Renewed Perception of Vietnam Communist Party on Market Economy*

Duong Phu Hiep **

Abstract: In this paper, the author focuses on analyzing the renewed perception of the Communist Party of Vietnam on the market economy, reflected in the official documents of the National Party Congresses as well as of Central Party Committee's meetings. Based on the renewed perceptions on this matter, the author points out the achievements brought about by the renovation process, and also the limitations and inadequacies in theoretical and actual development of the socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam so far. Consequently, the author proposes some issues pertaining to orientation guidelines and major solutions that would help fostering the renovation and development of the national economy.

Key words: Renewed perception, market economy, Communist Party, Vietnam.

Vietnam embarked on the renovation *(Đổi mới)* in the second half of the 1980s when the world's socialism was going into crisis and many socialist countries were on the brink of collapse. It was at that point that the issue of establishing socialism was faced with harsh criticism, challenging to a great extent the spirit and wisdom of the Communist Parties, especially those in power at that moment. Under such circumstances, the mission to renovation the economic mechanism, or more broadly, the economic institution, in a country of which the economy was already in crisis, was not simply the task of finding out an ad-hoc solution and revive the economy. It was also about finding a reasonable and effective approach to tackle the issues of development, turning the underdeveloped and poverty-driven economy of Vietnam into a modern socialist economy.

To study the actual renovation process of the economy as an experiment and testing of the renewed mindset and providing "inputs" for the ongoing mindset renovation process is the basis on which we can accurately identify and fairly assess the achievements brought about by renovation as well as the limitations in theoretical and actual development of the socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam for over the past years. This will help enlighten the logical evolution of the perception on Vietnam's economic development model in the modern era and help derive suggestions and recommendations for mindset orientation as well as major solutions to help advance further the process of economic renovation and development.

The evolution of economic mindset renovation of the Communist Party of Vietnam from the 6th Party Congress to

(*) This article is the research output of the Project "Exercising democracy in a one-party state, establishing a rule-of-law state, developing a socialist-oriented market economy and international integration", KX.04.03/11-15, a part of the state-level Science and Technology Program KX.04/11-15.

(**) Prof., Ph.D., Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences.

present

The 6th Party Congress (1986) pointed out the status quo of the economy at that time: severe stagnation and instability. The Congress made two underlying assessments: *Firstly*, it was the inefficiency and poor prospectus of the old economic model, which was based on monopoly of public ownership over means of production under two types: all-people ownership and collective ownership; the centrally-planned mechanism with its distinct characteristics of bureaucracy, subsidization, closed, and of economic relations that were "nationalized" and "non-market". *Secondly*, it was the economic renovation measures introduced continually from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s under pressure from external circumstances, which - though had pointed out the unavoidable pathway of deviating from the old economic mechanism and applying the commodity–monetary relations - did not generate expected outcomes, and even pushed the economy into crisis.

The Party Congress directly pointed out the causes of the situation, particularly the subjective causes, and criticized (or *self-criticized* to be exact) strictly the mistakes and shortcomings both at the strategic level and actual solutions and implementation of socio-economic development missions. It clearly stated that: "So far, the centrally-planned, bureaucratic and subsidy-based system has not been abolished. The new mechanism has not been established uniformly. Many outdated policies and regulations have not been revised yet... Such shortcomings in main orientation and policy-making are very serious and longstanding, as well as *mistakes in strategic guidelines and implementation*. The mindset orientation of these mistakes, especially of those on economic policy, was the result of *subjectivism, voluntarism*, of simplified and hasty thinking and actions that pursued self-interested thoughts"(CPV, 1987: 22, 23, 26).

Based on such thorough criticism and self-criticism, the Party realized that the core issue of Vietnam's development lay in the mechanism and operating method of the economy. This was the right starting point of the process of holistic mindset renovation on socialism.

Although it continued to regard "planning" as the "top-line characteristic" of the transitioning economy, the 6th Party Congress acknowledged that the commodity-monetary relationship was the "second characteristic". For the first time in the Official documents of the Communist Party, concepts previously regarded as incompatible and conflicting with socialism such as "multi-sector commodity-based economy", "market", "commodity-monetary relationship",... were officially acknowledged as "indispensable, objective", and as the "second characteristic" of the new mechanism of economic management.

This was a creative return to the socialism-building mindset via the New Economic Policy (NEP) of V.I.Lenin, marking a revolutionary step in the development mindset of the Party. It proved that the Party's perception on the socialist economy had gone through fundamental changes. With that in mind, although the basic structure of the economy in transition was not fully changed, it did have the orientation of thorough renovation of theoretical

principles, marking the start of the complete separation from the economic mindset based simply on socialism, full of subjectivism and voluntarism.

The 6th Party Congress also revised the Party's perception on establishing the material and technical facilities for socialism; it continued to affirm the mission of the "next stage" to be "creating the premise to foster the industrialization of socialism" that had been put forward by the 5th Party Congress earlier. However, the 6th Party Congress also pointed out the serious mistakes and shortcomings during the implementation of the strategy on economic and investment structuring; demanding for a "definite reorganization of the national economy into a reasonable structure", "revising significantly the investment structure" with the "orientation of releasing all the existing production capacities, exploiting all potential abilities of the country and using effectively all supports from the international community..." (CPV, 1987: 47).

At this 6th Party Congress, the "door-opening" spirit was introduced for the first time. The Congress passed the "export goods" program (one of the three main programs: food – food products, consumer goods, and export goods) and proposed for the development of the Law on Foreign Investment. Under this spirit, in 1987, the government of Vietnam submitted and was approved by the National Assembly to promulgate the Law on Foreign Investment. This has opened up a more pragmatic approach to industrialization: Prioritizing heavy industry development on the basis of fostering vigorously agricultural and light industry development. This was also an important breakthrough in the reformed economic mindset.

The 6th Party Congress was of breakthrough and decisive significance in reshaping the previous perception on socialism, creating a turning point in the building of socialism in Vietnam. Although it was neither based on "standard" concepts nor complete in connotation and logic, the economic theses of the Congress created the condition to establish a framework structure of the transitional economy with a new approach, paving the way for economic renovation in practice.

In the following years, along with the vigorous and increasingly thorough steps of economic renovation, the renewed mindset initiated by the 6th National Party Congress was further developed and completed.

The 7th Party Congress (1991) marked a major milestone in the theoretical evolution trend. At the Congress, the *Political Program for national development in the transitional period to socialism* was approved and confirmed the following: Development of a multi-sector, commodity-based and socialist-oriented economy which operates by market mechanism with State management. The new development formula had a strategic guiding value(1) and introduced three principles: *Firstly,* complete departure from the old economic mechanism; *secondly,*

(1) It was of strategic guiding value because this development formula was written into the *Political Action Programme* of the Party – "the struggle for the victory of building Vietnam and gradual transition to socialism, providing orientation for all Party acvitivies today and in the next decades" (*Political Programme for building the nation in the transition period to socialism,* p.22).

confirmation of the new content and mechanism of the economy (commodity-based, market, state management); *thirdly*, clear affirmation of the socialist orientation of the development process.

Unlike the 6th Party Congress, the establishment and development of the multi-sector commodity-based economy at the 7th Party Congress was not only the research findings of a mindset under the testing phase but it was even molded into a formula for developing an economy over an extended historical period. This development formula had been generalized and had the value of a development theory for Vietnam after the bureaucratic, centrally-planned socialist model collapsed. This was a milestone of historical value, particularly at a moment when the world had many doubts on the fate of socialism and on the values of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The evolution of the theoretical mindset on the reformed economy of the 7th Party Congress from the 6th Party Congress was also illustrated in some crucial points, that is, the reconsideration of the composition and structure of the economy(2); renovation thoroughly, harmoniously and completely through appropriate measures and methodologies, shown in the following arguments: Economic renovation in parallel with political renovation, exercise socialist democracy; development of multi-sector commodity-based economy along with strengthening the management role of the State in socio-economic areas; the market provides direct guidance to businesses; prices, exchange rates and interest rates are established by market mechanism...

These were indeed huge advancement in the theoretical mindset on the transitional economic model of Vietnam, aiming for complete deviation from the old economic mechanism and old mindset on socialism. At the same time, it established a theoretical framework for a multi-sector commodity-based economy in transition to socialism.

The Political Program for national construction in the transitional period to socialism (1991) presented the guideline to "industrialize the country in a modern way" and regarded this as one of the "fundamental orientation" of the "process of establishing socialism and protecting the country". The move from the "industrialization" mindset of the previous Congress to the "modernity-oriented industrialization" mindset of the 7th Congress was a major revamp in the theoretical mindset on industrialization when putting the concepts "modernity" alongside "industrialization".

At the Mid-term Party Congress (the 7th Tenure) in January 1994, Vietnam's perception of industrialization was replaced by the concepts of "industrialization, modernization". Therefore, when assessing the renovation process in the years before, the Party Congress noted that: "Despite various shortcomings that need to be addressed, the achievements made have created the premise for developing the country into a new era – that of national industrialization and modernization"

(2) The 7th Party Congress regarded the state economy and collective economy as two separate components and not merge them into a socialist economic component; neither did it consider the natural, self-sufficient economy as a component of the economy as the 6th Party Congress did.

(CPV, 1994: 22).

This statement implied two major theoretical points on industrialization: *Firstly,* the notion of industrialization was officially replaced by industrialization, modernization; *secondly,* it confirmed that Vietnam was at the point of building the premise for "gradual transition to a new development era, the one that will lead to industrialization, modernization". The first point is related to the actual and inherent industrialization process; while the second point reflected the perception on the prospect of industrialization. Having these in mind, it can be said that the Mid-term Party Congress (the 7th Tenure) reached a new and advanced perception on industrialization, suitable with the world's new context and satisfying the development needs of the country in the new period.

It should also be noted that, at the Mid-term Party Congress (the 7th Tenure), for the first time in history, the Party systematically pointed out the 4 main risks that were threatening the development of the country, the existence of the Party and of the socio-political regime, the biggest risk of which was "lagging further in the economic area". This had significant implications for the formulation of an overall economic development formula and a new perspective on industrialization. It illustrated the fact that the Party's development principle relied heavily on the increasingly systematic development of the perception on the reformed economy.

At the 8th Party Congress (1996), following a decade of renovation, the theoretical arguments on the reformed economy became more complete and clear, indicating that the economic theoretical mindset had advanced another step. In this theoretical argument, the renovation orientation of complete deviation from the bureaucratic, centrally-planned mechanism and transition to the market mechanism, *establishing the socialist-oriented, multi-sector, commodity-based economy with state management* was confirmed fully and clearly. The affirmation was a proof that: *Firstly,* economic renovation is irreversible; and *secondly,* renovation is embraced but the socialist orientation remains unchanged, "the road to socialism of Vietnam is defined more clearly" (CPV, 1996: 12, 14). At the same time, this served as a declaration that silenced all doubts, skepticism and concerns over the renovation pathway.

Upon reviewing the 10 years' renovation, the Party Congress continued to add further milestones to the evolution of the new economic mindset, including:

- Confirmation of the harmony and comprehensiveness of the renovation process. There were strategic level guidelines such as: 1) Strictly combine, from the beginning, economic renovation with political renovation; 2) Realize economic growth in parallel with social advancement and equity, protect and promote the national cultural identity, protect the environment; 3) Foster comprehensive and harmonious renovation, establish uniformly market factors, etc. were more thorough perceptions that complemented the previously established framework perception on the reformed economy.

- The perception on the multi-sector economy went a step further when recognizing "many distribution methods, distribution

should be based mainly on labour output and economic efficiency, simultaneously, distribution should be based on the contribution of other resources to production and business results and based on social welfare. Recognize the long term presence of labour hiring methods but not allow this to turn into domination, leading to social division into two opposite extremes" (CPV, 1996: 92). "Carry out proactively and firmly the equitization of state-owned enterprises" (CPV, 1996: 94), "organize appropriately the general corporations, prevent them from becoming monopolies or intermediary administrative units" (CPV, 1996: 94), "individual economy, smallholders have long term roles" (CPV, 1996: 95), "encourage the private sector to invest in production, guarantee long term business operations; protect legitimate ownership rights and interests..." (CPV, 1996: 96).

- The concept of industrialization, modernization was perceived at a new level when it was made clear that "the goal of industrialization and modernization was to build the country into an industrial nation with modern material and technical facilities, with an appropriate economic structure, advanced production relations, suitable with the development level of production forces, high living standards, both material and spiritual,... a prosperous people, powerful country, equitable and civilized society" (CPV, 1996: 80).

On the industrialization outlook, based on actual achievements, the 8th Party Congress agreed that, following 10 years of renovation, the mission to prepare the foundation for industrialization had been fulfilled in principle, allowing for transition to a new period of fostering industrialization and modernization across the country. This was an accurate assessment of the actual situation, freeing practical guidance from experience-based obstacles and skepticism.

The 9th Party Congress (2001) continued to unveil new theoretical perceptions on the economy in transition to socialism. The Party Congress replaced the concept of "multi-sector commodity-based economy operating by market mechanism under state management with socialist orientation" with "the socialist-oriented market economy". On the meaning of this concept, the 9th Party Congress explained that "the multi-sector commodity-based economy" was also "the market economy". This implied that the actual content of the two concepts were the same, that they were one, illustrating the consistent renovation principle of the Party. The consistency was proof of the theoretical nature of the concepts proposed and developed by the renovation mindset throughout the 15 years of renovation (as of the 9th Party Congress) and 30 years of renovation (as of now).

Nevertheless, the replacement of the "socialist-oriented market economy" over the "multi-sector commodity-based economy operating by market mechanism under state management with socialist orientation" was not purely a concept change for ease of reference. The change implied a fundamental development of the subject – an economy reformed with socialist orientation, also illustrated the moving forward of the perception on the subject. In practice, the renewed concepts reflected the inherent advancement of the economy – from a

"commodity-based economy" to a "market economy", from "commodity-based" to "market" level. The "market" not only consists of commodities but it is the commodities, it will move from the "commodity-based" level to a new level, with a new characteristic. This marked an important step in history. For Vietnam, the advancement marked the shaping up of the basic nature of the new transitioning economy.

The corresponding mindset change had similar significance to the change in practice. The shift to the concept "socialist-oriented market economy" shows the modernized theoretical mindset of the Party. As a general rule, men have evolved from goods production to the universal and general market economy level. Hence, choosing the "market economy" meant choosing the general and universal achieved by mankind; acknowledging the general development trajectory of the modern world and agreeing to adhere to that development trajectory. But for Vietnam, from the theoretical point, the concept change also illustrated the evolution in perception, in the process of "establishing a new mindset" on the economy in transition to socialism.

Looking back, ever since the 9th Party Congress, it seemed as if there was a powerful driving force that fostered the process of economic renovation, in both terms of domestic economic institutional renovation and door-opening, integration into the regional and world economy. The theoretical cause of the new and positive initiative was exactly the confirmation of the crucial theoretical concept from the 9th Party Congress: "*A socialist-oriented market economy*" (CPV, 2001: 86, 88).

However, the contribution to the theoretical mindset development process of the 9th Party Congress did not stop there. As an inter-millennial national congress, the 9th Party Congress also presented the need to establish a new development theory for Vietnam when it tackled the "road towards socialism of the country". With regards to the economy, the most important aspect of that theory was to regard the development of the socialist-oriented market economy as "the overall market model of our country in the transition period to socialism". The Party's concept of the "overall market model" was not only a theoretical synthesis that confirmed and raised the demand for theoretical research and testing in the next phase, but it was also a concretization of the Party's perception on the socialist-oriented market economy.

The world economy was, is and will shift to the market economy at different levels. There are common and also different characteristics of this shift in different countries. Some countries move from a self-sufficient agricultural sector to a capitalist market economy while others transition from an underdeveloped agricultural sector to a commodity-based economy under the Soviet-style socialist model to a socialist or socialist-oriented market economy.

In the earlier days, people in the socialist countries thought that when the working class took over and started building socialism, there would be no need for the commodity – money relationships. They even regard capitalism as synonymous with market economy and hence, separate socialism

from the market. Those who wanted to combine planning with the market would be criticized for being outliers. Actually, in the earlier socialist countries, the market had already been mentioned, but the market of a centrally-planned, bureaucratic and subsidized regime is a distorted market, due to the voluntarist distinction between the so-called "organized market" and a "free market". In such a distorted market, market components such as: the relationships between commodity – money, sale – purchase, supply – demand, between goods, the operating environment, driving forces and its operational laws were all distorted by the old regime of "Submission, distribution and purchase by orders". They were not objective factors. The highly centrally-planned and subsidized economy in production, per capita distribution, discrimination against the market economy weakened, or even deterred many driving forces of socio-economic development. That model of economy became one with labour and resource shortage and waste, slow in technical and technological upgrading. Both productivity and efficiency were low, unable to satisfy the growing demand of the people and to compete with the market economies of other countries in the world.

Before renovation, Vietnam's economy was all about self-sufficiency. Elements of commodities were not yet developed, market factors were at an infant stage, lacking harmony and growth. Furthermore, for many years, the economy was molded after the socialist model of the former Soviet Union, renovating socialism to establish immediately the public ownership regime with factors of production and a state apparatus that would be grandiose and expanding to manage the economy. It was also a centrally-planned, bureaucratic, subsidized regime that disregarded market mechanism, "banning the market" so that the state can be directly in charge of important economic activities through production and distribution planning, and through state-regulated pricing and exchange systems. The state was directly performing business operations and managed the economy mainly through administrative instruments. In such a command economy, the entire national economy was seen as a huge machine where the state was the direct commander-in-chief while other market participants were purely executors of the state's orders. In this economy, although stimulating instruments such as taxes, interest rates, prices, exchange rates and wages were all present, these were not able perform their stimulating role.

Although for an extended period of time Vietnam did not deviate from the socialism pathway, due to the abovementioned causes, the economic model could not become the driving force for development, it could not promote human creativity and dynamism but only made them more passive and discouraged them from working to the best of their abilities, pushing the country into socio-economic crisis.

The Communist Party of Vietnam realized and gradually addressed the shortcomings when establishing the above model and re-orientated towards building a socialist-oriented market economy. However, it took over 30 years of building socialism, up until 1986, that the Secretary General Trường Chinh, in his piece "*Some concepts on the*

economic perception of the Communist Party" could come to the conclusion that "from an underdeveloped and poor country, with small production prevailing, one can advance directly to socialism and skip the capitalism development stage, but it cannot, by any chance, skip over the development of commodity production" (Trường Chinh, 1987: 30). The conclusion was a major breakthrough, marking a turning point from the centrally-planned, bureaucratic, subsidized economy to the socialist-oriented market economy. Although the 6th Party Congress had not yet used the concept of a socialist-oriented market economy, the ideology raised by the 6th Party Congress was thereafter used as the basis for shaping the orientation for establishing the socialist-oriented market economy. These major ideologies included: 1/ Establishment of a multi-sector economy; 2/ Establishment of a commodity-based economy; 3/ Replacement of the old economic management mechanism with a new mechanism in which the commodity - monetary relationship and economic stimulants are used; 4/ Expansion of external economic relations not only with the sibling socialist countries but also with those that are not; 5/ Agreement on economic and social policies, promote the human factor and regard servicing the people as the ultimate goal of all activities.

The ideologies listed above were supplemented and developed by the 7th Party Congress. One of the seven fundamental orientations raised by the *Political Program* was: "Develop the multi-sector, commodity-based economy with socialist orientation, operating by market mechanism under state management". This was regarded as the Party's economic orientation in the renovation era. If the 6th Party Congress mentioned about establishing the multi-sector commodity-based economy, the 7th Party Congress supplemented two important points: 1/ With socialist orientation; 2/ Operating by market mechanism under state management. The 7th Party Congress not only presented the concept of socialist orientation but it also provided the basis for determining what was indeed the socialist orientation in the development of the market economy in Vietnam. The Political Program mentioned the six characteristics of the socialist society and seven fundamental guidelines that should be followed strictly in the process of building socialism and protecting the country. The socialist orientation of Vietnam's market economy development should necessarily be based on these six characteristics and seven guidelines.

More importantly, the 8th Party Congress introduced six important aspects of the socialist orientation when establishing the multi-sector, commodity-based economy. These socialist orientation aspects revealed that the economy Vietnam was pursuing was no longer a self-sufficient economy, no longer a centrally-planned, bureaucratic and subsidized economy, not yet a capitalist market economy and neither a socialist market economy, but it was exactly a socialist-oriented market economy. When applying the six features of the socialist society raised by the 7th Party Congress on guiding socialism in market economy development in Vietnam, it should be highlighted that those six features are long

term objectives and that we cannot have right away a highly developed economy based on advanced production forces, a public ownership regime of factors of production or releasing the people from oppression, exploitation and injustice, etc. The application of these six characteristics should be suitable with the current specific objectives, more importantly, the goal to have a "Prosperous people, a powerful, democratic, equitable, civilized nation" should stand at the heart of the socialist orientation in the development of the market economy.

The concept of socialist orientation had a historical meaning. It was specific and went along with the notion of the transition period where not everything was socialist in nature. In today's era, if discussing about socialist orientation in market economy development but focusing too heavily on supporting public ownership to gain absolute advantage, not implementing uniformly the policy to develop the multi-sector economy or creating favourable legal and economic conditions for private enterprises to invest securely and long term, then such orientation will become an impediment to development.

Advancing our society to a socialist society is a long term transition. During this process, it should not be expected a complete harmony between the basic infrastructure and superstructure. Some aspects of the superstructure might already be socialism while basic infrastructure might not be there yet. There might even be the need to foster vigorously the private economy because that would be the only way towards a market economy. But would this course of action pose a risk to the socialist orientation? It should be emphasized that under the Party's leadership and state management of today, promoting the private economy should, by no means, be perceived as a risk to the socialist orientation. Fostering the growth of the private sector will prosper the country, create jobs, generate wealth to society, develop production forces and in this way, it will solidify the prerequisites for socialism.

The socialist orientation of Vietnam's development of the market economy does not only govern the economic sector and serve economic objectives, but it also prevails in other areas as well. These orientations must go together and complement each other, in which the socialist orientation of the market economy should be of service to the political, social, cultural and personal objectives. Ever since the 6th Party Congress, the Communist Party had emphasized that we should unify economic with political policies, promote the human factor and regard serving the people as the ultimate objective of all activities. That was an important guideline of the socialist orientation in market economy development.

Only by establishing a new market economy can we promote economic growth, but economic growth should come along with cultural development, ensuring social progress and equity, protecting the environment and not destroy or pollute it. That is the socialist orientation in the market economy development of Vietnam nowadays. Only by establishing a new market economy can there be economic growth as under the impact of the laws on

value, demand-supply, competition, the dynamics of people are promoted and the wisdom, creativity and professional skills are stimulated. However, besides the positive aspects, the dark side of market mechanism includes the worship of material goods, of money, committing of fraudulent actions to reap profits, or chasing purely material values and neglecting humanism. Therefore, socialist orientation in today's market economy development means that, besides macroeconomic management and regulation through laws and other state policies, culture should play the role in regulating the spiritual aspect for market economy development, turning it into a civilized and advanced market economy.

Nowadays, Vietnam has not yet had socialism or a market economy. The two still works in progress. When talking about combining socialism with market economy, it is not about merging two components readily available but it is about combining them along the process of establishment. Focusing too much on socialist orientation but neglecting the market economy will, in any way, lead to socialism, even if it does, that would be a society ridden with poverty. On the contrary, building a market economy without socialist-orientation will neither result in socialism but it would create a society with a huge gap between the rich and the poor, a society full of injustices, oppression and exploitation. Therefore, the Communist Party has been consistently pursuing the socialist orientation in developing the country's market economy.

Although the world has established and developed the market economy a long time ago and currently experienced many different types of market economies, Vietnam is barely in the initial stage of building a socialist-oriented market economy, a model that is not readily available but needs to be created from scratch. In order to formulate the theoretical basis for this model, it is required first of all a historical and specific mindset of socialist orientation in the development of the market economy in Vietnam.

References

1. Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) (1987), *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ VI* (*Official Documents of the 6th National Party Congress),* Sự thật (Truth) Publishing House, Hanoi.

2. Communist Party of Vietnam (1994), *Văn kiện Hội nghị đại biểu toàn quốc giữa nhiệm kỳ VII* (*Official Documents of the Mid-term 7th National Party Congress),* National Political Publishing House, Hanoi.

3. Communist Party of Vietnam (1996), *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ VIII (Official Documents of the 8th National Party Congress),* National Political Publishing House, Hanoi.

4. Communist Party of Vietnam (2001), *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IX* (*Official Document of the 9th National Party Congress),* National Political Publishing House, Hanoi.

5. Trường Chinh (1987), *Đổi mới – đòi hỏi bức thiết của đất nước và thời đại (Renovation - An Urgent Need of the Country and of the Era),* Sự thật Publishing House, Hanoi.