

# Cultural Changes Since Đổi Mới - *From Guidelines to Reality*

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## Abstract

In Vietnam a couple years before the reform termed *Đổi Mới*, was a grey picture with serious crises. That is a vital premise, a life and death situation for the Communist Party of Vietnam in the VIth Party Congress in 1986. On the eve of *Đổi Mới*, Vietnamese culture in general, was in a narrow, dogmatic and ideologically subsidized environment. Yet, since *Đổi Mới*, the Vietnamese culture and the cultural development, although resulted in achievements, faces a huge challenge: restrictions, not yet suitable for its national conditions, socialist-oriented market economy and international integration.

This article provides personal experiences and perspectives (on cultural change visually via observational and participatory research methods) comparing the before and after *Đổi Mới* while seeking to assess the cultural situation and the acculturation of Vietnam since *Đổi Mới*. The key questions are how Vietnamese culture has changed from guidelines of the Party to its social and cultural reality and how culture changed as seen and perceived from 1980s to present-day generation? In doing so, this article aims to address the general picture of transformation, vivid acculturation in accordance with the process of the economic, social and political *Đổi Mới* in Vietnam.

**Keywords:** Vietnam, *Đổi Mới*, Vietnamese Culture, Acculturation, Cultural Policy

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## Introduction

The comprehensive and profound crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s made Vietnam challenging a critical turning point in national economics, national development as well. That is a production, especially agricultural production with a weak cooperative system, stagnant state-planned industry, severe inflation, poor people's living standards, aid from the socialist bloc meaning no longer exists. On the other hand, the stagnation of cultural and ideological life exacerbated the economic and social crisis. At the time, the Soviet leadership launched the "perestroika" (reform) and "glasnost" (public transparency), consequently marking an end to the old model of socialism. In order to find a way out of the crisis and isolation, the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) actively set out the *Đổi Mới* for the VIth Party Congress (in 1986), creating a turning point in the revolutionary history. The purpose of the article is to address the cultural acculturation of Vietnam since *Đổi Mới*.<sup>1</sup> By examining changes on culture from Party guideline to reality, trying to reappraise Party documents, it also aims at highlighting its nurturing, transformation, assimilation along with achievements and limitations.

## From the Party's Guidelines on Culture

In contrast to scholarship on the political target of *Đổi Mới*,<sup>2</sup> the central content of the VIth Party Congress (1986) was the issue of economic renewal. It made a turn from a bureaucratic and subsidized economic model with centralized rule through 5-year plan to a multi-component economic model according to the market economy mechanism under the control and regulation of the state. It also marked the method change of thought from voluntarism to acting of according to reality and objective laws. As a result of the thought change, as for foreign relations, it initially changed from a guideline of isolation and self-sufficiency to a policy of diversified and multilateral international relations, encouraging international economic exchanges and cooperation towards foreign investment, then international economic integration (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2006).

Meanwhile, in terms of culture, in the Party's Political Report, there was still a strong argument against the cultural remnants of feudalism, colonialism and bourgeoisie/middle-class. It was to defeat the schemes and activities of hostile forces to turn culture and art into a means of spreading pessimism and a corrupt lifestyle; give a free rein to cultural struggle (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2006:345-480), (Chinh, 2009:1371). Nonetheless, Party documents questioned the renewal on culture, culture in association with politics, even political culture indeed<sup>3</sup>.

Accordingly, the cultural reform gradually took shape in the central sessions the VIth Party Congress and the following party congresses. The Political Program of the CPV in the VIIth Party Central Committee in 1991 set out the comprehensive reform of society, for the first time officially introduced the concept of Vietnamese culture with advanced characteristics, imbued with national identity (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2007:132-152), played a role as the spiritual foundation of society, both as a driving force and a goal of development.

The Political Program<sup>4</sup> advocates to build a new culture, creating a beautiful, rich and diverse spiritual life with humanitarian, democratic and progressive content, affirming and praising true values, fostering nurture “truth, goodness, beauty” (真善美), criticizing the lowly outdated based on a progressive point of view. Regarding the cultural orientation and acculturation, in the Political Program, culture is identified as both the goal and the driving force of development. It affirms a continuing of carrying out the socialist revolution of thought and culture, making the Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought of holding the leading position in the spiritual life of society. The Political Program also addressed to inherit and promote the fine cultural tradition of all ethnic people in the country, absorb the mankind cultural quintessence, and to fight anti-progressive ideology and culture in opposition to the good and long-standing tradition of the nation as well as contrary to the direction towards socialism.

Compared to the VIth Party Congress, the cultural issues raised in the 1991 Political Program were further open and specific. Culture is no longer considered a tool, a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle of “who wins against whom,” but rather to foster people towards universal values of “truth, goodness, beauty.” With the guideline of building and developing “an advanced culture imbued with national identity,” there has been an effort to balance between “tradition and modernity” and “inheritance of national cultural values and acquirement of human cultural quintessence.” Even so it remains undefined in concepts. Before resulting in such the crucial events of 1995 as the U.S. and Vietnamese normal diplomatic nomination, the 7th member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and applied to join the World Trade Organization (WTO), a year of success in peace (Womack, 1996:73-82), the Party session in the middle term of the VIIth Party Central Committee (January 1994) then the VIIIth Party Congress (June 1996) officially affirmed the foreign policy of independence, self-control, openness, and multilateral, and diversified relations with the guideline that Vietnam wanted to be a friend of all countries in the world community, striving for peace, independence and development.

Remarkably, the 5th session of the VIIIth Party Central Committee in 1998 was a meeting for an in-depth discussion on the topic “On building and developing an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity” (Party Central Committee, 1998). Indeed, the session resolution is the basic document that has oriented and directed cultural strategies, guidelines and policies until now.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, of the ten specific cultural tasks, the 9th is dedicated to acculturation, clearly stating the view of “expanding international cooperation on culture,” which is considered a step of cultural exchange towards cultural integration. Clearly explaining this task, the Resolution stresses “Do well in introducing Vietnamese culture, country and people to the world, selectively absorbing humanistic, scientific and foreign values; Disseminate good experiences of construction and development of other countries; Prevent the penetration of reactionary and depraved cultural products; Help overseas Vietnamese to understand the home situation, obtain information and products from home, uphold patriotism, national self-respect, preserve the tradition of national identity, promote intellectual and creative

talents, contributing to the national development” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2015:293-324). In short, the Resolution seeks to encourage and promote two-way acculturation in a selective manner.

The Central Resolution also explains the connotation of the concept of "advanced culture and imbued with national identity" in the second point out of five basic guiding principles such as patriotism and progress whose core content is the ideal of national independence and socialism according to Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thought, all goals for happiness and rich people, natural development due, comprehensive human being in the harmonious relationship between the individual and the community, between society and nature. Preserving national identity must go closely with fighting backwardness and obsolescence in old customs, practices and habits.

Logically, the arguments on the lines and views on culture and acculturation set out in the Resolution (5th session of the VIIIth Party Central Committee) seem to be quite coherent, logical and complete. It paints a bright panorama of culture, expressing the desire of leaders, a culture "as it should be." However, the problem is the reality of life, the "as it was" culture that has existed in society for the past 15 years has followed and fulfilled the beautiful wishes, but it may still be "only will," "utopian"?<sup>6</sup> Looking back at the current situation of the Vietnamese cultural picture reflected in the mass (social) media, it seems to have the certain right to doubt that (Kim, 2016), (Dung, 2019).

In the Meeting on the occasion of 15 years of implementation of the 5th session resolution of the VIIIth Party Central Committee (1998-2013), its Recapitulate stated that after 15 years the awareness of the Party and the society on the role and cultural position has been raised markedly. The Party's guideline and Ho Chi Minh's thought on culture have been widely spread in social life. Vietnamese people's ideology, morality and lifestyle have made positive and important changes. The traditional cultural values are promoted, inherited and developed. At the same time, new cultural values and ethical standards have been gradually formed in accordance with the development trend and the international integration. Nonetheless, the Meeting's assessment admitted that during 1998-2013, alienation, lavish lifestyle, frivolity, deceit tended to develop more and more. The degradation of morality and lifestyle of a large number of cadres and party members affects so far the spiritual life of society, the disease of "insensitivity" in society appears. The system of traditional cultural values is overturned, while the new good values have not been confirmed. Whether the above two contrasting factors are a dialectical reflection between the two opposing and unified contradictions of Vietnamese culture, or rather reflect the divergence leading to the distance between the theory (in guideline and policy) and the practice (in life)?

### To Changed Reality of Culture

#### Big Changes of a General Picture

The economic transformation and reformation have created the stage and the agents for changes. The first factor is since *Đổi Mới* that there has been a strong

increase of foreign factors in the two-way international exchange relations among Vietnam and a large number of foreign countries. Vietnam has established diplomatic relations with more than 100 countries on all continents, including former enemies. Vietnam also participated in many international and regional organizations, especially those of the United Nations, including WTO, UNESCO and so on. Diplomatic visits have been promoted, economic and investment projects, international cooperation in science, culture and education have been signed. Foreign multinational companies and international organizations, Non-Governmental Organisation have been present and occurring in Vietnam.

Foreigners including professionals, employees, students, investors, businessmen, scientists, artists, tourists of all kinds have come in and settled in Vietnam. Vietnamese expatriated abroad, most notably from the United States, have also returned to their homeland, some of which have stayed in. On the contrary, Vietnamese going abroad for work and business also increased, the vast majority have returned to live after long working abroad. Those who used to "go to the West" when returning home, to different extents, but the most profound is still among the youth, they have been influenced and brought with them back their ideas, lifestyles, and cultural practices of the country where they had lived, along with foreign products and means of technology and culture. At the state level, although the State Government has repeatedly called for and sanctioned the need to be resistant and vigilant against "toxic cultural products," "foreign cultural products" were imported and widely circulated in society and urban families indeed. This was a newly socio-cultural phenomenon that had never occurred before *Đổi Mới*.

In particular, since the late 20th century, the widespread use of the internet by one-third of the population has been an "information big bang" with unimaginable impacts and consequences. Before this "big bang," there were conflicting opinions emerging from both polar opposites: either calling for strict control, limiting and preventing the negative effects of the internet, or wanting to expand freedom due to more access to information via the internet. Someone seek to argue about the advantages and the disadvantages of the internet, in fact it depends on what aspect and from what point of view. But perhaps no one deny or oppose the fact that internet is really an unprecedented information and communication revolution, fundamentally changing the face of global culture, including Vietnam. Just like the use of the national language script for illiteracy eradication and education universalization in the past, the internet facilitates Vietnamese people to get rid of "information blindness" and to raise the level of intellectual knowledge for society.

The remarks under the influence of acculturation during the *Đổi Mới* period witness the gradual changes in an irreversible process. The policy liberalization of maintaining a multi-sector economy with a market mechanism has created a number of opportunities for a linking among domestic economic sectors, as well as among domestic and foreign economic components. It most prominently seems to be between a joint-venture or wholly foreign invested economy and the state-owned economy and private capitalist economy. The late 1990s witnessed the golden age of the association. FDI capital, industries, industrial zones... appeared

all over cities, provinces. In general, the Vietnamese economy created a turning point, a new face, leaving behind the gloomy bureaucratic and subsidized economic picture of the past, only remaining as a past memory in the old stories. Economic and life standards achievements are confirmed by statistics and real life. Even though prior to the first decade of the 21st century, the economy has slowed down and sometimes fell into crisis, giving rise to pressing social problems.

And as a result of these cultural changes, there has been a complex cultural rubbing, mixing, and fusion between the endogenous and exogenous factors. Would the predominance belong to cultures with strong potential and attractiveness with both positive and negative? Would the guidelines keep up with cultural and social realities?

### Acculturation of Some Aspects highlighted

Besides the blooming of the cities with high buildings, due to the influence of widely international relations, the material life of Vietnamese people, especially in urban areas, has undergone changes in line with Western/U.S. modern trends - the characteristics of a consumer and "hedonism" society. Seen from outward, especially in big cities, new phenomena in eating and drinking culture are that people like to eat out at restaurants, European-American dishes, specialties or fast, ready-made food, or buffet, foreign wines, Coca-Cola, Pepsi... Weddings or celebrations are rarely organized at home, but often placed in restaurants and hotels. Welcome parties, sumptuous summaries, groups of colleagues and friends together go to the bar for a Heineken; whisky and wine also became a common habit.

In clothing, the pre-Đổi Mới type of clothes such as long-sleeved shirts, cotton shirts, black silk pants, and tire sandals also disappeared quite quickly. Instead, there were beautiful and polite clothes, which tended to follow genuine fashion, especially for women. Such 1990s and 2000s pictures and photos as hats, shirts, shoes, briefcases, handbags were all improved in design, some well-off members running after expensive French and Italian brands to appear "stylish," especially music and movie actors, female stars with their expensive foreign cosmetics, beauty care services at beauty salons.

Public and civil architectural constructions are perhaps the most impressive highlight of the early Đổi Mới period. First, it was the size of the area and the height. It was rare in 1980s in building 2 or 3-floor houses with a relatively beautiful design, which could become a questionable problem of "unknown origin," even confiscation ("Z30" in 1983). Only 10 years later (late 1990s), people were able to freely build grandiose private houses up to 6 and 7 floors or more, not counting public buildings of dozens of floors, with luxury apartments, modern furniture and amenities. The designs are somewhat rich, "hundreds of flowers bloom," unique beautiful villas in a poetic landscape. There were also model houses with messy designs, Western, Chinese hybrids and even Arabian Muslims.

Before 1975, Vietnam was a country of bicycles. A few rare motorbikes brought from Soviet Union or Eastern European countries with bad designs. Private cars

were almost nonexistent. More than a decade after *Đổi Mới*, Nihon/Japanese motorbikes with the common name "Honda" began to travel a lot, especially in urban cities. However, most of them were old cars that had been used since before 1975, with classic colors and designs. Motorcycles of all sizes and modern designs, in which Nihon motorcycles still dominated, appeared more and more on urban/city streets. The old tram that once attached all citizens disappeared "without a drum" (its image now remains just in memories or museums). Then buses, taxis, and personal cars raced to appear, making the traffic network bustling day and night, accompanied by traffic jams. Renewed train and civil aviation have shortened the regional/area distances. Some rich seek to become luxury "world-class," they bought their own yachts and private airplanes.

As for entertainment culture, this probably is the type of spiritual culture in the deepest imprint of acculturation and it converges complicated and critical evaluations and arguments. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the entertainment life had used to be much monotonous and dry, and at the time it was considered a thirsty man encountering a new source of water, he hastily drank it to his heart's content, without having to distinguish between clean and dirty choices.

With transistor technology through liquid crystal television screens (Sony, Samsung instead of old JVC), there is no longer a shadow of the movies with the revolutionary spirit of the past, both domestic and foreign, except on anniversaries or celebrations. World classic movies about human values have also screened, even if rarely. Instead of that, there were hit series likely "soap" or sensational, suspenseful actions, or sentimental, humorous, or epic movies, whether originally from capitalist South Korea or Socialist China. Superstar actresses obtained a golden opportunity to go on stage and screen to show off their fashion and body, along with the latest dances and music. Then there are beauty contests of all kinds, discotheques, karaoke shops, the movement of supermodels, foreign idols and so on have sprang up like "mushrooms after a rain."

What it is probably to do not judge these types as good or bad, should or should it not be, that is the reality of the contemporary world anyway? The point here is, at the same time, why is there so little encouragement to discuss such serious issues as the future of humanity, global challenges, reality and need for a renewal of national socio-political affairs, or discussing the concept of life, the ideals of the youth, the personality and bravery of the intelligentsia.<sup>7</sup> This probably is the negative consequences of a kind of unequal acculturation, a kind of "skim" cultural acculturation with colorful formal but uncomprehensive and unsubstantial. As both a means and at the same time the result of the process of the expansion of multilateralisation, internet, laptops and mobile phones are impressive symbols of Vietnam's acculturation in the era of international integration. Vietnamese people, especially young people, tend to use these modern media with the latest and most beautiful designs, the most famous brands with its practical utility regardless of whether on its price. It then has also been flooded with blogs, social networks, online links.

There are so far a good number of conflicting opinions (officially highlighted in Party documents), negative even side effects of information, communication, transaction. Nevertheless, the fact that they make the world suddenly extremely small in a closed room or in the palm of our hand, as well as the time to transmit updated information with full picture and sound in few seconds. At the same time, it expands the global connection space and the retention time for centuries, with an unlimited number of people. And no one denies its unfiltered heterogeneity, which can lead to negative, even harmful effects, consequences.

In terms of cultural sociology, the popularity of the internet, laptops and mobile phones in the Vietnamese community confirms the irreversible “victory” of acculturation and cultural globalization, together with its unstoppable attraction. It also speaks up for the aspirations for universal human rights of contemporary Vietnamese people, including cultural democratic rights, freedom and equal access to information, and broadening vision, reaching new human values as well as returning to the classical values of “truth, goodness, beauty.” The curiosity, filial piety, and dignity of users are eager to show themselves as classy and fashionable and stylish. Once people’s intellectual level is raised, people will shed their frivolous outer layers of cultural behavior to return to the truth, human core values. Complementing those changes, it is necessary to include exogenous factors imported through the young. A huge movement of Vietnamese students goes to abroad to study in many forms, mostly to Western countries and the U.S. English, an international language is almost universal in education, science and daily life in contemporary Vietnam. The phenomenon created a new class of young intellectuals in terms of age, knowledge, thinking and lifestyle with an enhanced level of intellectual level.

In another aspect of cultural sociology, the influence of the exchange process was marriage and family. In traditional Vietnamese society, under the profound influence of Confucian ideology and ethic and long-standing customs, sex, love and marriage were regulated by strict rituals and taboos. The law and the public opinion uphold the views of “男女受受不亲,”<sup>8</sup> “virtue before marriage,” “parents force their children to obey in marriage,” “similarity of social background between bride and bridegroom’s families.” Under the subsidized time, in order to protect “socialist morality” and build new men, although the principles of feudal etiquette/rites had been denied, the above-mentioned delicate issues have also been rigorously examined and evaluated under a new vision, sometimes anti-human point of view.

Since 1990s, it seems that Vietnamese people have become more and more human, open-minded and free on sex, love and marriage (defined by strict rituals and taboos), an important cause partly due to the impact of acculturation through books/newspapers, movies, internet and the lifestyle of those who had been worked and lived abroad. In one side, was it an expression of human liberation, personal liberation, continuing the line of cultural renewal of the 1930s (high tensional acculturation between Vietnamese and French culture) in a higher, more modern level? Sex before wedding are also no longer considered a real thing. Mar-



riage freedom in theory is promoted, love and relationship outside marriage, the "extra-marital" phenomenon<sup>9</sup> is not accepted by wide society, but, the standard deviation was sometimes ignored by the public. It is the social problem but if it is of famous/well-known artists, people are so curious, trying the best way to discover, ironically.

However, around this aspect, there are also a misinterpretation and excessive phenomenon. In Western culture (West Europe and the U.S.) and some in Oriental cultures, although sex is free and not taboo, it is still a delicate, private matter on a voluntary, respectful and protected-women basis. In many countries, prostitution is legal, but it is tightly controlled socially and medically. Divorce is liberal and "extra-marital" is somewhat tolerated but not encouraged. Sexual harassment and abuse, marriage for profits (without love but for money) are still strongly condemned by public opinion. The basic thing is that Western culture is not only about sexual freedom, but also has many other serious, human values. In search of the causes of the above-mentioned phenomena on marriage and family in Vietnam is it due to the lack of thorough and comprehensive understanding of acculturation, one-sided and excessive phenomena occurred? A lot of young people fell into the evil of debauchery. Prostitution is banned, but its practice is still rampant in both urban and rural areas, leading to the danger of disease transmission. Sex education for teenagers is carried out in both open and half-hearted, vague way, which has caused such negative phenomena as teenage abortion and forced sexual violence. Extra-marital phenomena in or out office<sup>8</sup> have led to the breakdown of the ground and happiness of families, even causing seriously criminal crimes or barbaric murders.

Are those cultural defects just a consequence of the reverse side of integration, acculturation and the market economy (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2015), or do they stem from some other deeper internal causes of the institution and social structure, anti-human thinking and hypocrisy? Is it a challenge in transforming the model from a centralized management to a decentralized model of cultural management in order to be suitable for the context of a socialist-oriented market economy? Does cultural globalization cause the risk of losing national cultural identity if it does not enhance the endogenous strength in culture, conduct cultural modernization but not separate from the unique cultural values of the nation? Finally, the aspect of acculturation of needing to be highlighted is mentality and lifestyle. The cultural contacts and the acculturation since *Đổi Mới* in various fields have transformed those and value system of the Vietnamese people. In general, from a somewhat backward simple lifestyle to a modern civilized way of life, from a mentality of community and obligation to a mentality of individualism and hedonism. Sometimes that the lifestyle of enjoyment has led to depraved phenomena.<sup>10</sup>

The Regulation N015/QĐ-TW issued on 28 August 2006 at the 3rd session of the Xth Party Central Committee allowed party members to do private businesses and open enterprises "entitled to do business branches, industries that the law does not prohibit" (Party central committee, 2006). Some have taken advantage, relying

on the political power of the family, hooking up with state-owned enterprises and foreign capitalist companies, becoming a "red bourgeois" rich class. Others follow the path of power business, speculating information through affair cases, projects, or by corrupt tricks also become rich, joining "interest groups." They bought buildings, luxury cars, sending their children to study abroad, using branded goods, playing stylish games, covering their mistresses. Vietnamese Communist Party General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong admitted that in his trip for voter contact at the end of 2013 "It's all about money, chasing profits, disregarding human values. Money trampled on education, health care, and cadre training"<sup>11</sup>. It is argued to find the main causes: errors in the mechanism/structure or fault in the influence of acculturation? Probably the truth is quite complex but also quite simple: it is a combination of relationship-interaction effects inside the system with the influence of the external environment (both Western capitalist and socialist neighboring countries) in the process of social and human depravity.

### Conclusion

On the eve of *Đổi Mới*, besides the somewhat exaggerated policy of protecting the national culture and implementing the stereotypical "ideological subsidy," Vietnam rejected almost all exchanges, cooperation, acculturation. At this time, it was considered a conspiracy and a cultural invasion of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, revisionism, expansionism. Movies, images, pictures of non-socialist bloc, or radical part of the socialist side were banned because that had been judged as revisionism, reactionary, depravity. Western literature and philosophy, especially non-Marxist modernist movements, expressed in works translated in South Vietnam before 1975, were often criticized for being anti-progressive, enslaving, wrong, negative. Nevertheless, after more than 3 decades of implementing the *Đổi Mới*, it comes to "The thinking on cultural development has not kept pace and suitable for the development of a socialist-oriented market economy and international integration" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2015:97).

In facing new changes and phenomena of the world today such as climate changes, famine, epidemics, migration, economic crisis, terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, territory, maritime territorial sovereignty disputes, people are asking themselves the future of the humankind? From those worries and ups and downs of the age, humanity is struggling and striving towards the aspiration of peace, freedom, equality, charity, universal cultural values. In the context of globalization, as a country with a medium level of economic development, Vietnam is making efforts to build a state model towards the following goals: democracy, equality, civilisation. In many fields, Vietnamese culture has shown outstanding advantages compared to many Asian countries. Therefore "Culture is an advantage of Vietnam, we can completely strengthen and promote our soft power, starting from culture" (Thanh, 2014:3).

To what extent is the integration and the assimilation in accordance with the social, psychological, cultural and traditional conditions and the ability to absorb and adapt to the social status of Vietnam? So that Vietnamese culture is not overwhelmed by the world's new cultural products and phenomena? It seems

that Vietnam has determined a roadmap and implemented basic solutions for the process of cultural development: Integration to change and acculturation and acculturation to continue to integrate at a higher level. Since 1986, cultural changes have taken place according to a process: The first is the renewal of thinking, the abandoning of isolationism, followed by the steps of international exchanges and cooperation, and then international integration. It considers that economic integration is the first step, then cultural integration, and now Vietnam is preparing for political integration on the basis of preparing arguments and possible solutions for the political system reform, towards building a socialist rule of law state of creating development, integrity and action for the XIIIth Party Congress goals and aspiration "rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization."<sup>12</sup>

Finally, in relations between economy and culture, the documents of the XIIIth Party Central Committee continues to require the development of the cultural industry, but has expressed a new approach and level. If the Political Report of the XIIth Party Congress generally required that the development of the cultural industry come hand in hand with building and perfecting the market for services and cultural products, the Political Report of the XIIIth Party Congress sets out the concrete requirements, more specifically, emphasizing the relationship between the cultural industry and the soft power of Vietnamese culture and the selective and creative absorption and application of mankind's cultural achievements and values (Communist Party of Vietnam, T.I, 2021:145).

## Endnotes

- 1 Basically it is during such decades after 1986 as 1990s, 2000s and 2010s.
- 2 Although under the impact of Soviet political model, in more than 30 years in retrospect after *Đổi Mới* it comes to provide evidence with social and economic goal of *Đổi Mới* Vietnam. In the 1980s and 1990s many people were skeptical about the success of *Đổi Mới*, especially after the Soviet Union's collapse; even the international press raised a lot about the consequences of the collapse as domino of the countries of the Soviet Union.
- 3 Up to now, the Party guideline is to renew the political system, but has never raised the issue of political regime change.
- 4 Cương Lĩnh in 1991.
- 5 It has been in fact reflected in the Meeting/Conference held by the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism under the title "Recapitulate Meeting of 15 years of implementation of the 5th central session of the 8th Party Central Committee (1998-2013)."
- 6 Those issues were not rare in the mass media of "Western capitalist countries."
- 7 When commenting on the changes of Vietnamese culture and the effects of acculturation in the past 15 years, the Meeting Recapitulate of 15 years of implementation of the 5th session of the VIIIth Party Central Committee (1998-2013) considered that was seemly inconsistent, even contradictory (through the statements of former Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung at that Meeting on 08 August 2013 in Hanoi).

- 8 "Men and women should not hand things to each other directly" (men and women should avoid physical contact). A girl must marry the young man (that) her parents have selected for her.
- 9 "Sugar daddy," "sugar baby"
- 10 The Tuoi Tre (Youth Newspaper) Ho Chi Minh City issued on January 20, 2000 published a report on "All night games...hell" with the confession of those who said "one night can't use up 10 gold trees (~gold ounce) cannot sleep."
- 11 Speech on 07 December 2013 by General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong during the meeting with voters after the sixth session of the 13th National Assembly in Hanoi.
- 12 The document of the XIIIth Party Central Committee defines: "Arousing the aspiration to develop a prosperous and happy country; preserving and promoting Vietnamese cultural values and human strength in the cause of national construction and defense and international integration. It requires specific policies on cultural development in ethnic minorities, well implementing social policies, ensuring social security and human security, creating drastic changes in social development management, realizing social progress and justice, improving the quality of life and happiness index of Vietnamese people" (Communist Party of Vietnam, T.I, 2021: 202).

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