many fronts, because progressive techniques (new varieties, fertilizer, insecticides, farming techniques, and so on) have been introduced, and because of the results of the first Green Revolution, gross agricultural production in the world has doubled during the past 20 years.

During this period, in many countries, particularly the developing countries, there have been many poor harvests because of the failure to give the proper amount of attention to the post-harvest stage. With respect to the various types of grain, the World Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) has estimated that in the developing countries, 5-30 percent of the grain is lost after harvesting. Using a figure of 10 percent, in 1984 alone, almost 180 million tons of grain (worth approximately \$18 billion) were lost. That was enough to feed 818 million people. In Vietnam, assuming that wastage averages 10 percent (the figure is actually higher) and that we produce 15 million tons of rice a year, we waste 1.5 tons million (which is the equivalent of 1.02 million tons of uncooked rice), which has a value of approximately \$255 million. As for tubers (sweet potatoes, manioc, and potatoes), assuming that wastage averages 20 percent and that yields average 1.5 million tons, each year we waste approximately 300,000 tons (the value of which is \$25 million).

Besides the quantitative losses, there are also notable losses in quality. The various toxins caused by various types of micro-organisms when products are stored improperly can be very harmful to both people and livestock. Poor-quality agricultural products cannot be exported, or they must be sold at a loss.

Thus, many countries have given attention to the post-harvest stage. They have, for example, invested capital, equipment, and manpower and organized research agencies. In the United States, for every 100 people engaged in pre-harvest activities, there are 172 people engaged in post-harvest activities. In the Asia-Pacific region, in 1981, the FAO and the UN Development Project formulated a zonal project: "post-harvest techniques and quality control for all types of grain." Thirteen countries, including Vietnam, participated in this project.

In Vietnam, we have been trying to solve the food problem for many years now. However, we have concentrated mainly on the production stage, that is, the initial stage of producing products. Little has been said about the later stages of the agricultural products production process, that is, the post-harvest stage. Because of this, we have not invested in or built a material and technical base, done research on this, or applied the scientific and technical advances to the post-harvest sphere, particularly to processing and maintaining the quality of the agricultural products. As a result, the products processed from our agricultural products are limited in quantity, there are only a few types available, and the quality is not very good. We do not make efficient use of our agricultural waste products and by-products. The storage work does not maintain the results of the harvesting. Processing does not stimulate production. Production, storage, processing, and distribution and circulation are all closely related to each other, and they can help each other develop. But because the post-harvest stage has not been handled well, the organic relationship and interconnected production chain has been severed, with the result that agriculture here has not expanded in all respects.

We must have good techniques and measures and suitable equipment in order to store and process the agricultural products so that we can reduce wastage as much as possible and improve the quality of our agricultural products, particularly grains. In a speech delivered at the Sixth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh said: "Steps must be taken to reduce the great loss of grain. Reducing the 'inside losses' is one way to increase grain yields. I think that more effective measures must be implemented on this front."¹

In order to make effective use of the grain and reduce wastage, I would like to propose a number of ideas:

1. The position and importance of the post-harvest stage in our country's agricultural system must be determined correctly not only in bringing about awareness but also in investing capital, equipment, and manpower. There must be policies and mechanisms to stimulate the activities in this stage, and there must be measures to organize and implement things. This is a very complex problem that has both a scientific and technical nature and a socioeconomic nature. Because of this, scientific and technical and economic and social tasks must be carried on in a synchronized manner.

2. The post-harvest stage consists of many interrelated tasks. This is because not only the managing sectors but also all the sectors are related to each other. This includes machinery, materials, energy, and chemicals. Besides the central organizations, the local organizations and people must participate in order to create an integrated strength sufficient to solve these problems. Specifically:

The storing and processing of agricultural products must become work practices of each peasant family just like their field work. They must carry out the slogan "households storing and processing."

Suitable storage and processing techniques that require little capital and energy, that are easy to use, that are highly effective, and that are in accord with our country's present conditions must be selected.

A suitable and flexible scale must be selected. In particular, attention must be given to small-scale groups: families, clusters of families, cooperatives, and associations of villages.

Four things must be coordinated: Traditional techniques used by the people for generations must be coordinated with progressive techniques, particularly in those localities with the necessary conditions in order to create goods of high economic value and to support life and exports. Handicrafts, semimechanization, and mechanization must be coordinated. There must be coordination between the state and the people. Finally, there must be coordination between preliminary processing and industrial processing. The preliminary processing of agricultural products must be carried on in the broad rural areas and different ecological zones of the country. Full use must be made of the rich and varied agricultural labor strength in the various areas with the aim of producing semi-finished products (such as manioc starch and sweet potato flour) that can be used to bring about greater independence and end the feast or famine situation and the arbitrary grading and pricing situation that has occurred frequently in recent years. Industrial processing must be carried on at the provincial and central factories in order to make effective use of the semi-finished products, that is, the products that have already undergone preliminary processing, in order to produce food products of high quality and high commercial and nutritional value. These products must meet the needs of the consumers. Prices must be fair, and the goods must be in line with consumption patterns. They must be easy and convenient to use. It must be possible to store them for long periods, and a balance must be maintained concerning energy and protein. Coordinating things as discussed above will create an integrated strength combining the strengths of many sectors. This will help us succeed in carrying out all the post-harvest tasks, above all processing and storage, particularly with respect to subsidiary food crops. Coordinating preliminary processing with industrial processing, meaning coordination between the rural areas, the cooperatives, and the factories at the district, provincial, and central levels, and

selecting suitable product plans to support eating patterns and replace a portion of the rice with subsidiary food crops will help make storing, processing, and using subsidiary food crops one of the work practices of peasant households. Including subsidiary food crops in the food pattern is very important if we are to solve the food problem in our country, particularly in the northern provinces. On one hand, this will save foreign currency now spent on importing rice and enable us to avoid the difficulties now encountered in transporting grain from the south. On the other hand, processing subsidiary food crops will make it possible to expand the production of subsidiary food crops that are now declining because of our inability to distribute them.

I feel that putting subsidiary food crops into the food pattern must be accomplished using three formulas: directly, indirectly through the animal husbandry sector, and exports. Depending on the conditions of each locality and area, the degree to which these three formulas are implemented will differ. However, in order to ensure the success of these three formulas, the selection of techniques and product plans is very important.

3. There must be close and cordial coordination between those cadres involved in pre-harvest activities (selecting crop varieties and livestock breeds, using farming and animal husbandry techniques, engaging in veterinary work, and so on) and those involved in post-harvest activities (storing, processing, and improving the quality of agricultural products, carrying out circulation and distribution tasks, and so on). The purpose of this is to close the production process and coordinate things between the two stages in our country's agricultural sector in a way that will be highly effective economically and provide the best support for the three major economic programs. For example, processing soybeans (in the post-harvest stage) into products of high nutritional value (maintaining the proper balance among the amino acids and limiting the non-nutritious substances as much as possible) requires that the geneticists who select varieties (in the pre-harvest stage) create varieties of soybeans with a high protein content and a high sulfur-containing amino acid content, particularly methionine. At the same time, the lecithin content and amount of "tripsin" and other substances that affect vitality must be reduced.

In many cases, the activities carried on in the post-harvest stage have a positive effect on the activities carried on in the pre-harvest stage and can even change the crop growing allocation and seasonal patterns in a broad ecological zone to satisfy the requirements of the post-harvest stage.

4. In processing food, a major problem that must be mentioned is that of forming a flour industry in our country. Only if we have flours (including flours made from various types of legumes) will it be easy to process industrial foods that are balanced in terms of energy, protein, and essential amino acids. This will open up a new sphere in the use of grains. Only by building a flour

industry will we be able to put subsidiary food crops into the grain structure and save rice for the national grain reserve fund.

5. Improving the quality of the agricultural products must be regarded as the "red thread" of activities in the post-harvest stage. In conditions in which our country still lacks food, we must stress quality and use that to formulate measures to overcome the difficulties stemming from shortages. In the animal husbandry sector, for example, if poor-quality feed is used, we must use 7-8 units of feed to increase the weight 1 kg. But if we use high-quality feed (feed that is balanced in terms of energy and protein), it will take only 3-3.5 units of feed to increase the weight 1 kg.

Storage and processing must be closely coordinated with the animal husbandry, fishing, and forestry sectors in order to narrow the natural processes. The animal husbandry and fishing sectors will use the waste products produced when processing agricultural products and food. At the same time, this will help control environmental pollution and balance the ecosystem.

6. There are a number of urgent tasks that must be carried out immediately in order to reduce grain wastage:

On storing and transporting grain: Urgent action must be taken to repair and improve or import storage equipment and materials for the existing system of storehouses in the country. Plans must soon be made to build a system of storehouses in the southern provinces from the provincial to the primary level. Measures must be implemented to do away with the temporary system of open-air storehouses. The first step is to manufacture or import suitable special-use equipment for transporting grain by water or land in order to prevent wastage and maintain the quality of the grain.

On milling: Equipment must be manufactured or imported in order to maintain the production chains of the large mills in the northern provinces. The production chains must be rearranged for the large rice-hulling mills in the southern provinces. The entire system of small milling machines in use in the country must be renovated. Bran and "phoi ngo" oil pressing techniques must be developed quickly in order to press 40-50 percent of the total amount of bran.

On processing: About 20-30 percent of the processed grain products must be used in the food pattern. Integrated use must be made of the broken rice, subsidiary food crops, and legumes, and these must be made part of the food patterns in order to actively reserve paddy to build a reserve grain fund. Technology and sets of equipment must be imported in order to process a number of goods of high commercial value to support exports. Various types of preliminary processing techniques must be introduced into the rural areas in order to create stable sources of semi-finished products and to support the grain processing industry on a larger scale.

On quality: Laws must be promulgated about grain quality control and quality management, and quality norms must be included in grain prices (the price of rice and other agricultural goods must be based on the quality level). The product quality control system must be restored, and standards must be developed in the grain sector. The manufacturing and control of grain measuring tools (scales, weights) must be unified nationwide. A number of modern types of equipment must be imported to support quality control and standardization work in the sector.

On investments: In order to facilitate carrying out the above tasks, the grain sector must make suitable investments concerning capital, equipment (particularly special-use equipment), energy, and cadres (particular in providing training). This will require the active participation of many sectors. Comparing investment expenditures and losses during the grain storage process, it can be affirmed that investments in the grain sector are just a very short-term response. The money will be repaid promptly when losses during the storage and transportation processes have been reduced to a minimum. Furthermore, renovating the techniques and equipment used in the grain sector will contribute to solving the grain problem in an all-round way and to fulfilling the two major norms of an expanded agriculture: create sources of foreign currency revenues and improve the quality of the agricultural products. The new economic policy of the party and state on economic elements authorizes the mobilization of large amounts of capital from both domestic and foreign sources for investment in renovating technology and equipment in the grain sector.

The time has come when we must build a rural industrial sector that is strong enough to form a foundation on which agriculture in our country can expand quickly in all respects. Rural industry and socialist agriculture must go hand in hand and be both tactical and strategic in nature in building the new rural area and building socialism in our country.

Footnote

1. See TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4, 1989, p 9.

Thoughts From the Midlands

0000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 31-35

[Pham Ngoc Thu; article not translated]

Individualism and the Struggle To Overcome It

0000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 36-40

[Nguyen Chi My; article not translated]

The Prestige of Leaders

902E0036G Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 41-43, 49

[Article by Tran Ngoc Khue, MA in Philosophy]

[Text] 1. The prestige of our leaders was formed and has been solidified and increased due to several basic conditions: their positions, their qualities and capabilities, the confidence that lower echelons and the masses have in them, and the personal attractiveness of the individual.

First of all, the positions of the leaders (through appointment by higher echelons or from elections) is one of the most important conditions of prestige. Ordinarily, the higher the position and greater the person's power, the more he is able to increase his prestige.

However, in reality, there are also many leading cadres in high positions of great power whose prestige is very low or even nonexistent. In this situation, they have either abused their powers and positions or failed to use their powers correctly, that is, they have not done things to benefit the work at hand. In such a situation, power does not become a condition of real prestige but is used as a tool to maintain and protect the position and interests of the leader or his friends. Thus, a condition of prestige has become the reason for a loss of prestige. If these people are not removed from their positions, they will have only "false prestige." They will be officials in name only.

Thus, along with position, the prestige of leaders is also closely tied to the qualities and capabilities of that individual. Every position requires that the person who holds that position possess certain qualities and talents.

In reality, the match between a person's qualities and talents and his position is of relative importance. The requirements of a job usually increase, and changes occur depending on the specific circumstances. Thus, qualities and capabilities cannot remain static but must always be improved and perfected.

The third essential condition of a leaders' prestige is the confidence that people at higher echelons, the same echelon, and at lower echelons have in the person. The greater and stronger this confidence, the more likely it is that the prestige of the leader will increase. Unless a firm basis is created for this confidence, the higher the person's position and the greater his responsibilities, the greater the imbalance will be.

Here, confidence is not simply a psychological or emotional factor. It is a closely related element in the organizational relationship and can become a real force in the implementation of the decisions. In reality, there have been cases in which higher echelons have had confidence in leaders and given them high evaluations, but the masses has not agreed. There have also been cases in which leaders have had false prestige, because of their "demagogic" skills. In such cases, higher-echelon

leaders must be alert and look for the real reasons in order to learn the truth about the prestige of the leader.

Another condition that is essential to gaining prestige is the personal attractiveness of that person. The appearance and bearing of a leader always draws attention. An air of honesty, dignity, intelligence, and generosity are all attractive features suitable for those in positions of leadership, and they can benefit the person in his work depending on the nature of the sector and unit.

The four conditions discussed above are all closely related to each other, and they help each other build the leader's authority and confidence.

2. The need to improve the leadership capabilities and combat strength of the party in line with the revolutionary tasks in the new stage is directly related to solidifying and increasing the prestige of the leading cadres, particularly the key leaders at the various echelons and sectors. Solidifying and increasing the prestige of leaders must be done through a series of specific problems such as making serious self-criticism and criticism, using and correctly handling the formative and developmental relationships of prestige, being open and democratic in cadre work, manifesting the capabilities and exemplary behavior of leading cadres in actual operations, and so on.

Serious self-criticism and criticism is a very important element in the renovation process of each organization and each person. Above all, through engaging in self-criticism and organizing things for the masses to make criticisms in conjunction with examining public opinion, leaders must accurately evaluate their prestige and the prestige of those in their group. If they evaluate their prestige incorrectly or are satisfied with their prestige, it will be difficult to implement practical and effective measures to maintain and increase their leadership prestige. Serious self-criticism and criticism is one of the factors necessary for examining oneself, protecting one's prestige, and adjusting relationships based on the leader's personal signs and measures of prestige.

If a leader's prestige has declined or he has lost all prestige, the best and fastest way for that person to regain his prestige is to engage in serious self-criticism. Through self-criticism and criticism, the leader must accurately determine why he has lost prestige. The reasons can all be overcome if the leader engages in serious self-criticism, honestly solicits criticisms by the masses, and has the will power to study and train to overcome his weaknesses. The closeness, confidence, and mobilization of the masses is just as important as that of higher echelons and always plays a decisive role in generating real prestige for a leader.

The ability to solidify and increase prestige depends on the leader's attitude toward self-criticism and his willingness to accept the ideas and criticisms of the masses. This measure is also extremely important in cases in which a leader has shown serious shortcomings or suffered bitter defeats.

Solidifying and increasing a leader's prestige is also closely related to the correct use and handling of the formative and developmental relationships of prestige. It can be said that a leader's prestige will increase slowly or drop very quickly depending on the circumstances. If a leader promotes or protects a subordinate cadre who has real talent and good qualities, his own prestige will increase. But if he decides to promote or protect a person of little ability and no quality, his prestige will drop. This is difficult to overcome if the leader regards prestige as something that belongs to him and that it is there to serve his own interests.

The reverse situation is often difficult to see. What people need to watch is how the leader disciplines or criticizes others. When a leading cadre disciplines or criticizes a subordinate cadre with the intent of damaging his prestige, the prestige of the leader himself will decline very quickly.

Leaders must be positive, active, and understanding, and they must make correct use of the various factors that have a mutual effect in the formative and developmental relationships of prestige. This is the only way for the prestige of leaders to sink deep roots among the masses.

Restoring, solidifying, and increasing the prestige of a leading cadre is tied closely to opening up and democratizing all work fronts, particularly organizational and cadre work.

Prestige is not the personal possession of a leader and so higher echelons and organizations must take responsibility for protecting and maintaining the prestige of leading cadres. They must explain and clarify the important problems so that the masses can understand and evaluate leaders correctly. Without the help and protection of the organization and party committee echelons, in many cases the prestige of cadres would decline as a result of erroneous understanding, destructive plots and slander, and other reasons. This is also a very effective measure for opening up and democratizing things. The prestige of leading cadres can be maintain, restored, and increased only if each individual has a sense of responsibility and is resolved. But that individual must also have the protection, control, and help of organizations, collectives, higher echelons, and his colleagues.

Today, there are many people who feel that all they need is the trust of higher echelons and that how the masses and lower echelons feel about them is unimportant. There are also people who do everything they can to win the confidence of lower echelons and the masses so that they will have sufficient votes when higher echelons use the "vote of confidence" method. It is easy for both of these types of people to slip through the sieve of openness and democracy if these are merely formal in style, if there is a lack of education and tight organization, and if the higher echelons and key leaders who have high prestige and a real desire to get at the truth lack astuteness.

In principle, it is the masses subordinate to a leader who will make the final judgment about the prestige of that leader. Thus, leaders must solidify and increase their prestige by staying close to a particular organization and unit and by ensuring that the tasks assigned to the unit are carried out. Real prestige must be affirmed through real activities and through concrete manifestations of renovation in the thinking and work behavior of the cadres.

The prestige of a leader is not only a problem that is directly related to the leader himself but also a problem in which all leaders are interested, because leadership is the place to foster the trust of the masses.

Prestige must become an important standard of integrated nature for all the leaders. If they lack prestige, they cannot remain in their position of leadership. The prestige of a leader can be compared with a brilliant gemstone that both soaks up the rays of the sun and reflects light. It must be maintained and protected like the valuable assets of a collective and must not be allowed to grow dim or become lost.

Power and trust are two aspects of prestige that are closely related to each other. These two aspects nourish and help each other to enable leaders to complete their tasks. The higher the position and greater the power of the leaders, the closer they must be to the people, the more they must love the people and have their respect, and the more they must know how to use their power to do things that will benefit the people and the country.

The prestige of leaders must become the renovation action strength of the forces who represent the new tendency. This is the real strength of leaders who have will power and talent.

Continuing Reform in General Education

902E0036H Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 44-49

[Article by Nguyen Quang Vinh, MA in Economics]

[Text] Since the revolution on 8 August 1945, the system of general education in Vietnam has been changed several times in order to satisfy the need to train people in accord with the situation and tasks in each stage. The present educational reform movement has been underway for 8 years (now up to Grade 8), and a number of results have been achieved. However, there are still a number of fundamental problems that have not been solved. These include the targets and requirements of each level of general education, how the various educational levels should be organized, how many years of general schooling are needed, and on what basis the above problems should be examined. If these key problems are not solved, I am afraid that our efforts to develop and reform education will encounter obstacles and difficulties.

I think that educational reform and general education should be placed within the framework of three basic relationships in order to examine and evaluate things:

First, the country's economic situation and the requirements of development in the coming 10-20 years.

Second, scientific and technical development and the world economy during this period.

Third, the educational-training system (including general education, occupational training, vocational middle schools, and colleges) and the requirements of this system.

Our economy is presently at a very low level, and technology in the production sectors is generally very backward as compared with the world average. The material and technical base and the infrastructure are very poor and small. Even if we manage to generate capital and overcome the large obstacles so that the economy can expand, the next 10-20 years will still not see the development of large-scale industry here. But during this period, the population growth rate will remain high, and the number of unemployed laborers will be very high. Because of this, the economy must aim at creating many jobs, even simple jobs. Besides the jobs created by the state, the people must take steps to create jobs in order to live.

In this situation, the general education sector must carry out two tasks during the next 10 years. One is to discover and train talented students who have the capacity to become intellectual laborers. They must be turned into scientific, technical, and economic cadres with the ability to absorb the progressive knowledge of the world and contribute to transforming our country's economy. Such students account for only a small percentage of the general students. This percentage is determined by the objective development requirements of the economy. Second, preparations must be made to provide the great majority of students with an essential and general body of knowledge so that they are prepared to enter the labor force. This means training classes of laborers to ensure that they have a specific cultural standard. This is the greatest and most important task of the general education sector.

During the next 10-20 years, given our country's real economic capabilities, manual and simple labor will still be widespread. Productive labor and services in the five economic elements based on the state's guidelines for stimulating the economy are the general living guidelines for each person. Thus, along with providing general cultural knowledge, students must be educated and, what is even more important, conditions must be created to enable students to receive vocational training and participate directly in labor appropriate to their age. This will give students a concept of labor and familiarize them with labor so that they will join the labor force naturally and not regard manual labor as the path of last resort.

Science and technology are developing at a rapid pace throughout the world. The rapid internationalization of the achievements scored by countries has stimulated the development of science and technology. Scientific and technical circulation and cooperation is expanding. This has become a need of all countries, both large and small and both developed and underdeveloped. A special characteristic of science and technology in the coming decade and the 21st Century is that many multidimensional scientific, technical, and economic sectors will be re-examined, revised, narrowed, or even eliminated. Many new sectors will come into being. In such a situation, the underdeveloped countries that are following behind many other countries will by-pass the old type of industrialization and look toward the most modern scientific, technical, and economic directions. To do this, the scientific, technical, and economic cadres in these countries must have a broad knowledge. But based on this foundation, they must be specialists in a particular field.

In the face of these requirements, the system of general education must keep pace with the constant and rapid change in the situation and supply society with qualified students who can be trained and turned into people with the ability to use science and technology.

General education is the first element in the education-training system of a country. Because of this, the organizations, curriculum, and textbooks in the general education element must create a foundation for the three training elements that follow: occupational training, vocational middle school, and college. At the same time, general education is also at the disposal of the elements that follow and must act in accord with the needs of those elements. If students enter vocational schools, vocational middle schools, and colleges without the knowledge necessary to succeed in those schools, society will have to pay the price for the time and money wasted in training them and for the low quality of the school graduates. Thus, when talking about reforming general education, attention must be given to the organic relationship among the four elements of the educational-training system.

Based on the three relationships discussed above, looking at the educational situation of general students today,, everyone can see that the children are "overloaded," particularly at the general middle schools. The reason is that the general schools must teach every subject and avoid "skewed teaching." The daily curriculum is crammed with lessons. The majority of the students can't keep up with the lessons at school and must study many hours at home to pass the courses. Almost all of the subjects are tested subjects. Students have been turned into "fillers of exercise books." They do not have time to go into a subject in depth. This curriculum and this manner of teaching have had many bad side effects. To be regarded as excellent and progressive students, children have to work harder than they should. They have to study day and night and do not have time to participate in labor with their family. By the

time they have completed the three general levels, most of the students are 17 or 18 years old. During their transition from children to youths, few have ever had to do much labor. Thus, they are afraid of labor. They are lazy and do not value labor. Teaching students only a few things about labor is not enough to give them a concept of labor or familiarize them with labor. It is not easy for today's general students to accept or do manual labor. This is very worrisome with respect to these students, and it is an unfavorable situation in our country's present economic and social situation.

Because they must study many subjects and study all subjects equally, few general students have any liking or inclination for particular subjects. Thus, it often happens that "excellent" students, particularly students who are regarded as excellent "in all respects," do very poorly in college. Because they have no particular inclination, these students become very confused when they have to choose a major or a vocation. They don't know what suits them. The vocational orientation of the general schools is often very formal. It is imposed from the outside and is not an internal need of the students.

Although the curriculum of the general schools is quite difficult, it does not enable students to pass the examinations to enter vocational schools or colleges. At the general schools, the students have to study all subjects equally, but when they enter a vocational middle school or college, they are tested on only a few subjects. Most of the knowledge that students spent years studying in general school is of little use to them when they reach this level. Because of the need to concentrate on passing their examinations, few students have enough time to master the subjects. This is why general students have to "train for tests" and why many negative phenomena occur during the examination period. Those students who cannot obtain additional training or who have to engage in productive labor while attending school usually find it difficult to pass the examinations to get into a vocational school or college. Thus, during the times when entrance examinations are given, unless assistance and priority norms are given to the mountainous and remote provinces and to the children of ethnic minorities, almost all of those who pass the examinations will be students from lowland towns and cities. The case in which not one student from a district passes the college entrance examination is not unusual. It is also very rare to find a student who is engaged in productive labor and who has also managed to do an excellent job in school.

Because they must study day and night (particularly at general middle school), students do not have time to spend much time with their families. Parents do not have time to chat with their children about various matters and do not understand their children. In many families, children will say anything when they don't know something. In such a situation, it's impossible to implement the motto "coordinate the schools with the families" in education.

Besides this, if they want to do an excellent job in all subjects, besides not having time to participate in labor, students do not have time to play or engage in recreational activities. Childhood is a very dull and monotonous period. If they want their children to do well in school, parents often have to forbid their children from playing and force them to devote their time to their studies. The present curriculum and the teaching methods used in the general schools are two of the causes of this situation.

Thus, we must continue to reform general education so that it is in accord with the country's economic conditions and to ensure that the products of the schools can satisfy the needs of production and life.

In my view, level I and II general schools need to provide students only with an average amount of cultural knowledge in accord with the intelligence, constitution, and physiology of the majority of the students ages 6-13. This knowledge should be sufficient to enable these children to work as ordinary but cultured laborers in the country's socioeconomic environment in the next 10-20 years. The purpose of this is to involve these children and youths in life as soon as possible instead of having them stay in general school too long, where they are removed from labor and the country's economic and social conditions. Because if they stay in school too long, they will be inexperienced when they go out on their own.

Children ages 6-13 must be allowed ample time to play. They must both study and play and develop their personality. They must have time to participate in labor within the family and should not have to devote so much time to their studies that they are removed from the social life and daily activities of their family. Students who go on to Level-III schools such not be exposed to so many subjects as at present. The schools should concentrate on those subjects that the students will need to pass the tests to get into a vocational school or college. Because they won't have to take so many subjects, even though they will go more deeply into certain subjects, the students will still have time to participate in labor in order to support themselves or help their families.

Labor and vocational subjects should not be taught in a formal manner, which will not have any effect. To do a good job, much money must be invested in building workshops, gardens, and fields. It is very difficult for labor education in the general schools to achieve the desired results. In reality, those who work diligently and who love labor are usually those who have grown up in a labor environment and regularly participated in labor ever since they were small. Thus, the most effective method for the schools is to improve the curriculum so that students will have time to participate in labor within the family beginning when they are very young. That is both an economic method and an effective and lasting method.

Based on these general ideas, I would like to propose the following specific educational reform plan:

1. In our country's economic and social conditions both now and during the next 10-20 years, Level-I education (through Grade 5) should be universal. Later on, reality will show us when Level-II education should be made universal.

2. The primary level general cultural curriculum (depending on whether it is Level-I or Level-II) should include the following subjects: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, literature, history, geography, and foreign language. These subjects must be regarded as core subjects that must be tested every term and at the end of the course in order for a student to advance to the next grade. Other subjects such as labor, ethics, physical education, music, art, and handicrafts should be treated as extracurricular subjects. They can be taught but should not be tested or used to determine whether a student is ready to advance to the next grade. These subjects are closely related to concepts, psychology, awareness, reason, virtue, and beauty. They are not simply intellectual knowledge like the core subjects. Thus, if these subjects are taught in an attractive and unaffected manner, this will have a great effect on the students and make a greater impression on them than if they are forced to study these subjects and are tested on them. Lectures on these topics should be coordinated with field trips and informal discussions with students' parents, cadres, troops, heroes, emulation warriors, social activists, scientists, artists and writers, teachers, and so on. Using this method of instruction, it won't be necessary to plan an extracurricular period every week and so more study time can be reserved for the core subjects.

3. After a student completes primary-level general school, from age 14 on up, children can go in one of three directions:

They can go to work with their families or they can go to work at a production, commercial, or service installation.

They can take the test to study at a vocational school in order to become elementary technical or professional workers or personnel. Students will spend 3-5 years at these schools depending on the vocation. They will have the time and conditions to engage in practical training until they have become skilled workers. After they graduate, they will have good skills.

They can take the test to enter a Level-III general school (I suggest that these be called special-sector general schools). These students have greater intellectual talents than other students and have shown an interest in the social or natural sciences. Thus, at this level, it is no longer necessary to provide instruction according to the

general curriculum. The curriculum should be specialized in order to prepare the students for vocational school or college.

At the special-sector general schools, there should be four fields from which students can choose: mathematics-physics, chemistry-biology, literature-history-geography, and foreign languages. In order to ensure that students have a broad general knowledge in each specialized field, besides studying subjects in their major, students must take a few courses in each of the fields as electives. Besides this, politics, current events, science and technology, and arts and letters must be included in the extracurricular curriculum of each field. Because they are taking a specialized curriculum, the students will have more time to study their major subjects in greater depth. The curriculum can be improved as compared with today's general middle school curriculum and better satisfy the requirements of the vocational middle schools and colleges. Students will need to attend special-sector general schools only 3 years.

After they graduate from a special-sector general school, depending on their aspirations and aptitudes, students can move in one of two directions. They can take the test to enter a vocational middle school or take the test to enter a college.

4. In order to keep up with economic and social realities and the rapid advances of science and technology, the general curriculum and teaching materials should not be used for more than one cycle. (Here, "cycle" refers to the period extending from the lowest grade to the highest grade in the general education system.) If the curriculum is changed after every cycle, at the end of the first cycle and the start of the second cycle, there will be two curriculums at a general school. Only at the end of the second cycle will all the students who have taken the old curriculum graduate. Thus, if the curriculum is changed after every cycle, in actuality, each curriculum will be used for two cycles before it is replaced. If the same curriculum is used longer than this, the schools will be very backward as compared with the requirements of reality. Thus, we must follow the country's economic and social situation and the scientific and technical advances closely in order to supplement and revise the textbooks and improve the curriculum constantly. When necessary, the way that the general education system is organized can be changed. Educational reform is an on-going process.

The Problem of Building a Marxist-Leninist Psychology*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 50-56***Lessons To Be Drawn From the Widespread Decline in the Prices of Goods in March and April 1989***902E00361 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 57-61*

[Article by Vu Ngoc Nhung, dean of the Faculty of Credit Currency, Ho Chi Minh City Banking College]

[Text] After more than 20 years of continuous inflation, for the first time we have witnessed a widespread slowdown in business as compared with the purchasing power. There has been a widespread decline in the price of both imported and domestic goods. Based on data on 12 types of goods disclosed weekly in NHAN DAN, I have calculated price indexes for March and April 1989 as follows:

Locality	March 1989			April 1989		
	Number of goods whose price remain unchanged or dropped	Number of goods whose price increased Index	Price (%)	Number of goods whose price remain unchanged or dropped	Number of goods whose price increased Index	Price (%)
Hanoi	5	7	102.9%	10	2	97.04%
Quang Nam-Danang	10	2	97.1%	7	5	87.0%
Ho Chi Minh City	10	2	96.3%	9	3	91.5%
Ha Nam Ninh	9	3	103.3%	8	4	99.1%
Mekong Delta ¹	4	6	102.3%	8	4	98.3%

The average price index for March 1989 was +0.4 percent and that for April 1989 was -5.4 percent. The accuracy of these indexes is proven by the fact that the price of many goods has declined while the price of only a few goods has risen. In particular, the price of gold in these five places declined between 3 percent (Hanoi) and 17 percent (Ha Nam Ninh) in March 1989 and between 12.5 percent (the Mekong Delta) and 22.2 percent (Ha Nam Ninh) in April 1989.

Thus, it can be affirmed that inflation has cooled and that after declining in value for 25 years, the Vietnamese dong has appreciated in price 30 percent as compared with gold. At a conference on trading with and investing in the three Indochina countries that was held in Thailand and that was attended by more than 800 people, people acknowledged the success that we have had in managing prices.

What lessons on fighting inflation can we draw from this very encouraging phenomenon? I think that there are four lessons to be drawn:

Have we put a stop to inflation and entered a period of deflation?

Inflation (Kt is greater than Kc) is characterized by widespread price increases because of a decline in the value of the currency as compared with gold—a type of money represented by currency—and as compared with the prices of commodities—except for manpower. Regardless of how bad the effects of inflation have been,

we have passed through various difficulties and injustices in daily distribution. But we do not have any experience with deflation (Kt is less than Kc). A French encyclopedia describes this as a loss of economic balance because of a widespread decline in the price of goods caused by a tight money situation, which gradually leads to economic recession and unemployment. According to the teaching materials used at the Banking College, this leads to difficulties in commodity circulation, stagnation in production, unemployment, and so on. A rather large number of workers have been through periods of unemployment because goods were not selling, and some have had to take a 30 percent cut in pay. Many enterprises have been through periods in which they have been unable to sell their commodities, a situation that we refer to as an "economic crisis that used to occur only under capitalism."

Under capitalism, such economic phenomena—the suffering that laborers had to withstand and the situation in which peasants in Nam Bo had to transport the rice themselves and sell it at a loss—caused people to worry about an economic recession. But we have ignored these things and have not viewed ourselves as responsible for causing such situations.

Thus, I think that it should be pointed out that although we have put an immediate stop to inflation by using "too strong a medicine," we have created the danger of a resurgence of inflation in the coming period.

The lack of necessity of a number of anti-inflation measures:

Looking at the measures mentioned in the four anti-inflation plans that were presented and discussed at the December 1988 conference on fighting inflation, it can be seen that some measures were implemented. But in the case of a number of other measures, inflation was ended before they could be implemented. Thus, reality shows that a number of the measures were not necessary, and there is no clear argument about what constitutes an effective anti-inflation mechanism. These measures include:

Freeze prices and wages: I once proposed promulgating a law to prohibit raising prices for 3-6 months—the tool of price freezes. But I now realize that this is just repeating the experiences of a number of capitalist countries. Freezing wages is just the reverse. At the beginning of 1989, there were several campaigns to raise wages based on a level of 102 or 120 times. In a period of light inflation, this could restore the real wages of the laborers without having to use budget subsidies. The enterprises and corporations could handle this themselves using their own incomes.

Limit credit: In a situation in which sources of credit are very limited, which is the situation in our country today, where per capita savings deposit averages only 2,300 dong (two bowls of soup), there is no need to limit credit. At the end of 1988, the total bank loan debt increased 49 percent as compared with June-August, but inflation moved from Stage 2 to Stage 1. The money supply increased 3.4 times as compared with 1987, but the level of inflation dropped from 20 percent a month to 7 percent a month by the end of 1988 and to only 0.4 percent (based on the figures I presented above) by March 1989. The banks and other credit organizations occasionally had to stop mobilizing capital from the people, because only a few people were borrowing money when interest rates were so high.

Sacrifice production to fight inflation: This idea was proposed in the Price Commission's anti-inflation plan, which was published in the March 1988 issue of VAT GIA. This needs to be mentioned, because the idea of fighting inflation regardless of the consequences to production was espoused by a number of department chiefs at the banking conference. This is a very dangerous idea, because it could lead to another round of inflation at a time when we need to find ways to fight inflation without affecting production. This is also the "advice" of capitalist specialists, who frequently try to force the developing countries to do this in order to weaken the economies of these countries, which benefits the imperialists.

Change the currency: This idea has been mentioned in a number of articles published in NGHIEN CUU KINH TE. Some people have proposed changing the currency by allowing each person to exchange a small amount of money at the rate of 1:1. The rest would be exchanged at a rate of 3,500 old dong for 1 new dong. What that

actually amounts to is destroying 3,499 out of 3,500 dong in order to reduce the amount of money in circulation (K_t) to only 0.03 percent of what it was. According to the law of currency circulation, prices would immediately drop by a factor of 3,000. If wages remained at their previous level, real purchasing power would increase by a factor of 3,000. Our experiences in changing the currency have shown that this is a poor way to fight inflation. This even led to high inflation in 1985. Thus, it must be affirmed from both the scientific and ideological standpoint that the only effect of changing the currency is an immediate distribution of the national income based on the old reform model. In we want to change the monetary unit, all we have to do is issue new banknotes and announce that they are worth 1,000 or 10,000 times as much as the currency presently in circulation (for example, a new 10-dong banknote would be equal in value to an old 10,000-dong banknote). Both currencies could be in circulation simultaneously until all of the old currency is finally removed from circulation when it becomes tattered. This is what Brazil did recently.

Methods that use too strong a dose and pose a danger:

The two methods that are too strong are:

1. With the price indexes shown above, the recent increase in interest rates is too strong a dose of medicine, because the real interest on certificates of deposit will rise to above 11 percent, which is 36 times higher than the world rate and 22 times higher than the rate of interest when there was no inflation in our country. Loan interest rates will exceed 5 percent, which is 10 times the world rate and the rate when there was no inflation in our country. What is strange is that interest rates on saving deposits will be twice as high as loan interest rates, which has never been the case anywhere in the world. The press has already said a lot about the bad effects of this. All I want to say is that when there are large quantities of goods in circulation (H)—looking only at state-operated and private stores, there are estimates showing that the rate will be 1-1/2 to 2 times greater than the previous year—the velocity of the currency (V) will be slower, because no one will be rushing to buy gold out of fear that the currency will drop in value. No one will buy reserves. When people need to purchase something, they will have to think first, because if they postpone the purchase by a month, their money can earn 9 percent. This necessarily causes K_c to increase (according to the formula $K_c = H/V$). But instead of increasing the amount of currency in circulation (K_t) accordingly, we have increased the interest rate on savings deposits, which has reduced K_t . Thus, the "excessive dose" of interest rates has led to deflation. (Deflation is not a reduction in the rate of inflation.) In turn, this has led to a weaker economy and unemployment. According to both textbooks and actual experience, deflation (K_t is less than K_c) is a violation of the law of currency circulation. Are people saying that these

stipulations have disregarded the law of currency circulation or that something else (such as Kt as compared with the national income) can be used in place of the law of currency circulation to manage the economy? This is a question that must be answered openly and in a communist spirit.

2. The large volume of imported goods in circulation has increased H. According to the new way of thinking, this is an effective way to fight inflation, because if you want to import a certain amount of goods, you have to export the same amount, even if it is gold. Gold is being traded as if it were an ordinary commodity. If the results of this prove to be correct, this will benefit the Soviet Union, because Soviet economists have predicted that "if inflation skyrockets, reorganization will go down in defeat."

But unrestricted imports are too strong a dose, too. At what level to set import duties is a burning question. Clearly, customs barriers must be used to protect domestic production and enable domestic production to make adjustments so that our goods can compete with foreign goods. Heavy import duties must be imposed, and duties must be imposed directly on retail goods, particularly imported goods. Using the surplus cadres in the organizations and the semi-employed workers to impose taxes on the inventories of imported goods is a way to fight financial inflation and distribute the income in a more equitable manner.

Measures not yet used but which must be implemented immediately in order to prevent another round of inflation:

One measure is to implement a monetary standard based on a number of types of goods. With this, we could immediately see today's level of deflation. At the very least, NHAN DAN should calculate a price index based on the prices of the 12 goods that are now disclosed monthly in order to avoid a situation in which decisions are made on interest rates without adhering to the latest price index or basing things on the erroneous figures of the Price Commission or the Statistics General Department. (At a conference of the chairmen of the provincial people's committees and bank directors that was held at the end of March 1989, I heard that although inflation was thought to be around 8 percent, when the decision on interest rates was signed, they used a figure of 5.5 percent, which is completely at odds with reality at the markets.)

Another measure is to manage prices based on indexes. This would force the Price Commission to calculate and predict a price index for each month. Surely this commission has a microcomputer to process prices in a timely manner and can survey the amount of commodities at the markets in order to predict changes in the price index for both the coming month and the coming quarter.

Measures to adjust the "doses," which are now too large:

The danger of deflation, recession, and unemployment has become clear and can no longer be argued. Thus, we must:

Immediately lower interest rates on savings deposits, with spreading propaganda about the decline in the rate of inflation being a very effective method. The rates must be gradually lowered about 2 percent. After that, they can be lowered 1 percent each month until they are lower than loan interest rates. People should remember 1985, when inflation was running above 80 percent a year but interest rates on savings deposits to purchase 5-percent grain in Ho Chi Minh City was able to attract a huge sum of money, approximately 1 billion dong in just a few months (which is the equivalent of 150 billion today). Steps must be taken to turn savings deposits into sources of credit. We must avoid the situation in which credit sources are limited but we still have to stop attracting savings because money is still being loaned at high rates of interest.

Loan interest rates must be lowered in accord with the rate of inflation. Today, which enterprises have a price ratio of 5.5 percent in order to pay interest to the banks?

Forcing the commercial banks to give a 20-30 percent reduction in the remaining debts on the order of the state bank must be stopped. To fight inflation, all that needs to be done is to stop increasing credit limits for the commercial banks. Lowering credit limits in order to compensate for the deficit in the first quarter of 1989 is an outmoded way of managing the economy that does not take into account the rapid changes in commodity circulation during the previous period. Issuing orders regardless of the laws and markets has had a disastrous effect on the economy and the country. This must be stopped as quickly as possible.

Changing from "presentation meetings" to "debates":

For a long time now, discussion meetings in our country have been mostly "presentation meetings," with people looking for a rostrum to express their own ideas. The debate in December 1988 organized by TAP CHI CONG SAN and the Department of Economics of the Central Committee avoided this to a certain degree. But it was still not possible to choose correct measures from the four plans presented at the meeting. The anti-inflation debate organized by the bank was actually a "presentation meeting." The data from the two debates were actually figures compiled from speeches or papers. Opposing viewpoints make readers nervous, because the thick books are boring. This is because no one knows which ideas are right and which are wrong.

I suggest that TAP CHI CONG SAN organize an international debate on fighting inflation among a number of fraternal socialist countries and interested overseas Vietnamese. Reality has shown us what is right and what is wrong or what is being rejected in actual practice. I think

that we must concentrate on the main problems and hold debates on the following issues:

The meaning of inflation, particularly its nature.

What laws can control inflation.

What measures are really effective in fighting inflation.

The danger of a resurgence of inflation and measures to prevent this.

I still don't understand why our country hasn't organized a real debate like a "medical conference held to discuss things before prescribing treatment for a serious illness like the Vietnamese-German operation" in order to listen to what scientists have to say.

Footnote

1. Because prices in Hau Giang were included only some of the time, it was necessary to compare prices for the entire area.

Are Books Consumer Goods Just Like Other Goods?

902E0036J Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 62-66, 88

[Article by Thuan Trung]

[Text] The book market is now very active. There have never been so many books for sale as today. Publishers have given attention to the varied daily needs of readers, and the markets, therefore, are filled with books. It is no longer necessary to "run out the back gate" to purchase books. This is very pleasing, but it is also very worrisome. Because among all these books, there are some that are in bad taste and that are dangerous. The book production situation is so confused that the situation has become alarming. This is because many places and people regard books as a commodity just like other consumer goods.

Fierce competition and violation of the current stipulations are quite widespread. Several places publish the same book in large numbers (just as Vo Tac Thien published "Tre" and "Thuan Hoa" without obtaining authorization from the Ministry of Information. According to the Publishing Department of the Ministry of Information, 56 different books were published in disregard of current statutes. In a number of cases, the Ministry of Information has not found out about this until after the books have been published. For example, although the Publishing Department of the Department of Propaganda and Training of the Central Committee and the Publishing Department of the Ministry of Information gave the College Publishing House permission to publish a number of works of the Tu Luc Literary Group (with an attached introduction, evaluation, and research guidelines) in TU SACH NHA TRUONG, which is reserved for students, the An Giang and Dong Thap publishing houses published "Hon Buom Mo Tien," "Doi Mua Gio," and "Buom Trang," and these books appeared in book shops along the sidewalks of Hanoi. These two publishing houses had requested permission from the Local Cultural and Information Service, which has the power to grant only a temporary permit and which "serves mainly local readers."

In the entire country there are now 51 trade publishing houses, 18 branches of central-echelon publishing houses in Ho Chi Minh City, and almost 200 localities that publish books. These include the cultural and information services, the local arts and letters associations, the public security services, the education and college services, and so on. These figures, added to the great competition, the mistakes made in issuing permits, and the arbitrary establishment of many publishing houses, have contributed to the turmoil of the book market.

Running after profits, they think that they can fool people. There are about 300 newspapers that have

published countless special publications and supplements on love and passion. All of these publishing houses have requested permits to publish special issues, because these "dishes" are very tasty and earn them an immediate profit of 8-12 percent of the cover price. In some cases, these special publications are at the publishers the day after the permit is granted. The publishing companies are responsible in name only, because the contents of the special publications are usually a patchwork and do not offer readers anything to satisfy their curiosity. The Dong Nai Population Survey Board also issued a special publication entitled "The Secrets of Love." This issue contained "just one article on a population survey." (See "The Path of Publishing Permits" in the 15 April 1989 issue of TUOI TRE THANH PHO HO CHI MINH.) The birth of this special publication was a great "secret." When the people involved requested a permit, they used a different name, different contents, a different number of copies, and a different sales price. After receiving the permit, they changed the name and contents and increased the number of copies to be published and the price.

As for running after profits and failing to fulfill their tasks, they like to meddle in the affairs of others. In many cases, private stalls have been filled with books that the rightful publishers have not even finished publishing. A number of publishing companies have rushed publications to market and occasionally sold the publications below the cover price. The publishing houses have borne the insults, fearing that the publishing companies will not publish things quickly for them. In times of great competition, if you are a minute late, someone else will beat you.

According to Ministry of Information Stipulation 330-TT/QD, the local publishing houses that "serve local readers" can publish a number of translated books, but the number of such books cannot exceed 15 percent of the total number of books published by the locality. In reality, the percentage is usually about 20-30 percent or even higher, and their purpose is not to serve the locality. The local publishing houses sell almost all of these books in Ho Chi Minh City. Everyone publishes translations. Recently, a "publisher" in An Giang brought 13 million copies of a book into the city even though the Cultural and Information Service here had not agreed and had reserved this for the Labor Publishing House, which has all the required documents. ("Debate on Today's Publishing Situation," 24 March 1989 issue of VAN NGHE THANH PHO HO CHI MINH)

The turmoil in the publishing business today usually revolves around "an khach" (popular) books. The books published today have a tendency to satisfy the "base" tastes of many wealthy people. For example, "Ngua Bien" by Hoang Hung and "36 Bai Tho Tinh" by Duong Tuong and Le Dat, which were published by the Ho Chi Minh City Publishing House, had beautiful covers

printed in many colors, but the contents were unwholesome, pretentious, and affected by foreign influences. Theoretical and political books, poems, and novels that are not "exciting" are difficult to get published, or they

are published in very limited numbers. The following are the figures for a number of types of books published in 1988, when the situation was not as confusing as it has been recently:

Arts and Letters						
	Books published in 1988	Politics	Science	literature and arts	Domestic Literature	Translated literature
Volumes	1930	277 (15%)	509(27.5%)	521(28.1%)	241	269
Copies (millions)	58.831	4.208 (7.2%)	35.342 (61%)	12.235 (21%)	3.491	6.597
Pages (millions) 13 X 19	9,049.438	424.32 (4.7%)	5,050 (56%)	2,500 (27.7%)	701	1,374 (millions)

From this, it can be seen that there twice as many translated literary books as domestic literary books in terms of both copies and pages printed. By the middle of this year, this figure had increased. Some writers think that "domestic literature accounts for less than 10 percent as compared with imported literary works,"¹ With the exception of a few popular domestic literary works such as "Ong Co Van Yeu Nhu La Song," most of the "domestic" works are published in very small numbers. What is sad is that a number of works representative of the period of resistance against America have not been reissued. The collected works of Vietnamese writers—both classics and modern works—published by the Van Hoc Publishing House sell very slowly while "De Nhat Phu Nhan" [First Lady] (1,200 pages, 20,000 copies printed) sells very well. A large quantity of paper was used to print serial stories in the old newspaper SAIGON. There was much repetition, and it was "cheap." The public and parents are concerned because "Bo Gia" [The Old Father] (800,000 copies published by 2 companies), "Lady Chatterley's Lover," and other works with scenes of destruction and strange sexual acts have attracted children and youths. At the same time, "Les Miserables" and a number of other valuable literary works have to be sold at a reduced price or given away. True readers do not have the money to buy books, and wealthy traders like only amusing and exciting books.

Because some people are interested only in making money, many other things are done as a matter of personal convenience. "Do Doc" by Binh Nguyen Loc, which won an award during the time of the puppet regime, has been reprinted, and "Nieu Lieu Phap," which was written by an American writer and whose scientific basis has not been determined, has been put on the market without authorization. This has had very sad effects. Because they are translated in haste to get them to market quickly, a number of books have offended readers because of their lack of coherence and the sloppiness of the writing. To attract customers, swords, guns, and half-naked women are shown on the book covers. Sometimes, what is shown on the cover has nothing to do with the contents of the book.

During one period, the publishing houses rushed to translate Western and Latin American books and classic works concerning emperors. Recently it has been "Tau

Nghien Cuu" [Research Vessel]. These works satisfy the needs of readers and introduce the essence of world literature. This is necessary and useful. What is worth noting is that within just a few months, more than 30 classical and modern works by Chinese authors have appeared. Millions of copies are on sale and they account for 80 [percent] of the publications in Ho Chi Minh City.² Many of these books are more than 2,000 pages long. They have been reprinted two or three times, and have been published in two or three places. "Water Margin," "Journey to the West," "The Scholars," "Romance of the Three Kingdoms," "Tay Suong Ky," "The Dream of the Red Chamber," and "Chin Ping Mei" have been reprinted so that people can read and study them. That was necessary, but was it necessary to publish so many copies? Also, modern Chinese works such as "Tinh Su Vo Tac Thien" and "Half of Man Is Woman" need to be evaluated carefully.

Many people say that in our present difficult situation, this is not the time to spend paper and ink on books that have not been properly evaluated. In a capitalist commodity production society, statutes of saints are also commodities (C. Marx). I hope that we never put seeking immediate profits ahead of strengthening the spiritual and emotional lives and personalities of people. Following ordinary tastes in publishing will contribute to fostering those tastes. In this situation, all that those who publish books properly can do is complain: "How can my books compete with books filled with love and sex?"

Another danger is that a number of writers with only limited talent pander to popular taste in order to sell their books. They write things in a rush and "forget" the political requirements and scientific objectivity. Even an important general cultural work like "Van Hoa Vietnam Tong Hop 1989-1995" [Vietnamese Culture, 1989-1995] (published by the Department of Culture and Arts of the Central Committee and edited by the head of the department) has passages that were not edited carefully or objectively, and some of the targets of selection and viewpoints were not evaluated clearly. Let me cite a few examples that would be difficult for an ordinary reader to understand. The chapter entitled "One Hundred Important Literary Works" from almost 7 centuries mentions "Tuong Ve Huu" [The Retired General] by Nguyen Huy Thiep.

People wonder why such a work, about which public opinion is still divided, was selected when valuable works such as "Chu Nghia Mac Va Van Hoa Viet Nam" [Marxism and Vietnamese Culture] that have passed the challenges of the revolution and the test of time were not included. The chapter entitled "Famous People," one of the longest chapters in the book, was also difficult to comprehend. Mentioned in this chapter were the two Trung sisters, Ba Trieu, General Ton That Thuyet, and Emperor Ham Nghi. But with the exception of Ho Chi Minh, none of the party's outstanding leaders were mentioned. Also, none of the country's outstanding cultural figures such as Truong Chinh, Tran Huy Lieu, Nguyen Van To, Le Thuoc, and Ca Van Thinh were mentioned. At the same time, a few writers who died just recently were included in the chapter. Who knows what standards were used to select them!

Why has the publishing situation become so confusing?

First of all, we have had to build the publishing industry in a difficult and unstable situation and at a time when the entire country is shifting from a system of state subsidies to profit-and-loss accounting. For more than a year now, the various publishing houses have not been supplied with capital or paper. They have had to take bank loans and pay 6 percent interest. For very short-term loans, they have had to pay as much as 20 percent interest. The price of paper and printing labor has risen rapidly. It now costs 4 dong to print one 13 X 19 page. Thus, if a book does not sell well during the first 6 months, the publishing house regards it as a loss. Those publishing houses that serve only a number of objectives such as the agriculture, science and technology, and medicine publishing houses have encountered many difficulties. Each year, the College Press prints 70 percent of the textbooks and instructional materials. Among these are many specialized books that go into great detail. Only 1,000 copies are published, but not even all of these are sold. Each year, the Social Sciences Publishing House must publish 40-50 specialized works of the institutes in the Vietnamese Social Sciences Commission. For some quarterly works such as "Tong Tap Van Hoc Viet Nam" [Collection of Vietnamese Literature], it is predicted that 10 volumes will be published in 1989 and that losses on each volume will be approximately 10-15 million. This is without mentioning the Su That and Thong Tin Ly Luan publishing houses, which specialize in publishing theoretical, political, and historical works such as "Chien Luoc Tang Toc" [The Strategy of Increasing Speed], "Hoi Ky Nguoi Tu Cua Kho Me Do" [Memoirs of a Prisoner of the Khmer Rouge], and "Nguyen Ai Quoc Tai Pa-ri (1917-1923)" [Nguyen Ai Quoc in Paris (1917-1923)] and which suffer huge losses. This is what things are like at the central echelon. In the localities, each year the publishing houses must pay anywhere from several tens to hundreds of millions of dong to the local financial management board. In such a situation, the publishing houses have to find ways to survive and make a profit. There are correct ways and

also many incorrect ways, which are the methods used when books are regarded as an ordinary commodity instead of a special commodity.

There are many reasons why the publishing industry is in such a state of confusion, "but the main reason is that leadership and control are weak. Violations are not prosecuted promptly or resolutely. A number of publishing houses, newspapers, and magazines have failed to carry out the task assigned them. A number of sectors, localities, mass organizations, and social organizations have abused the temporary publishing permits." (Decision No 238/BT by the minister of information) Specifically:

1. The present publishing control mechanism is not clear or unified. There is duplication in issuing publishing permits. The functions of the publishing houses have not been clearly determined. The publishing and printing industries and the distribution organizations have not coordinated things in managing and regulating publishing activities. The organizations that control publishing have not taken resolute action in prosecuting a number of violations. The relationship between the central echelon and the localities is loose, and many publishing houses have taken advantage of this.

2. A number of local publishing councils lack a sense of responsibility. They have failed to submit reports to the Ministry of Information when granting local publishing houses permission to change topics or the number of copies printed (most violations stem from these changes). Or they have submitted reports only after the fact. But this does not mean that there is no concept of control over the localities. A number of cultural and information services have failed to carry out their state management functions correctly with respect to publishing. They have issued publishing permits in an arbitrary manner and exceeded their powers.

3. A large number of publishing houses do not realize that they and the writers are "jointly responsible for the contents of the works published" (Decree 003 on publishing). Because of chasing after profits, many places have "forgotten" the propaganda and educational functions. A number have intentionally done things in a disorganized manner, given things to the management organizations before they have been completed, and then placed all the blame on higher echelons. Many publishing houses have exceeded their authority. The organization of a number of local publishing houses is provisional and arbitrary in nature. In some places there are only five or six cadres, and the director cannot carry out his tasks or enforce the regulations of his sector and unit.

In the face of this state of confusion, on 11 April 1989, the Ministry of Information issued a decision to conduct inspections and prosecute those who violate the publishing laws currently in effect. To contribute to restoring order in publishing activities, I propose:

With respect to the apparatus, the publishing system, from the central echelon to the localities, must be examined and rearranged. It must be determined whether we really need so many local publishing houses as at present.

The functions of each publishing house and each management echelon must be clearly determined. A suitable and unified mechanism must be constructed so that the publishing, printing, and distribution organizations will cooperate with each other more closely with the aim of managing and regulating the publications from the first step to the last.

As for economics, all of the publishing houses must use profit-and-loss accounting, pay all the expenses, and pay profits (and not profit certificates) to the state. Because the various publishing houses have different functions and tasks, some will make a small profit and some will make a large profit. There are even some that will suffer losses. The state should conduct specific studies in order to set suitable payment rates. When necessary, subsidy policies can be implemented for a number of publishing houses or a number of scientific topics.

With respect to contents, a list of works written prior to the August Revolution or in the areas previously occupied by the French and Americans that should not be published at the present time should be prepared. The publishing houses are responsible for the contents of the works that they publish.

Finally, a publishing law should be published as soon as possible.

Footnotes

1. VAN NGHE THANH PHO HO CHI MINH, 24 March 1989.
2. Van Kha, "A Few Thoughts on the Publishing Problem and a Number of Proposals," Saigon Giai Phong Broadcasting Station, by-monthly, April 1989.

The Real Nature of the Disease

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 67-69

[Nguyen Huy; article not translated]

Vietnamese Intellectuals in the Process of Renovation

902E0036K Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 6, Jun 89 pp 69-71, 84

[Letter by Hoang Binh, Institute of Philosophy]

[Text] The present renovation process is filled with problems, but if we wait for a "revolution from above," we will not be able to achieve results quickly. In the course of history, the "from the bottom up" factor has always played a very important role.

Intellectuals, who are wise and sensitive, have heard the echo of the present situation. The question is, during this period of change, what divisions will arise for each person? There are many problems left over from the past that are still causing great suffering and that have generated long-term effects. Thus, to renovate, we must also look back.

One question is whether our present ranks of intellectuals are worthy of society's respect and whether society should use them.

From several decades now, because of our failure to understand the motto "educate all the people in all respects," we have trained masses of people, trying to educate everyone regardless of the law of selection and the serious demands concerning the goals and quality of the training. This error is the direct cause, and it has had a decisive effect in lowering the level of our present ranks of intellectuals.

I once expressed this view to a colleague, who is a respected scientific cadre and the head of a research institute, one of the largest science centers in Vietnam today. He said: "Out of every 10 people whom we send abroad to study for their MS degree, on their return only 1 does a good job. That is as much as we can expect." For him, 10 percent may be the reality. But as we all know, out of every 10 graduate students, usually only one fails to defend his thesis. The others all manage to return home with their MS degree. Vietnam is one of the countries in which a rather high percentage of the population has a college degree and a large number of colleges as compared with the size of the population. But the standards of those with a college or postgraduate degree are low as compared with those in many other countries.

All I know is that all this training, regardless of the goal of the training and the quality of the cadres who have received training, has led to a state of affairs in which only about 10 percent of our intellectuals are being used correctly in jobs where they can manifest their talents

and work well. As for the rest, there are a number who are talented but who are not being used. The great majority do not have the talent indicated by their academic degree. At the same time, the rigid standardization policy and policy of paying "average" wages based on academic title because of having to divide things into smaller and smaller portions has stunted that 10 percent and sapped their energy and given rise to a group of "surplus" intellectuals. These "surplus troops" receive the same salaries (even if the salaries are not enough to live on), they receive the same subsidies (even though these are very small), and they all produce products of little value. These people have become a heavy burden for society, for those directly involved in production, and for the huge administrative apparatus, which is falling apart. These people are also pulling down the 10 percent who have talent and who are carrying out the work. They are dragging them down to their level.

There is no way for intellectuals to avoid poverty and a loss of capabilities when their scientific research projects and works of art, on which they spent so much time and effort, which required all the knowledge that they had spent so much time and money acquiring, and which were of such great spiritual and economic value to society, earned them only a few medals and "creative labor" awards, some payment in kind, that is, research books (which they had already recorded in the list of research books and materials to support their scientific research projects), and a little money.

Praise and "creative labor" awards are valuable and necessary. But scientists and other creative people cannot live on spiritual awards alone. To live and work, they need specific material conditions. Without these material factors, it is impossible to reproduce manpower and creativity.

We have put forth the motto "use brainpower to nourish brainpower." In implementing this motto, we face many difficulties and obstacles. Foremost is the problem that the intellectuals cannot transform themselves quickly, and they cannot support themselves with their brains. On the other hand, the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism continues to bind creative and talented intellectuals in outdated labor and wage policies dominated by average-ism. In order to change this mechanism, reducing the size of the staff by mobilizing, persuading, and compelling people through the cadre organizations will not be easy to do in a short period of time, because this is heavily dependent on a revolution from above through a reform of the political mechanism.

Because of this, a more realistic policy that can be implemented more quickly and easily is needed to compel the ranks of intellectuals, based on the spirit of "using brainpower to nourish brainpower," to make divisions and choices and simplify the staff themselves. They must rearrange themselves. Those who do not have sufficient capabilities must become aware of this and leave their "hiding places". This is what must happen before discovering and proposing "from top to bottom."

I propose the following measures:

1. The form of paying wages must be examined and reformed just as is being done in the case of civil servants. The "average-ism" labor and wage policies, which are outdated with regard to intellectuals, must be abolished.

2. Instead, wages must be paid based on the creative value and specific work of each person. They must be paid enough to pay their expenses and support themselves. I am sure that today's intellectuals would gladly "agree on a price" for their brainpower and be happy if those products were regarded as commodities. Brainpower is a commodity.

3. The research institutes must gradually be reduced in size. This includes some with capabilities but which have failed to achieve results. These must be replaced by association and work groups outside the state apparatus. There, the heads of the groups will find the people they need. These work groups will exist to carry out specific tasks and projects. After these are completed, the profits will be divided. The existence of each group will depend on the group. Thus, these groups must determine the direction of their scientific activities, stay close to reality, and create things to serve the needs of life.

The state will maintain only a number of important and strategic research institutes that deal with national

secrets. The establishment of an academy must be considered carefully, and it must employ only a few highly talented scientists. Their salaries will not depend on the money brought in by the academy but on the results of their labor.

This is the only way to bring about a "revolutionary division" so that it expands within the ranks of intellectuals faster, stimulates a real work spirit, helps them realize their intellectual potential, and quickly forces the large number of "parasitic intellectuals" at the central organizations and research institutes to look for new paths and positions in accord with their standards and aptitudes. At the same time, the amount of state budget funds spent on maintaining these organizations must be reduced to a minimum. This is a real "revolution from below." Only by doing this will the huge state subsidies apparatus be able to eliminate its "fat" quickly.

An intellectual must live using his intelligence, and this intelligence must be manifested in a way approved by society. Then, if anyone complains about his small income, that will be his own fault and not society's fault. That is the main difference between intellectuals and civil servants.

We have spoken about the "challenge of intelligence," and it is the intellectuals who must accept this challenge. During this test, those without sufficient capabilities must give up their positions just like "Mr. Dong Quach" in the classic Chinese story.

**Scientific and Technical Advances and Social
Progress in the GDR**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 72-75, 80

[Tuan Loan; article not translated]

**Does the United States Really Respect Human
Rights?**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 76-80

[Nguyen Trong Thu; article not translated]

**Views of African Communists on the National
Democratic Revolution in Africa Today**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 89 pp 81-84

[Hoang Yen; article not translated]

On Negative Tendencies and the Vitality of Real Socialism

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[Summary of an article entitled "The Historical Process at Many Levels" by A. Foliakov, information specialist with the Soviet "HLKH" Institute, that appeared in the September 1988 issue of HISTORICAL PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION; summary by Le Dung]

[Text] Negative Directions and Ways To Overcome Them

Negative tendencies appeared immediately after the establishment of the Soviet State. These tendencies have become a current in Soviet history.

First of all is the appearance and consolidation of bureaucratic centralism. What was the origin of this tendency? The answer is that in expanding the functions of the state, the apparatus became bloated. New elements were created, among which were many surplus elements. The state must perform many tasks, but it can't do everything.

Not only is bureaucratic centralism present in the apparatus of the Soviets, the party organizations, and the central and local state organizations, but it is also present in the mass social organizations (trade unions and youth union), in creative associations, and in scientific organizations.

Everywhere, bureaucratization has followed inflexibility, slowness, and social injustice.

The selection and promotion of cadres has been transformed, too. Unlike capitalist society, our society does not have a law of the jungle. We have announced a very humanistic principle: "All people are friends, comrades, and brothers." But the nature of humanism in relationships among people and in a non-competitive situation has shown another side. In our society, it seems that the correct standards for evaluating and examining the skills and knowledge of the leaders have been twisted. The leaders no longer seem to be interested in providing skilled and effective leadership. The cadres, particularly in sluggish conditions, are evaluated and promoted in a formal manner based on their background.

The expansion of bureaucratic centralism and impediments has made it difficult to form and expand the socioeconomic system of socialism. As we know, this system can be formed only after the socialist state has been established. Because we still face challenges and have not passed through control practices, this system cannot avoid splits, and these splits can be healed gradually only during the process of gaining experience. Thus, until the day he died, Lenin never stopped looking for a way to perfect this system. He abandoned inappropriate forms without regret and wholeheartedly supported vital, correct, and rational forms. He reserved a special position for building social labor organizations

based on a socialist orientation and for establishing strict inventory and control methods by all the people with respect to the production and distribution of products.

The situation changed after Lenin's death. Gradually, the following tendencies became more and more apparent because of the expansion of bureaucratic centralism: backwardness in seeking new economic management forms; absolutism with respect to many old methods; the spread of antipathy regarding new things; and firm belief in omnipotence of administrative regulations (orders).

The growth of bureaucratic centralism and the appearance of large numbers of people who were concerned only with maintaining the established order was fertile ground for the unlimited powers of the highest leaders. The result, as we all know, was a monetary crisis at the beginning of the 1980s.

The only way to overcome these negative tendencies is to democratize society and all social regulations and to have real openness. Openness is something that bureaucrats cannot tolerate. With openness, there is no place for bureaucratic centralism. This is difficult, but it is suited to the wholesome forces in society. Democratization is the principal field of struggle for real socialism.

The Vitality of Real Socialism

Given the above situation, what factors have ensured the survival and development of socialism? What factors have allowed the standards of the masses to be raised to the point where they can carry on reform, overcome sluggishness, and escape the monetary crisis?

There is only one answer and that is the great faith of the majority of our people in socialist ideals. This faith is a manifestation of the long-standing dream of the laborers to abolish inequality and exploitation and realize all-round social equality. This was confirmed in reality by the achievements of the October Revolution. This has also been confirmed by the basic values of socialism, particularly in implementing the tasks mentioned by Lenin: "Raise the lowest classes and let them play an historically creative role."¹ No one can deny the truth of the following: tens of millions of representatives of "these lowest classes" have played a real role in the activities of the party organizations and Soviet organizations. They have served as officers in the military and in the national security organizations. They have gained limitless scientific and cultural capabilities in managing the industrial and commercial enterprises and collective and state farms.

Throughout the 70 years of the Soviet regime, ordinary people have been promoted in every sphere of social, state, and cultural life. This process is basically democratic and is the essence of the history of Soviet society. Naturally, this process is not simple, and it has more

than one meaning. It was mechanically severed by campaigns of repression and weakened ideologically by sluggishness in society. But its unusual scale and continuous and indomitable nature are very clear.

It cannot be denied that the great achievements of the Soviet system are closely tied to the above process. I am referring to abolishing the landlords and capitalists, quickly expanding industry, eliminating unemployment, creating a public health system, educating progressive people and not paying money, and bringing about equality for all peoples.

The effects of the revolutionary potential released by the October Revolution and the struggle for socialism have spread throughout all classes of people. Relying on the real achievements of the revolution and the confidence of the majority of the Soviet people in the righteousness of communism, the laws, and the inevitable victory of communism has the nature of a world view. This has become a concept and the nature of the majority of the Soviet people, and it has penetrated millions of people. As everyone knows, once these ideas have penetrated the masses, they will become a material force. The faith of the Soviet people in socialist ideals, the real meaning of that faith, the countless manifestations of the materialization of that faith, all of these things are a special current of our country's historical process. The communist party has played a decisive role in strengthening people's concept of and faith in the righteousness of this revolution. Conversely, this has enabled the communist party to keep its leading role.

During the Stalinist period, even though the party suffered great damage, it managed to maintain its position among the basic classes of Soviet society, especially among those people with socialist ideals. Stalin became a powerful leader mainly because he always played the role of a warrior struggling for socialism. The people loved and trusted him, because he made his name synonymous with socialism and the fruits of the revolution mentioned above.

The Soviet people's confidence in socialism was tested during the war to defend our great country. That war, fought on a grand scale, solidified the people's confidence in the superiority of the Soviet system.

In restoring what had been destroyed during the war, people hoped for rapid development in peace and for

advances toward socialism. Time and again, these conditions increased the people's confidence in the correctness of the path that had been chosen.

The great importance of this factor should be remembered: Standing at the head of the country is the communist party, whose name indicates its nature and targets. The communist party is not simply the leading party of the regime or the leading force in society. The party has attracted the most active and enthusiastic elements among the people into its ranks. It has been and continues to be the primary source of reinforcements for the ranks of leading cadres at all echelons and in all spheres of life. Even during the periods of Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, the great majority of the people in the party were loyal to communist ideals. It would be shameful to doubt the unselfishness and honesty of those who applied for membership in the party prior to the war or to doubt the honesty of millions of workers, peasants, scientists, writers and artists, and representatives of the intellectuals who have served in the party.

Of course, it would be naive to think that all of those serving in the party are absolutely loyal to communist ideals. Some ambitious people began looking for a way to get into the party right after the party became the leading party of the regime. And in later years, this tendency increased. An invisible but very real boundary appeared, a boundary that separated our party into real communists and those who had joined the party only for personal profit.

However, in the party and among the people there is still great confidence, and there are still strong reserve troops of honor, loyalty and confidence in renovation. From these have arisen wholesome spiritual forces and leaders needed for the present reform. The wholesome forces in the party and among the people have shown their capabilities in performing their daily activities, in criticizing the shortcomings and deviations, in searching for new management forms, and in the struggle against the influence of bureaucratic centralism. These forces have enabled us to carry on the revolution of previous generations and keep the links of socialist ideals from being cut even in the face of difficulties.

The pulse of socialism is still strong.

Footnote

1. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, pp 35, 226.

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