

## Notes

1. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 18 October 1988, *Foreign Broadcast Information Service-East Asia* (hereafter *FBIS-EAS*), 88–203, 20 October 1988, p. 65.
2. William Duiker, *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1981), pp. 141, 176–80, 187–90, 193–95, 221–24.
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.
4. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0500 GMT, 12 February 1987, *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (hereafter *FBIS*), 17 February 1987, k. 11.
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.

6. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 3 May 1987, pp. 1, 4.
7. On the “Three Economic Programmes” (Ba Chuong Trinh Kinh Te Lon), see Hanoi International Service in English, 1100 GMT, 4 February 1987, *FBIS*, 5 February 1987, k. 10.
8. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 2300 GMT, 3 February 1987, *FBIS*, 5 February 1987, k. 3; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1430 GMT, 4 February 1987, *FBIS*, 4 February 1987, k. 4.
9. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 22 January 1987, *FBIS*, 23 January 1987, k. 9–11.
10. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1430 GMT, 2 March 1987, *FBIS*, 4 March 1987, k. 5.
11. *Ibid.* Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0500 GMT, 3 March 1987, *FBIS*, 4 March 1987, k. 3.
12. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 8 January 1987, p. 1; and *Saigon Giai Phong*, 15 February 1987, p. 1.
13. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 2300 GMT, 3 February 1987, *FBIS*, 5 February 1987, k. 3.
14. “Quy Dinh Ve Thoi Ky Du Bi Cua Dang Vien Va Thi Hanh Ky Luat Trong Dang”, *Nhan Dan*, 20 February 1987, p. 3.
15. “Chat Luong Hang Tieu Dung”, *Nhan Dan*, 8 May 1987, pp. 1, 4; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 27 March 1987, *FBIS*, 29 March 1987, k. 7–10.
16. *Nhan Dan*, 22 June 1985, p. 1.
17. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 27 May 1987, *FBIS*, 29 May 1987, k. 7–10.
18. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 9 January 1987, *FBIS*, 13 January 1987, k. 3.
19. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 22 January 1987, *FBIS*, 22 January 1987, k. 9.
20. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 3 February 1987, *FBIS*, 5 February 1987, k. 9.
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.
22. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 26 February 1987, p. 2.

23. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 7 March 1987, p. 2.
24. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 1 April 1987, p. 1.
25. *Nhan Dan*, 21 June 1987, editorial, pp. 1, 4.
26. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0500 GMT, 3 March 1987, *FBIS*, 4 March 1987, k. 3.
27. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 25 July 1987, *FBIS-EAS* 27 July 1987, N. 4.
28. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 28 July 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 31 July 1987, N. 1.
29. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 27 May 1987, p. 1.
30. *Nebzabagsaq*, 17 August 1987, p. 3, *FBIS-EAS*, 19 August 1987.
31. For the text of the Communiqué of the Second Plenary Session of the VNCP Central Committee, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 16 April 1987, *FBIS*, 17 April 1987, k. 7–13. For the text of Linh's opening speech, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 16 April 1987, *FBIS*, 17 April 1987, k. 1–7. For the text of Linh's speech at the closing ceremony, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 17 April 1987, *FBIS*, 20 April 1987, k. 4–9. Also see the VNCP document, *Dang Cong San Viet Nam, Nghi Quyet: Hoi Nghi Lan Thu Hai Ban Chap Hanh Trung Uong Dang (Khoa VI – Giai Quyet Nhung Van De Cap Bach Ve Phan Phoi, Lu Thong)*, Hanoi, 9 April 1987.
32. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 29 June 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 8 July 1987, N. 3–6.
33. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 2 July 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 8 July 1987, N. 4.
34. *Washington Times*, 4 August 1987, p. 4; *Washington Post*, 14 July 1987; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 23 July 1987, pp. 28–29.
35. Ngoc Son, “Viec Hoc Tac Kinh Doanh Thuong Nghiep Bi Loi Dung”, *Nhan Dan*, 26 March 1987, p. 3.
36. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1504 GMT, 14 April 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 15 April 1987, k. 4–7; “Dang Ky Kinh Doang Thuong Nghiep Va Dich Vu”, *Nhan Dan*, 17 July 1987, p. 1.
37. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 17 July 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 21 July 1987, N. 4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 13 July 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 16 July 1987, N. 8.
38. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 June 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 1 July 1987, N. 1.

39. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 6 June 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 16 July 1987, N. 3–4.
40. *Nhan Dan*, 17 July 1987, p. 3; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 22 June 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 29 July 1987, N. 5–22.
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, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-170, 2 September 1987, p. 39.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. Hanoi International Service in English, 1000 GMT, 31 December 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-002, 5 January 1988, pp. 52–53.
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 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-187, 28 September 1987, pp. 33–34.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 September 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-186, 25 September 1987, pp. 36–37.
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.
52. *Nhan Dan*, 4 November 1987, pp. 1, 4.
53. *Nhan Dan*, 5 November 1987, pp. 1, 4; *Nhan Dan*, 23 October 1987, pp. 1, 4.
54. *Nhan Dan*, 26 September 1987, pp. 1, 4.
55. See L.M. Stern, “The Vietnamese Communist Party in 1986: Party Reform Initiatives, the Scramble Toward Economic Revitalization, and the Road to the Sixth Party Congress”, in *Southeast Asian Affairs 1987* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1987), pp. 360–63.
56. Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy: The War After The War – A History 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.
57. "Nguyen Thanh Binh", U.S. Government Biography 1 NVN-6-1972.
  58. Murray Hiebert, "Caught in a Downdraft: Vietnam Admits its Economic Problems are Worsening", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14 January 1988, pp. 48-49.
  59. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 19 December 1987, in *FBIS-EAS*, 87-245, 22 December 1987, pp. 42-45; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 22 December 1987, in *FBIS-EAS*, 87-248, 28 December 1987, pp. 47-49.
  60. Hanoi International Service in English, 1000 GMT, 22 December 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-246, 23 December 1987, pp. 32-33.
  61. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 19 December 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-245, 22 December 1987, p. 42-45.
  62. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 20 December 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-244, 21 December 1987, p. 46-47.
  63. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 21 December 1987, *FBIS-EAS*, 87-244, 21 December 1987, p. 46.
  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.
  67. *Nhan Dan*, 5 February 1988, pp. 1, 4.
  68. On Ha Bac Province's programme, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 12 April 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-071, 13 February

- 1988, p. 55. On Minh Hai Provinces programme, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 12 May 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-095, 17 May 1988, p. 55. On Dac Lac Provinces programme, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 12 May 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-097, 19 May 1988, pp. 53–54. On Phu Khanh Province's programme, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 31 May 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-105, 1 June 1988, p. 61.
69. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 23 March 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-057, 24 March 1988, pp. 45–46; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 8 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-112, 10 June 1988, pp. 39–40; *Dai Doan Ket*, 2 April 1988, p. 5.
70. *Nhan Dan*, 5 June 1988; *Nhan Dan*, 25 March 1988, p. 3; *Nhan Dan*, 26 March 1988, p. 1; *Nhan Dan*, 3 February 1988, pp. 1, 4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 7 April 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-068, 8 April 1988, p. 54.
71. *Tap Chi Cong San*, July 1988, pp. 22–26.
72. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 11 September 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-180, 16 September 1988, pp. 72–73; *Dai Doan Ket*, 18 June 1988, pp. 1, 5, 8; *Nhan Dan*, 21 June 1988, p. 3; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 27 May 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-106, 2 June 1988, pp. 71–72.
73. “Thanh Uy Thanh Pho Ho Chi Minh Thong Qua Tu Phe Binh Va Phe Binh, Dua Vao Quan Chung De Kiem Tra Chat Luong Dang Vien”, *Nhan Dan*, 5 February 1989, pp. 1, 4.
74. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 2 February 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-023, 4 February 1988, p. 61.
75. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 12 April 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-071, 13 April 1988, p. 35.
76. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 12 May 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-095, 17 May 1988, p. 59; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 21 April 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-080, 26 April 1988, p. 71; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 17 May 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-097, 19 May 1988, pp. 51–54.
77. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 2 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-131, 8 July 1988, pp. 71–72; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 8 July 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-112, 10 July 1988, p. 39.
78. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 8 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-112, 10 June 1988, pp. 39–40.

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; *Nhan Dan*, 31 July 1988, pp. 1, 4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 11 August 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-155, 22 August 1988, p. 65.
80. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 1 November 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-214, 4 November 1988, p. 40.
81. *Nhan 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 Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 31 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-211, 1 November 1988, p. 54.
83. *Nhan Dan*, 13 June 1988, p. 1.
84. Dang Cong San Viet Nam, *Dieu Le* (Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Su That, 1987), article 14, p. 40.
85. *Nhan Dan*, 4 August 1988, pp. 1, 4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 7 August 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-155, 11 August 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, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-176, 12 September 1988, pp. 71–72.
88. *Nhan Dan*, 13 September 1988, pp. 1, 4.
89. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 23 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-209, 28 October 1988, pp. 59–60.
90. For all references to the plenary communiqué, pp. 35–40 above, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-119, 21 June 1988, pp. 57–59.
91. For all quotations from Linh's speech, pp. 40–44 above, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 22 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-122, 24 June 1988, pp. 35–42.
92. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-120, 22 June 1988, pp. 44–46.
93. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 21 June 1988,

- FBIS-EAS*, 88-120, 22 June 1988, pp. 41–42; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 22 June 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-120, 22 June 1988, pp. 43–46.
94. *Who's Who in North Vietnam* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government, November 1972), p. 19.
  95. *Thanh Nien*, January 1988, pp. 12–14; *Thanh Nien*, April 1988, pp. 1–3, 18.
  96. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 15 August 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-161, 19 August 1988, p. 52; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 18 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-203, 20 October 1988, p. 65.
  97. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 18 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-203, 20 October 1988, p. 65.
  98. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 17 October 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-203, 20 October 1988, p. 61.
  99. In April and May, incidents of protest took place in Ngai Dang and An Dinh communes. In August, farmers from Cuu Long organized by a Co-ordination Action Committee travelled to Ho Chi Minh City to demonstrate against land policies. In early November, Mekong Delta peasants marched to Ho Chi Minh City to dramatize their grievances. See Le Thien Tung, "The Land Issue: The Internal Debate", *Vietnam Commentary*, January–February 1989, p. 2.
  100. *Nhan Dan*, 12 April 1988, pp. 1–3; Tetsusaburo Kimura, "The Socialist Economy in Vietnam: A Complete Failure", *Vietnam Commentary*, January–February 1989, p. 11.
  101. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 8 May 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-094, 16 May 1988, p. 59.
  102. Le Thien Tung, "The Land Issue", p. 2.
  103. *Nhan Dan*, 26 May 1988, p. 2.
  104. *Nhan Dan*, 8 August 1988, p. 1.
  105. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 22 August 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-163, 23 August 1988, pp. 70–71.
  106. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 9 September 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-179, 15 September 1988, pp. 72–76.
  107. *Ibid.*
  108. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 18 September 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-182, 20 September 1988, p. 56.
  109. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 17 August 1988, pp. 1–2.



110. *Nhan Dan*, 12 September 1988, pp. 1, 4.
111. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 18 November 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-227, 25 November 1988, p. 65.
112. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 18 November 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-227, 15 September 1988, p. 65.
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.
114. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 7 November 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-220, 15 November 1988, pp. 73–74.
115. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 15 November 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-220, 15 November 1988, pp. 73–74.
116. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 26 November 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-234, 6 December 1988, p. 57.
117. *Nhan Dan*, 29 November 1988, pp. 2, 4.
118. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 8 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-237, 9 December 1988, pp. 60–61.
119. *Nong Nghiep Viet Nam*, 28 July 1988, p. 5.
120. Hong Kong AFP in English, 1224 GMT, 12 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-239, 13 December 1988, p. 62.
121. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1500 GMT, 23 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-248, 27 December 1988, pp. 74–75. On 12 December, Vu Mao, Chairman of the Office of the Council of Ministers, stated at a news conference that the party would not intervene “to any great extent” in the Assembly’s proceedings. Hong Kong AFP in English, 1224 GMT, 12 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-239, 13 December 1988, pp. 62–63.
122. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 8 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-236, 8 December 1988, p. 52; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 8 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-237, 9 December 1988, p. 62.
123. *Dai Doan Ket*, 2 and 9 July 1988, pp. 1, 3.
124. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 15 December 1988, *FBIS-EAS*, 88-242, 16 December 1988, pp. 50–51.
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.
126. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 24 January 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-016, 26 January 1989, pp. 74-75; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 25 January 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-016, 26 January 1989, p. 75; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 3 January 1989, *Joint Publications Research Service-Southeast Asia* 89-004, 26 January 1989, p. 16; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 30 January 1989, Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1000 GMT, 31 January 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-016, 2 February 1989, p. 70.
  127. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 24 January 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-016, 26 January 1989, p. 75, discussing Hung Ha districts delegates to its Ninth Congress of party organization delegates.
  128. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1000 GMT, 31 January 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-021, 2 February 1989, p. 70.
  129. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 2 February 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-033, 2 February 1989, p. 73.
  130. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0713 GMT, 14 April 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-073, 18 April 1989, p. 83; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 18 April 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-075, 20 April 1989, p. 57.
  131. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 15 March 1989, p. 2.
  132. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 23 May 1989, p. 3.
  133. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 8 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-111, 13 June 1989, p. 58.

134. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 23 May 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-101, 26 May 1989, p. 56.
135. “Bai Phat Bieu Cua Dong Chi Tong Bi Thu Nguyen Van Linh, Be Mac Hoi Nghi Trung Uong Sau (Ngay 29 Thang 3 Nam 1989)”, *Nhan Dan*, 31 March 1989, pp. 1, 4.
136. Translated passages from the General Secretary’s closing speech concerning foreign trade, cited on pp. 59–60 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, pp. 64–71. Translated passages from the plenary session communiqué concerning foreign trade are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, p. 72.
137. References concerning the role of the market quoted from Linh’s closing speech, pp. 60–61 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, p. 67.
138. References concerning socialist transformation in the plenary session communiqué and the General Secretary’s closing speech, cited on pp. 61–64 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, p. 72, and Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, pp. 64–71.
139. References concerning the role of the party in the plenary session communiqué and the General Secretary’s closing speech, cited on pp. 64–65 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, p. 72, and Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, pp. 64–71.
140. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, p. 72.
141. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 13 April 1989, p. 34; Hong Kong AFP in English 0534 GMT, 23 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-05, 23 March 1989, p. 71. Jacques Bekaert, writing in the *Bangkok Post*, 18 January 1989, p. 4, suggested that an extraordinary Politburo session, convened during the first week of January in Ho Chi Minh City, heard a review of foreign policy and prepared for the March plenum. Thach reportedly insisted that it was time to think about the “Post Kampuchea” period.

142. *Tap Chi Cong San*, April 1989, editorial, p. 1.
143. *Nhan Dan*, 1 April 1989, editorial, p. 1.
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.
145. *Dai Doan Ket*, 18 June 1988, pp. 1, 5, 8. *Nhan Dan*, 21 June 1988, p. 3. Participants in the conference, including party luminaries and editors, supported the utility of public debate, the active flow of information and the use of the press to initiate "dialogue". Importantly, Tran Cong Man, general editor of *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, urged an independent role for the party's press, echoing Linh's call for a press that "searches for causes". Also see L.M. Stern, "Nguyen Van Linh's Leadership: A New Operational Code", *Indochina Report*, no. 16, January–March 1989.
146. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 15 April 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-074, 19 April 1989, pp. 74–75.
147. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1000 GMT, 10 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-111, 12 June 1989, pp. 43–44; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 27 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-132, 12 July 1989, pp. 65–66; *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 12 July 1989, pp. 1, 4.
148. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 27 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-132, 12 July 1989, p. 18.
149. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 25 July 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-143, 27 July 1989, p. 55; *Nhan Dan*, 28 November 1989, p. 4.
150. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2330 GMT, 17 October 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-202, 20 October 1989, p. 58.

151. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 27 October 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-208, 30 October 1989, pp. 57–58; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 28 October 1989, Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 28 October 1989, and Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 October 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-208, 30 October 1989, pp. 57–58.
152. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1420 GMT, 30 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-001, 2 January 1990, p. 70.
153. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0515 GMT, 27 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-247, 27 December 1989, p. 71.
154. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 27 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-248, 28 December 1989, p. 70.
155. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 7 August 1989, p. 4.
156. *Nhan Dan*, 18 August 1989, p. 1, editorial.
157. *Nhan Dan*, 9 August 1989, p. 3.
158. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 8 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-111, 12 June 1989, p. 43; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 27 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-133, 13 June 1989, pp. 54–55.
159. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT, 18 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-241, 18 December 1989, pp. 65–67.
160. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT, 19 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-245, 22 December 1989, p. 64.
161. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1420 GMT, 30 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-001, 2 January 1990, p. 70; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT, 30 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-247, 27 December 1989, p. 71.
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

- in Vietnamese 1100 GMT, 19 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-245, 22 December 1989, p. 64.
163. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 16 August 1989, pp. 1, 2; *Nhan Dan*, 18 July 1989, p. 3; *Saigon Giai Phong*, 16 August 1989, pp. 1, 2; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0453 GMT, 18 June 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-116, 19 June 1989, p. 52.
164. Le Khac Thanh, “Can Cai Cach Thuc Su He Thong Chinh Tri”, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 19 January 1989, pp. 1, 4.
165. *Dai Doan Ket*, 18–24 March 1989, p. 2.
166. *Hanoi Moi*, 17 March 1989, p. 2; *Saigon Giai Phong*, 15 March 1989, p. 1.
167. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT, 5 December 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-236, 11 December 1989, p. 59.
168. *Nhan Dan*, 31 July 1989, p. 2.
169. Nayan Chanda, “Force for Change”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 5 October 1989, pp. 24–26; Barry Wain, “Old Revolutionaries in Vietnam Launch One Last Offensive”, *Wall Street Journal*, 4 May 1989, pp. 1, 11.
170. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 28 August 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-166, 29 August 1989, pp. 66–72.
171. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 19 January 1989, pp. 1, 4.
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.
173. Quotations from Nguyen Huy’s article, cited on pp. 85–86 above, are from *Tap Chi Cong San*, February 1989, pp. 19–25.
174. *Nhan Dan*, 23 January 1989, pp. 3–4.
175. References to Linh’s closing speech to the sixth plenary session, cited on p. 88 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-061, 31 March 1989, p. 70. The quotation from Linh’s National Day speech, cited on p. 88 above, is from Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0831 GMT, 2 September 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 89-173, 8 September 1989, p. 68.
176. *Tap Chi Cong San*, January 1990, pp. 81–84; March 1990, pp. 75–77.
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

- Truoc 500 Nguoi Thuoc Thanh Phan Do Ban To Chuc, Chon Loc, Cuu Thong Tong Nguyen Van Thieu Chinh Thuc Nhan Lanh Trach Nhiem Lam Mat Nuoc Va Doi Xoa Bai Lam Lai”, *Hoa Thinh Don Viet Bao*, 7 April 1990, pp. 1, 2. Also see Susuma Awanohara, “Reconciling the Past”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 16 August 1990, pp. 21–22.
179. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 23 May 1990.
180. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 14 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-074, 17 April 1990, p. 73.
181. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 16 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-075, 18 April 1990, p. 55.
182. Murray Hiebert, “Jailhouse Open Door”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 31 May 1990, p. 22; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 7 June 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-111, 8 June 1990, p. 8.
183. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, 30 May 1990, pp. 1,4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 12 July 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-138, 18 July 1990, pp. 57–58.
184. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 16 January 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-013, 19 January 1990, p. 57.
185. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2330 GMT, 14 January 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-014, 22 January 1990, p. 59.
186. *Nhan Dan*, 16 November 1989, p. 3.
187. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0716 GMT, 7 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-045, 7 March 1990, pp. 71–72; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0704 GMT, 25 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-041, 1 March 1990, pp. 67–68; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 23 February 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-044, 6 March 1990, pp. 70–71. Also see *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 29 March 1990, p. 18; *Saigon Giai Phong*, 6 March 1990, p. 2. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 9 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-071, 12 April 1990, p. 44; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 15 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-054, 20 March 1990, p. 54; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 22 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-058, 26 March 1990, pp. 84–85; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1525 GMT, 19 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-204, 22 October 1990, pp. 74–75; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2330 GMT, 5 December 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-244, 19 December 1990, p. 55.

188. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0716 GMT, 7 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-045, 7 March 1990, pp. 71–72.
189. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 5 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-028, 9 February 1990, p. 54.
190. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0716 GMT, 7 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-045, 7 March 1990, pp. 71–72; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0704 GMT, 25 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-041, 1 March 1990, pp. 67–68; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 23 February 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-044, 6 March 1990, pp. 70–71.
191. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 5 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-051, 15 March 1990, p. 54.
192. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1000 GMT, 2 March 1989, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-044, 5 March 1990, p. 90; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 25 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS* 90-044, 1 March 1990, p. 68.
193. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0716 GMT, 7 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-045, 7 March 1990, p. 72.
194. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 27 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-046, 8 March 1990, p. 65.
195. Hanoi International Service in English, 1000 GMT, 29 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-062, 30 March 1990, p. 71.
196. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 11 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-053, 19 March 1990, p. 56.
197. Murray Hiebert, “Against the Wind”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 12 April 1990, p. 13; Gareth Porter, “The Politics of ‘Renovation’ in Vietnam”, *Problems of Communism* (May–June 1990), p. 87; Keith Richburg, “Vietnam’s Communists Demote Leading Proponent of Political Change”, *Washington Post*, 29 March 1989, pp. 29–30.
198. Hiebert, “Against The Wind”, p. 13; Tran Xuan Bach, “Mot Doi Dieu Suy Nghi Tren Duong Loi Moi”, *Tap Chi Cong San*, January 1990, p. 47.
199. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 5 January 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-005, 8 January 1990, pp. 67–70.
200. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 5 January 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-016, 24 January 1990, p. 75.
201. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 5 January 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-005, 8 January 1990, pp. 68–69.



202. References to the plenary communiqué, cited on pp. 105–07 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 28 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-060, 28 March 1990.
203. References to the party resolution cited on pp. 107–109 above are from “Nghị Quyết Hội Nghi Lan Thu 8, BCH TƯ Đ (Khoai VI), Đới Mối Công Tác Quán Chung Của Đảng, Tầng Cuồng Mối Quán He Giai Đảng Và Nhân Dân”, *Tap Chi Công San*, May 1990, pp. 1–8.
204. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 August 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-169, 30 August 1990, pp. 70–71 (communiqué); Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 August 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-169, 30 August 1990, pp. 69–70 (resolution).
205. *Nhan Dan*, 12 January 1990, pp. 3, 4; *Tap Chi Công San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19, 32.
206. *Nhan Dan*, 12 January 1990, pp. 3, 4; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 10 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-196, 10 October 1990, p. 59; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 13 November 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-220, 14 November 1990, p. 68. Also see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 3 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-193, 4 October 1990, p. 70; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 17 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-184, 21 September 1990, p. 73; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 27 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-210, 30 October 1990, p. 81; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 27 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-210, 30 October 1990, p. 81.
207. *Nhan Dan*, 7 September 1990, p. 3; *Tap Chi Công San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19, 32.
208. A January 1990 *Tap Chi 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 *Tap Công San* article noted that 8.8 per cent were workers participating directly in production. See *Tap Chi Công San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19, 32; *Nhan Dan*, 29 August 1990, p. 3.
209. *Tap Chi Công San*, February 1990, pp. 15–19, 32.
210. *Nhan Dan*, 12 January 1990, pp. 3, 4.
211. *Nhan Dan*, 29 August 1990, p. 3.
212. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 26 May 1990, p. 2.

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.
214. *Nhan Dan*, 7 September 1990, p. 3.
215. *Nhan Dan*, 5 February 1990, pp. 3–4.
216. *Tap Chi Cong San*, February 1990, pp. 52–54.
217. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1414 GMT, 2 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-024, 5 February 1990, p. 53.
218. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1528 GMT, 2 December 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-232, 3 December 1990, pp. 71–72.
219. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 1 December 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-233, 4 December 1990, pp. 54–55.
220. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 14 November 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 14 November 1990.
221. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 14 November 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-222, 16 November 1990, p. 70. For broadcasts following the plenary session, referenced on p. 120 above, see Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1528 GMT, 2 December 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-232, 3 December 1990, p. 71.
222. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 27 November 1990, *FBIS-EAS* 90-229, 28 November 1990, pp. 66–68.
223. All references to the Draft Platform, cited on pp. 122–23 above, are from Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 30 November 1990; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 30 November 1990; and Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 30 November 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-229, 28 November 1990, pp. 66–68.
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

- such were not concerned with the political impact of Tin's act. Also see *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 3 December 1990, p. 15; *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 11 March 1991, pp. 1, 19; "Duong Thu Huong", *Xay Dung*, (published in California), 1991, pp. 59–62.
225. Author's interview with senior Ministry of Foreign Affairs official, April 1991, and with Vietnamese News Agency official, October 1990.
226. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 5 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-026, 7 February 1990, p. 71; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 1 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-173, 6 September 1990, p. 58. Vo Van Kiet and Le Duc Anh's positions were unchanged from the Sixth Party Congress line-up to the October death of Le Duc Tho when a listing of the funeral committee ranked Kiet and Anh after Linh, Vo Chi Cong and Do Muoi. However, Nguyen Thanh Binh climbed ahead of Nguyen Duc Tam, Nguyen Co Thach and Dong Sy Nguyen. Mai Chi Tho rose by several spots, displacing Doan Khue by one notch. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 13 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-199, 15 October 1990, p. 78.
227. Hanoi International Service in English, 1000 GMT, 29 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-062, 30 March 1990, pp. 67–68; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0721 GMT, 30 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-063, 2 April 1990, pp. 50–55; *Ho Chi Minh Anh Hung Giai Phong Dan Toc Danh Nhan Van Hoa* (Hanoi: Uy Ban Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi Viet Nam, Nha Xuat Ban Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi, 1990).
228. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 5 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-174, 7 September 1990, pp. 71–75.
229. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0721 GMT, 30 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-063, 2 April 1990, p. 53.
230. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 14 February 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-035, 21 February 1990, pp. 73–74. Also see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 9 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-9052, 16 March 1990, p. 59 about the trial of the *Tien Phong* correspondent, Nguyen Minh Vien. Vien was convicted of libel for an article published on the 1989 crack-down on "decadent video cassettes" in mid-1989, and retried and found guilty of a lesser violation of the criminal code involving libel – by the High-Level Military Appellate Tribunal in Ho Chi Minh City during early March

- 1990; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1552 GMT, 6 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-068, 9 April 1990, p. 74; *Nhan Dan*, 21 June 1990, p. 3; *Nhan Dan*, 24 June 1990 editorial.
231. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 13 June 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-117, 18 June 1990, pp. 72–73.
232. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 13 June 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-117, 18 June 1990, pp. 72–73.
233. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 30 July 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-152, 7 August 1990, pp. 55–56; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 27 July 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-153, 8 August 1990, pp. 56–59 for a text of the Secretariat's Directive on the Management of Literature and the Arts.
234. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 7 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-176, 11 September 1990, p. 70.
235. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 1 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-192, 3 October 1990, p. 53; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 19 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-204, 22 October 1990, pp. 71–73.
236. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 9 November 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-220, 14 November 1990, pp. 70–72.
237. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 24 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-189, 28 September 1990, p. 56; Hanoi International Service in English, 25 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-187, 26 September 1990, p. 72; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 13 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-179, 14 September 1990, p. 68; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 11 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-177, 12 September 1990, p. 56.
238. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 13 March 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-052, 16 March 1990, pp. 58–59.
239. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 7 March 1990, pp. 1,3.
240. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 16 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-075, 18 April 1990, p. 55–56.
241. Hong Kong AFP in English, 0833 GMT, 16 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-073, 16 April 1990, p. 58; *Bangkok Post*, 14 May 1990, p. 6; *Saigon Giai Phong*, 19 June 1990, pp. 1,2; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 31 May 1990, p. 22.
242. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 10 June 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-118, 19 June 1990, p. 60.

243. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 8 June 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-114, 13 June 1990, pp. 57–58.
244. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 4 June 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-112, 11 June 1990, pp. 57–58.
245. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0711 GMT, 3 July 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-129, 5 July 1990, pp. 72–73; *Nhan Dan*, 12 July 1990, pp. 3–4.
246. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0500 GMT, 25 August 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-129, 28 August 1990, p. 59.
247. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 2300 GMT, 13 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-179, 14 September 1990, pp. 68–69; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 24 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-189, 24 September 1990, p. 56.
248. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 17 August 1990, p. 1; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1430 GMT, 23 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-185, 24 September 1990, p. 65; Hong Kong AFP in English, 1020 GMT, 19 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-182, 19 September 1990, p. 72; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1430 GMT, 15 September 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-182, 19 September 1990, pp. 72–73; Hong Kong AFP in English, 0907 GMT, 7 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-195, 9 October 1990, pp. 66–67; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1430 GMT, 7 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-196, 10 October 1990, p. 59; Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1100 GMT, 16 October 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-201, 17 October 1990, pp. 67–68; William Branigan, “Hanoi Tries 38 Accused of Trying to Invade Vietnam”, *Washington Post*, 11 October 1990, p. A. 32.
249. *Nhan Dan*, 7 January 1991, pp. 1, 4.
250. *Nhan Dan*, 12 January 1991, pp. 1, 4.
251. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 24 February 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-038, 26 February 1991, pp. 39–40.
252. *Nhan Dan*, 7 January 1991, pp. 1, 4.
253. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 4 March 1991, and Hanoi Vietnam Television Network in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 3 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 6 March 1991, p. 59.
254. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 4 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-044, 6 March 1991, p. 58.
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.
256. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 12 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-050, 14 March 1991, p. 57. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 11 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-050, 14 March 1991, p. 56 recounts the process in Song Be Province.
257. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 12 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-050, 14 March 1991, pp. 56–57; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0500 GMT, 14 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 92-051, 15 March 1991, p. 68.
258. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 11 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-050, 14 March 1991, p. 56; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1000 GMT, 18 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-053, 19 March 1991, pp. 72–73.
259. Hanoi Vietnam Television Network in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 17 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-055, 21 March 1991, p. 70; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 28 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-062, 1 April 1991, p. 45.
260. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 10 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-073, 16 April 1991, p. 53; Hanoi Vietnamese Television Network in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 20 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-073, 16 April 1991, pp. 53–54; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 1 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-074, 17 April 1991, pp. 71–72.
261. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 4 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 63.
262. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 28 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-099, 22 May 1991, p. 52.
263. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 22 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-098, 21 May 1991, p. 64.
264. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 1 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-100, 23 May 1991, p. 58.

265. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 22 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-098, 21 May 1991, p. 64.
266. Hanoi Vietnamese Television Network in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 2 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 64.
267. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 28 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-099, 22 May 1991, p. 52.
268. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 1 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-100, 23 May 1991, p. 58.
269. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 29 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 65.
270. Hanoi Vietnamese Television Network in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 7 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 65; Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1200 GMT, 3 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 64.
271. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 1 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-100, 23 May 1991, p. 58; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 65.
272. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-091, 10 May 1991, p. 65; Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 24 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-099, 22 May 1991, p. 53.
273. For example, see Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2330 GMT, 31 March 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-078, 23 April 1991, p. 65.
274. *Saigon Giai Phong*, 3 March 1991.
275. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-085, 2 May 1991, p. 62.
276. See "Vietnam: Draft Political Report", Daily Report Supplement, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-080-S, 25 April 1991, pp. 1–24.
277. *Tap Chi Cong San*, June 1991, pp. 2–4; Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 0228 GMT, 26 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, pp. 15–18.
278. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 2300 GMT, 13 January 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-009, 14 January 1991, pp. 56–57.
279. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 29 May 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-104, 30 May 1991, pp. 67–68.
280. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 0228 GMT, 24 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, p. 19.

281. *Nhan Dan*, 30 May 1991 editorial, p. 1.
282. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 6 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-080-S, 25 April 1991, pp. 21–22.
283. See, for example, Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 0735 GMT, 22 January 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-014, 22 January 1991, p. 55.
284. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 6 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-080-S, 25 April 1991, p. 22; *Nhan Dan*, 29 January 1991, pp. 1,4, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-033, 19 February 1991, pp. 53–54; Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 6 April 1990, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-080-S, 25 April 1991, pp. 21–22.
285. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 6 April 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 90-080-S, 25 April 1991, pp. 21–22.
286. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1430 GMT, 23 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, p. 6; Murray Hiebert, “More of the Same”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 July 1991, p. 11.
287. Hanoi Vietnamese News Agency in English, 1514 GMT, 27 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-027-S, 2 July 1991, p. 19.
288. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 24 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, p. 11. Also see Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 24 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, p. 3, and Hong Kong AFP in English, 1420 GMT, 23 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, p. 7.
289. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 0205 GMT, 24 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-123-S, 26 June 1991, p. 15.
290. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1400 GMT, 25 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-127-S, 2 July 1991, pp. 3–5.
291. Hanoi Voice of Vietnam Network in Vietnamese, 1100 GMT, 28 June 1991, *FBIS-EAS*, 91-133-S, 11 July 1991, p. 10.
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