Notes


3. According to the 1968 Statutes, the plenum decides the size of the Politburo, the Secretariat and the Central Control Committee (Uy Ban Kiem Tra Trung Uong). In the 1977 and 1987 Statutes, the size of the Politburo and Secretariat is determined by a Central Committee plenum. The Control Committee is dropped from the formula. See Dang Lao Dong Viet Nam, Dieu Le (Hanoi: Ban Chap Hanh Trung Uong, 1968), p. 43; Nhan Dan, 3 February 1977, pp. 2–5; and Dang Cong San Viet Nam, Dieu Le (Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Su That, 1987). The 1977 and 1987 Statutes required the plenary session to present “essential issues” for the lower echelons to discuss. Those echelons were in turn required to communicate their views on these issues to the Central Committee.


5. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0500 GMT, 3 March 1987, FBIS, 4 March 1987, k. 3; Quan Doi Nhan Dan, 1 April 1987, pp. 1, 4, and 3 May 1987, pp. 1, 4.
21. Chi emphasized the confined role of the party secretary who, in tandem with labour and youth union affiliates, was empowered to conduct “regular inspections” to determine the extent of the enterprise management’s compliance with party and state policies and resolutions. See *Saigon Giai Phong*, 24 February 1987, p. 2.
39. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 6 June 1987, 
40. *Nhan Dan*, 17 July 1987, p. 3; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 
41. Hong Kong AFP in English, 1354 GMT, 28 May 1987, FBIS-EAS, 
87-170, 2 September 1987, p. 36.
42. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 31 August 1987, 
FBIS-EAS, 87-170, 2 September 1987, pp. 36, 40.
43. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 31 August 1987, 
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Hanoi International Service in English, 1000 GMT, 31 December 1987, 
47. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 28 August 1987, 
FBIS-EAS, 87-169, 1 February 1987, p. 41.
48. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 25 September 
49. Ibid.
50. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 September 
51. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 14 November 1987, 
FBIS-EAS, 87-223, 19 November 1987, p. 46. Thanh Hoa and Thuan 
Hai provinces had developed plans all the way down to the sectoral 
level by mid-November.
53. *Nhan Dan*, 5 November 1987, pp. 1, 4; *Nhan Dan*, 23 October 1987, 
pp. 1, 4.
Reform Initiatives, the Scramble Toward Economic Revitalization, 
and the Road to the Sixth Party Congress”, in *Southeast Asian Af-
airs 1987* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1987), 
pp. 360-63.
of Indochina Since the Fall of Saigon* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and 
Jovanovich, 1986), p. 373. Bach’s career was short-lived. He 
was removed from his positions as Politburo member and Central
Committee secretary at the Eighth Party Central Committee plenary session in March 1990.

64. Nhan Dan, 14 December 1987, pp. 1, 4.
65. Hiebert, “Caught in a Downdraft”, op. cit., p. 46. In largely pessimistic tones, Kiet noted:
   1. the two per cent drop in 1987 agricultural production, matched by a two per cent increase in the population growth rate;
   2. the steadily low value of exports to socialist countries in 1987, and the unsatisfactory implementation of programmes of production co-operation with the Soviet Union; and
   3. diminishing foreign currency earnings and unexpectedly low levels of remittances from Overseas Vietnamese; and destabilizing downward trends in per capita availability of rice and overall inadequate investment in foodgrain production.
66. Among the areas that had managed to keep the schedule were Hai Hung, Hoang Lien Son, Quang Nam-Da Nang and Minh Hai Provinces and Ho Chi Minh City. See Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 3 February 1988, FBIS-EAS, 88-025, 8 February 1988, pp. 55–56.
68. On Ha Bac Province’s programme, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 12 April 1988, FBIS-EAS, 88-071, 13 February


79. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 24 August 1988, 
    *FBIS-EAS*, 88-169, 31 August 1988, p. 75; Hanoi Domestic Service 
    in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 18 August 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-162, 
    22 August 1988, pp. 69-70; *Nh¿n Dan*, 31 July 1988, pp. 1, 4; 
    Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 11 August 1988, 
80. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 1 November 1988, 
81. *Nh¿n Dan*, 13 September 1988, pp. 1, 4; Hanoi Domestic Service 
    in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 23 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-209, 
    28 October 1988, pp. 59–60; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 
    1100 GMT, 31 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-211, 1 November 1988, 
    p. 54.
82. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 30 August 1988, pp. 1, 2; Hanoi Domestic Ser- 
    vice in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 31 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-211, 
    1 November 1988, p. 54.
84. Dang Cong San Viet Nam, *Dieu Le* (Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Su That, 
    1987), article 14, p. 40.
85. *Nh¿n Dan*, 4 August 1988, pp. 1, 4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Viet- 
    1988, p. 65.
86. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 30 July 1988, pp. 1, 3; Hanoi Domestic Service 
    in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 12 August 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-158, 
    16 August 1988, p. 64; *Saigon Giai Phong*, 30 July 1988, pp. 1, 3.
87. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 8 September 1988, 
89. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 23 October 1988, 
90. For all references to the plenary communiqué, pp. 35–40 above, see 
    Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 June 1988, 
91. For all quotations from Linh’s speech, pp. 40–44 above, see Hanoi 
    Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 22 June 1988, *FBIS-
92. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 June 1988, 
93. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 June 1988,


107. Ibid.


113. Hong Ha, head of the Office of the Central Committee, Pham Bai, Central Committee member and Chairman of the Peasants Association, and Huynh Chau So, Chairman of the State Inspection Committee, headed the remaining three teams.
125. In the aftermath of the eighth plenary session municipal services, in co-ordination with both the district party committee and the district administrative committee, were required to request the permission
of the municipal party and people’s committees prior to the experimental sale of rice at a particular price. The district party committee appears to have exerted a major influence over the attempts of echelons subordinate to the district to conduct “experiments” regarding the new compensation policy. However, the ultimate shape of such “experiments” seems to have been determined by local “guidance committees” (Truong Ban Chi Dao), apparently constituted by a membership drawn from both local party and administrative committees. Linh seems to have endorsed this kind of evolution in the system. These experiments underscored the regime’s commitment to co-ordination between party and local administrative committee authority. See “Thu Duc Bu Gia Vao Luong”, Nhan Dan, 8 May 1985, pp. 1, 4; Haiphong, 1 June 1985, pp. 1, 4; Nhan Dan, 23 September 1985, p. 4.


144. For instance, an early April conference sponsored by the Central Committee's Propaganda and Training Department concluded with the acknowledgement that “practical and epistemological issues” required a re-evaluation of the “fundamental spirit” of Resolution Ten — a basic document laying the groundwork for the renovation of the mechanism of economic management in agriculture. The conference also recognized the need to re-examine the various decisions adopted by the party’s Secretariat and the Council of Ministers in the service of Resolution Ten’s provisions on signing contracts with the state, taxation, and the entitlement to dispose of production at the discretion of the individual agricultural producer. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 2 April 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-064, 5 April 1989, p. 60.


162. Vo Chi Cong summarized the party's preoccupation with the convulsive course of change in communist systems world-wide, and emphasized the cost of failing to reform. Communist parties had allowed non-antagonistic contradictions to become antagonistic, in Cong's formula, by failing to address issues such as internal corruption that could have been solved by means that would have preserved systems instead of ensuring their disaggregation. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT, 26 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-248, 28 December 1989, pp. 67–68; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT, 20 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-247, 27 December 1989, pp. 65–66; Hanoi Domestic Service


172. Quotations from Nguyen Dang Quang’s article, cited on pp. 82–85 above, are from *Tap Chi Cong San*, January 1989, pp. 18–22.


177. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 23 May 1990.

178. See “Ong Thieu O Hoa Thinh Don De Nghi Xoa Bai Lam Lai, Trong Khi O Cali Ong Ky Noi San Sang Ve Nuoc Neu Cong San Noi Long Chinh Tri”, *Tu Do*, 7 April 1990, pp. 1, 2; “Xuat Hien

179. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 23 May 1990.


203. References to the party resolution cited on pp. 107–109 above are from “Nghĩ Quyết Hội Nghị Lần Thứ 8, BCHTUD (Khoái Vi), Doi Moi Cong Tac Quan Chung Cua Dang, Tang Cuong Moi Quan He Giai Dang Va Nhan Dan”, *Tạp Chí Công San*, May 1990, pp. 1–8.


207. *Nhan Dan*, 7 September 1990, p. 3; *Tạp Chí Công San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19, 32.

208. A January 1990 *Tạp Chí Công San* article suggested that of the 2,149,000 party members, 11.47 per cent had worked at enterprise work sites and state farms. A February 1990 *Tạp Cộng San* article noted that 8.8 per cent were workers participating directly in production. See *Tạp Chí Công San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19, 32; *Nhan Dan*, 29 August 1990, p. 3.


211. *Nhan Dan*, 29 August 1990, p. 3.

213. *Nhan Dan*, 12 January 1990, pp. 3–4; *Tap Chi Cong San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19. According to a late August article about Hau Giang Province’s basic party organizations, “In the rural area, the reorganization of party chapters by hamlet in place of production units and the formation of a number of chapters not directly engaged in production leadership (comprised largely of retired party members) have overcome a situation of party chapters ‘meeting without decision or making decisions without achievement’ and of ‘those working not speaking or those speaking not working’”. See *Nhan Dan*, 29 August 1990, p. 3.


224. In a conversation during January 1991 with a senior Ministry of Foreign Affairs official, the official suggested that he and most of his colleagues, certainly all of those who knew Bui Tin, regarded his indiscretion as the result of a mental weakening or sickness, and as


255. Hong Kong AFP in English, 1943 GMT, 28 February 1991, *FBIS-EAS*,
91-041, 1 March 1991, pp. 54–55; Interview with Ministry of Foreign Affairs official, April 1991; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 4 March 1991, FBIS-EAS, 91-044, 6 March 1991, p. 59, for example, which reports that for the first round of congresses, Vinh Phu had collected 48,000 suggestions to the Draft Platform for Building the Nation in the Period of the Transition to Socialism and 26,000 suggestions regarding the Draft Strategy for Socio-economic Stabilization and Development.


