

VIETNAM ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY

NGUYEN TAI DONG - TRAN TUAN PHONG - VU THI KIEU PHUONG
————— (EDITORS) —————

THE VALUES OF SOCIALISM

(INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS)



SOCIAL SCIENCES PUBLISHING HOUSE

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HANOI - 2024

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PREFACE

From ancient times and throughout the history of existence and development of human society, humanity has always cherished the dream of a happy life characterized by the values of truth, goodness, and beauty, while constantly seeking a direction towards a better society where people are at the center. In the context of capitalism, characterized by economic exploitation of workers, political oppression, and material and spiritual poverty, this natural and legitimate aspiration is becoming even more fervent.

Hồ Chí Minh, a world-renowned cultural figure, national hero and the great leader of the Vietnamese people, famously stated: “Only communism can save humanity by, regardless of race and origin, bringing freedom, equality, fraternity, solidarity, and prosperity to everyone, and providing jobs for all and because of the people’s joy, peace, and happiness.” This means that only communism, with its initial stage being socialism, can truly create a good society that embodies profound human values and has universal significance for all humanity.

Socialism is understood through various approaches: as an ideal, a doctrine, and a social regime. As a social regime based on scientific socialism, socialism from the perspective of the Communist Party of Vietnam has the following core values: i) Socialism is a humanistic society with the noble goal of completely liberating and comprehensively developing individuals; ii) Socialism is a democratic society, where all power truly belongs to the people; iii) Socialism is a just, civilized, and progressive society; iv) Socialism is a sustainable development society. These

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are the most comprehensive core values of socialist society according to the viewpoint of the Communist Party of Vietnam. These core values are interconnected and complementary, forming a core value system that embodies the essence of socialism.

During globalization and international integration, particularly in the field of social sciences, this trend is an inevitable and objective reality. It also serves as a means to combine national elements with international factors, linking internal strength with external support to enhance the construction and development of the country. In this spirit, in November 2022, the Institute of Philosophy under the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences collaborated with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Southeast Asia Office in Hanoi to co-organize an international scientific conference on the theme “The Values of Socialism” in Vinh Long City, Vinh Long Province, Vietnam. The conference attracted significant interest and participation from numerous researchers and educators in philosophy from Vietnam, China, Slovakia, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In Vietnam today, researching the values of socialism is one of the key tasks of the social sciences sector. This not only contributes to a more comprehensive and profound understanding and wider dissemination of the true values of socialism as a socio-economic system, but also plays an important role in spreading the values and appeal of socialism to progressive humanity worldwide. It reinforces and strengthens the trust of the Vietnamese people in the socialist regime, particularly by encouraging and promoting a strong motivation for social responsibility as well as the creative labor and contributions of all citizens in building socialism—a ‘great social project’ unprecedented in the nation’s history.

The international scientific conference on “The Values of Socialism” can be considered a highly meaningful scientific

activity. It not only provides a scientific approach to the diverse and rich values of socialism but also contributes to shaping the universal and specific values of socialism. Additionally, it begins to assess the results and offers suggestions and directions for the continued realization of socialist values in the context of renewal and the construction of socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam today.

To socialize the diverse and rich research results of domestic and international scientists regarding the values of socialism, the Institute of Philosophy under the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, in collaboration with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Southeast Asia Office in Hanoi, published the proceedings of the international scientific workshop titled “The Values of Socialism.” Based on 50 selected reports, the proceedings are structured into three main sections: Section I - *Approaching socialism from an axiological perspective*; Section II - *The core values of socialism*; Section III - *Fundamental Achievements in realizing some values of socialism*.

To accomplish this task, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Southeast Asia Office in Hanoi. We also wish to extend our appreciation to Mr. Philip Degenhardt, former regional director of RLS-SEA; Mr. Stefan Mentschel, current regional director of RLS-SEA; Ms. Triệu Tuyết Mai Hương, Ms. Nguyễn Hồng Nga, Ms. Nguyễn Thúy Hà, and many other collaborators at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Institute of Philosophy. We would like to thank the Vietnamese and international scholars who participated in the conference.

We hope the proceedings will provide valuable insights and meaningful research suggestions for everyone.

Institute of Philosophy

PART I
APPROACHING SOCIALISM FROM AN
AXIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

**FAIR AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT FOR
THE PEOPLE'S HAPPINESS THROUGH THE
ARTICLE "SOME THEORETICAL AND
PRACTICAL ISSUES ON SOCIALISM AND THE
PATH TO SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM"
BY GENERAL SECRETARY NGUYEN PHU TRONG**

*Assoc. Prof. Dr. Doan Minh Huan**

Fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness reflects the nature of the political regime and the necessity of the socialist orientation in the market economy in our country.

The first political platform of the Party (1930) affirmed that, after achieving national independence, the Vietnamese revolution would move towards socialism so that our people would not have to suffer, be oppressed, be injustice, and had a prosperous, free and happy life. Previously, in his work "Revolutionary Path" (1927), leader Nguyen Ai Quoc - Ho Chi Minh considered the British, French, and American bourgeois revolutions to be "incomplete" revolutions because after many revolutions, the people of those countries still suffered from oppression and injustice; and he said that "We have sacrificed for the revolution so we should do it until achieving goal (...). Only then will the

* Member of the Party Central Committee, Secretary of Ninh Binh Provincial Party Committee

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people be happy without making many sacrifices" ⁽¹⁾. With his sharp political vision, based on his theoretical research on Marxism-Leninism and extensive practical experience, he concluded that only socialism could thoroughly solve the problem of bringing independence to the nation, a prosperous life, freedom and true happiness for all people, all nations. In the article, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong continued to emphasize: "National independence associated with socialism is the basic and thorough line of the Vietnamese revolution and is also a key point in the thought legacy of President Ho Chi Minh"⁽²⁾.

From the very beginning and throughout the process of Doi moi (Renovation), our Party has affirmed unequivocally that the Renovation is not about changing the socialist goal but making that goal achievable by more effective forms and measures in accordance with the country's reality and characteristics of the transition period, overcoming the disease of dogmatism, subjectivity, and voluntarism. When the socialist regimes in Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union collapsed (1989-1991), our Party calmly and wisely analyzed the situation, found the causes, and correctly stated that it was the collapse of an unsuitable, voluntarist model of socialism rather than the fall of scientific socialism. In that context, finding ways and means of development to suit each stage of the transition to socialism requires bravery, intelligence and theoretical creative capacity of the ruling Party to both be steadfast in the chosen goals and ideals, and effectively manage the realization of the goals at each stage of the Doi moi process. While acknowledging the non-socialist factors that still exist objectively in the transition period to socialism, the Party must find the answer to the questions: how to effectively promote the positive side, control the negative side, guide and control them to serve the socialist cause? How to realize

the good values of socialism in daily life so that people can be authenticated and enjoyed... These are big challenges for the Party's leadership and ruling responsibilities. Therefore, "presenting the concept of developing a socialist-oriented market economy is *a very fundamental and creative theoretical breakthrough of our Party*, is an important theoretical result through 35 years of implementing the doi moi policy, derived from Vietnamese practice and selectively absorbing the world's experience"⁽³⁾ and is very important in solving the above-mentioned challenges. The article of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong has established a dialectical view of the socialist orientation in the renovation process, overcoming the expressions of haste, subjectivity, and burning phase; or failure of not seeing all the difficulties and complexities of the struggle between socialist elements and non-socialist elements in the market economy and international integration; or a one-sided, false perception of modern capitalism.

Through each congress during the Doi Moi period, our Party has developed an understanding of the socialist-oriented market economy institution, especially during the 12th and 13th Party congresses. However, However, the understanding of socialist orientation is not completely thorough. Many people just look at the phenomenon, not grasp and understand the essence of modern capitalism; Some people face the negatives in the market economy such as the gap between the rich and the poor, "group interests", corruption, negativities, degeneration of political ideal, ethics, and lifestyle in some parts of cadres, party members,... so there has arisen among them the doubt about socialist orientation. In that context, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong's article gives a dialectical view of the socialist-oriented market economy in our country as *"a new type of market economy* in the development history of the market economy; a type of economic organization

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that both obeys the laws of a market economy, and is based on and guided by the principles and nature of socialism (...). This is not a capitalist market economy and not a full socialist market economy (because our country is still in a transition period)" ⁽⁴⁾. Here, fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is associated with defining characteristics and attributes of the socialist orientation; implied distinction from the full and complete socialist market economy; contrast with the "bad development" models in modern capitalism.

Overcoming one-sided and confused understandings between form and content, phenomenon and nature, between the inherent nature of capitalism and some superficial, local welfare improvements in modern capitalism, ... the article has "dissected" the serious diseases imprinted on the body of modern capitalism such as causing multi-faceted crises, pushing social injustice deeper and deeper. It is *an unethical development* when the wealthy class accounts for only 1% of the population but owns most of the wealth and means of production, controls up to three-quarters of main financial resources, knowledge and media; and a large proportion of the population falls into extreme poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and severe social conflicts, typically the "99 against 1" movement that took place in the US in early 2011⁽⁵⁾. It is *development without foundation* when growth is based only on exploiting human labor without paying attention to re-creating and fostering human capacity and social capacity without creating opportunities for people to develop comprehensively, even though the bourgeois politics do not stop "preaching" about human rights. It is *unsustainable development* when today's generation deprives future generations of their ability to develop, exhausts resources, causes environmental degradation and climate change. It is *an unharmonious development* when the production and

consumption of material things are limitless, the lack of balance between the material life and the spiritual life leading to standard deviations in values, deviations in lifestyle *but in many cases wealth increases but people face more insecurity, risk, lack of security, no true happiness.*

That explains the necessity of the socialist orientation in the process of market economic development, taking fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness as a basic content. Capitalism by itself is incapable of ensuring fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness. For capitalism, ensuring fairness and sustainability for the people's happiness is a "luxury" thing that mainly exists in populist slogans. Meanwhile, fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is the need of socialism itself. It becomes an important content constituting the characteristics and basic attributes of the socialist orientation which is different from the superficial and local welfare improvements in modern capitalism in order to defuse class conflicts and minimize social conflicts, it does not completely solve the fundamental problems of development and development management.

The dialectic of fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is associated with shaping the basic characteristics and important attributes of the socialist orientation in the market economy.

General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong's article for the first time generalized "A basic feature, an important attribute of the socialist orientation in the market economy in Vietnam is to associate the economy with the society, to unify economic policy with social policy, economic growth goes hand in hand with the realization of social progress and justice in every step, every policy and throughout the development

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process"⁽⁶⁾. This is an extremely important contribution in theory, establishing a dialectical view of development in the transitional period to socialism associated with shaping the characteristics and basic attributes of the socialist orientation in the market economy.

First, when considering fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness as an important content constituting the characteristics and basic attributes of the socialist orientation in the market economy, we must place them in the correct range because downplaying fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is a manifestation of socialist deviation. On the one hand, "do not wait until the economy reaches a high level of development to realize social progress and justice, and not even "sacrifice" progress and social justice to simply pursue economic growth"⁽⁷⁾; on the other hand, it is necessary to avoid being subjective, hasty, and voluntarist, taking the criteria of progress and social justice of the socialist market economy at the full and complete level of development to impose on the socialist-oriented market economy at different levels of development. The common manifestations of subjective, willful problems are: 1- Realization of social progress and justice is not put in a dialectical relationship with economic policy, devoting resources to ensuring social welfare beyond the response capacity of the economy so investment for development is limited, causing the economy to fall into stagnation, not having enough material conditions to realize progress and social justice in the long run; 2- Failing to see the diversity of distribution mechanisms and forms in the socialist-oriented market economy to both achieve social justice and create motivation for development; 3- Focusing only on short-term growth and development without paying attention to the possibility of sustainable development in the future and long-term, especially exploiting natural resources and causing environmental degradation.

Second, *fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is reflected in the dialectical unity between economic development and social development, between economic policy and social policy, which is placed in an intimate, interdependent, and mutually reinforcing relationship.* It is necessary to make "every economic policy must aim at social development goals; Every social policy must aim to create a driving force for economic development"⁽⁸⁾. In the context of the development of the knowledge economy and the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Industry 4.0), when natural resources are gradually scarce, human resources and science - technology play a pivotal role in sustainable growth, then the right social policy investing in human development is an investment in sustainable development. That requires arousing motivation for sustainable development from the whole socio-cultural field, from promoting human potentials and strengths; must overcome misconceptions when considering that culture and society enjoy the fruits of economic growth in one-way but do not see the opposite direction that culture and society create motivation for economic development.

Third, *fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is reflected in every step, every policy and throughout the development process.* This means that social progress and justice are not only goals towards but also have to be realized at each step, reflected in each policy and throughout the development process of the transition period. At each stage of the country's development in association with the achievements of economic growth, it is necessary to rationally allocate the achievements of growth for progress, social justice, and protection of the ecological environment. Under normal development conditions, it is necessary to have a reserve and contingency plan so that in times of risks, difficulties and crises, there are still resources to ensure social policies such as responding to the ongoing COVID-19

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epidemic. Each development policy is multi-objective, must ensure the consistency between economic goals and social goals, and promote each other to achieve synergistic effects. Economic policies (investment, fiscal, credit, trade, prices, income,...) must aim at creating sustainable jobs, ensuring workers' rights, balancing and harmonious development between regions, redistributing income to realize social justice, investing in human capacity development, social capacity, and improving people's living standards and quality of life. Social policies (education, health, culture, employment, income, social insurance, social incentives, social assistance,...) must aim to make effective contributions to innovate growth model and improve growth quality, take human resources and science and technology as the main driving force for growth; develop a stable, harmonious and sustainable labor market; improve productivity, quality, efficiency and competitiveness of the economy.

Fourth, *fair and sustainable development for the happiness of the people is realized in various forms and diverse mechanisms; from fair opportunity and fair distribution of production results to equity in rights and obligations; from economic and social sustainability to environmental sustainability.* Equity of opportunity is firstly reflected in the identification of the market playing a decisive role in mobilizing, allocating and using resources⁽⁹⁾, making resources oriented towards efficient use, who have capacity to always assert itself in social production, legal enrichment is encouraged⁽¹⁰⁾. Fair opportunity is also created by ensuring access to basic and essential public services for free or at low cost (education, health care, culture, etc.), making all members of society improve their education, culture, health, etc., creating a foundation for sustainable development and opportunities to rise up. That is the guarantee of equality of rights coupled with equality of conditions

for the exercise of rights⁽¹¹⁾. Fair distribution of production results is ensured through a variety of distribution mechanisms such as first-time distribution based on labor results, economic efficiency, capital and contributed resources; redistribution through the social welfare system, social security and other forms of mutual assistance and sharing in the community. In which, distribution by labor is the main form. Social justice in our regime is also reflected in the social preferential policy, taking care of people with meritorious services to the country⁽¹²⁾... with the meaning of gratitude, reciprocity, partial compensation for contributions, sacrifice for the country, for the revolutionary cause. Equity in rights and obligations is reflected in the proportion between contributions and benefits, between the degree of violation and the level of punishment, through judicial mechanisms based on justice and the foundation of socialist rule of law. The above-mentioned forms of justice have a complementary role, both creating a driving force for development and promoting social justice in each policy, step by step and during the transition period.

Fifth, *fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness is carried out on the basis of building progressive production relations in accordance with the development level of the productive forces*. Building progressive and appropriate production relations including three aspects: ownership relations, organization-management relations and distribution relations in the context of developing a socialist-oriented market economy - a new type of market economy in the historical development of the market economy; a type of economic organization that both obeys the laws of the market economy and is based on and guided by the principles and nature of socialism⁽¹³⁾. All three aspects of the production relationship have a dialectical, interactive, and mutually reinforcing relationship which is directly related to ensuring fair and sustainable

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development for the people's happiness. The ownership relationship plays the most decisive role but in the transition period, there are still many forms of ownership and many economic sectors, so the full and correct promotion of roles and functions of each aspect of ownership, management organization and distribution is very important for ensuring social justice and creating motivation for development. In the market economy, it is necessary to flexibly apply the forms of "public ownership, private administration"⁽¹⁴⁾, "private ownership, public use"⁽¹⁵⁾, or the distribution relationship must aim at a "dual function" that both ensuring social justice and creating a driving force for development⁽¹⁶⁾, making all social actors always see direct benefits to all resources (such as land, state-owned assets, etc), use them efficiently and responsibly, constantly explore and innovate, optimize management efficiency, and promote sustainable development .

Sixth, to handle well the relationship between the State, the market and the society, taking the State's role as the main driver when planning and organizing the implementation of equitable and sustainable development guidelines and policies for happiness of the people. The State, market and social elements have complementary roles, make up for each other's shortfalls, and together promote development. The market economy has a positive side that is efficiently allocating resources, promoting the dynamism and creativity of subjects in market, and developing productive capacity, but its drawback is that it often pays attention to solvable demands and resources are directed to profitable places so they do not focus on the production of public goods and services, even because of the pursuit of profit, many businesses are willing to sacrifice public benefits (such as polluting the environment, manufacturing and trading in counterfeit and banned goods...)⁽¹⁷⁾. Thereby, this causes

the gap between the rich and the poor, the polarization of wealth, the disparity in development levels between regions, threatening the ability to develop sustainably. Therefore, fair and sustainable development for the people's happiness, first and foremost, it is necessary to strengthen the role and responsibility of the State in creating fair institutions and laws to create an environment for all organizations and individuals freely operate; using tools (plans, planning, tax policies, investment policies, credit policies, employment policies,...) to guide, attract and regulate activities of all business sectors economy, including regulating interests to ensure social justice, sustainable development, for people; renovating and improving the operational capacity of public sector organizations, especially in the production and supply of public goods and services that the society needs but the private sector does not do or does inefficiently. Along with that, fair and sustainable development can only be fully realized when corporate social responsibility is enhanced; raising the sense of sharing, the spirit of solidarity and mutual love of the social community; promoting the positivity of each citizen when participating in market relations, using public services responsibly, actively, without relying on, relying on or expecting.

Specific instructions on equitable and sustainable development for the people's happiness in association with ensuring the socialist orientation in the market economy

First, *social justice is ensured by "distributing mainly according to labor results, economic efficiency, and at the same time according to the contribution of capital and other resources and distribution through the social welfare and social security system"*⁽¹⁸⁾.

- *Distributing mainly according to labor results, economic efficiency, capital and contributed resources* has the meaning of promoting the

positivity, dynamism and creativity of each person, maximizing the potential and strength for socio-economic development, resources are allocated effectively, ensuring the consistency and synchronism between distribution relations, ownership and management relations in a multi-sector economy. This is the first distribution, creating a driving force for development when it brings direct benefits to employees, managers, owners, and investors, making resources to be used efficiently, promoting each person's creativity to properly enrich for themselves and contribute to society. When the above relations operate smoothly in a modern and complete market economic institution, it is to ensure equal rights of opportunity to enrich all subjects in the market. However, equality of opportunity to get rich always brings advantages to those who have the ability to take advantage of opportunities and disadvantage for those who have physical and mental limitations or impairments to take advantage of opportunities (due to innate reasons, social risks or barriers of natural, cultural and social conditions, ...), should be compensated and supplemented by distribution through social welfare and social security.

- *Distribution through social welfare* plays an important role in overcoming and minimizing social injustice arising from the first distribution. Distribution through social welfare is associated with the regulatory role of the State, promoting the social responsibility of enterprises, sharing of the social community, taking the role of the State as the key. Social welfare in the market economy is implemented in various forms, the main pillar is basic and essential public services that are free or low cost of use (education, health care, culture, etc.). Social welfare is fully responsible by the State (paying for fees, organizing the supply), ensuring equal access for all members of society to basic and essential public

services, not exclude anyone. Forms of social welfare with a welfare function are aimed at a few specific subjects such as budget support for those at risk (for examples, the COVID-19 epidemic), support for the poor to buy insurance health insurance, scholarship support for poor students, etc. to ensure that the disadvantaged, the low-income and the less fortunate have access to basic and essential public goods and services. When they have access to basic and essential public goods and services for free (or receive financial support to pay for service fees), these subjects can not only improve their endogenous capacity (physics, knowledge, culture, etc.) but also have the conditions to spend their limited financial resources to spend on improving the quality of life, thereby having opportunities for development. In addition, the State also supports and creates conditions for the private sector to participate in providing a number of social services to meet individual requirements and consumers' ability to pay based on market principles.

- *Distributing through the social security system based on the mechanism of contribution, enjoyment and sharing*, ensuring that all members of society always maintain their minimum income and do not fall into extremes when facing risks and losing their working capacity or being unemployment - the pillars are decent work, social insurance and health insurance. If the first distribution ensures fairness between contributions and receipts, creating a driving force for development but it causes income inequality among social members; Redistribution through social welfare creates fair opportunities and conditions for development but also easily causes stagnation for suppliers and creates a mentality of dependence on free public service users; then redistribution through the social security system based on the mechanism of contribution - benefit and sharing among members

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of society has the function of complementing, compensating for limitations and shortcomings of the initial distribution and redistribution through social welfare. Here, social justice not only reflects the correlation between the level of contribution and the level of an individual's receipt but must put them in the common ground, level of economic development and social moral values. Comprehensive social justice cannot be mentioned when this social group enjoys a rich life but leaves behind the disadvantaged, the less fortunate, due to innate factors or barriers of local conditions such as nature, culture and society. Overcoming these natural forms of social injustice requires the role of a distribution system based on *the sharing mechanism* among social members. That is the development of a society "towards progressive and humanistic values, *on the basis of the common interests of the whole society in harmony with the legitimate interests of people, which is qualitatively different from the societies compete for private interests between individuals and groups*"⁽¹⁹⁾.

Second, *fairness and equality of opportunities are based on respect, ensuring freedom of fair and lawful competition, preventing the occurrence of violations of the law on competition, which lose the validity and positive aspects of market mechanism; creating environment, conditions and foundation for people to develop comprehensively when the whole people have access to basic and essential public services.*

- Fair opportunity is based, first of all, on respect for freedom of lawful and fair competition, not allowing violations of the law on competition to invalidate the positive aspects of the market mechanism; make each market subject and each member of society worthy of legitimate and justifiable benefits from promoting their own inherent capacities and qualities without harming another subject's legitimate rights and interests; ensuring that the interests

of each individual move in the same direction as the common interests of society. State intervention must not distort the market but rather ensure fair competition, correct market defects, and aim for a transparent market so that fair opportunities can be established. Fair opportunity in this case creates a driving force for development in contrast to the competition of "big fish eat small fish", "fast fish eat slow fish", the development of this social group excludes other social groups' right to develop as in capitalism⁽²⁰⁾. It is also different from egalitarianism, leveling, and uniformity between capable people and incompetent people, diligent people and lazy people, which destroys the motivation for development, causing injustice to those who contribute more but equally distributed among those who give less. Fair opportunity is not only in economic relations but also manifests itself in all aspects of socio-political relations when ensuring a democratic and free environment for virtuous and talented people to be respected, to devote and strive to assert themselves and make positive contributions to society.

- Equity of opportunity is based on ensuring the right to access resources for development, especially land, finance, credit and information resources. The 13th Party Congress emphasized the application of market principles in mobilizing, allocating and using resources, especially the State's resources such as auctions of land use rights, bidding for public procurement packages, competition in supply and implementation of the market price mechanism for goods and services, including basic public services⁽²¹⁾. The financial resources of the State spend on ensuring social welfare with a welfare function also apply in accordance with market principles, aiming to promote the self-improvement capacity of the beneficiaries of support from the State, does not cause stagnation and dependence. That is the operation of the

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Bank for Social Policies, ensuring the right to access policy credits of poor households; support poor students with preferential credits; support vocational training to transform people's livelihoods,... in order to promote the activeness of recipients of resource support from the State. In the context of digital government, when digital resources are accessed equally, openly and transparently by people and businesses, it will overcome the information asymmetry, contributing to promoting equity in development opportunities.

- Equity in development opportunities based on ensuring the right to access basic and essential public services (education, health care, culture...) that covers the entire population, helping everyone improve their productivity endogenous strength, self-control, conditions to take advantage of opportunities to rise, thanks to the care of physical development, improvement of education and culture. Education is really the leading national policy, implementing tuition-free education for primary schools, gradually transforming semi-public preschool educational institutions into public preschool educational institutions with an appropriate proportion of the budget for spending policy on education and training,... to promote equality of development opportunities for people thanks to being equipped with education, knowledge and skills. That is appropriate budget spending for the development of the health system, supporting the poor and ethnic minorities to buy health insurance, ensuring that low-income people can receive medical examination and treatment without being "poor" chemistry". It is investing in cultural development, public spaces (parks, trees, ponds, improving living environment,...) to improve *non-income welfare* for people, making everyone have conditions to practice physical health, psychological health, and develop capacity when there is harmony between material life and spiritual life.

Third, justice between rights and obligations associated with building a socialist rule-of-law state, promoting the people's mastery, and protecting the legal order, discipline and permission of the country.

General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong's article clearly distinguishes between the socialist rule of law state and the bourgeois rule of law state. If the bourgeois rule of law is a tool to protect and serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, then the rule of law under our regime is a tool to express and exercise the people's right to mastery, to ensure and protect the legitimate interests of the people. Through law enforcement, the State ensures the conditions for the people to be the subject of political power, to carry out a dictatorship with all actions that infringe upon the interests of the Fatherland and the people⁽²²⁾. Thus, fairness here is reflected in the equality of everyone before the law; In business activities, it is the equality of all market participants before the law in order to conduct free business, all disputes shall be resolved by the method of dispute resolution prescribed by law or agreed upon by the parties (mediation, negotiation, arbitration or court); In judicial activities, it is fair between the nature and extent of law violations and the degree of punishment by law with fair and objective decisions and judgments in the name of justice.

Fourth, *sustainable development is mentioned* through the identification of ongoing crises as an inevitable consequence of the "bad development" models in modern capitalism, showing the unsustainability of both economy, society and ecological environment⁽²³⁾. Therefore, an important content of the socialist orientation is to ensure sustainable development in harmony with nature to ensure a healthy living environment for current and future generations, not to exploit, appropriate resources, consume unlimited materials and destroy the environment ⁽²⁴⁾. It is also the

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identification of human who holds the central position in the development strategy; cultural development, human development is both the goal and the driving force of the renovation; development of education and training as well as science and technology is the leading national policies; environmental protection is one of the vital issues, a criterion for sustainable development; Building a happy family, making progress as a healthy and solid cell of society, realizing gender equality is the criterion of progress and civilization⁽²⁵⁾.

Fifth, development for people's happiness is embodied in all contents ensuring fair and sustainable development; in harmony between material life and spiritual life; in each person there are conditions for the comprehensive development of his own capacity to affirm his dignity as a human being; Humans are allowed to live in an environment of freedom, safety, solidarity, compassion, mutual assistance, and elimination of oppression and injustice. General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong's article repeatedly mentioned the concept of "happiness" in the contexts of upholding the values of President Ho Chi Minh's thought of independence, freedom and happiness⁽²⁶⁾, continued affirming the characteristics of socialism stated in the Platform⁽²⁷⁾, in building a happy family⁽²⁸⁾, in all the lines of the Party, policies, laws and activities of the State are all for the sake of the interests of the people, taking the people's happiness as a goal to strive for⁽²⁹⁾...

General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong's article was published in the context that our Party, our Nation and our People are trying to implement the policy of the 13th Party Congress, striving to bring our country to the middle of the 21st century to become a developed wiht high-income country. Clarifying the issue of equitable and sustainable development for the people's happiness associated with shaping the basic characteristics and important

attributes of the socialist orientation which have additional significance, develop the theory of the transition period in Vietnam, ensuring effective governance of the realization of the socialist goal in each policy, step by step and throughout the country's renovation process./.

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(13) See: Nguyen Phu Trong: “Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam”, *Ibid*, p.8

(14) For example, technical infrastructure is owned by the state but hires private forces to operate, manage and exploit; Land is owned by the entire people, the State is the representative of the

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owner and unified management but land use rights are assigned to organizations and individuals and are considered property rights,...

(15) For example, the State leases private works to use instead of spending costly and easy-to-lose investment budgets but the State has the right to collect property tax and income tax on that property from the private sector.

(16)) See: Nguyen Phu Trong: "Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam", *Ibid*, p. 8

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SOME MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE BEEN USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING SOCIALISM DURING THE “DOI MOI” PERIOD IN VIETNAM

*Prof. Dr. Le Van Loi**

Marxism-Leninism has a close unity of worldview and methodology due to its scientific and revolutionary nature; it not only properly explains the world, but it is also a theoretical tool and weapon for the working class and the oppressed to change the world in order to emancipate themselves. Marxism-Leninism has always been considered by Vietnamese communists as the most genuine, scientific, and revolutionary doctrine, the theoretical underpinning, and the guiding ideology for revolutionary consciousness and action. The Communist Party of Vietnam has led the Vietnamese revolution from struggle to victory, due to its mastery of, application of, and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, most recently with enormous achievements of historical significance in the renovation. However, in the great legacy of Marxism-Leninism, which basic principles of Marxism-Leninism were especially investigated and applied in Vietnam throughout the renovation? What are the manifestations of the innovative application and development of Marxist-Leninist theory during

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the renovation? How to continue carrying out and developing Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam's socialist renovation and construction? These important issues necessitate in-depth inquiry.

1. Overview of Some Principles of Marxism-Leninism, Which Vietnam Has Paid Special Attention to Research and Apply in the Doi moi Period

Marxism-Leninism is a scientific and complete theoretical system. V. I. Lenin has generalized, "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression" (Lenin 1977b, 23). During the Doi moi period, the Communist Party of Vietnam focused on researching, affirming, and disseminating the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with sustainable value in order to analyze and solve theoretical and practical problems facing the country's renovation and development in accordance with the goal of national independence and socialism.

First to be considered are the materialist dialectics on the most common laws of the movement and development of nature, society and thought.

Materialist dialectics is the fundamental analytical method of Marxism, which is at the highest level of the methodology system (see Yu and Cheng 2013). Its core content consists of two fundamental principles (the principle of universal connection and the principle of development); three fundamental laws (the law of the passage of quantitative changes into qualitative changes, the law of the unity and conflict of opposites, and the law of the negation of the negation); and six pairs of fundamental categories (the single, the particular and the universal, the cause and the

effect, necessity and chance, the content and the form, the essence and the phenomenon, the possibility and the reality). The materialist dialectics is established on the scientific materialist worldview; there is coherence between the content of the worldview and the methodology, making it not just an explanation of the world but also a tool for understanding and improving the world. The materialist dialectical method demands to view all things and phenomena from an objective, comprehensive, and developmental perspective, to consider them in concrete historical context, and combine theory with practice; trying to avoid being subjective, conservative, stagnant, empiricist, one-sided or extreme in perception and action. In this respect, the materialist dialectics reveals the general law of development, it is "the methodology, the core and the vital spirit of Marxism and Leninism", . As Karl Marx himself pointed out,

In its rational form it is a scandal and abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary. (Marx 2010, 20)

Secondly, historical materialism that is an application of dialectical materialism and materialistic dialectics to the study of social life and human history.

With Marx's great discovery, materialism becomes full and radical, because it encompasses not only the natural but also the

social realms. From the materialist perspective, society is viewed and regarded as a whole, a living organism made up of numerous aspects and parts that interact in a dialectical and intimate manner according to objective principles. Material production determines spiritual living circumstances, social existence determines social awareness, productive forces determine production relations, and infrastructure determines the superstructure. At the same time, historical materialism acknowledges the influence of spiritual life on material life, social consciousness on social existence, production relations on productive forces, and superstructure on infrastructure. Human history evolves as socio-economic formations develop from low to high, from primitive communism through slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and communism, owing to the impact of those basic laws. Such is the natural-historical process of the development of socio-economic formations in humanity's common history; however, it cannot be ruled out that, due to objective historical conditions, differences in characteristics, form, levels of development, that even the "skipping" or "shortening" of certain historical periods may exist in each specific country or ethnic group. Historical materialism has remained a fully scientific methodology for studying the social field even now. As Lenin pointed out,

Marx deepened and developed philosophical materialism to the full, and extended the cognition of nature to include recognition of *human society*. His *historical materialism* was a great achievement in scientific thinking. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory. (Lenin 1977b, 25; italics in the original)

Thirdly, the Marxist-Leninist political economy's theoretical system, which focuses on the theory of value and the theory of surplus value.

The law of value is the underlying economic law of commodity production and exchange, it exists and brings into play the impact of the law of value everywhere there is production and exchange of goods, according to Marxism-Leninism. Karl Marx examined the highly developed commodity economy—capitalist production—using value theory. The labor theory of value is crucial to comprehend the source and origins of capitalist surplus value in this context. As the theory reveals, the capitalist surplus value is the additional value generated by living work over and above the value of commodity labor power, which is part of an employee's unpaid labor. The relationship of exploitation between the one who possess the means of production and the other who is the owner of the commodity of labor power, between the capitalist and the hired worker, is represented by the nature of capitalist surplus-value. The absolute purpose and motive of any individual capitalist's action, as well as of capitalist industry as a whole, is the generation of surplus value. The law of surplus value has a profound impact on every area of capitalist society. It governs the capitalist mode of production's origin, development, and historical character.

The world economy, as well as the economy of Vietnam, are still moving and expanding under the impact of objective economic laws, such as the law of value, the law of supply and demand, and the law of surplus value. The modern value and vitality of the theory of value and the theory of surplus value lies not only in the fact that it accurately and deeply explains the nature, role, and historical limits of commodity production and

capitalist market economy, but also in the fact that it poses both an urgent and strategic requirement for the construction of socialism to both build an independent and self-reliant economy and actively participate in global cooperation and competition. To accomplish this, it is vital to comprehend, utilize, and promote the beneficial effects of commodity production and the market economy while minimizing the negative impacts. Professor Cheng Enfu has also pointed out that the law of value requires enterprises to reduce costs, but the competition of enterprises to reduce costs is beneficial to society only when they do not reduce product quality, cause environmental pollution, or damage workers' health (see Cheng and Hu 2010).

Fourthly, scientific reasoning concerning the working class's global historical mission.

With an increasingly high level of socialization, the working class is both a product and an operator of modern industrial production. Because large-scale industry is always growing in terms of scale and scope, the number and quality of workers is always increasing. Workers' and bourgeoisie's immediate and everyday interests are inextricably interwoven under capitalism, yet their underlying goals are at odds, and wage workers are exploited by capitalists for surplus value. The working class's battle against the ruling bourgeoisie is unavoidable because, at its core, it is a rebellion of the productive forces with an increasingly socialized level against obsolete production relations based on capitalist private ownership of the means of production. The advanced mode of production is represented by the working class, and "the proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority" (Marx and Engels 2010, 495). The working class has a

historical mission to organize and lead society in order to carry out a socialist revolution to resolve the fundamental contradictions in production and capitalist society in order to liberate the class, nation, society, and people by establishing socialism and communism in each country and throughout the world. The working class's historical purpose is a global, universal mission, but "since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is so far, itself national" (Marx and Engels 2010, 502–503; italics in the original) and harmonize between national responsibilities and international obligations. The rise of large-scale industry and capitalism has established objective foundations that define the historical mission of the working class, just as Marx and Engels have pointed out, "not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians" (Marx and Engels 2010, 490). However, the working class's ability to fulfill its historical purpose is contingent on a number of objective and subjective elements, the foremost of which is the amount and quality of workers, as well as the capability and bravery of its vanguard, the Communist Party. The ups and downs of the world revolution reveal that despite hostile and reactionary forces constant attempts to distort and deny through various means, Marxist - Leninist theory on the worldwide historical mission of the working class retains its scientific and practical value. Lenin summarized and emphasized the Marxist canonists' viewpoint:

No wonder, therefore, that the Marxian doctrine, which directly serves to enlighten and organise the advanced class in modern society, indicates the tasks facing this class and

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demonstrates the inevitable replacement (by virtue of economic development) of the present system by a new order—no wonder that this doctrine has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life. (Lenin 1977a, 31)

Pointing out the role of the working class today, Professor Cheng Enfu has outlined that, in the face of the new scientific and technological revolution, the working class is still the representative of the development requirements of advanced productive forces and the embodiment of advanced production relations, shouldering the historical mission of overthrowing capitalism and building socialism and communism (Cheng 2007).

Fifthly, scientific theory of socialism and the path towards socialism.

Socialism is a low-level of the communist socio-economic formation with modern productive forces, gradually abolishing private property and establishing public ownership of the main means of production, effective management organization, high labor productivity, and labor-driven distribution. That is a democratic society, a lean and efficient socialist state, with a highly developed culture and a society that promotes fairness, equality, and solidarity; it blends working-class patriotism with internationalism. This is truly the embodiment of “we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all” (Marx and Engels 2010, 506).

Regarding the path towards socialism, the socialist revolutionary process must be carried out, in which the working class seizes power and becomes the ruling class; in the second step, the working class uses its dominance to organize the reform of the old society, erecting socialism and communism in all aspects of social life. Intermediate stages, long, meandering, intricate

transitions, and maybe even setbacks are all part of the process. Of course, each country's initiatives, policies, and procedures must strike a balance between popularity and specificity. Writes V. I. Lenin,

All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life. (Lenin 1974a, 69–70)

The theoretical significance and practical vitality of the orientations, Marxist-Leninist principles on socialism, and the path towards socialism have been proved by the history of more than 100 years of ups and downs of true socialism in the globe.

The above contents are not exhaustive; however, they represent the fundamental and core principles of Marxism-Leninism with long-term and popular values, to which Vietnam has paid particular attention in research, education, dissemination, and application, particularly in the training of high-level workers with higher education and in the training and development of leaders and managers at all levels of the political system during the Doi moi period. Vietnamese communists frequently highlight and grasp the precise instructions and teachings of the classics while studying, distributing, and applying Marxism-Leninism principles (see Tran 2011). The application of Marxist theories must rely on the current historical circumstances wherever and whenever they are used, as Lenin said,

We do not claim that Marx knew or Marxists know the road to socialism down to the last detail. It would be nonsense to claim anything of the kind. What we know is the

direction of this road, and the class forces that follow it; the specific, practical details will come to light only through the *experience of the millions* when they take things into their own hands. (Lenin 1974b, 285)

Today, we must be brave and good at combining the basic principles of Marxism with the new reality and conditions of the times, resolutely take a new path full of vigor and vitality, and never take the old road that has been proven by practice to be closed and rigid, and we will never take the evil path of changing our flag, abandoning the leadership of the Communist Party, or abandoning socialism (see Cheng and Xin 2012).

2. The Application of the Principles of Marxism-Leninism in the Construction of Socialism in Vietnam in the Doi moi Period

2.1. The Application of Marxist-Leninist Principles to Determine the Goals, Contents, Procedures, and Principles of Renovation

All socialist nations were in a state of stagnation and crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and many leading Communist parties considered reform, restructuring, and opening-up. In other words, change, as a crucial imperative to find a way out. Vietnam is one of the few countries that has successfully implemented renovation thanks to the secret of mastering and fully promoting the scientific and revolutionary power of Marxism-Leninism to correctly determine renovation's objectives, content, process, and principles. The Communist Party of Vietnam has been committed to fully reinvent the Party's leadership over the state and society since the 6th Congress (1986), starting with the renewal of thought, and importantly, economic thinking. The Communist Party of Vietnam clearly defined the goals and principles of implementing the renovation process at the 6th Plenum of the 6th Central

Committee, (March 1989), based on the three-year experience of implementing the country's renovation policy as well as the complicated changes in the world situation:

Renovation isn't about altering the socialist aim; it's about achieving it more efficiently through genuine socialist conceptions, forms, stages, and means. Renovation of thinking aims to overcome faulty beliefs, enhancing accurate conceptions of the times, on socialism, creatively implementing and developing, without departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006b, 590–591)

The correctness of this decision demonstrates the Communist Party of Vietnam's wisdom, vision, and fortitude in the face of historical challenges.

After more than 35 years of renovation, the Communist Party of Vietnam has pointed that the aim of the renovation is for national independence and socialism, for the goal of "rich people, strong country, democracy, justice, and civilization." Renovation has profound and comprehensive content, it happens in a synchronized manner, but with a focus, breakthroughs, at the right stages and with solutions. Because Renovation is such a massive and revolutionary cause, it is a demanding, complex, and long-term process. The following guidelines should be followed for a successful renovation:

uphold, applicate, and creatively develop Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought; remain steadfast in the goal of national independence and socialism; remain steadfastness in the Party's renewal line; remain steadfast in the principles of Party building; safeguard national

interests on the basis of international law's basic principles of equality, cooperation, and mutual benefit to firmly build and defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 109)

2.2. The Application of the Principles of Marxism-Leninism in Determining the Model of Socialism in Vietnam

In the spirit of “seeing straight at the truth, accurately analyzing the truth, and speaking the truth” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006a, 694;), the Communist Party of Vietnam admitted during its 6th Congress: “For many years now, there have been numerous obsolete conceptions in our perception of socialism” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006a, 459). As a consequence, the Communist Party of Vietnam’s decisions since the 6th Congress have broken with the ineffective elements of the old model—the Soviet model—while gradually exploring and establishing a new mode more appropriate to Vietnam’s specific circumstances as well as the objective trend of the times (Nguyen 2006, 12). The adoption of the Platform for National Construction in the Transition to Socialism (1991, amended in 2011)¹ by the Communist Party of Vietnam at the 7th Congress marked a turning point in the process of inquiry and research on the model of socialism in Vietnam. The 1991 Platform defined that “the socialist society constructed by the Vietnamese people is a society comprised of six essential features” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007a, 217), and “the Platform will be continually augmented and polished, step by step as practice discloses new challenges” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007a, 178). In summarizing the

¹ Hereafter cite the original version as the “1991 Platform,” and the amended version as the “2011 Platform.”

practice of 25 years of reform, the 2011 Platform has developed its definition of the Vietnamese model of socialism, which includes the following eight key characteristics:

Rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization; ownership by the people; a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and appropriate, progressive production relations; advanced culture imbued with national identity; the people have a prosperous, free and happy life, have conditions for comprehensive development; Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, and respect and help each other; there is socialist rule-of-law, a state of the people, by the people, for the people, led by the Communist Party; and there are friendly relations and cooperation with countries around the world. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 70;)

These characteristics demonstrate the universality of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and refine and crystallize the experience of socialist nations, and contain and represent the distinctive aspects of Vietnam's socialist model during the Doi moi period (Le 2021). As such, it's evident that this is not a fixed, unchangeable model, much less one that is built-in, but an open model, one that encourages invention and originality (Dang 2014).

2.3. The Application of the Principles of Marxism-Leninism in Determining the Path and Measures of Transition to Socialism in Vietnam

In the early stages of the socialist transition, the 6th Congress was correct in changing and innovating its thinking, perspectives, methods, and policies, particularly on the economy, to suit the

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country's socio-economic features. From the correct starting point, the Communist Party of Vietnam outlined the path and measures to transition to socialism in Vietnam step by step, with the following noteworthy aspects:

a) Communism is the historical trend, it is the aspiration of Vietnamese people, and the legitimate decision of the Communist Party of Vietnam with Ho Chi Minh at its core. Although it has encountered many difficulties in the process of building socialism, Vietnam still possesses all of the necessary prerequisites, including the determination to “bypass the stage of capitalism and move forward to create socialism in the right shape and manner” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007c, 133;). Dialectical and thorough understanding of Vietnam's transitional starting point to socialism “from a colonial, semi-feudal society, with low-level productive forces” must confront many challenges (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007b, 137;), but it also has fundamental advantages (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011).

b) With the content abandon the capitalist mode of production and superstructure, but absorb and inherit the achievements that mankind has achieved under the capitalist regime, especially in the field of science and technology, in order to rapidly develop the productive forces and build a modern economy (Communist Party of Vietnam 2016a, 179);

The 9th Congress (2001) marked a breakthrough in the Communist Party of Vietnam's perception of bypassing the stage of capitalism. Accordingly,

“bypasses the stage of capitalism”... means the country bypasses a regime of oppression, inequality and capitalist exploitation, and bypasses harmful practices and political

institutions and arrangements unsuitable in a socialist system. It does not mean that we must reject the accomplishments and values of civilization that mankind has achieved throughout the development of capitalism... (Nguyen 2022, 25;)

c) Being well aware that Vietnam's transition to socialism is a profound and dramatic revolutionary process, with many different forms of economic and social structure and a complex struggle between old and new to bring about qualitative changes in all aspects of society. The overall purpose of the socialist transition phase is to "construct fundamentally the economic base of socialism with a suitable political, intellectual, and cultural superstructure, prepare the ground for our nation to become a more prosperous and joyful socialist society" (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 71). The Communist Party of Vietnam continued to identify transitional goals and tasks towards socialism associated with significant milestones in Vietnam's revolutionary history at the 13th National Congress: to 2025 (the 50th anniversary of the complete liberation of the South and the reunification of the country); to 2030 (the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam); and to 2045 (the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam).

d) Establish and implement the directions for the transition to socialism in accordance with the renovation process step by step. The Platform (in 1991) defined seven essential orientations and the Platform (added and developed in 2011) continued to define eight essential orientations as crucial transitional *modest paths* to socialism. They are: The acceleration of industrialization and modernization of the country associated with the

development of the knowledge economy, the protection of natural resources and the environment; The development of a socialist-oriented market economy; The construction of an advanced culture imbued with national identity; building people, improving people's lives, realizing social progress and justice; A firm guarantee of national defense and security, social order and safety; The implementation of the foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, peace, friendship, cooperation and development; proactively and actively integrate into the world; The building of a socialist democracy, realizing great national unity, strengthening and expanding the united national front; The construction of a socialist rule of law, a state of the people, by the people, for the people; Construction of a clean and strong Party. These essential orientations shall be reinforced, developed, and concretized during the course of each Party congress term, as well as each transitional moment.

2.4. The Application of Marxist-Leninist Principles to Understand and Deal with the Major Relationships in the Cause of Socialist Renovation and Constructioning Vietnam

In correctly understanding and dealing with the major relationships in the socialist renovation and construction in Vietnam, the Communist Party of Vietnam has identified eight important relationships that require special attention be paid to throughout the transition to socialism in the Platform supplemented and developed in 2011 (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 73). After summarizing the past 35 years of reform, the Communist Party of Vietnam continued to supplement, perfect, and emphasize that, in the process of renovating and constructing socialism, it is necessary to master and handle ten major relationships:

Between stability, renovation and development; between economic and political renovation; between following market rules and ensuring socialist orientation; between development of productive forces and establishment and improvement of socialist productive relations; between state, market and society; between the economic stratum and the vanquished development, and social progress and justice, and the protection of the environment; between the construction of socialism in Vietnam and defense of the socialist fatherland; between independence, self-reliance and international integration; between the Party's leadership, the State's management and the people's ownership; and between the practice of democracy and the rule of law, ensuring social discipline. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 119;)

There is both unity and contradiction in each of those major partnerships. Simultaneously, there is interaction, penetration, interference, dominance between these relationships in renovation, and are they unified in the objective of national independence and socialism via renovation. These major relationships illustrate the Communist Party of Vietnam's renovation line's dialectical rules, which are the core theoretical concerns. With such weight and significance, it's apparent that understanding and resolving important linkages determines the success or failure of the renovation cause and the creation of socialism in Vietnam.

2.5. The Application of the Principles of Marxism-Leninism in Promoting Renovation and Development of All Fields of Social Life of Vietnam.

a) Renovation and development in the economic field. Since the 6th Congress, the breakthrough focus on both thinking and

practice has been directed to the three most important stages of production, management, and distribution, with the correct use of commodity-monetary instruments, the implementation of socialist business accounting, the correct use of economic sectors, and the management of the economy by economic methods as the main transformations (see Nguyen 2016). The Communist Party of Vietnam affirmed, via verification of reality, at the 6th plenary session of the 6th Central Committee (March 1989) that “multi-sector economic strategy has *long-term strategic* importance, has *regularity* from modest production through socialism” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006b, 595). The Communist Party of Vietnam used the concept of a socialist-oriented market economy at its 9th Congress (2001), with the understanding that it was neither a capitalism nor a completely socialist market economy. This was Vietnam’s general economic model during the socialist transition (Communist Party of Vietnam 2016a, 132). Accordingly, the Communist Party of Vietnam has continuously supplemented and clarified the nature, features, and structure of the socialist-oriented market economy in both theory and practice as part of the renovation process.

b) Renovation and development in the political field. When the Communist Party of Vietnam used the notion of “political system” (instead of the previously commonly used concept of “dictatorship of the proletariat”) in its 6th Plenum of the 6th Central Committee in 1989, it signified a significant step forward in the political reform in Vietnam with the perception that

the cause of socialist construction, the renewal of all fields of social life, requires a fundamental reform of the organization and mode of operation of the political system in order to strengthen the Party’s leadership, improve the

effectiveness of the state management, expand democracy, and promote the active role and creative capacity of the people. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006b, 536)

Coming to the 1991 Platform, the Communist Party of Vietnam affirmed: “The whole organization and function of our country’s political system in the new period is focused at steadily refining and developing a socialist democracy, ensuring that power belongs to the people” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007b, 14). According to the renovation process, the policy of Party building is the key (the 3rd Plenum of the 7th Central Committee in 1992) to build and rectify the Party comprehensively in terms of politics, ideology, morality, organization and personnel (the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 2021); to build a socialist rule of law state (the 7th Central Conference of the 7th term in 1994), to build and perfect the socialist rule of law state, which is the central task of reforming the political system (the 13th Congress in 2021), to renew the content, mode of operation and role of the Vietnam fatherland Front, as well as socio-political organizations, including the role of social supervision and criticism (10th Congress 2006) . . . They are breakthroughs of particularly importance and significance both in theory and practice, in renovation and political development in Vietnam in the Doi moi period.

c) Renovation and development in the field of culture and public wellbeing. The resolution of the 5th Central Committee of the 8th term (1998), which contains many excellent points of view, is one of the significant milestones symbolizing the rebirth and development of Vietnamese culture and people in the new age. These views are supplemented, deepened, and reinforced in the 2011 Platform by innovative practice. The 2011 Platform outlines

major orientations for comprehensive human and cultural development, in addition to identifying advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity, a people living a prosperous, free, happy life, and having conditions for comprehensive development as two of the eight basic characteristics of the socialist model in Vietnam (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 75–76). Following this, the 9th Central Committee of the 11th term clearly stated: Cultural development for the perfection of human personality; comprehensive development of Vietnamese culture and people, imbued with the spirit of the nation, humanity, democracy, and science; ensuring that people are truly central in the process of socio-economic development. Currently, the Communist Party of Vietnam considers “focusing on researching, identifying, and developing a national value system, a cultural value system, and Vietnamese human standards in conjunction with preserving and developing the Vietnamese family value system in the new era” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 143) as one of the most important solutions for ensuring the country’s rapid and sustainable development.

d) Renovation and development in the social field. Since the 6th Congress, The Communist Party of Vietnam has determined that the task of renovation is not only to develop production but also to implement social policies, to solve social problems effectively, ranging from employment to improving labor and health conditions, reforming education and culture, building family relationships, and creating a healthy society. “The correct social policy for human happiness is a major impetus to bring into play the creative potential of the people for the sake of constructing socialism” (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007b, 139), the 1991 Platform declared. Social policy is treated equally to economic

policy; it is conducted in synch and in accordance with the economic level and resource capabilities of each time. It's necessary to "closely and logically connect economic growth with cultural and social development, realize social progress and fairness in every step and policy; promote harmonious development of material and spiritual life..." (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 79). The 11th Congress (2011) stated the policy of building "a democratic, disciplined, consensus, fair and civilized society" (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 104; translated from Vietnamese). The Communist Party of Vietnam then achieved a significant breakthrough in thinking and awareness regarding social development at its 12th National Congress (2016), highlighting the issues of social governance, progress implementation, social fairness, and long-term social development (Communist Party of Vietnam 2016b, 132–139). In this spirit, the Communist Party of Vietnam's 13th National Congress declared that the development and management of a sustainable and harmonious society are among the six key tasks of the term, as well as one of the contents constituting the 12 basic orientations for the country's development from 2021 to 2030, with a vision to 2045.

e) Renovation and development in the field of defense and security and foreign affairs. The renovation was carried out in a quickly changing and complex international environment, necessitating the Communist Party of Vietnam to change and modernize its defense, security, as well as its approach towards foreign policy.

The 1991 Platform represents an important adjustment in defense and security in the Doi moi period with the following contents:

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Consolidating national defense and ensuring national security is a regular and significant job for the entire population and the government... The cornerstone of national defense and security is the stability and development of all facets of social life... (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007b, 142)

After supplementing and developing those views in light of new circumstances, the Communist Party of Vietnam declared in the document of the 13th National Party Congress:

It is necessary to resolutely and persistently struggle to firmly defend the fatherland's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity; to protect the Party, state, people, and socialist regime. It must assure political security, social order, human security, economic security, network security, and social order and discipline. To combat all counter-plots and activities of hostile forces, reactionaries, and political opportunists, it is necessary to proactively prevent the risks of war and conflict early and from afar, detect and manage factors that may cause unexpected problems early and timely; and step up the fight to defeat all counter-plots and activities of hostile forces, reactionaries, and political opportunists. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 117)

Similarly, the 1991 Platform also stated a breakthrough policy in foreign affairs: "To cooperate equally and for mutual benefit with all countries regardless of their different socio-political regimes on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence" aims to "create favorable international conditions for the construction and defense of the fatherland to move up to socialism" (Communist Party of Vietnam 2007b, 144). Through the

renovation process, that right policy was summarized, supplemented and developed in the 2011 Platform:

It is necessary to consistently implement the foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, peace, cooperation and development; carry out multilateralization and diversification of relations, proactively and actively integrate into the world; improve the status of the country; for the sake of the nation, for a rich and strong socialist Vietnam; to be a friend, a reliable partner and a responsible member of the international community, contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world. It must cooperate equally and for mutual benefit with all countries on the basis of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011, 83–84)

The items provided and examined above reveal that the Communist Party of Vietnam steadily established and created a well-balanced, rigorous, and thorough theoretical system concerning the renovation line, socialism, and the path towards socialism in Vietnam during the Doi moi period. This is the consequence of a creative application and development of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought into Vietnam's new realities. This theoretical framework was developed from the context of renovation, then used and confirmed in the context of renovation, then corrected, augmented, and evolved in tandem with the renovation process and the construction of socialism in Vietnam. The great historical achievements made during Vietnam's 35 years of renovation in all fields, which have improved Vietnam's potential, position, and prestige, are living proof of the correctness of the Communist

Party of Vietnam's theoretical system in regards to reform, socialism, and the path towards socialism. With this in mind, it is apparent that the "Handbook of Miracles" of Marxism-Leninism has once again contributed significantly to transformation of the fortunes and destiny of the Vietnamese country through the renovation process. And, as a result of the renovation, the Communist Party of Vietnam has not only appropriately used it, but also creatively supplemented and developed it, enhancing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought. This is the foundation and requirement for the effective creation of socialism based on Vietnamese culture and identity, and carried out by Vietnamese people (see Nguyen 2021). Of course, the theory of renovation, socialism, and the path to socialism in Vietnam are not finished or complete, as their ideological and theoretical sources (Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought) indicate; it is an open theory, theory for renovation and development generally, and theory of renovation and development in Vietnam specifically.

3. Orientation to Apply Basic Principles of Marxism-Leninism in Building Socialism in Vietnam Today

Firstly, adhere to the principles of renovation, "not allowing anyone to tilt or waver." (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 33)

Renovation was identified as a matter of necessity and survival for the Vietnamese communists from the beginning, but this did not mean that it had to be done at all costs. Renovation in Vietnam is a massive, demanding, and intricate cause comparable to a revolution that must be planned and directed logically and scientifically in a complicated and rapidly changing environment. The Communist Party of Vietnam officially established 5 key concepts that must be completely understood in the process of

renovation in the resolution of the 6th Central Committee of the 6th term (1989) (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006b, 590–592).

The Communist Party of Vietnam supplemented, developed, and clearly defined 5 guiding points (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 109–111), at the 13th National Congress through the practice of renovation, while emphasizing the steadfastness and application and creative development of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought; steadfastness in the goal of national independence and socialism; the Party's steadfastness in the renewal line; steadfastness in the principles of Party building; the highest guarantee of national interests - on the basis of basic principles of international law, equality, cooperation and mutual benefit to firmly build and protect the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 33);

The Communist Party of Vietnam affirmed that this is a matter of principle, of vital significance to the socialist regime in Vietnam, a core foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, "not allowing anyone to tilt or waver."

Secondly, Improve the quality of teaching, training and fostering of political theory.

Ho Chi Minh's instructions on studying, training and fostering political theory have always had a profound meaning for Vietnamese communists. "If the party wants to be stable, it must have a basic philosophy, which everyone in the party must comprehend and follow," Ho Chi Minh said (Communist Party of Vietnam 2002, 24; translated from Vietnamese). Of course, because Marxism-Leninism is an open ideology, studying it, as well as political theory in general, must be done carefully and on a regular basis. "There are not many revolutionary theories," Ho Chi Minh

stated. “There is just one sentence that has to be watched over and over again . . .” (Ho 2011a, 17;.

Faced with the rising and complex demands of the contemporary renovation process, the Communist Party of Vietnam must innovate, improve training quality, and foster political theory to overcome constraints and shortcomings. It is especially important to focus on overcoming undesirable tendencies, such as reluctance to study, laziness to study political theory, learning casually and carelessly, or learning for some utilitarian purposes like to get a degree, to be eligible for promotion or salary increase (see Vo 2021). There have been hard lessons learned when many Party members, including key leaders and officials, were punished for falling into the quagmire of individualism, pursuing such interests for their own benefit or for the benefit of some cliques that violate Party discipline and state laws. Despite having completed political theory training, they did not comprehend or just forgot that Marxism-Leninism is about “wholeheartedly serving the people, serving the country” (Ho 2011b, 290; translated from Vietnamese), that upholding Marxism-Leninism requires one to strive for the benefit of the nation and the people, and avoiding all unfavorable conducts that will damage the interests of the people and the country .

Naturally, in addition to preventing and correcting deviations in learners’ motivation, purpose, consciousness, and responsibility, it is necessary to continue vigorously, comprehensively, and synchronously renovating the teaching, learning, and training of political theory in the national education system and the system of schools for training and fostering Party leaders and officials. This begins with the content,

programs, textbooks, learning materials, forms, and methods of instruction and learning, testing and evaluation in accordance with the motto of science, practice, creativity, and modernity; providing theoretical training and updating new knowledge for all party members, including leaders and officials at all levels, particularly at the strategic level that is organized, consistent from the central to the grassroots level, suitable for each audience, and focusing on quality and effectiveness. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 183)

Thirdly, Effectively implement the Party's *guidelines* and guidelines, and the State's policies and laws.

The Party's renovation line and policy are the result of a creative application and development of Marxist-Leninist principles and Ho Chi Minh's thought in the new Vietnamese conditions, and the state's laws and policies are the embodiment of the Party's principles and guidelines. Effectively implementing the Party's guidelines and guidelines, the state's policies and laws are also criteria, standards, measures, evaluation, verification, supplementation and adjustment of the Party's lines and guidelines, the State's policies and laws as well as the assessment and verification of the capacity and quality of cadres and organizations of the Party, the state and the political system.

In Vietnam, the renovation was a process of integrating theory with practice. The theory was applied into practice while being enriched through the practice (see Nguyen 2006, 12). Vietnam has made significant historical achievements throughout the course of the 35 years of renovation, although the Communist Party of Vietnam said in the XIII Congress's resolution that "direction and execution are still weak aspects" (Communist Party of Vietnam

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2021, 94;. Many viewpoints and renovation policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam containing the prospect of breakthrough and development of the country have failed to be implemented, institutionalized, and concretized into practice. General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong said the victory of the 13th Congress is just the beginning. The genuine success lies in whether the resolution can be implemented or not, whether the words can be turned into vivid reality, whether it will create material prosperity, and bring wealth and pleasure to the people. Therefore, the effective implementation of the Party's and State's policies and laws must be considered a radical solution of critical importance for the application and implementation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in the construction of socialism in Vietnam today.

Fourthly, keep learning through practice, promoting theoretical research to adjust, supplement, develop and complete the theory on renovation, socialism and the path towards socialism in Vietnam.

The primary method for forming and developing conceptions regarding the renovation, socialism, and the path towards socialism in Vietnam is to "promote practical review and theoretical study, frequently paying attention to education, and propagating the Marxist-Leninist worldview and communist view of life" (Communist Party of Vietnam 2006b, 540). With this in mind, the Communist Party of Vietnam emphasized in its 13th National Congress resolution:

In Vietnam, it is critical to accelerate the practical review, theoretical study, and completion of the theoretical system on renovation, socialism, and the path towards socialism. Practical summary, theoretical research, and

policy perspectives must all be combined. In political theory research, it is critical to carefully apply the Democratic Regulations, establish a democratic atmosphere, foster research, innovation, and develop the intelligence of organizations and individuals. The results of practical summaries and theoretical research should be updated; it was quickly determined that the theoretical concerns were ripe and clear for developing and perfecting the guidelines and policies for the creation and defense of the fatherland... (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 182)

This policy, which is one of the basic orientations and solutions to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in the renovation and construction of socialism in Vietnam for the period 2021–2030, with a vision to 2045, must be thoroughly understood and implemented in practical summarizing activities and theoretical research. *“It is a tremendous creative horizon for the whole Party, our people, and especially the country’s theorists”* (Nguyen 2022, 279).

Fifthly, resolutely fight against corruption and other forms of misconduct, against wrong and hostile views, acts, firmly defend the ideological foundation of the Party.

Construction is associated with fighting and protection is a common issue of Marxism-Leninism as well as the Vietnamese revolution. The construction, development, and completion enhance the Communist Party of Vietnam’s theory on the renovation line. Creatively developing Marxism-Leninism is the best way to ensure its dominance and promote its values (Nguyen 2012, 593). In the current context, reactionary and hostile forces continue to employ various conspiracies, tricks, methods, and means, particularly in cyberspace, to distort and

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deny Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's ideology, Party's guidelines and positions, the state's policies and laws, and the nation's revolutionary achievements. One of the tricks used by reactionary and hostile forces is to fully exploit and exaggerate specific limitations, inadequacies, mistakes, and faults in order to undermine the Party's ideological foundation, sow doubt, oscillation, and agitation, and promote "self-changing" and "self-transformation" within the Party. As a result, it is necessary to combine harmoniously, closely, and synchronously "construction" and "fighting," where "construction" is the basic, strategic, long-term task and "fighting" is an urgent, regular, and continuous task.

The Party and political system must be renewed and rebuilt in a comprehensive, lean, clean, robust, and task-oriented manner. It is vital to deploy the whole political system and all forces, as well as to employ synchronous solutions to foresee, recognize, and combat incorrect and hostile opinions and actions in real time. It must be steadfast and tenacious in combating bureaucracy, embezzlement, corruption, and negativity; it must overcome the condition where people have no courage to defend good conducts and combat bad conducts. Attention should be paid to building a contingent of cadres at all levels, especially at the strategic level, with sufficient quality, capacity and prestige, on par with tasks . . . with solid political courage, pure morality, outstanding ability, dare to think, dare to speak, dare to do, dare to take responsibility, dare to innovate, dare to face difficulties and challenges, dare to act for the common good, have high reputation and truly pioneer, exemplary, is the nucleus of solidarity. (Communist Party of Vietnam 2021, 187)

To continuously enrich the people's material and spiritual lives, it is vital to place a premium on the implementation of the

Party's guidelines and guidelines, as well as the state's policies and laws. This is an important foundation and foundation to strengthen the belief, bravery, and revolutionary will of all Party members and the people so they can remain firm in the face of all challenges, immune to false and reactionary information, and make every effort to build and protect the Party and the socialist regime as if it were their own life and beloved fatherland.

4. Conclusion

The Communist Party of Vietnam views the tenacious application, and creative growth of Marxism-Leninism to be a matter of principle during the Doi moi period. The innovative application and development of Marxism-Leninism in new contexts gave birth to the theory concerning the renovation and the path towards socialism in Vietnam. The achievements of almost 35 years of renovation demonstrate that this theory crystallizes the universal value of Marxism-Leninism, which is in line with Vietnamese reality and the objective trend of the times. In the Doi moi period, the theory and practice of renovation—establishing socialism in Vietnam, is a powerful reflection of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam today. Accordingly, in the face of evergrowing demands of the times, it's necessary to continue to strengthen the vitality of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam, with right guidance and through effective approaches .

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HO CHI MINH'S APPROACH TO SOCIALISM AS A VALUE SYSTEM AND THE APPLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM IN RENOVATION PERIOD

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When explaining the history of human society as the development of socio-economic formations from low to high according to the inevitable internal laws of society, Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out that the destination of humankind can only be socialism/communism because only this society can eradicate all oppression, exploitation, injustice, inequality at the root, and at the same time bring true values to people - freedom, justice, equality, happiness, etc. Therefore, socialism should not only be approached from the perspective of a theoretical system, a social model or a social regime, but also as a value system. This is also one of Ho Chi Minh's approaches to socialism since he came to the proletarian revolution, with the aim of national independence associated with socialism to achieve national liberation and class emancipation in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Ho Chi Minh's

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approach to socialism as a value system continued to be thoroughly grasped and applied by the Communist Party of Vietnam in the period of renovation and transition to building socialism of Vietnam nowadays.

1. Ho Chi Minh's approach to socialism as a value system

In 1958, when the French colonialists fired the first gun to invade Vietnam, with their passionate patriotism, the Vietnamese people held many movements in different ways to fight against the French colonialists to gain independence for the nation, but they were all failed. Facing with the crisis of the way to save the country in the late 19th century and early 20th century, worrying about the nation's fate, on June 5, 1911, from the Nha Rong Wharf, Nguyen Ai Quoc - Ho Chi Minh decided to go abroad to find the right way to save our country. Following the banner of "freedom, equality, and fraternity" raised during the bourgeois revolutions, Nguyen Ai Quoc decided to go to the west, to France to find out "how did the France and other countries do, then come back to help my fellow-countrymen"¹. However, in the 10 years journey to find a way to save the country (1911-1920), passing through dozens of countries from colonial countries in Africa, Latin America to the most developed capitalist countries in the world at that time, Nguyen Ai Quoc realized a fact that: the values of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" were upheld by the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois revolutions, even though they were progressive values which mankind has always aspired, but they are not the real aim of the bourgeois revolutions.

¹ Tran Dan Tien (1975): Stories about revolutionary life of President Ho, Truth Publishing House, Ha Noi, p. 11

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On the contrary, "bourgeoisie uses the words Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity to deceive and incite the people to overthrow feudalism. When the people have overthrown feudalism, they replace feudalism to oppress the people"¹, therefore, the bourgeois revolution is "the revolution by halves, the statement is republic and democracy, but in fact, they exploit internal workers and peasants, in addition, they oppress their colonies"². From this fact, Nguyen Ai Quoc affirmed: in order to liberate the nation and bring a free, prosperous and happy life to all ranks and classes in society, it is impossible to carry out the national liberation revolution follows the path of the bourgeois revolution because this is a revolution by halves, it only brings benefits, freedom and happiness to the minority of the ruling class in society - bourgeoisie and the bonds of oppression, exploitation, injustice and inequality for all working classes. He pointed out: "We have sacrificed for the revolution, we should do it until the end, it means after the revolution, the power should be given to the majority, not in the hands of minority. Only then the people will be happy without sacrificing many times"³.

In the dark night of colonialism and imperialism, in 1920 while staying in France, Nguyen Ai Quoc read the "The First Draft Thesis on National and Colonial questions" written by V.I. Lenin and published on the L'Humanité newspaper (an organ of the French Communist Party). Since then, Nguyen Ai Quoc has found

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 2, p. 296

² Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 2, p. 296

³ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 2, p. 292

a juncture between solving the national problem and the class problem, between the national liberation revolution and the class liberation revolution under the guiding light of Marxism-Leninism and the Russian October Revolution. It is to wage a proletarian revolution led by the working class and their political party, the Communist Party, with the aim of national independence associated with socialism. It was a revolution in which purpose was first to repel foreign invaders to gain national independence, and then to build socialism to bring all people, all ranks and classes in society the values of freedom, justice, equality, and true happiness because “Only socialism and communism can liberate oppressed peoples and workers in the world from slavery”¹.

Thus, as soon as coming to the proletarian revolution, with the goal of national independence associated with socialism in the light of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh approached socialism not only as a theoretical system, a revolutionary movement but also as a value system: freedom, democracy, justice, equality, happiness for all people. Therefore, he later affirmed that “The national liberation revolution must develop into a socialist revolution in order to achieve complete victory”², because if the national liberation revolution is successful and the nation is independence, but all the people can not have a truly free, prosperous and happy life, that independence will not have meaning.

Approaching socialism as a value system, so with the question “What is socialism?”, Ho Chi Minh explained briefly and easily

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 12, p. 653

² Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 15, p. 392

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many times that: "Socialism is making the people being rich and the country being strong"¹; "Socialism is taking factories, trains, banks, etc. as a common property. Those who work much can receive much, those who work little receive little, those who don't work don't receive, of course except the elderly, sick and children"²; "What is socialism? Everyone has enough to eat and to wear, happiness, and freedom"³; *"Socialism is the well-being and freedom of the whole people. Those who work much can receive much, those who work little receive little, those who don't work don't receive; no more people exploiting people"*⁴; "Socialism means that everyone can work, eat well, wear warm clothes, study, the elderly and the sick are helped, and the children are taken care of. In short, socialism is happiness and well-being"⁵; "What is the purpose of socialism? To put it simply and easily: Constantly improving the material and spiritual life of the people, first of all, the working people"⁶; "Socialism is to improve the material and cultural life of the people"⁷; "Socialism is to make people have enough to eat and wear, more and more happy, everyone can go to school, those who

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 10, p. 390

² Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 10, p. 390

³ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 10, p. 593

⁴ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 12, p. 431

⁵ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 13, p. 5

⁶ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 13, p. 30

⁷ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 13, p. 387

get sick can have medicine, those who are old can retire, all bad customs and habits are eliminated. In short, society is getting more advanced, the material wealth is increasing, the spirit is getting better, that is socialism”¹, etc.

From those affirmations, it can be seen that, according to Ho Chi Minh, socialism is a social system in which the people are the master and in control of their country, all the power belongs to the people; a society that always ensures fairness, equality, and brings a truly free, prosperous and happy life in all aspects (both material and spiritual life) for everyone, every social class; a society in which all oppression, exploitation, injustice, inequality, etc. are completely eradicated, ensuring the free and comprehensive development of each person as a condition for development freedom and inclusivity of all, all power belongs to the people; a society that always ensures fairness, equality, and brings a truly free, prosperous and happy life in all aspects, in all aspects (both material and spiritual) for everyone, everyone social class; a society in which all oppression, exploitation, injustice, inequality... are completely eradicated; a society that ensures the free and integral development of each person is a condition for the free and comprehensive development of all. It was from the perspective of approaching socialism as a value system that Ho Chi Minh made every Vietnamese person understand clearly about the goal and nature of the socialism building in Vietnam in the most direct and simplest way. It is a completely different society from all oppressive and exploitative social regimes that have existed in history (slavery, feudalism, capitalism) because this is the only society that ensures fairness and equality and brings a truly free,

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, Vol. 13, p. 438

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prosperous and happy life to everyone. This also means that Ho Chi Minh made all the Vietnamese people be well aware that building socialism is the only way to liberate people thoroughly and comprehensively, first of all is to liberate the working people.

With belief in the true values of socialism and at the same time are the core values towards which all humanity is aiming, the Vietnamese people can have highest will and determination to successfully carry out the socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party even though this is the most difficult and profound transformation as pointed out by Ho Chi Minh: “We must build a completely new society that never before in the history of our nation. We must radically change the ways of life, habits, thoughts and prejudices that have deep roots for thousands of years. We must change the old production relations, abolish the exploiting classes, and build a new production relation which is free from exploitation and oppression. To do that, we must gradually transform our country from a backward agricultural country into an industrial country. We must gradually collectivize agriculture. We must carry out the socialist reform of private industry, commerce and handicrafts. We must turn an ignorant, miserable country into a country of high culture and happy life. We have to carry out those tasks in special conditions of our country, that is, on the basis of a society that has just escaped from the yoke of colonialism, feudalism, and is very backward”¹.

Ho Chi Minh's approach to socialism as a value system has become a guiding light for construction of socialism in Vietnam, especially in the Doi moi period, specially in terms of determining

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011): Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol. 11, p. 91-92

target system of socialism to create the basis for proposing directions and tasks to build socialism suitable for each stage of the country's development.

2. The application of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the Doi moi period

Thoroughly grasping Ho Chi Minh's approach to socialism as a value system, in the Doi moi period, the Communist Party of Vietnam affirmed that if we want to let the people know what the socialism that Vietnam has built is, the difference between the socialist regime and the existing social regimes in history, first and foremost, we will determine target system of socialism. When we determine which specific values are included in the target system of socialism, we will have a basis to answer the next question: "What is the purpose of building socialism?" that is, to propose directions and tasks of building socialism which is suitable for each period and then successfully implement those directions and tasks. This issue is confirmed throughout the documents of the Party Congress in the Doi moi period.

In the 6th National Congress (1986) - The Congress marked our country's renewal path in all fields, the Communist Party of Vietnam identified the target system of socialism in Vietnam are three core values: *rich people, strong country, civilized society*, in which, first of all, priority is given to the first two values (rich people and strong country). This is mainly because the socio-economic crisis before Doi Moi has led serious consequences, causing low economic growth and galloping inflation (3-digits, up to 774.7%), people's lives are extremely difficult and lacking. Therefore, the urgent task is how to promote production development, strongly release productive power, create material wealth in order to stabilize and step by step improve people's

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living standards, first of all the material life, towards realizing the goal of a rich people and a strong country, creating the basis for building a civilized society. Therefore, the 6th Congress determined that the focus of innovation was economic innovation, from which to gradually carry out renovation in all other areas of social life from politics, culture, national defense and security and foreign affairs.

After 5 years of *Doi moi*, the 7th National Congress (1991) approved the *Platform on National Construction in the period of transition to socialism* (Platform 1991), for the first time systematically present six basic characteristics and also specific values in the value system of socialism built by our people under the leadership of the Communist Party. That is: “Owned by the working people; Having a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and public ownership of the main means of production; Having an advanced culture imbued with national identity; People are liberated from oppression, exploitation, injustice, work according to their ability, enjoy according to their work and are entitled to wellbeing, freedom and happiness and are blessed with opportunities for comprehensive development.; All ethnic groups in the country are equal, united and supportive of each other to grow together; Having friendly and cooperative relations with people of all countries in the world”¹. To build socialism with these core values, the 1991 Platform also provides seven basic directions, focusing on the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (1991): Platform on National Construction in the period of transition to socialism,

<https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang/dai-hoi-dang/lan-thu-vii/cuong-linh-xay-dung-dat-nuoc-trong-thoi-ky-qua-do-len-chu-nghia-xa-hoi-1558>.

main tasks: *In politics*: Building a socialist state, a State of the people, by the people, for the people, fully realizing the people's democratic rights; Building a clean and politically, ideologically and organizationally strong Party on a par with their assigned mission. *In economy*: Developing a multi-sector commodity economy with many forms of ownership, following the socialist orientation, operating according to the market mechanism under the management of the State with many forms of distribution, in which the distribution according to labor results and economic efficiency is the main one. *In culture - society - people*: To carry out the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture to make the Marxist-Leninist worldview and Ho Chi Minh's ideology and morality hold the leading position in social spiritual life. Inheriting and promoting the nation's fine cultural traditions while absorbing the quintessence of human culture, building a democratic and civilized society for the sake of genuine interests and human dignity. *In national defense and security*: To increase vigilance, strengthen national defense, protect political security, social order and safety, defend the Fatherland and revolutionary achievements. *In foreign affairs*: To implement a foreign policy of peace, cooperation and friendship with all countries, etc¹.

In the Document of the 7th Midterm National Conference (1994), in the target system of socialism, the Communist Party added a value of "fairness" and made it the target system of well-off people, strong country, fair and civilized society. This is an extremely necessary and correct addition because equity is one of

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (1991): Platform on National Construction in the period of transition to socialism, <https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang/dai-hoi-dang/lan-thu-vii/cuong-linh-xay-dung-dat-nuoc-trong-thoi-ky-qua-do-len-chu-nghia-xa-hoi-1558>

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the social values that embody the characteristics and nature of socialism, and it is also a goal to strive for in the process of building socialism in Vietnam. To realize the goal of equity (first of all in the economic field, to facilitate the realization of equity in all other fields of social life), at the 8th National Congress, in the distribution mechanism, in addition to the distribution based on labor results and economic efficiency which are mainly recognized in the 1991 Platform, the Party added a form of distribution based on the contribution of other resources to production and business results and distribution through social welfare¹. In fact, the distribution according to labor results and economic efficiency (working more, enjoying more, working less, enjoying less, not working enjoy nothing) can only really ensure absolute equality when the workers have the same starting point, the same conditions of access to the means of production, and the same level of ability, same state of health and no difference resulting from innate gender characteristics. However, in reality, this is impossible, so if only distributing according to labor results and economic efficiency will be unequal and unfair to the disadvantaged groups in the social (the elderly, disabled, ethnic minorities...). Therefore, it is necessary to add other forms of distribution, especially distribution according to social welfare (at the 8th Congress) and later, the distribution through social security (at the 9th Congress) to link economic growth with the realization of social progress and justice, ensuring economic growth results really benefit everyone and all social strata, creating a basis for improvement and enhancement the quality of life for the people in all aspects.

¹ Vietnam Communist Party (1996): Documents of the 8th National Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 92

Especially at the 9th National Congress, the perception of the Communist Party of Vietnam on determining the target system of socialism has made great progress because compared with the target system indicated at the 8th Midterm National Conference (1994) which is: well-off people, strong country, fair and civilized society, the 9th Congress added the value of "democracy" to make the target system: well-off people, strong country, fair, democratic and civilized society. This addition is very important because democracy is both the goal and the driving force of the renovation and building of socialism, and is also the feature that most clearly shows the nature of socialism that we are building - a society owned by the working people.

On the basis of inheriting the valuable viewpoints and ideas of the 1991 Platform and the spirit of the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th Congresses, and at the same time, on the basis of summarizing 20 years of implementing the 1991 Platform, 25 years of conducting Doi moi, closely following the reality of the country and the times, at the 11th National Congress (2011), the Party supplemented and developed the 1991 Platform, marking major breakthroughs in the theory of socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam, especially in terms of identifying 8 features and 8 upward directions to build socialism. Compared with the 6 features and 7 directions given in the 1991 Platform, there has been a great addition and development, especially in the features that express the core values of socialism that our people are building.

Specifically, compared with the 1991 Platform, in the 2011 Supplemental and Development Platform, there are 2 unchanged features: "owned by the people" and "Having an advanced culture imbued with national identity", and the remaining 6 features have all been modified, supplemented and developed, specifically: "well-off people, strong country, democracy, justice and

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civilization" (A new feature, not found in 1991 Platform. In particular, compared with the target system of socialism defined at the 9th National Congress: *well-off people, strong country, equitable, democratic and civilized society*, in the 2011 Supplemental and Development Platform, democratic has been put before justice, showing the position and importance of democratic values. This change is completely reasonable because only by realizing democracy and promoting the people's mastery, we will have a basis for building a truly fair and civilized society for all people, all social strata); "Having a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and suitable and progressive production relations" (in Platform 1991 "Having a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and public ownership of the main means of production"); "People have a prosperous, free, happy, and comprehensively developed life" (in the 1991 Platform: "People are liberated from oppression, exploitation, and injustice, work according to their ability, enjoyed according to their labors, have a prosperous, free and happy life, and have conditions for comprehensive personal development"); "Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, mutually supportive and helping each other to develop" (In the 1991 Platform: "The nationalities of the country are equal, unite and help each other for progress"); "There is a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people led by the Communist Party" (A new feature, not included in the 1991 Platform); "Having friendly relations and cooperation with countries around the world" (In the 1991 Platform: "Having friendly and cooperative relations with the people of all countries in the world").¹ In order to build socialism with the above 8

¹ Vietnam Communist Party (2011): Documents of the 11th National Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 70

features, the 2011 Supplemental and Development Platform offers 8 basic directions: "To strengthen the industrialization and modernization of the country in association with the development of the knowledge economy, and the protection of natural resources and the environment. Developing a socialist-oriented market economy. Building an advanced culture imbued with national identity; building people, improving the standard of people's living, realizing social progress and justice. Firmly ensure national defense and security, social order and safety. Implement the foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, peace, friendship, cooperation, development, active and positive international integration. Building a socialist democracy, realizing great national unity, strengthening and expanding the National Unified Front. Building a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people and for the people; Building a clean and strong Party"¹

The 12th and 13th Party Congresses continued to affirm the set of goals of socialism that Vietnam must maintain and gradually realize by suitable steps, forms and methods to each stage of development of country. It is a *well-off people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization*.

Thus, it can be seen that, thoroughly grasping Ho Chi Minh's approach to socialism as a value system, in the period of renovation and transition to socialist construction, the Communist Party of Vietnam has focused on clearly defining the goals of socialism which are also the core values of socialism in Vietnam: well-off people, strong country, democracy, justice, civilization – the values makes socialism qualitatively different from all social

¹ Vietnam Communist Party (2011): Documents of the 11th National Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 72

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systems that have existed and are in history. It is a society that, as General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong has pointed out: “development is truly for humans, not for exploitation and dehumanization for the sake of profit”, “economic development accompanied by social progress and equality, not an increase in the gap between the rich and the poor or greater social inequity”, “a society of compassion, solidarity and mutual assistance towards progressive and humanistic values, not unfair competition where “the weak are meat, and the strong do eat” to satisfy the selfish interest of a few individuals and cliques”, “sustainable development in harmony with nature to secure a clean living environment for present and future generations, instead of unlimited exploitation and possession of resources, unrestrained consumption and destruction of the environment”, “a political system where power truly belongs to the people, is enforced by the people and serve the people, not merely in the interest of the wealthy few”¹. These are the values that characterize the essence of socialism, as well as the goal of the social regime that President Ho Chi Minh, the Communist Party and the Vietnamese people have chosen to build since the 1930s and now are resolutely, persistently pursuing and implementing. These are also the core values that all mankind aspires to in the struggle against all oppression, exploitation, injustice, inequality, etc. throughout thousands of years of history.

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong (2021): Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path towards socialism in Vietnam, Communist Review, retrieved from https://www.tapchiconsan.org.vn/web/english/mega-story/-/asset_publisher/lc29uIxCb05g/content/some-theoretical-and-practical-issues-on-socialism-and-the-path-towards-socialism-in-vietnam, 29/9/2022.

AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE VALUE OF SOCIALISM

*Dr. Phan Cong Khanh**

1. According to materialism, the ability to satisfy a need or purpose is the content of value. The authors of the textbook "Philosophy - Basic Ideas" conceptualize it: "Value is a material or spiritual object capable of satisfying certain needs of people, classes, societies and serving their purposes and interests. Simply put, value is what a material or spiritual object brings to a certain subject. What does socialism, as a theory, a movement and a social system, bring to humanity? What are the characteristics of socialism that capitalism cannot have?

2. So far, capitalism has led the continuous development of productive forces. Great achievements have been made in science and technology. The fourth industrial revolution is expected to fundamentally change production and people's lives. Machines are gradually replacing humans in production and services. The birth of artificial intelligence and the Internet of Things ... have helped turn the idea of building smart cities into reality. Capitalism is on its way to seemingly endless material glory. However, behind the laurels of powerful production, the gap between the rich and the poor is growing. The 99-to-1 movement

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may be a bit exaggerated, but it also reflects the core weakness of capitalist society. It is not just inequality in property, but the dependence of the majority on the minority. Fifteen years ago, in 2007, the world's richest man (Bill Gates) had a total wealth of \$56 billion. At that time, the U.S. GDP was close to \$14.5 billion and the global GDP was \$58.06 trillion. According to Forbes, as of 15:00 on September 15, 2022, the world's richest man (Elon Musk) has a total wealth of \$272.7 billion. Bill Gates has a net worth of \$106.3 billion, more than double what he had in 2007, but only ranks fourth.

According to the International Monetary Fund, the nominal value of the global economy will reach \$104 trillion by the end of 2022. The United States remains the global economic locomotive, with a GDP of \$25.3 trillion, accounting for nearly a quarter of the global economy. The conclusion is that the wealth of the richest people has grown nearly fivefold, while the GDP of the world's richest countries and the world's GDP has grown less than twice as much. In other words, the 1% of the community's population is acquiring more and more of society's assets, while the remaining 99% of the population has less and less. In a book published in 2011, Terry Eagleton wrote: "A Mexican billionaire today earns as much as his poorest compatriot earns 17 million."

An industrial revolution that brings production activities closer to full automation will result in a greater concentration of social wealth in the 1% of the population. This is a solution that so far has not been satisfactory in capitalist societies, except for the baseless solution of taxing very high incomes to redistribute social goods. In some countries, the income tax is as high as 70%. It is a form of benefit sharing that helps capitalist societies, a growing middle class, and is an important indicator of economic health.

However, this sharing is never truly equitable because it is subject to unequal conditions of production. C. Marx wrote in his Critique of the Gothic Platform: But the distribution of the conditions of production is a property of the mode of production itself." The bourgeoisie possesses the material conditions of production through exploitation and natural privileges. At the same time, the workers own the human conditions of production (labor).

Labor in itself is not the source of wealth. Labor, in combination with the means and objects of labor (what Marx called nature), is the source of use value, and therefore of wealth. In other words, labor is determined by nature. The means and objects of labor are the material conditions of production and are gradually appropriated by the ruling class as communal property of nature. Thus, the general formula of a private society is: "... Labor is determined by nature much so that a person who has no property other than his own labor power is, in all social and cultural conditions, destined to become a slave to other people who have the material conditions of labor. Only with the permission of these people can he work and therefore live only". This is why workers are dependent on capitalists and 99% of the population is dependent on 1% of the population. Economic dependence naturally leads to political dependence, and dependence in labor relations naturally leads to political dependence, reflecting Lenin's view that politics is the centralized expression of economy. Therefore, to eliminate political injustice, it is necessary to eliminate economic injustice.

The above-mentioned dependence is a manifestation of the alienation of the capitalist system. In the Philosophical Manuscripts on Economics of 1844, Marx analyzed three basic aspects of the alienation of labor. First, the alienation of the end

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result of production, the alienation of man from things, i.e. the opposition between product and laborer, as Marx wrote: "... The more the laborer produces, the less he can produce to own, and the more powerful he is, the more he is dominated by the capital of his product. Second, self-alienation, the alienation of the productive activity itself: labor is exploited so that it becomes "something external to the worker, not his essence"; in labor, "the worker does not claim himself, but denies himself". Third, the alienation of man from man is manifested on two levels.

First, human species life (human conscious life activity), which is the nature of human beings, is only a means of survival (i.e., human beings of a different species nature from human beings); by depriving species life, one also deprives the "true species object of human beings," the "inorganic body of human beings," or nature. Secondly, the alienation of labor gives rise to labor-management relations: "man alienates his own activity and allows others to have activities that do not belong to him". For the worker, C. Marx called it "alienated activity"; for the exploiter, Marx called it "alienated state". From the above analysis, the 1844 Economic-Philosophical Manuscript points out a "mystery" of private society: "... Private ownership is on the one hand the product of alienated labor, and on the other hand the product of alienated labor. It is the means of corrupting labor, the realization of alienation".

All three aspects show that the essence of capitalism is alienation of labor. The development of science and technology has helped to increase the productivity of labor, but it has not eliminated alienation, but has made it more serious, deep and complex. The more productive the worker is, the more he makes the capitalist rich, the more he allows the capitalist to deprive

them. This distribution is the result (as C. Marx put it) of the distribution of the conditions of production (means of labor, objects of labor) and is, as already mentioned, a property of the mode of production. It can only be overcome by changing the method of production itself, not by any kind of adjustment.

Capitalism is in its heyday. However, all the current glories of capitalism cannot hide the historical fact that there is no capitalism past or present without possession, and that time is the way capitalism exists. For too long, many people seem to have forgotten the sordid slave trade and the invasions and barbaric rule of colonial regimes on every continent except Europe. The achievements of science and technology have made the arbitrary encroachment and domination of capitalism appear more benevolent when its fundamental interests are not threatened. The birth and growth of the middle class did not mean that the exploited owned property.

Eagelotn writes, "... Service and manufacturing workers see little difference in wages, management conditions and supervision. People who work in the switchboard are exploited like hard workers in a coal mine." The fact that a banker or CEO must work as hard as a worker does not mean that their position in the economy is the same and that working hard or having natural privileges means that there is no exploitation. The birth of the welfare state is not a permanent answer to capitalism, but can be a preparation for socialism.

3. Socialism was born directly from the heart of capitalism and has all three characteristics - as a doctrine, as a movement and as a social system. Socialism is not the invention of C. Marx, Engels or anyone else. It is like the law of gravity that was not invented by Newton: it exists in the universe, and if it were not

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for Newton, surely some genius would have been discovered and presented to mankind. Newton's discovery of the law of gravity was accidental, but not by chance: there had to be a certain scientific and practical "ladder" that allowed mankind to approach it step by step, not too early, not too late. Socialism - as an egalitarian, prosperous social system - is an old dream of society. This dream stems from the fact that society is divided into two groups of people: the dominant few who hold power and rule society and live in prosperity on the sweat and tears of the poor majority. By the capitalist era, the development of the productive forces and science allowed socialist theory to make great strides, especially in deciphering the mechanisms of capitalist exploitation and finding the social forces that would revolutionize capitalism. C. Marx and Dr. Ager seemed committed to discovering and presenting to humanity a future society that would replace capitalism.

The value of socialism is that it addresses the inherent limitations of capitalism that cannot be overcome, or that, if overcome, it ceases to be capitalism. Many people say that Marx was an employee of capitalism: Marxism is the most radical, rigorous, scientific, and comprehensive critique of capitalism. Socialism is both an obsession, a fear, and a lesson in capitalism's self-regulation. Every achievement, even failure, of the socialist model seems to be a wake-up call, an opportunity for capitalist change.

This is why socialist ideas are everywhere, from Asia to America. Is state intervention in the market economy just a result of a capitalist economy without any sign of a command economy? Some people, due to narrow bias or lack of awareness, believe that it is because of the openness and freedom of

capitalism, without considering the valuable progress of socialism to capitalism. For example, in Japan, economics is divided into two fields. In addition to modern economics or bourgeois economics (read in Japanese as Keizai University, or Keizai for short), some universities also teach Marxist economics (Marukei for short). After World War II, in order to implement Japan's plan to prioritize coal and steel development, the Marxist economist Hiromi Arisawa (1896-1988), who was deeply influenced by Lenin's New Economic Policy, advocated a planned and planned economy: in order to concentrate coal production for economic recovery, "... needed to plan and organize. The Soviet Union heroically transformed wartime communism into the New Economic Policy (NEP). We, too, need the NEP, but in the Soviet case it has the opposite meaning". Professor Hyoe Ouchi (1888-1980), the quintessential Marxist economist of the University of Tokyo, was invited to serve as Finance Minister (1946).

Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) - an Austrian anti-socialist thinker and teacher of Friedrich Hayek - described socialism as "the most powerful reformist movement witnessed in history, tending to be the first idea not limited to a part of humanity, but supported by the participation of people of all races, nations, creeds and civilizations." After the Russian October Revolution of 1917, the bloodshed of the world's working class seemed to diminish. No matter how much history is distorted, no one can undo even one percent of the 27 million Soviets who died in World War II, even if it is documented. If the argument is like L.v. Mises' "capitalism based on the division of labor is the only viable system of social organization," more than 30 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, none of the 15 former republics is economically richer or more politically stable. India is an

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ambitious economy in Asia, but has so far failed to address the terrible disparity between rich and poor. There are many other examples. The development of science and technology suggests that Marx's dream of a developed production where workers are no longer subject to the division of labor seems to have emerged somewhere: "... As individuals develop fully, their productivity increases, and all sources of social wealth flow in a constant stream - only then can the boundaries be transcended. The narrowness of the bourgeoisie and of social rights can only be written on their banner: live within your means and enjoy according to your needs!" .

Sometimes for some people in Vietnam it is strange that only a few books are very old or even forgotten, such as George Orwell's *Animal Farm* or F.A.'s *The Road to Slavery*. Hayek saw socialist theory as a complete failure. It's like knocking on the door to end the game. People forget, for example, that George Orwell said that his work was not about any particular state or political system. The events and characters in *Animal Farm* could have taken place in any country, at any time in the past; because the desire for power, corruption or stupidity is common to most people. Never before in the history of human thought does it seem that such a sensational.

It can be argued that socialism as a doctrine has at least made capitalism more advanced through a harsh and comprehensive critique of capitalism. As a movement, socialism at least forces capitalism to be more labor-friendly in its treatment of labor. And as a social system, socialism at least allowed the world to perpetuate the dream of a just and equal society and eliminate labor alienation. For Vietnam, socialism brought independence and freedom. Communists were ready to go to the guillotine and

stand proudly before the courts for national independence and a society free of human exploitation. Their strong belief in the future of their country and the ideals of communism made them not flinch in the face of imprisonment or death and not yield to brutality and barbarism. To forget their sacrifice is to be heartless and mindless. For Ho Chi Minh, on the other hand, "socialism means to enrich the people and strengthen the country" and "to feed and clothe (the people), make everyone happy and free". This is the true value of socialism.

THE UNITY BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST VALUE SYSTEM AND THE CURRENT VIETNAMESE NATIONAL VALUE SYSTEM

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1. Introduction

The vitality of a nation, the strength of a country, and the durability of a culture depend on the values that the nation pursues and brings. The development and prosperity of a country cannot be separated from the guidance of progressive national values; The strength of a country cannot be separated from the unity of national values agreed upon by all the people of the country. The Vietnamese revolution went from one victory to another, especially since Doi Moi, because Vietnam has always followed the orientation of appropriate national values which imbued with national identity, popularity, humanity, scientificity, and that is a solid value foundation for the construction of socialist Vietnam.

In the context of the world with many changes, value competitions, ideological and cultural conflicts are increasingly strong, the requirement to build and protect the national value

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system is especially important in defending the fatherland and develop the socialist country. In order to protect and develop the nation in all aspects, especially in the new context, Vietnam must not only inherit the traditional values of the nation, the outstanding achievements of human civilization, including the advanced values, but also to build a value system, in which the national value system is the backbone, core and all-encompassing, reflecting the essential attributes of Vietnamese culture, the people of Vietnam, and the nation of Vietnam. Competitions and rivalries among major countries in the world today partly reflect the competition and rivalry between major value systems. Both Francis Fukuyama and his teacher Samuel Huntington believed that the modern world would be a conflict of three civilizations, as well as a conflict of three basic value systems: Christian civilization, Islam civilization and Confucian civilization. Therefore, besides affirming belief in the path, theory and system of socialism, Vietnam needs to continue to build and perfect its value system, including the Vietnamese national value system. The national value system reflects the essential characteristics of Vietnam's historical and civilized traditions, and at the same time contains the quintessential core of world values as well as embodies the core values of socialism. Building Vietnam's national value system is also to build a system of standards to orient the nation's development in the present and in the future, thereby building Vietnamese people's confidence in the future of the nation, affirming their proud of the national culture.

Currently, unbalanced development, wealth disparity and social inequality have made it urgent and difficult to build consensus on values. To mobilize the entire people to join hands to realize the aspiration of developing a prosperous and happy country, Vietnam must form common values as unifying

principles in thinking and acting. Vietnam's national values must reflect that need, must be the pursuit of common values by all. Regardless of gender, class, locality, ethnicity, industry, etc., anyone can seek consensus, and at the same time reserve differences on this basis to realize their dreams, as well as aspirations of the whole Vietnamese people.

2. History of research on Vietnam's national value system

With such an important meaning, the issue of defining and building a national value system is always a topic that attracts the attention of researchers. However, in reality, Vietnamese researchers have not really found a common voice on the national value system. There is a view that the national value system is also the cultural value system, and there is nothing wrong with calling the Vietnamese value system the Vietnamese cultural value system¹. Ho Si Quy, in another article, affirmed that the Vietnamese cultural value system is also the Vietnamese human value system, thereby coming to the conclusion that within the framework of discussing the Vietnamese value system, it should not be and is not necessary to distinguish between the Vietnamese cultural value system and the Vietnamese human value system². Here, the national value system, the cultural value system (of the country), and the human value system (of the country) are considered as essentially coincident concepts. Another point of view, considering the national value system in relation to the human value system, the cultural value system and the social

¹ Ho Si Quy (2015), *Issues about Vietnam's value system*, Vietnam Science and Technology, No. 5, p. 40

² Ho Si Quy (2018), *Some issues about the current Vietnamese cultural value system*, <http://hdl.vn/vi/nghien-cuu---trao-doi/may-van-de-ve-he-gia-tri-van-hoa-viet-nam-hien-nay.html>

value system, shows that, the human value system, cultural value system, and the social value system do not completely coincide but rather three concentric circles in order from the inside out: people - culture - society, and the national value system is the synthesis of those three value systems¹. There is also the view that building a Vietnamese value system or a national value system is building a social value system, and that is the first step to building a Vietnamese human value system². It can be seen that the definition of the national value system or the Vietnamese value system is still a point of disagreement in the scientific circle.

For the issue of building Vietnam's national value system, the most important research content is determining the factors included in that value system. To do this, one of the requirements is to identify the traditional value system of the country because the national value system of the new period cannot be without the inheritance of traditional values. In fact, there are many scientists through the stages who have devoted themselves to come up with a solution to this problem. In particular, the views of leading researchers such as Dao Duy Anh or Tran Van Giau are often cited as important reference points so far. In *Vietnam History of culture*, although not directly named "value system" but author Dao Duy Anh's comments about the characteristics of Vietnamese people (including strengths and weaknesses) generally indicate many factors which can be called Vietnamese values, and therefore,

¹ Tran Quoc Toan (2018), *About human value system, cultural value system, and social value system*, <http://hdl.vn/vi/nghien-cuu---trao-doi/ve-he-gia-tri-con-nguoi-he-gia-tri-van-hoa-he-gia-tri-xa-hoi.html>

² Luong Dinh Hai (2015), *Building Vietnam's value system in the current period*, <https://vass.gov.vn/nghien-cuu-khoa-hoc-xa-hoi-va-nhan-van/xay-dung-he-gia-tri-viet-nam-trong-giai-doan-hien-nay-15>

these are often mentioned in research works on the value system of Vietnamese people such as intelligence, powerful memory, rich in art, eager to learn, practical, hard working, when enlightened, he also knows how to sacrifice for the cause, respect the rites¹. Also with the spirit of looking at the spiritual tradition of the nation, author Tran Van Giau, when building a table of “traditional spiritual values” of the Vietnamese people, named 7 great values, including: patriotism, industriousness, heroic, creative, optimistic, loving people, for the cause². Here, these factors have been called by the right concept of “values”, and more importantly, when giving these 7 values and putting “patriotism” in the first place, the author has simultaneously determined that is the leading value in the traditional spiritual value system of the Vietnamese people, the red thread throughout the development of the nation. Here, we can see the orderliness, priority among values, which many researchers have emphasized when defining the value system. Of course, the views of Dao Duy Anh or Tran Van Giau are both inclined to point out the “values” available when looking for the spiritual life of the nation in the past but the values they pointed out in their famous works have become an important basis for many later researchers to refer to when determining the national value system in the next stage.

On that basis, a number of research works when discussing the new value system also look back and identify the basic values in the nation's traditional value system (including cultural and human value systems, people, etc). For example, the authors

¹ Dao Duy Anh (1938), *Vietnam History of Culture*, Quan hai tung thu, Hue City, p. 16

² Tran Van Giau (1980), *Traditional spiritual values of the Vietnamese people*, Social Sciences Publisher.

Nguyen Ngoc Thien, Tu Thi Loan, on the basis of distilling summaries from previous studies, and based on sociological investigation results, have identified a number of traditional cultural values and typical traditional human values which are highly appreciated by the people with the implication that these are also values that need to be inherited and promoted, including cultural values: sense of community, national spirit, respect love, studious, hard work¹ and human values: patriotism, solidarity, honesty, respect for morality, industriousness². And author Tran Ngoc Them, from the perspective of system - type, has positioned the traditional Vietnamese value system with 5 basic values: Community, harmony, negative bias, synthesis and flexibility³.

Regarding the problem of building a new value system for Vietnamese people, researchers at different historical times have made different proposals. Author Nguyen Tai Thu, when discussing the “spiritual value system” in Vietnam during the Doi Moi period, pointed out two groups of values, including traditional values that need to be promoted: patriotic thought, industrious virtue, community, clean lifestyle⁴, and new values

¹ Nguyen Ngoc Thien, Tu Thi Loan co-editors (2021), *Vietnam's cultural and human value system in the period of accelerating industrialization, modernization and international integration*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 151

² Nguyen Ngoc Thien, Tu Thi Loan co-editors (2021), *Vietnam's cultural and human value system in the period of accelerating industrialization, modernization and international integration*, Ibid, p. 162

³ Tran Ngoc Them (2017), *Vietnamese value system in the period of industrialization, modernization and international integration*, National Political Publishing House.

⁴ Nguyen Tai Thu (1995), *Thinking about a spiritual value system in the renovation period in our country today*, *Philosophy Review*, No 1, p. 6-7

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need to be built such as living with high ideals, scientific and dynamic thinking, creativity in work, organization of life and cultural activities, democracy and discipline in life and in social organization¹.

Besides, it is impossible not to mention the options that directly propose a value system for Vietnamese people in the new period. Author Luong Dinh Hai pointed out the difficulties in determining the correct and complete Vietnamese value system but also tried to provide a table of 10 values for discussion, including: 1/ Spirit patriotic Vietnam, 2/ Compassionate spirit, 3/ Heroic, brave, 4/ Acceptance, receptive, 5/ Humble learning, 6/ Creative, 7/ Industrious, 8/ Optimistic, 9/ Moral importance, 10/ Prefers stability. Some other authors and groups of authors also gave different opinions on this issue, for example, the project *Vietnam's cultural value system in the period of accelerating industrialization, modernization and international integration* which edited by Nguyen Ngoc Thien and Tu Thi Loan proposed two value systems, including cultural value system and human normative value system. For each value system, the topic offers 2 options. Specifically, with the cultural value system, the priority option includes four values: nationality, democracy, humanity, and the rule of law. The second option has an added value of harmony². With the human standard value system, the priority option includes four values: patriotism, creativity, responsibility, and discipline. The second option has two more values: honesty

¹ Nguyen Tai Thu (1995), *Thinking about a spiritual value system in the renovation period in our country today*, Ibid, p. 7-8

² Nguyen Ngoc Thien, Tu Thi Loan co-editors (2021), *Vietnam's cultural and human value system in the period of accelerating industrialization, modernization and international integration*, Ibid, p. 268

and solidarity¹. Author Pham Duy Duc also proposed two value systems in his article, including the national value system and the cultural value system. In particular, the national value system includes: rich people, strong country, justice, democracy, civilization, and happiness. The cultural value system includes: nation, democracy, humanity, rule of law, science². As can be seen, these options do not completely coincide although they may be similar in some specific values such as patriotic values. On the other hand, the naming of the value systems in these works is also different. Some authors refer directly to the national value system, some authors call it the Vietnamese value system, and others mention the Vietnamese value system and standard human value system but in these value systems with different names, there are similar values. For example, the Vietnamese value system proposed by author Luong Dinh Hai has values that are completely different from the national value system proposed by Pham Duy Duc but has values in common with the human standard value system proposed by the author group Nguyen Ngoc Thien (patriotic and creative). This also confirms the inconsistency in the understanding of the national value system among the researchers that we mentioned above.

In summary, it can be seen that, so far, many research works have been carried out in order to offer options for building Vietnam's national value system. In it, each author or group of

¹ Nguyen Ngoc Thien, Tu Thi Loan co-editors (2021), *Vietnam's cultural and human value system in the period of accelerating industrialization, modernization and international integration*, Ibid, p. 274

² Pham Duy Duc (2021), *Building the national value system, the Vietnamese cultural value system in the period of international integration*, Political Theory, No. 3

authors, starting from their own point of view, proposes different values to include in that value system.

3. Building Vietnam's national value system in unity with the socialist value system in the new period

The Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism (adopted at the 7th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, 1991) affirmed that Vietnam is in transition to socialism. The Platform had outlined six basic characteristics of socialism in Vietnam: *First*, it is owned by the working people. *Second*, there is a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and public ownership of the main means of production. *Third*, there is an advanced culture imbued with national identity. *Fourth*, people are liberated from oppression, exploitation and injustice, work according to their ability, enjoy according to labor, have a prosperous, free and happy life, have conditions for comprehensive personal development. *Fifth*, all ethnic groups in the country are equal, unite and help each other to make progress. *Sixth*, have friendly and cooperative relations with the people of all countries in the world. By 2011, *the Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism* (Additional and Development in 2011) outlined the basic features of socialism in Vietnam: “*The socialist society that our people built is a society of wealth people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization; owned by the people; have a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations; has an advanced culture imbued with national identity; people have a prosperous, free and happy life, have conditions for comprehensive development; Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, unite, respect and help each*

other develop; there is a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people led by the Communist Party; have friendly and cooperative relations with countries around the world". The Communist Party of Vietnam's progress in awareness of the basic characteristics of socialism is reflected in the added and brought to the forefront essential characteristics, which are "wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice, and civilization". These are value characteristics, both the values of socialism and the national values.

It can be seen that, from the 1991 Platform to the 2011 Amended and Supplemented Platform, the awareness of the Communist Party of Vietnam on the basic features of socialism has developed, gradually transitioning to the value-oriented, goal-oriented nature. The transition period in Vietnam is actually a period of socialist-oriented development. From the perspective of learning values, going up to socialism is also aiming for and building good values.

This point of view has been further developed in recent times, in which, a notable point is the proposal to build a national value system as a solution to continue to build and further promote the national value system. Vietnamese culture and human strength for the sake of national independence and socialism. This has been shown very clearly in the Document of the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam as well as through the key guiding thought of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong. The political report of the 12th Party Central Committee at the 13th Congress of the Party confirmed the requirement: "Focus on researching, defining and implementing the construction of national value system, cultural value system and human standards with preservation and development of the Vietnamese family

value system in the new period”¹. To fulfill the requirements of research, identification and implementation according to the requirements of the Document, a series of activities have been carried out in a synchronous and serious manner. Many ministries, branches, research and teaching institutions have simultaneously conducted research on value systems, including national value systems. Typically, the National Social Sciences and Humanities Program for the period to 2030 “Research, promote human values and resources for national development” of the Ministry of Science and Technology, or Program Ministry-level key project “Building a national value system, cultural value system and human standards with preserving and developing the Vietnamese family value system in the new era” of Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences.

The identification and implementation of the national value system is carried out closely following the guiding ideology of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong. At the National Cultural Conference on implementing the Resolution of the 13th Party Congress², the issue of the national value system was mentioned by General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong in his Speech at the Conference. When referring to six key tasks that need to be done well to continue to build, preserve, revive and develop the nation's culture, the second task is: “building the Vietnamese people in the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol. I, p. 143

² It should be noted that since the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945, this is the third National Cultural Conference. The first national cultural conference was held in Hanoi in 1946, the second one was held in the Viet Bac war zone in 1948. Thus, after 73 years, the new national cultural conference was held. Therefore, the Conference has great significance and especially important impact on Vietnamese society.

renew period, developing and integrating with appropriate standard values, associated with preserving and promoting Vietnamese family values, cultural values, and values of the country - nation; skillfully combining traditional values with contemporary values: patriotism, solidarity, self-reliance, gratitude, honesty, responsibility, discipline, and creativity. Those values are nurtured by Vietnamese family culture with core values: Warmth, happiness, progress, civilization; fostered and developed by an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity with the following value systems: nation, democracy, humanity, science; on the basis of the national value system and also the noble goal of our nation: Peace, unity, independence, wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice, civilization, happiness"¹. Thus, it can be understood that the national value system includes 9 elements: peace, unity, independence, wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice, civilization, and happiness.

If we compare it with *the Platform for national construction in the transition to socialism (Added, developed in 2011)*, we can see the first 5 features stated in the Platform are: Wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization have been reflected in the national value system. The values of wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization have been studied, clarified and developed many times over the years.

Four other national values: Peace, unity, independence and happiness are also values that the Vietnamese people have always

¹ "Striving to build, preserve and promote the unique values of an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity", Speech at the National Cultural Conference on November 24, 2021 of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong.

pursued since the country's founding. For countries that have been divided by outside forces like Vietnam, the value of peace and reunification is more precious than ever. The two values of independence and happiness are also recorded in the title “Independence - Freedom – Happiness” under the national name of Vietnam from 1945 to the present. President Ho Chi Minh also repeatedly emphasized these values through his speeches and writings. Ho Chi Minh once pointed out, Vietnam is “a nation that loves peace, justice and humanity”¹, once asserted that “nothing is more precious than independence, freedom”, etc., and the last aspiration. His work is no exception to those values: “My last wish is that the entire Party and people of our country united to strive to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and powerful Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the cause of world revolution”².

These values are also mentioned many times in the Document of the XIII Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The overall goal in the vision and development orientation of the country as affirmed by the Party is: “Improve the Party's leadership, ruling and fighting capacity; building a clean, strong and comprehensive Party and political system; consolidate and strengthen the people's faith in the Party, State and the socialist regime; arousing the aspiration to develop a prosperous and happy country, promoting the will and strength of national unity in combination with the strength of the times; comprehensively and synchronously promote the renovation, industrialization and

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Collected works*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol. 4, p. 158

² Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Collected works*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol. 15, p. 624

modernization; firmly build and defend the Fatherland, maintain a peaceful and stable environment; striving by the middle of the twenty-first century, our country becomes *a developed country with socialist orientation*"¹. On that basis, the Party has set out Vietnam's foreign policy and guidelines: "Consistently implement the foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, peace, friendship, cooperation and development and diversification, multilateralize foreign relations;... proactively and actively integrate comprehensively and deeply into the international community; Vietnam is a friend, a reliable partner and an active and responsible member of the international community"². Two of the key tasks to successfully implement the country's strategic development goals to 2030, with a vision to 2045 are also identified as "arousing the spirit and will and determination to develop the land. prosperous and happy country; prosperous and enduring nation; promote the cultural values and human strength of Vietnam in the cause of national construction and defense"³ and "Strengthening independence and self-reliance; strengthening defense and security potentials; improve the quality and efficiency of foreign affairs and international integration; resolutely and persistently defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and integrity of the territory, sea, islands and airspace; maintain a peaceful and stable environment

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, Vol. I, Ibid, p. 111

² Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, Vol. I, Ibid, p. 161

³ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, Vol. I, Ibid, p. 46

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for the development of the country”¹. Thus, from the point of view of the Communist Party of Vietnam, national values are unified with those of socialism, or in other words, the national value system and the socialist value system are two concentric circles, building a national value system is not outside the goal of building socialism.

In fact, pursuing national values is also pursuing the common values of all Vietnamese people. The word “country” is a geographical concept, but also a political concept, one associated with political power. The political power of the Vietnamese nation belongs to the Vietnamese people. Here, the people own the country so the values that the country pursues are actually the value goals that the people of the whole country pursue together. The national value system is a value system that is cultivated, built and pursued by the masses. In it, each individual, each member of the national community finds their own values and contributes to deepening the national value system. At the same time, without a national value system, without independence, wealth, solidarity, democracy, justice, etc., individuals in society are not able to pursue their own values and national culture also unable to maintain its core values. Vietnam's pursuit of national values is also the realization of its national goals. In order to achieve the goal of wealthy people, a strong country with democracy, justice and civilization, and realize the country's development aspiration “being comparable with the great powers of the five continents”, Vietnam today needs to have a national values to guide the way.

The reason for the Communist Party of Vietnam is able to define and build a national value system is because the Party

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, Vol. I, Ibid, p. 48

carries with it a historical mission. The Communist Party of Vietnam represents the interests, will and aspirations of the whole country. The main mission of the Party is to bring “Independence - Freedom – Happiness” to the masses and to the Vietnamese people. This mission is the core value of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the foundation for all of the Party's principles. This mission is clearly reflected in the relationship between the Party and the People, the Party and the Nation, and the Party and the State. Carrying out its mission, over the past 90 years, the Communist Party of Vietnam has always performed well the tasks assigned by history, the nation and the people. General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong affirmed: “With all humility, we can still say that Our country has never had the opportunity, potential, position and international prestige as it is today”¹. Arousing and realizing the aspiration to develop a prosperous and happy country is the concretization of the mission of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the current period.

The document of the 13th Congress affirmed that the core point throughout is to take the people as the root and take the people as the center: “In all work of the Party and State, we must always deeply grasp the concept of “the people is the root”; truly believe in, respect and promote the people's right to mastery”; persistently implement the motto “people know, people discuss, people do, people control, people monitor, people enjoy”. The people are the center and the subject of the renovation, construction and defense of the Fatherland; all undertakings and policies must really derive

¹ General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong, *Strong aspirations and reality in Vietnam*, Website The Communist Party of Vietnam: <https://daihoi13.dangcongsan.vn/multimedia/bai-5-khat-vong-hung-cuong-va-hien-thuc-hoa-o-viet-nam-6720>

from the people's legitimate and fairly requests, aspirations, rights and interests; tighten close relationship with the people, rely on the people to build the Party; take the people's happiness and well-being as a striving goal; consolidate and strengthen the people's faith in the Party, State and the socialist regime"¹. This is consistent with the Marxist-Leninist view of the masses as the maker of history, the revolution as the cause of the masses of the people, the people's mastery position determining the leadership of the Party, the prosperous and powerful development of the country.

As the vanguard of the working class, the working people and the whole nation, the Party protects the people's interests, comes from the people, belongs to the people. That is why the whole Communist Party of Vietnam, the whole ideological foundation of the Party is Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thought, and the path of the Party leading the nation which is socialism is the inevitable choice of history, the trust of the people.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol. I, p. 96-97

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT – THE TYPICAL VALUE OF SOCIALISM

*Dr. Dao Thi Minh Thao**

Along with the history development process and various social forms of class oppression, injustice, and class discrimination went through, mankind has formed aspirations for an equal and fair life, freedom, happiness. Those ideas have gradually been developed into a system of views, a theory of human rights and comprehensive human development.

The capitalist society with the appearance of bourgeois humanism is a great step forward in the history of human thought. Bourgeois humanism has risen the awareness of "freedom - equality - fraternity" and human liberation, especially women's liberation among people. However, it is the economic basis of capitalist society with private ownership of the means of production and the way of distribution based on such kind of ownership that has not thoroughly realized the spirit of human liberation, - especially for the working class.

The classics of Marxism, the founders and implementers of socialist construction proposed and strived to build up a civilized, humane society. The Government and people who love freedom and democracy in countries with a tendency towards socialism

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have actively and responsibly participated in this cause and have established new achievements in the process of social and human Development. And, we can absolutely affirm: the concern for human development has been one of the typical values of socialism and one of the key objectives in terms of theory and practice.

1. The ideological and theoretical value of the Marxist-Leninist point of view of human liberation

In their works, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels always concentrated in building of a just and free society. In such society, people can live happily and develop comprehensively. The content of the scientific and revolutionary theory of human development contributes to the theoretical value of socialism in the following aspects:

Firstly, scientific socialists have cited with data and facts for the necessity of the birth of a society of human liberation and development and affirmed the necessity of a transitional stage to a new society – communism with many social relations which are different from those of the capitalist society. In 1848, in the work *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote: “In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all” .

Secondly, the qualitative difference in the relationship between the individual and the society of the new society has been pointed out: *The Communist Manifesto* declares the Communist Party's principle to benefit the vast majority of people “All historical movements, from time to time, have been carried out by the minority, or have been for the benefit of the minority. The

proletarian movement is the independent movement of the majority, seeking the interests of the majority"; The goal of the socialist movement is pointed out: to permanently liberate the entire society from the yoke of exploitation and oppression; giving people positions and abilities that they could not have had in earlier societies.

Thirdly, new things generated by the new society are pointed out:

- Along with the comprehensive development of individuals, the increasing labor power of the society, the society will develop to the level where ... the narrow horizon of bourgeois right (can) be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs¹". In the work *The Principles of Communism* this issue is further explained: "At present, a completely new stage has come that a stage of prosperity with complete product generation for society. Thus, society will produce enough products to organize distribution to satisfy the demands of all members of society. Thus, the social division by different antagonistic classes will become superfluous."

- The degree of women's liberation will be a natural measure of the cause of human liberation. In the work "*The origin of the family, private property and the State*" (1844), Friedrich Engels discussed deeply about building a progressive, happy marriage and family system and the position of the women in society. He affirmed that in a progressive society, freedom to love and to marry is a noble value, a basic human right: "Marriage for love has been declared a human right"¹. That it is love itself that is the

¹ C. Mác và Ph. Ăngghen. *Toàn tập*, t. 21, Nxb. Chính trị Quốc gia, Hà Nội, 1995, tr. 126.

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foundation of a happy marriage and a stable family life. He is also a person who upholds the idea of gender equality, the spirit of respect for women when trying to figure out how to make the freedom of love and marriage no longer an "exception" for women. He analyzed and pointed out: the root of oppression against women lies in private property. In addition, cognitive and cultural factors are also the cause of inequality between men and women.

In order for love and marriage to be truly free, and women are no longer forced or discriminated against, belittled or even become a commodity, it is necessary to abolish private ownership of the means of production. Women must be allowed to participate in social production and social activities as equally as men. Marriage life needs to be recognized and protected by the law. He also gave a very progressive point of view when he said: "If love has completely faded or is overwhelmed by a new passionate love, then divorce will be a good thing for both parties as well as for society. It is only necessary to prevent people from falling into the mire of lawsuits to get a divorce." ...The idea of voluntary marriage is progressive, monogamous, and measures to liberate women are progressive thoughts of human liberation that has created great value of this work, as V. I. Lenin assessed as "one of the main works of modern socialism".

- It is necessary to focus on developing knowledge and culture for the entire people for the comprehensive human development. Friedrich Engels said that the society should have and create conditions for people to develop, and at the same time, people themselves, in turn, promote the development of society, therefore, "In order to change social conditions, there must be the appropriate education regime for the society. He argued that socialist education should be "uniform for all, proceeding until the

age when one can become an independent member of society" and that the Government should implement "public education which is funded by the State for all children, without any exceptions"

Fourthly, the great founders of Marxism shown the way, the method to step up to such society, which the utopians had not been able to do. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote: "Only when a society no longer has private property, no longer oppresses injustice, can human liberation and comprehensive human development be realized. Only justice, equality, progress and civilization have been achieved. Since then, they have shown a new path to radical human liberation and comprehensive human liberation, which is to abolish private property and successfully build up Socialism and Communism. Karl Marx who discovered that the proletariat is the force whose mission is to carry out that cause of world liberation. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V.I. Lenin and the leaders of the proletarian movement also equipped the revolutionary forces with weapons so that they could liberate themselves and liberate society: they wrote many works that set out strategies, tactics, ways and means to help the proletariat reach the revolutionary goal.

Routing from the human nature, Karl Marx assumed that humans must first exist and satisfy their natural needs as a bio-society individual for further development. Then, people are able to participate in social activities and "make history". On the other hand, deeply understand the social nature of man, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were especially interested in spiritual and intellectual liberation, liberating people's endless creative possibilities so that they could perform their role as the subject of history. The Communist Parties have paid great attention to these guidelines to develop guidelines and action plans in

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human development to be suitable for the situation and conditions in each country.

Thus, the ideology of promoting freedom and democracy, attaching importance to meeting people's needs, always aiming for justice and happiness for people, and comprehensively liberating people... contains valuable values. humanistic and humanitarian values of a social theory. Those ideas have been realized by communists in socialist countries in the actuality.

2. Actual value for human development in some socialist countries

Immediately after the victory of the proletarian revolution, when the premise for a new society was established, the communists immediately joined hand on realizing the goals of social liberation and human development. Leaders who wanted to lead the country to socialism such as V. I. Lenin, Ho Chi Minh or Fidel Castro all tried their best to establish a social system for the people as suggested by Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*:

After the successful October Revolution, V.I. Lenin both led the struggle to protect the young socialist State and shifted the *focus of the revolution to economic and cultural development*, this is a policy of realistic action to move forward into socialism, which is also the step-by-step realization of human liberation and development in real life. Thanks to economic decisions (moving from *the War Communism Policy to the New Economic Policy*), the education system has been urgently developed throughout the territory of the Soviet Union, in the effort of encouraging all people to participate in the construction of a new society. ...Those efforts have helped Russia get out of a difficult situation, develop rapidly and once reached the position of a superpower country, a

counterweight to the US and the West. In some areas of society, especially, the policy of people's taking care showed its superiority compared to the capitalist countries at that time.

By many days of wandering to find a way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh - then Nguyen Ai Quoc caught up the light of the October Revolution and the Soviet Russia. What attracts Ho Chi Minh most in Russia after the revolution is that people were very excited, very happy. This is different from the places where the bourgeois revolution took place that he passed before. He realized that the bourgeois revolution was a revolution that "not come up with", that thoroughly dressed up the problem, the working people were still suffering and still being exploited. And through books about V.I. Lenin, about Soviet Russia, Ho Chi Minh was the first Vietnamese to realize the true values of socialism. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "Only communism can save humanity, and provide everyone, regardless of race and origin, freedom, equality, fraternity, solidarity, and well-being on earth, jobs are generated and built up for everyone for joy, peace, happiness".

In 1946, when answering journalists' interviews, President Ho Chi Minh expressed his burning desire: "I only have one desire, the ultimate desire is to make our country completely independent, our people completely free, all compatriots have food to eat, clothes to wear, everyone has the opportunity to study". Ho Chi Minh explained about socialism: "Socialism is to make all people happy, prosperous, and progressive in education". "Socialism means that all peoples of all ethnic groups are more and more prosperous, our children and grandchildren are happier and happier". The concept of socialism is always associated with people's happiness, so human development is also a constant and throughout point of the Communist Party of Vietnam since its

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establishment. During the Doi Moi process, the Communist Party of Vietnam demonstrated its thorough grasp of the human development perspective, implementing the Human Strategy through a series of practical measures and programs: Focus on economic development, improve people's living standards; Develop education, health care, improve the living environment; Build up and perfect a system of policies and laws... The guidelines and policies of the Party and State of Vietnam are aimed at protecting and taking care of human development, as remarkable as the development policy, education and training, science and technology as the top national policy, policies on building the working class, the peasantry, intellectuals, training policies, attracting talents, health care policies towards the elderly and people with meritorious services, policies on hunger eradication and poverty reduction... along with promotion and implementation of socialist democracy in social life, participating in associations international integration, bringing into the strength of the people in building a new society.

The new social model that Vietnam is aiming for has been clearly defined: *"a society of rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization; people' democracy; highly developed economy, based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations; has an advanced culture imbued with national identity; people have a prosperous, free and happy life and good conditions for comprehensive development; Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, respectful and helpful to each other to develop; There is a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people led by the Communist Party; has friendly and cooperative relations with countries around the world"*. It can be seen that the basic and main content of that goal is for human happiness, for human development.

With the right policies and practical efforts, over the past 35 years of renovation, Vietnam has made great progress in human development. First of all, it is reflected in the constantly improved people's living standards, the people's access to public services is enhanced. The Human Development Index (HDI), according to UNDP, has increased continuously: 0.439 in 1990; 0.534 in 2000; 0.573 in 2005; 0.611 in 2010; 0.682 in 2016; 0.706 2020. Poverty reduction has achieved good results, exceeding the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals. GDP per capita increased sharply, from 113 USD in 1991 to 1,160 USD in 2010 and by 2020, it is 2785.72 USD/person. The system of social security and social welfare has been constantly improved, especially in the job creation, development of the social insurance system, social assistance, advanced development of culture, healthcare and education for everyone. These new steps will be an important basis for opening policies and solutions to mobilize the endless potentials of culture and people, which is considered a powerful internal resource for the development of Vietnam in the past and in the future.

Although the Republic of Cuba still faces many difficulties due to years of siege and embargo, after a period of updating its socialist model, Cuba has soon implemented policies and regimes imbued with the spirit of democracy socialism in human development: implementing a fair distribution of "work according to ability, enjoy according to labor", "no people in society, even though they belong to any social class to be left behind" during the development. Cuba has fully subsidized education and free medical care for all citizens. From a difficult country in all aspects, Cuba has been a bright spot in the development of education and health, reflected in raising the people's intellectual level and ensuring the health of the community (Cuba is the leading country

in the world in terms of literacy rate and is also the world's leading country in the field of health).

China has also made many new achievements in the past ten years: now China has become a country with strong economic potential, which means that people's material and spiritual lives are increasingly improved. China's per capita income in 2020 reached at 10,500 USD per person. After a period of rapid growth and problem arising, China has focused on issues: social care insurance, recovery, economic development after the Covid-19 pandemic, and environmental improvement, renewable energy; China becomes a world leader in solar energy use, and abolishes the one-child family planning policy that was applied many years ago.

By the instructions of Friedrich on building a progressive marriage-family regime, on gender equality, on the spirit of "for the advancement of women". In the Law on Marriage and Family of the socialist countries, the following principles are followed: marriage is protected by law, voluntary, progressive, monogamous, equal rights between husband and wife, and protection of the rights mothers and children.

Some Nordic countries in the direction of democratic society such as Finland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have had many social development policies in the direction of democracy, justice and civilization. Tax, social insurance, and social security policies have actively contributed to improving equality and social justice, gradually reducing the gap between the rich and the poor, people enjoy social welfare and have social benefits. high happiness index. This trend also contributes to affirming the correct goal of socialism, the humanitarian, humanistic and democratic values, because the people of socialism are also the common goal that the advanced mankind advances aims to strive to realize.

In summary, the spirit of eliminating oppression, exploitation and injustice, building a just and equal society, liberating people and caring for the comprehensive human development are the core contents that contribute to the value of humanistic and humanitarian values of socialism. From time to time, overcoming all the attacks of anti-progressive forces, progressive ideas and practical achievements in human development will create the vitality of real socialism and has a strong attraction for mankind to make progress in social management and strive to build a future society that is good and civilized for human happiness.

SOME SOCIALIST VALUE DIRECTIONS OF THE CURRENT RUSSIAN LEFT PARTIES

*Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nguyen Anh Tuan**

Introduction

After the Soviet political system's collapse and communist ideology in 1991, the Russian Federation began to follow the path of complete social liberation from ideology. Clause 2, Article 13 of the Constitution of this country clearly states that “No ideology may be established as a state ideology or compulsory ideology” [1]. In practice, that means, in post-communist Russia, there is a plurality of ideas, albeit a somewhat distorted one.

Nevertheless, it is enough to allow the gradual narrowing of ideological disagreement on fundamental social development issues, the “ideological anarchy” that has deepened social divisions and weakened the state's foundations [2]. V. Putin's rise to power also entailed fundamental changes in Russia's political life, including administrative reforms to strengthen the federal centre and top-down power system, starting the cycle. In the process of building the party and reforming the party system in general.

After a series of changes in the party law and the order of the State Duma election passed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, up to

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now, in the Russian Federation, a multi-party political system has been established and operated stably with the leading party. The Ministry of Justice of Russia officially recognized the operation of 64 parties, the dominant party - the United Russia Party [3] (ER is conservative). In addition to this "ruling" party, in the State Duma for more than 15 years now, there are only three parties: the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (the political organization that inherits the lines and legacy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), the Democratic Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Liberal democracy (SDPR - by Riznovski following the liberal democratic line), the Just Russia Party [SR, JUST RUSSIA]. Here, about the KPRF, we focus our discussion on SR because its lines and programs follow the model almost of the left-wing social-democratic parties of Western-Northern Europe.

1. First, it is necessary to briefly describe the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [KPRF] to use as a basis for comparison. On the ideological level, this Party occupies the middle position of the entire left-wing range. In essence, the Party program combines economic slogans of social democracy with state patriarchy and international proletarian ideology with traditions of patriotism and great nation. The priority orientation of strengthening the state and its role in all spheres of social life [4] is the fundamental difference between this Party and Western European "left-wing" organizations.

The KPRF was conceived as a self-organizing political force as soon as it emerged in 1993. Since then, in the Russian Parliament, it has become the most significant opposing force to the existing regime [5, 1516]; The KPRF claims to be the only political Party to have solid support from below [4].

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The Party Charter adopted on February 14, 1993, clearly states the ideological principle of the Party: "The KPRF, based on the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, has the primary purpose of building socialism-socialism. A fair society based on the principles of collectivism, freedom and equality, fighting for faithful people's power in the form of Soviets, consolidating the multi-national federal state.

At the same time, the economic and political reforms in Russia during the first half of the 90s, the people's attitude of turning away from Soviet reality towards communist values, oriented KPRF leadership seeks new meanings centred on conservative (traditional) values.

Conservatism-like views pushed the KPRF to the left in Russian conservatism, which centred not so much on orthodoxy but mainly on the collectivism that had existed since ancient times in the commune. Peasants and the Russian people in general. If the characteristic of modern right-wing thinkers of Russian conservatism is the over-idealization of pre-revolutionary Russia, left-wing conservatives have deified the Soviet Union, social policy and its economy.

In 2009 KPRF President A. Zyuganov published the article Russian Socialism – the answer to the Russian question. It was written that "the present Russian problem is the foundation on which the ideal social union takes place. Socialist and traditional national values, the communist movement and the national liberation struggle... The main task of our Party - saving the Russian people. Furthermore, with that – saving the Russian state, all the peoples lined up to enter our great state" [7, 117]. According to Ziugannov, the KPRF will actively support the Russian Orthodox Church "the work of strengthening national unity, protecting folk

customs and mascots", Zyuganov said. It should also be noted that, in the last years of ideological-organizational struggle within the KPRF, conservative elements have increasingly abandoned traditional Marxist-Leninist conceptions [5, 1516].

The Party's official program requires "protecting Russian culture as the basis of the spiritual unity of multi-ethnic Russia, ethnic culture of all ethnic groups in Russia... and strengthening the defence capabilities of the land" country does not allow the use of armed forces against the people... ensures the territorial integrity of Russia and protects Russian nationals abroad. One of the essential points in the KPRF's program is that "the voluntary restoration of the Soviet state" [7, 117] is utopian and impossible in practice.

2. The SR Party intends to restore the positive aspects of the socialist economy, preserving many Soviet traditions, especially ensuring social equality.

The SR Party claims to be an organization following the ideology of social democracy [5, 1517] and, from its formation, has positioned itself as the party that acts as the "left-wing prop" of the president, showing as the most potent force in the world. The fierce struggle against "poverty" and "injustice" ... an essential direction of work stated in the platform is to preserve the best traditions of the country: "New socialism actively uses the state in order to preserve the traditions and spiritual values of the people, and to protect the national culture and language. The strong Russian state is a guarantee of our common future, of the preservation of our national identity" [7, 117].

SR appears to be largely artificial. It is prevalent in public opinion that this party is a political project of political technologists belonging to the presidential administration and was formed "from above" [4]. The meeting of the leaders of the three

parties - the Party of Life, the Party of the Fatherland, and the Party of the Retired - with the president of the Russian Federation in 2006 approved the decision to gather forces into a unified project called SR Party [5, 1516].

Thus, as a "left-wing prop" party artificially built to support the president, the SR was born with a definite ideological colour in which social silhouettes prevailed. Tenet. The SR Party upholds fundamental values: "justice, freedom, solidarity" [8]. The party held slogans of "protecting workers", fighting for social justice, and traditional leftist ideologies. It is clear that the "SR socialist revolutionaries" contest a part of the electorate with the KPRF and, in general – the vote of the majority of the population against anarchism and liberalism. Nevertheless, here, while posing as the opponents of the ER party and the liberal wing of the government, the SR declared its full support for V. Putin and his policies from the beginning of its establishment. The following are some critical points in the Target Platform of the SR, outlined by Party Chairman S. Mironov in his speech at the workshop on December 17, 2009, mentioned above.

2.1. Socialism as a value

Socialist thought has been with humanity since quite early, and socialism has existed for centuries as a dream of a kingdom of universal harmony. It is people's hope for a dignified, safe and reasonable life following humanistic ideas about the human condition, justice and freedom. It is created by economics and culture, so it is a worldview and human life that points out the long, thorny road to true freedom and justice to progress the set humanity pursues despite all obstacles.

Socialist ideas are close to most people – everyone wants a secure future and protects themselves and their children and

grandchildren from social evils, unemployment and economic turmoil. Today in most developed countries, every citizen is provided with certain conditions in education, health care, social security, etc. These conditions vary by country and by economic situation. Nevertheless, at best, implementing these things only creates an efficient economy, helping the rich compensate for the poor and thereby preventing social conflict. However, those social benefits proved very fragile when the crisis broke out. There must be a way to fix this. According to Mironov, socialism is the creation of new, efficient public state institutions that ensure that social welfare is always available to people; that is, they must be the solution to problems the people do not cause adverse economic problems.

The socialist world is diverse because it is always open to new ideas. At present, socialist and social democratic ideological orientations such as "new laborism" in England, "new centrist" in Germany, "liberal socialism" in Italy, and modernized "functional society" in Sweden, ...is already widely known. With a focus on diversity, the Socialist International in 1989 adopted the "Stockholm Declaration", affirming the social democratic parties' goal of a just, free and united society that is still constant. However, the "path" to such a society can be different.

According to SR, there is no right or wrong socialism. No one model of socialism fits all regions of the world. Regardless of the program, the path of the socialist parties, their goal of a free, just and united society remains unchanged.

The socialist, social democratic and workers' parties constitute the Socialist International. It is a community of 170 parties from 126 countries, each with its history and representation of different cultures. Nevertheless, this does not prevent them from working

together to achieve common goals and protect their values. In more than 50 countries, there are parties - members of the Socialist International that have been in power.

In 2008, the SR party became a member of the Socialist International and was one of the main parties contributing to the concept of sustainable social development. Within the framework of this concept, the SR proposes specific requirements for economic growth, redistribution of national income, social policy, assessment of external impacts on the environment, and participation citizen participation in government decision-making. This concept is based on equal opportunity for present and future generations. Nevertheless, only socialism can create such opportunities.

2.2. Socialism as an alternative

As such, socialism can and should be an alternative to the established world order. Rosa Luxemburg also spoke about replacing "barbaric capitalism" with socialism. She was right. The barbarism of capitalism is only counterbalanced by socialism!

The barbarism of capitalism has become more apparent in the context of globalization. In the last decade of the 20th century, the world capitalist system reached its limit of expansion, and its subsequent development became increasingly contradictory. The economic "centres" exploiting the "periphery" are increasingly ruthless, making the conflict between the South and the North more acute. Increasing environmental risks as the world struggle to come up with mutually acceptable climate change agreements. Currently, countries have fierce competition for allocating Arctic resources, water, food security and many other types of non-traditional security...

A few examples can be cited in the economic-financial sector: at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the total value of

undeposited derivatives was \$640 trillion, 14 times the GDP of the entire world. Global capitalization has reached 160 trillion dollars, 3.5 times the value of the world GDP. In other words, virtual capital has triumphed over industrial capital. Parasitism has triumphed over the real economy. Financial roulette, abstract ratings, underestimating risk, paying dividends while laying off workers, etc. have become a kind of symbol, a sign of success. This only benefits the oligarchs!

Furthermore, lead to financial crises occurring in ten-year cycles with increasingly larger scale; and if capitalism "catches the enemy empty-handed" inflates the financial bubble, then the transnational oligarchs are already like a dictatorial cult; The result is a widespread phenomenon of financial fraud with the tacit help of banks. The famous "invisible hand of the market" has long shown the most "negative side" to the whole society. The severe pathology of the entire commodity-money system is becoming increasingly apparent.

From that, the leader of SR argued, the world economic institutions need to undergo fundamental changes, first of all, to create a more solid social protection system; and second, to ensure tighter control over companies, holding them accountable for the social consequences of their activities.

The parties of the Socialist International are very determined with the slogan: "We are working to change the world". The need is clearly stated to "restart the economy, make it fairer", to create "an alternative system of market relations, the driving force behind which will be social values, democracy and the environment... "This is a change of time. Financial, economic, social and environmental issues must be integrated with a single plan that puts people first", - the Socialists reaffirmed their vision of social development as progress for the benefit of man.

Thus, if before the socialists talked about "market economy and non-market society", about establishing state control over income distribution, now SR propagates on "alternative markets" and "global governance reform", about a new age replacing market capitalism and its liberal versions of monetarism.

2.3. Socialist value system

In the summer of 2009, the SR Party adopted the Program, which presented the essential "new, realistic" socialist vision and values that the Party pursued. Here are ten of the most important of them.

First, New Socialism is a socio-economic model of the information society. This is based on the fact that high science and technology dramatically increase the importance of non-market organizations in economic life, and knowledge becomes the most important condition for modern development. Therefore, like all socialist, democratic and workers' parties in its programs, the SR Party puts education first. Everyone should be provided with the full range of educational resources of society.

Second, Socialist thought is closely related to culture and does not live according to business rules. Beauty cannot be measured with money. The SR's goal is to preserve Russia's cultural heritage, ensure its transmission to future generations, and continue to develop a unified cultural and information space of the country. In addition, the Law "On Culture" needs to establish a mechanism to realize the right of all Russian citizens to access cultural values in the country and the world freely. In the SR platform and campaign documents, the term "Russian qualities" is used primarily for language and culture. In particular, according to the campaign platform of S. Mironov (leader of the party and a member of the State Duma), "particular attention will be given to the

maintenance of Russian culture as the basis of its development. multi-ethnic diversification of Russia", "protecting the Russian language - the basis of national unity, of the integration of ethnic groups into a unified citizenry" [9].

Third, Socialism is freedom and democracy. Freedom without justice is always freedom for the few. Outside of justice, democracy remains a common slogan. Only when the social rights of people are guaranteed will people have the opportunity to fully exercise their political rights and freedom in realizing their life plans. Modern society cannot develop without human self-organization. The SR Party has actively developed draft laws on organizing self-governing local government in major cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg) to give all the people here absolute rights, which they have been and are being brutally deprived of because the city governments in both these places exist purely in meaning.

Fourth, SR strives for an equitable distribution of income and expenses among generations of society so that young people can count on help when entering life and the elderly have a comfortable old age and a well-deserved pension. This policy is called intergenerational solidarity.

Fifth, SR neo-socialists oppose the expansion of market relations in areas far from the economy because it disrupts social organization and destroys morality. Nevertheless, SR does not claim to abolish the market but instead strives to redistribute power in the market - from the oligarchs to civil society and the state - and thus eliminate the barbaric variations of market relations... Let the economy be by the market. However, in principle, society cannot be the market! New socialism ensures a diversity of forms of property along with their compelling

interplay. Any form of ownership, if competitive, has a right to exist. Manufacturing, commerce, services, an essential part of innovative agriculture, and many other sectors are regulated by the market. There is no need for the presence of the state as the owner. Nevertheless, there are natural monopolies in infrastructure, natural resource extraction, and critical industries, and in high-tech industries such as aviation, space and military, state ownership must be the decision.

All nationalization proposals need to be explicitly considered for each specific business and industry so that people will benefit from nationalization. The country had periods when everything was nationalized. SR believes that the state has a reasonably effective tool - taxes and that the state must be able to use it for the benefit of the people.

Sixth, New Socialism removes rigid barriers between the state and society, expanding the ability of citizens to influence the decision-making process of power. Representative democracy must be accompanied by the increased direct influence of the people on the government. The SR encourages the practice of popular referendums.

Seventh, New Socialism does not exclude but assumes a multi-party system and healthy political competition because this is the most effective tool to increase the efficiency of state administrative management and combat corruption. Everyone should have a political choice and the opportunity to change the country's political course in a peaceful, democratic way. Without political competition, there can be no economic competition, and since then, there will be no progressive innovation development of the whole society.

Eighth, Modern Socialist Ideology has added an ecological dimension. The leftist parties in Europe first raised the issue of

environmental protection. In the face of increasingly extreme weather phenomena, national climate and environmental policy have become a political trademark of European social-democratic parties, including the SR.

Ninth, New Socialism is fair in the distribution of products produced by society. This is not about paternalism or dispensation from the state. First, equity in distribution, social guarantees, and careful attitude towards the country's main assets and the people. The most severe problem in our society today is social inequality. The difference between the total income of the wealthiest 10% of the population and the total income of the poorest 10% in Russia has exceeded 30 times, while ten times is considered "normal". That is, social stratification only deepens. Excessive inequality is crushing people, weakening their motivation to work. Therefore, one of the main tasks of new socialism is to fight to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and to rebalance the starting conditions for people's lives.

Tenth, New Socialists fight for civilized enterprise, for those who seek to realize their capacity and creativity according to their free will, not according to bureaucratic orders. Facilitating anyone who wants to start their own business can do so freely. In Russia, only a tiny part of the population enjoys the freedom of a market economy. The rest are not overcome by unfair competition practices, crime, high-interest rates and rental prices for means of production. Nevertheless, new socialism requires entrepreneurs to be responsible for society. This is not only for the wages and working conditions of workers. Businesses use the resources of society as a whole - natural, ecological, and human, so they must repay society with reasonable and transparent taxes so that they do not undermine business operations.

The SR program documents show the contradiction in the Party's ideological orientation. The program's critical point is ensuring social justice through the active participation of the responsible state in social life. The introductory sections of the Platform are entirely devoted to the social security issues of the people. The top priorities are poverty eradication, pension enhancement, housing security, population issues and health care, science and education, ecology, and youth policy. In all of these critical points, there is a requirement to strengthen the state's role, regulatory and control functions. These points are very similar to the KPRF program's aim to win some part of the communist electorate. The main points of the SR were all directed to the needs of the left-wing electorate, who were dissatisfied with the results of the radical socio-economic reforms of the 1990s and were critical of stabilizing the system. The system of relationships took shape in the early 2000s.

Like the KPRF, the SR differs from the Western social democratic parties in that it also emphasises patriotism and can downplay the values of human rights and human freedoms. 4]. In addition, the leaders of these two leftist parties emphasized the principles of democracy and political competition. According to G. Zyuganov, ideological diversity is an indispensable attribute of a democratic society. Furthermore, the leader of the SR proposed to legislate the "prohibition of political party monopoly" [9]. In general, both the KPRF and the SR, as well as the classical social democracies, are for the gradual extinction of class struggle. At the heart of their typical disagreement with Marxism is the thesis of the maintenance of limited private ownership of the means of production. In the doctrines of the Russian "leftists", there are elements of state interventionism, great power mentality, and

strengthening the role of elites, military and institutions—national security by regularly taking outside forces as threats [5].

Russia's two left-wing parties could develop in several potential ways. There is a high possibility that the KPRF will gradually decline and retreat backstage, withdrawing from the political stage; SR instead. The basis of this forecast is the slow but irreversible decline of the KPRF rating in the elections to the State Duma and local legislative assemblies. The norm of a "second ruling party" and correspondingly easier access than communists to information and administrative sources are the basis for the successful implementation of that strategy of the SR in the future pretty close.

However, there are defining factors that can alter that course. It should be noted that the balance of relations that have shaped the leading parties in the 2000s is primarily tied to the high approval ratings of the president, prime minister, and their policies.

Conclusion. If the financial crisis persists, if the credibility of the President and the President of the Russian Government declines, the position of the two "powerful parties" will also decrease accordingly. In this case, KPRF can strengthen its position. The development of this scenario within a certain period still keeps the KPRF as one of the leading political actors striving to surpass the 7% threshold in elections to the State Duma. Nevertheless, the chances of winning the central political institution in Russia - the presidential seat of the communist party's candidate are still the same as before due to the natural narrowing of the staunch communist electorate.

So, objectively before the KPRF, the question arises: What development strategy will the Party present to society for the country? The answer is KPRF's inevitable move to social democratic positions. However, in this case, the coexistence of two

parties with a standard social democratic orientation with the same objective constituency is impossible.

Therefore, further, the development will occur according to one of the following scenarios. If either party chooses to fight for the survival of one party, it is difficult to predict the outcome of that heroic struggle. Suppose the compromise scenario is chosen to merge. In that case, the result will be forming a unified Russian-style social-democracy party with a solid organizational structure and a maximally oriented ideological base. Socio-cultural characteristics and needs of the Russian "left-wing" constituency. Such a party has a good chance of becoming one of the leading political actors in Russia [4].

In short, the KPRF, based on the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, has the primary purpose of building socialism; The SR party identifies itself with the social democratic ideology, seeing itself as the "left-wing prop" of the president.

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SOCIALISM: A THEORY THAT PROVIDES A METHODOLOGY TO EXPLAIN THE ECOLOGICAL CRISIS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

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Socialism, as a theory of social development that explains the process of movement, development and turnover of social and economic forms, was founded by Marx and Engels in the 1840s. This doctrine later became the theoretical basis that led to the great success of the October Revolution in Russia under Lenin's leadership. The socialist theory of Marx and Engels, after the changes and constant movements of world history, still contains many values and great significance, and is not only the basic doctrine for countries to choose the path of socialist construction. The value of socialism truly transcends the national boundaries of these countries and becomes a common value for all mankind, with the great theoretical significance of explaining the logic of human social development. In other words, socialism is the theory that provides a way to explain social development at both macro and micro levels. (Specific aspects, dimensions and domains of

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social development). Part of the value of this theory, which has had a profound impact on the development of Western intellectual history in the post-modern period, is described as "eco-socialism". The theorists of this movement have come to see the socialist theory of Marx and Engels as the only "key" that can completely solve the fundamental crisis of contemporary society: the ecological and social crisis.

This paper focuses on analyzing and arguing the value of socialism in explaining the socio-ecological crisis in the contemporary world through its ideological influence on the eco-socialist movement: The causes of the crisis, its manifestations, the nature of the socio-ecological crisis and its improvement methods.

1. On eco-socialism

Ecosocialism is a new intellectual movement formed by the ecological movements that flourished in Europe and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Among the various ecological theories in the West (e.g., green movement theory, environmental movement theory, peace movement theory ...) there is only ecosocialism. The choice was made to combine ecology with Marxism to find ways to bring people out of the contemporary socio-ecological crisis and at the same time to help them achieve a new path to socialism, i.e., an eco-socialist transformation. The ultimate goal of ecosocialism is to create a healthy, ecologically balanced and socially just society for the future of human development.

Two theoretical trends:

Ecosocialism is characterized by a theory that combines the basic principles of ecology with Marxism (or more precisely, Marx's critique of political economy) in an attempt to find ways to

both solve the ecological crisis and advance socialism with a new social foundation - a balanced ecological base that respects environmental values. As a relatively new movement, the theoretical system of ecosocialism remains controversial. Through the course of the study, it is generally clear that there are two relatively obvious trends in contemporary eco-socialism: first, Western eco-socialism is vigorously developed on the basis of a critique of capitalism. This is a Marxist tendency developed from Western Marxism. Nevertheless, it differs significantly from Western Marxism in that. The second is the trend of eco-socialism that has developed in Russia and Eastern Europe with the aim of improving the ecological environment of these countries. Theoretical development in this direction cannot be separated from the theoretical system of socialist construction.

Formation process:

Ecosocialism is a new intellectual movement that emerged in the second half of the 20th century, but ideas and opinions about ecology were not new at that time, but were collected and published earlier after the analysis of theorists. Since the 1880s, France has warned of the risks of environmental degradation and the enormous consequences of environmental degradation for society when people ignore objective laws that "We should not be proud of our victory over nature. Because every time we achieve victory, nature gets back at us."¹ However, during the long period of socio-economic development, people have continued to demonstrate their strength with their ability to conquer nature, and environmental problems have gradually been exposed to a

¹ Marx and Engels, Complete Volume, volume 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 317.

worrying extent: energy crisis, energy, environmental pollution, global warming, etc. have led people into confusion, anxiety and doubt, and the need to reconsider ecological consciousness. Against this background, a green movement emerged in some Western countries in the 1960s and 1970s, calling for the protection of the environment, opposing polluting production methods, preserving ecological balance, and calling for a sense of public responsibility towards nature. From a purely environmental movement, gradually with the main representatives Rudolf Barlow¹ and Adam Schaff², the environmental movement was combined with politics, increasing the movement's capacity for struggle and social mobilization and directing the movement's environment to become a trend of political struggle. Eco-socialism is one of the characteristic left-wing movements in Western capitalist countries. At this stage, eco-socialism has not really formed a clear theoretical system and is mainly known as an environmental movement and ecological movement.

By the 1980s, the ecological movement (the green movement) continued to grow and achieve many successes in Europe, and awareness of the harmful effects of ecological and environmental issues increased significantly. The ecological movement had become a mass political movement, tending to be combined with the peace and feminist movements.

The emergence of eco-socialism was also closely linked to the dramatic changes in the socialist state system in the 1990s, before

¹ Rudolf Barrow was a member of the Communist Party of East Germany (later the United Socialist Party of Germany).

² Adam Schaff is a former leader of the Polish Communist Party and a Marxist philosopher.

the collapse of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the social system, when Eastern European socialists seemed to have thought of absolute victory and believed that socialism would surely go down in history. At the same time, a new wave of debate about socialism emerged, with abandonment, skepticism and defensive beliefs. As a rule, a group of left-wing theorists in the West did not abandon the quest for socialism. They argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union did not mean that socialism had failed. They then took this opportunity to analyze the path to building socialism in the context of the long-standing crisis of socialism, as well as the characteristics of contemporary capitalism and the impact of technology on human society, while reopening the great debate on socialism¹. In this great debate, eco-socialism has attracted much attention because it focuses on the ecological problems facing humanity and provides a unique perspective for social transformation. By this time, eco-socialism had spread throughout Europe, especially in the United States. Ecosocialist theory received attention from theorists and was largely formed to play a greater role in society, typified by left-wing scholars and activists such as George Rabier, Rainier Grundman, Andrea Goetz, David Pepper, Michael Loy, Victor Wallis, John Bellamy, Joel Kovel...

Thus, the emergence and development of ecosocialism is the result of the current process of political and economic development of capitalist society itself. At the same time, it also presents a period of "transition" in which socialism is facing major socio-ecological challenges.

¹ See: Bao Yi (2007), A Brief Introduction to Ecological Socialism, *China Development*, Vol. 7, No. 2, tr. 37.

2. Ecological ideology in Marxism is the premise for forming ecological socialism

Ecological ideology in Marxism includes the system of thought and concept of Karl Marx and Engels about the relationship between humans and nature (manifested in society as the relationship between productive forces and relations of production) have been thoroughly applied by theorists of the ecological socialism movement in building and developing their theoretical system. The focus is on their reasoning in explaining the contemporary socio-ecological crisis.

The socio-ecological crisis is described by ecosocialist theorists as an ecological imbalance, unsustainable, directly and closely related to the ecological environment widespread dissemination of its characteristic production methods. This crisis is a threat to the survival of humanity in this century. Accordingly, the goal of solving the socio-ecological crisis is also the "survival" goal of ecosocialism in both theory and practice.

Causes of the contemporary socio-ecological crisis: Ecosocialist theorists agree that capitalism is the factor behind the "picture" of the crisis of modern production and consumption patterns. The capitalist system, especially its modes of production and consumption, is the cause of the current ecological crisis. Capitalism, with its particular mode of production and consumption, is not only the root cause, the intrinsic cause of ecological damage, but its very existence has always been against ecological management. Capitalism cannot provide any fundamental solution to effectively overcome ecological constraints when capitalist production is maintained on the natural basis of constant accumulation and consumption of capital.

The socialist theories of Marx and Engels, which exposed the intrinsic nature of the capitalist mode of production, namely the destruction of the environment and the growing socio-ecological crisis, became the inspiration and basis for the theorists of eco-socialism. Two extremely important theories are considered to be the "pillars" of socialist ecological theory: (1) the theory of the dialectical relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production, and (2) the reasoning of the material unity of nature and man.

First, the theory of the dialectical relationship between productive forces and production relations

Although, in the time of Marx and Engels, environmental and ecological problems were not as prominent as they are today, so this does not seem to be a major classical concern. However, in the theory of the future socialist society, environmental problems, ecology, the role of nature, how to treat nature... For Marx and Engels, the development and level of productive forces is the determining factor in the economic development of the social economy, that is, what is the nature of that society, considering the way wealth is produced? The opposite of the logic of capitalist production is the accumulation of capital, wealth and commodities. Socialist material production is the production of use value, a necessity to satisfy human needs and lead people to happiness and good. In particular, Marx's view that the progress of science and technology is not measured by an infinite increase in the number of commodities, but by a simultaneous decrease in workers' labor time and an increase in time labor, spare time for artistic activities, and increased intelligence - is completely contrary to the capitalists' goal of a society oriented toward the consumption of more and more material goods. Ecosocialist theorists analyze and evaluate this view of Marx as a progressive

and humane step compared to capitalism because it makes ecological sense, because it is meaningful and decisive in reducing the pressure on the natural environment. David Pepper, a prominent eco-socialist, argues that the inherent logic of capitalism's pursuit of profit maximization has created social injustice and ecological imbalance. Only by abolishing capitalism and addressing social injustice can the global ecological crisis be resolved. Thus, in Pepper's view, combining an ecological perspective with socialism not only solves ecological problems, but also achieves socialism. As Fernández warns, "We should not be proud of our victory over nature. For every time we triumph, every time nature will take revenge on us."¹

Marx pointed out from the nineteenth century that the inherent contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production (specifically, the contradiction between the nature and level of socialization: higher levels of productive forces and private ownership of the private) means of production). Therefore, capitalism will fall into self-destruction and is necessarily a process of replacement by communism (the first stage is socialism). Understanding this, true capitalism has made adjustments to survive to this day. But this does not mean that it has "solved" its internal contradictions. James Richard O'Connor, one of the leading exponents of ecosocialism, followed Marx's lead in arguing for a "second contradiction of capitalism. He said that the contradictions inherent in capitalism as pointed out by Marx should be understood as including two contradictions: the first contradiction is the contradiction between the productive forces and the

¹ Marx and Engels, Complete Volume, volume 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 317.

relations of production; the second contradiction is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. The second contradiction is the contradiction between the mode of production and the conditions of production. O'Connor argues that instead of improving the conditions of production, the capitalist mode of production destroys them on many levels, including consciousness. The ecological crisis, as a transformation of nature, also implies social change, such as the rise of the environmental movement. In this respect he is ahead of the Marxist feminists, because in his theoretical development he deals with processes of social reproduction. O'Connor was interested in the dialectical reconstruction of ecological processes (including natural resources), people and their self-perceived potential, social relations and cultural development ¹. The development of the theory of internal contradictions of capitalism in J. O'Connor's "second contradiction" focuses on the second stage of production (i.e. on the contradictions occurring in the second stage of production), the stage of reproduction, in order to distinguish it from the contradictions occurring in the first stage of production). The essence of the second contradiction is aimed at re-evaluating the meaning of social transformation and construction, but more generally, at changing the world (both nature and society). In this regard, the capitalist mode of production fails to do this, because the essence of this mode of production is the destruction of nature, its total exploitation as a commodity, the formation of a habit, the idea of society is non-stop consumption. Indeed, this view of J. O'Connor is not only intended to develop Marx's perspective, but also reflects J. O'Connor's insight into capitalism in the current period. Similarly,

¹ Saed (2019), *James Richard O'Connor's Ecological Marxism*, Capitalism Nature Socialism, Vol. 30, No. 4.

the French economist Thomas Piketty, commenting on capitalism in the 21st century, stated: "The main contradiction of capitalism: an asset-based market economy, if left to operate on its own, would contain powerful forces. It leads to convergence, especially in the diffusion of knowledge and skills; but it also contains powerful divisive forces, and these are also the effects of social justice values that have the potential to threaten democratic societies and the foundations of those societies."¹ .

Joel Stephen Kovel (1936 - 2018) also agreed and added and extended the second contradiction by emphasizing the essential role of the conditions of production or ecological environment. Joel Kovel not only developed the basic theory of ecosocialism, but also proposed a theory of ecosocialist transformation based on ecological materialism². He calls capitalism "the enemy of nature". In his analysis of the capitalist mode of production and the "capital" nature of capital accumulation, Joel Kovel realizes that Capital's invasion takes place across an ecosystemic manifold encompassing both culture and nature, with points of commodity formation arising everywhere")"³ . In real capitalist societies, "Though the Second Contradiction may be offset in individual circumstances by recycling, pollution control, the trading of credits and the like, the imperative to expand continually erodes the edges of ecologies along an ever-lengthening perimeter, overwhelming or displacing recuperative efforts, and accelerating

¹ Thomas Piketty (2021), *Capital of the 21st Century*, Young Publishing House, p. 721.

² The specific content of this statement will be developed by us in future studies.

³ Joel Kovel (2007), *The enemy of nature. The end of capitalism or the end of the world?*, Zed Books, London, UK, tr. 56.

a cascade of destabilization"¹. This is to emphasize that the capitalist method of production, by its very nature, is always opposed to the interests of the ecological environment.

Second, the theory of material unity between nature and humans

At the same time, an important contribution of socialism to socialist ecological thought also lies in the theory of material unity between nature and human beings, which is the basis of the theorists of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam mode of production and the natural environment. Instead, it shows signs of a rift and metabolic disruption between man, society, and nature. John Bellamy Foster and others around the Monthly Review, such as Paul Burkett, Clark, Saito... Ecosocialist analysis around this theory includes demonstrating and extending Marx's metabolic analysis of material exchange between human society and nature, focusing on the constant accumulation of target capitalism creating an ecological (metabolic) rift as it transcends limits and exceeds the laws of nature and the functioning of ecosystems. Burkert, for example, clarifies how political economy is integrated with ecological economics and analyzes their interrelationship. French Marxist Henri Lefebvre drew directly on Marx's theory of metabolic rupture to describe the way in which the ecological separation and destruction of the capital system leads to².

¹ Joel Kovel (2007), *The enemy of nature. The end of capitalism or the end of the world?*, Zed Books, London, UK, tr. 51.

² Leigh Brownhill, Salvatore Engel-Di Mauro, Terran Giacomini, Ana Isla, Michael Löwy, Terisa E. Turner (2022), *The Routledge handbook on ecosocialism*, Nxb. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, tr. 95.

As can be seen, the socialist theory of the material unity of man and nature has been inherited by most eco-socialist theorists as an important theoretical foundation, which they call eco-Marxism. According to J.B. Foster, eco-Marxism provides important insights for understanding the emergence and development of anthropogenic fractures in natural history. Moreover, Marx's theory of material unity and metabolic rupture (when talking about the capitalist system) is not much supplemented or developed, but mainly manipulated processes. that are proven in practice and even present arguments in defense of Marx's theory. Marx's theory on the relations of productive forces - the idea that ancient relations of production promote productivism.

It can be seen that in addition to acknowledging, inheriting and applying the theory of ecological Marxism in general, and the theory of material unity in particular, the addition or development of the theorists of Eco-socialism is not much. It is mainly the process of applying, proving in practice, and even giving opinions to defend Karl Marx's theory against views that Marx's theory on the relationship between forces production - production relations promote productivism.

The history of ideological development shows that the trend of inheritance and development is an inevitable trend. Ecosocialism is one such example. Although ecological socialism is still in the process of perfecting its theory and doctrine, it has already created a certain "resonance" because it reflects the new development reality of the world that cannot be ignored - ecological environmental issues, harmony with nature. On the other hand, the emergence of ecological socialism once again affirms the great influence of Marxism and the future of socialism in the world.

THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER THE CHALLENGE OF THE EARLY 21st CENTURY

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1. Introduction

The famous German sociologist, R. Dahrendorf, called the 20th century as "the century of social democracy"¹. Yes, 20th century social democracy had a strong impact on the aspect shaping of Western society. Some of its deserts/merits can be mentioned as it has more or less humanized the capitalist market system, introduced into this system some elements of social consensus and accommodation, and built a common welfare state. Moreover, social democratic values in general also strongly influence the direction of ideological credos of parties and other socio-political organizations. By the end of the 20th century, according to Dahrendorf, "we (almost) all had become social democrats", while the key ideas of the "social democratic century" - such as economic

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¹ Dahrendorf R. *Die Chancen der Krise: Über die Zukunft des Liberalismus*. 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983. 240 s.; tr. 6

growth, Equality, labor, reason, state socialism, internationalism - became clear¹.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, the European Social Democrats fell into a state of crisis. On the one hand, the cause of that crisis is due to the fact that the social structure of Western European countries has a significant reduction in the proportion of the traditional working class - which is the most important social support and constituency of the country's social democrats, while the proportion of the new middle classes rapidly increased; on the other hand, a reason is the discrediting of socialist thought as a result of the events that occurred in the years 1989 - 1991 of the socialist states in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe along with the strengthening of the position of the neo-liberals in the western countries. The crisis not only led to the erosion of the social democratic political culture but also shook the most important achievements of social democracy and the "fundamental instrument of social democratic policy" - the the general welfare state became increasingly bureaucratic. That undermined economic growth, adding to the living-off mood. Moreover, it is even more obvious that the Keynesian model is no longer suitable for the era of computerized information technology and the "knowledge economy", which requires market actors to be as creative and dynamic as possible; the possibilities of the welfare state are clearly diminished in the process of globalization. In the context of free capital movement from one country to another, the Keynesian anti-cyclical crisis measures employed by social democrats within a country were no longer effective. Meanwhile,

¹ Dahrendorf R. *Die Chancen der Krise: Über die Zukunft des Liberalismus*. 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983. 240 s.; tr. 16

the necessity of maintaining the competitiveness of the national economy in the global world requires reducing taxes on corporate profits, making it impossible to maintain high levels of social security as before for the people.

Social democrats' attempts to respond to these challenges have resulted in the emergence of a stronger market bias in Europe's centre-left parties. Theorists following this trend claim to modernize the ideological baggage of social democracy by adding elements of "sane liberalism". They emphasized the advantage of the market economy, demanded the abandonment of large-scale redistribution projects of material wealth, and reduced state intervention in the economy.

2. New Social Democrats in Britain and Germany

At the end of the last century, strong modernization movements were more or less evident in most European social democratic parties. The process of reforming the ideological platform has been very actively implemented in the British Labor Party (LP Labor Party) and the German Social Democratic Party (SDP). The labor ideology was vigorously promoted after Tony Blair, a young, energetic leader of the British labor party, entered power in 1994. Since 1998, the same process has taken place in the German SDP. As a result, in the Western social democracy movement, there were two main movements – "new" (modernization) and "old". The first movement, associated with the names of British Prime Minister Tony Blair and German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, rejected many traditional social democratic concepts in favor of social freedom.

The "new" social democracy differs from the "old" in two ways. First, it acknowledges the need to fundamentally re-examine

leftist ideology in light of the changes taking place in the world (globalization, the emergence of the "knowledge economy", the lack of results of the welfare state...). Second, the new social democrats focus first on the results of attracting voters, and less on preserving the ideological purity of their doctrine. In the face of a dramatic decline in its traditional social base of the working class, it needs to win the support of other social classes as well¹.

"New Labor" and "Third Way" are important concepts that Blair and his comrades incorporated into the ideology of the British LP. The term "New Labor" refers to the LP's modernizing leadership's rejection of many of the tenets of "traditional" organized laborism. This includes, among other things, the goal to increase taxes on income and companies, increase state control over the economy, and advocate for union rights. Blair and the leadership affirm that the Party remains loyal to social democratic values and goals, but chooses a new path more suitable for the modern world to achieve them.

"Third Way", it is much different from the old third way of social democracy in the 50s and 60s of the last century, which is also opposed to "unjust capitalism - wasteful" and "soulless communist tyranny"². "Third Way" of the new workers, according to Blair, is more right than the main axis that the old leftists (emphasis on state control, high taxes and protection of workers' rights employed) has gone, and is more contrary to the new

¹ Xem: Giddens A. *Where Now for New Labour?* Cambridge, Polity Press, 2002. 96 p.; tr. 11

² The World Today – The Socialist Perspective. Declaration Adopted by the Council of the Socialist International. Oslo, 2–4 June, 1962. *Socialist International Information*, 1962, no. 24-25, pp. 354-361.; tr. 361

rightists (who often consider evil not only state intervention in the economy, but also the words themselves "society" and "collective effort") are going¹. In other words, it is a crossroads between the Keynesian welfare state and neoliberalism.

Former leader of the German SDP (1999 - 2004), former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1998 - 2005) Schroeder also held a similar stance. Schroeder's socio-political views, shaped before the 1998 Parliamentary election campaign, have been called the "New Midpoint", or "New Center" (Neue Mitte). By doing so, the SDP shows its intention to attract to itself the new middle class - highly skilled workers, small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, freelancers.... Therefore, the German SDP's 1998 election program was, according to Schroeder, the most "marketable" of the party's campaigns, including such points as the combination of supply and demand policies, supporting small and medium enterprises, reducing taxes for all businesses (both large corporations and small and medium enterprises), helping the unemployed according to the principle of "work instead of social assistance"².

Thus, the new social democracy is different from the traditional social democracy in many ways. The "old" social democracy, while acknowledging the advantages of the market economy, advocates redistributing the wealth it creates for the sake of equality and social justice. The "new" social democracy, on the other hand, is more inclined to view social policies and social

¹ Блэр Т. The New Policy for the New Century, *Gosudarstvennaya sluzhba za rubezhom* [Public Service Abroad]. Moscow, 2000, no. 4, pp. 4-8.; tr. 5

² Хем Мацонашвили Т. Н., *Social Democratic Party of Germany before Election of 1998*, Moscow, INION RAS, 1998. 43 p.; tr. 28-35

assistance as means of ensuring a more efficient functioning of the market economy. The state is the basic tool to implement traditional social democratic policy, while modernized social democracy views the market economy as the most important tool to achieve its goals.

The "new" social democracy also leaves the traditional character of democratic socialism. According to the German philosopher J. Habermas, within the workers' movement from history "has formed the character of solidarity for "great social justice" against the individual character of a justice of results and achievements"¹. Followers of the "third path", put behind the mottos of cooperation - state, collective of the "old left", to place greater emphasis on individual efforts and initiatives, public acumen job. It is also important to recognize the fact that modernized social democracy has denied the historical task of the social-democracy movement, such as abolishing labor alienation, transforming labor into a commodity.

In fact, the results of applying the "third way" ideology in the UK and Germany are very different, although the policies are quite similar. During the whole process (1997-2007) Blair was prime minister, the British economy grew by 2-3% annually, while inflation and unemployment remained relatively low. Schroeder's attempt to lead the market-oriented innovation of the German SDP was much less successful. His attempts to reconstruct the social model of the Federal Republic of Germany were met with persistent right-wing opposition within the party and trade unions. Schroeder's social and labor market reforms

¹ Habermas J., *Split West*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Ves' mir", 2008. 192 p.; tr. 47

aimed at reducing the role of the state in the economy¹ were difficult and half-hearted, and many traditional rightists fled the party. The crisis within the party and the decline in popularity of the German SDP ultimately led to the Party's defeat in the 2005 parliamentary elections, ceding the power to form a government to other parties.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, the concept of a "third way" attracted widespread attention and discussion in European social democracies. To a certain extent, it spurred the renewal of social democratic ideology, the parties abandoning the egalitarian redistributive model. At the same time, the UK LP's market-oriented "third way" is not supported by all centre-left parties. It is impossible to translate the "third way" into a universal modernization model for all of European social democracy because socialist movement traditions, left-wing political culture, the relationship between the social democratic party and trade unions, and social conditions in different European countries are all very diverse.

Other European social democratic parties (Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party, Dutch Labor Party...) followed the path of partial marketization of their ideological program directions. The shift to the political center of these parties in the late 20th and early 21st centuries is explained not only by the ideological influence of the "third way", but also by the aforementioned claims of the political parties. globalization and the "new economy". In general, the late 20th century - early 21st

¹ Thực chất của các cải cách này đã được trình bày trong tài liệu Agenda 2010 (thông qua năm 2003) và đã được hiện thực hóa trong các luật cải cách lĩnh vực xã hội và thị trường lao động Hartz IV (năm 2005)

century social democratic ideology has been enriched by liberal elements; During these years "European social democracy had a historic marriage with neo-liberalism, with the result that the market economy had penetrated areas that had previously seemed completely immune to market influences, such as culture, education, social protection"¹. In the early twenty-first century the term "socialism" (or "democratic socialism") has practically disappeared from the vocabulary of European social democracy. The meaning of its political activity is now reduced to the formation of "good" or "civilized" capitalism as opposed to "robbery", "sick", "wild" capitalism.

3. Social democracy and the global economic crisis

The evolution of European social democracy towards social liberalism lasted until the onset of the 2008 global economic crisis. The acute financial crisis posed the question to social democrats: So what is the alternative (alternative) to neoliberalism? Their plans are not convincing. The crisis of global neoliberal capitalism, even if it is unconventional, not only did not give social democrats a substantial additional voter base, it even weakened the support of social democrats voter support for a range of centre-left parties. They were unsuccessful in the 2009 European Parliament elections (losing about 25% of the votes compared to the previous election); The Spanish socialist workers' parties and the Greek socialist party also failed over the next few years. The average number of voters supporting the social-democratic parties of Western Europe in the

¹ Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014. 304 p; tr. 122

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2007-2013 period compared with the 2000-2006 period decreased by 4.7%¹.

The global economic crisis has markedly affected social democratic ideology. It is quite common in the left and center left circles that the world financial crisis is essentially a crisis of neoliberal capitalism and the neoliberal model of globalization; The crisis further affirms the correctness of the fundamental notions of social democracy about the necessity of political regulation of economic processes. "The predominance of market radicalism and neoliberalism... has gradually come to an end" – is the opinion of a close adviser of the German SDP. The global financial crisis has disrupted the right-wing group of social democracy. European social democrats again turned around their traditional attitudes and values, the criticism of capitalism and the concept of "socialism" also returned to the line of social democracy. As the solution to neo-conservatism, the program introduced "new socialism", in which the first place was given to the people, not to the market².

In another European socialist party document – Minutes of Principles (2011) – the causes of the global crisis are explained as follows: "Market forces driven by financial and bottomless greed is taking power and trying to remove democratic control over it. These forces serve the interests of the privileged few. Conservatives and neoliberals have deepened economic,

¹ Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014. 304 p.; tr. 6

² *Election Manifesto of the Party of European Socialists*. Institut "Spravedliviy mir". Moscow, Klyuch-C, 2009. 32 p. (In Russ.)] Available at: http://www.spravmir.ru/images/stories/library/07_manifest.pdf ; tr. 16

geographical and social inequalities, pushing their values – short and easy profit, freedom defying all the rules, That's what led to the great crisis"¹.

The social-democratic literature, the statements of many of the leaders and theorists of those parties, are all scathingly critical (using the term Max Weber here) of mercantile-reckless capitalism, and defend rational-effective capitalism. Social democrats argue that large-scale shady financial tricks, the inflating of financial "bubbles", not only damage the real economic sector, but also run counter to their basic values. "Financial markets are not ends in themselves, but means: they must perform important functions to make the real economic sector more efficient"².

While resisting conservative tactics of non-intervention in market processes, European social democrats persisted in holding to the need for active industrial policy. The Council of European Socialists' 2013 resolution, which was adopted in Sofia, stressed the importance of putting European industrial policy into practice through long-term strategic planning and industrial strategy, enables the prediction of trends in the economy, industry, employment, and technologies. From the point of view of European socialists, a comprehensive industrial development strategy should take into account the potential of each region and of each economic sector. All of the documents from the Party of European Socialists call for the creation of new jobs in industries with a strong potential for innovation, such as transportation,

¹ *Declaration of Principles of the Party of European Socialists*] Available at: <http://www.socialistinfo.ru/socialXXI/988.html>.

² *Social Democratic Principles towards a New Financial Architecture*. Available at: <http://www.socialistinternational.org/viewArticle.cfm?ArticlePageID=1315>; tr. 6, 8

waste management, and the use of renewable energy sources, biotechnology, tourism, and information and communication technology¹.

The global economic crisis has caused European social democrats to revert to Keynesianism as well as reject the notion of the virtue of limited market regulation (found in the "third way" and "third way" viewpoints), but also led them to reuse Keynesianism. As economic analysts of the German SDP note, "after many long years of implementing a liberal economic policy, today is partly due to the financial market crisis that began in 2007, which once again resounded calls for state intervention in the corrupt market economy. Here many have turned to Keynes again... the topicality of Keynesian arguments is no accident, for his main work *The General Theory of Employment, Income and Money* - was the offspring of the Great Depression. The world economic crisis of the 1930s was similar to the current situation"².

The banking-financial crisis first put an end to the dominance of the British LP "new branch of labor". Even Blair's successor, Gordon Brown, leader of the British government and LP in 2007, was forced to use Keynesian stimulant prescriptions to overcome the stagnation. The one who replaced Brown as LP leader after the Party's defeat in the 2010 elections, Edvard Miliband, strayed even further from the principles of "new labor" and of the "third way". He claimed that "new workers put markets and business above all wellbeing and downplayed inequality, naively trusting in the

¹ A *European Industrial Policy for Growth and Employment*. Available at: https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/Downloads/Policy-documents/Economy/pescouncil2013resolutionindustrialpolicy_adopted_sofia_en.pdf_796425246.pdf.

² Faur S... *Course of Social Democracy. Part 2. Economics and Social Democracy*, Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2012. 166 p.; tr. 29, 37

boundless possibilities of free markets and globalization. Miliband criticized the "new workers but also because the 'governance' style of management had led to the alienation of the labor government from the 'broadly progressive majority' of the British people¹.

Miliband's revision of the legacy of "new labor" has gone in many directions. First, the new leader brought back to the LP's agenda the social-democratic critique of capitalism. Next, he acknowledged the need for the state to play a more significant role in the British economy, boosting its competitiveness and stimulating economic growth. Miliband suggests using some of the methods from the Keynesian toolkit and criticizes the draconian economic policy implemented by the Cameron government – spending less on social needs in order to reduce the budget deficit. Miliband is even more concerned than "new workers" with the issue of narrowing social inequality.

Miliband also took the view of "responsible capitalism" and contrasted it with "predatory" capitalism. The hallmarks of "wild" capitalism, he says, are the obesity of the financial sector and the overwhelming size of short-term financial transactions. Thus, Miliband advocated for the growth of efficient capitalism, which was sensible and constrained the scope of action of rash, far-flung merchant capitalism, much like the continental social democrats. Leave the "new labor" concepts behind. Moreover, the "New Workers" are all disciples of globalization, cosmopolitanism and excessively liberal immigration policy. Miliband, which was influenced by the social conservative ideas of "old workers", was very worried about preserving British identity. He even claimed

¹ Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014. 304 p., tr. 108

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that the Blair government made a mistake by opening up the labor market to workers from Eastern European countries who had just joined the EU.

After the Party's defeat in the 2015 Parliamentary elections, the Party proceeded to elect a leader and the victory belonged to "hard-left" Jeremy Corbyn, who turned the party back to its socialist roots. Participating in the vote is not only LPs and trade unionists associated with the Party, but also those who are sympathetic to the party (to vote these people just need to contribute £3 to the party fund and show loyalty to its values and goals). The voting results are explained first of all by the fact that the majority of voters are young people who are nonconformist, loyal to the socialist traditions of the LP, are members of leftist groups difference. Voting for Corbyn, they both opposed the socio-economic line of "new workers" and Blair's foreign policy and opposed the technocratic management style inherent in "new laborers".

In 2016, the British LP again conducted a leader election, once again Jeremy Corbyn won. Corbyn's only opponent in this election is O. Xmit - also the leftist of the LP and even a supporter of the socialist revolution by parliamentary way. Thus, the struggle for the leadership position of the Party in 2016 that took place between two left-wing representatives of the Party is the clearest proof of how far the LP has moved away from the market-oriented motto of "new labor".

The German SDP, after its defeat in the 2005 elections, for the next few years did not abandon the principles of the "new midpoint" and the "third way". In contrast, the SDP leadership has always emphasized that it is the reforms led by Schroeder (abandoning labor market regulation, reducing business taxes,

limiting social expenditures) that have allowed to protect the economy. Germany avoided the worst consequences of the 2008 global crisis. Critics, loyal to "old" social-democratic views, proved that the Party modernized by Schroeder had become a representative represent the primary interests of the new middle classes, not of the traditional working class or of the unemployed or semi-employed, and as such, are no longer the "people's party"¹.

The Platform adopted in 2007 at the Hamburg Congress of the SDP also reflected the compromise between the "old" and "new" social democrats, the traditionalists and the modern ones. The Platform affirms: "The end of Soviet-model state socialism does not refute the idea of democratic socialism, but rather affirms more clearly the orientation of the social democrats to the values of the Soviet Union basic. Democratic socialism for us is still a vision of a free, just and united society, whose realization remains a constant task for us. Our operating principle – is social democracy"².

The global financial crisis forced the German social democrats to somewhat re-examine the market positions of the Schroeder-style "new midpoint". The SDP 2009 campaign platform is closer to traditional social democratic concepts, with a clear social bias, for example, there are 205 times the words "social issues" and "social justice" association" mentioned in the 59 pages of the Platform. In the election platform, the Party demands free

¹ Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014. 304 p., tr. 146

² *Hamburger Programm: Das Grundsatzprogramm der SPD*. Available at: https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Beschluesse/Grundsatzprogramme/hamburger_programm.pdf, tr. 16-17

education, sets a minimum wage, and protects trade union rights¹. However, the "left-wing turn" did not save the German social democrats from defeat in the 2009 parliamentary elections, when the SPD received only 28% of the vote. An overview of the future is attractive to the masses" ².

Features of the speeches of the leaders and theorists of German social democracy in 2010 were criticisms of "sham capitalism" and "bubble economy", appeals for regulation. financial markets and enacted a special tax on securities and financial speculation. Instead of "economic austerity" measures are investment proposals aimed at ensuring economic growth and adding jobs. Besides, SPD always emphasizes its loyalty to the idea of fairness. For example, the 2017 Parliamentary Platform is titled "It's Time for Great Justice"; "Equality – the key premise of economic innovation and progress"³.

Nevertheless, during the 2017 campaign, the social democrats once more failed to persuade the majority of voters with a number of fresh, compelling ideas: "in principle, at one point Willi Brandt presented voters with a New Eastern policy, or Schroeder with the reform program "Agenda-2010," which has since ensured the competitiveness of the economy of the Federal Republic of

¹ Григорьев Е. Е. *Steinmeier Applied for the Chancellor Office*. Nezavisimaya gazeta, 21.04.2009. Available at: http://www.ng.ru/world/2009-04-21/7_germany.html.

² Boll F., Woyke M. "Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit". Sozialdemokratie ohne Utopie? *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*, 2009, no. 3, ss. 31-33.

³ *Zeit für mehr Gerechtigkeit: Unser Regierungsprogramm für Deutschland*. Available at: https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Regierungsprogramm/SPD_Regierungsprogramm_BTW_2017_A5_RZ_WEB.pdf (accessed 27.02.2018). tr. 18

Germany, its rival Merkel [Martin Schulz, leader of the SDP] is far behind”¹. The SDP's inability to overcome a severe ideological crisis to gain a new identity has become one of the factors that contributed to the party's low number of votes in the September 2017 Parliamentary elections (20.5%).

Thus, European social democracy is standing at a crossroads. First, in the context of globalization and the "new economy", social democracy is unlikely to return to the Keynesian model of state distribution. Second, while trying to improve the competitiveness of the national economy, social democrats will be forced to campaign towards social liberalism. On the third side, the radical marketization of social democratic programs has led to the loss of center-left parties of the "utopia-hope" that continues to promote many social democrats. And this can lead to intra-party crises, divisions, and left-wing members to leave the party, as well as possibly to the achievement of politicians like J. Corbyn and B. Hamon. In fact, no social democratic party can completely reject the notions of a post-capitalist, freer and more united society that would give all equal opportunities to self-actualization without the fear of being threatened with the loss of one's own identity. Reconciling fundamental social democratic values with the demands of efficiency and economic rationality is clearly not straightforward.

The spiritual crisis of European social democracy is also associated with the situation that among its theorists at present there are no thinkers of sufficient magnitude (of the caliber of

¹ Григорьев Е. Е. "Brandt's Grandchildren" Lack Ideas and Courage, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 05.10.2017. Available at: http://www.ng.ru/columnist/2017-10-05/7_7088_frg.html?id_user=Y.

K. Kautsky or E. Bernstein). Nor does it have in its ranks sharp leaders capable of carrying out in the center-left parties "the ideological replacement of the old system". The result, as noted, is that social democrats are unable to provide voters with some fresh, distinctively vivid ideas, which still characterizes them as "the absence of a responsive agenda" meet the challenges of the times and appeal to ordinary citizens"¹.

4. Conclusion

Europe's social democrats' prospects for overcoming its current crisis depend largely on whether it finds the right balance between the internationalism historically inherent in the democratic movement society and the need to protect national identity. Center-leftists must also realize that, contrary to the universal conceptions of socialist theorists of bygone eras, ethnic, sectarian, and cultural identities retain their meanings myself in the present world. Thus, social democrats are forced to penetrate and dig up ideas not only from the ideological baggage of liberalism but also of conservatism. In our opinion, British "green laborism" within its framework took place a creative synthesis of early laborist ideas, communism, Christian socialism and social conservatism, is showing the social democrat the path along which it will achieve innovation.

¹ Арбаторова Н. К. *In the EU Countries the Deserving Opposition Should Appear*. NG-Dipkur'er, 26.02.2018. Available at: http://www.ng.ru/dipkurer/2018-02-26/9_7179_opposition.html.

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9. Election Manifesto of the Party of European Socialists. Institut "Spravedlivyi mir". Moscow, Klyuch-C, 2009. 32 p. (In Russ.) Available at: http://www.spravmir.ru/images/stories/library/07_manifest.pdf
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EXAMINING THE PRE-CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL SOLIDARITY - PHILOSOPHICAL PERSONALISM PRINCIPLES AND PERSPECTIVE

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1. Philosophical personalism ¹

Personalism is a term referring to philosophy centered on the human being/a person. The word *person* comes from the Latin *persona*, which referred to the mask worn by an actor. Ultimately it means to take on a role – an actor becomes “a person”. Later on it came to mean the dignity of a human being, a personality with certain undeniable value (the dignity of a person) resting upon the substance of a person (reality of human being).

The term “personalism” became widely known and used only in the first half of the twentieth century. It emerged as a reaction to the nineteenth century depersonalizing elements in Enlightenment

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¹ (information are mostly based on:

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "personalism". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, June 12, 2013. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/personalism>.

Williams, Thomas D. and Jan Olof Bengtsson, "Personalism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2022 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/personalism/>.)

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rationalism, pantheism, Hegelian absolute idealism, individualism as well as collectivism in politics, and materialist, psychological, and evolutionary determinism. In its various strains, personalism always underscores the centrality of the person as the primary locus of investigation for philosophical, theological, and humanistic studies. It is an approach or system of thought which tends to regard the person as the ultimate explanatory, epistemological, ontological, and axiological principle of all reality, although these areas of thought are not stressed equally by all personalists and there is tension between idealist, phenomenological, existentialist, and Thomist versions of personalism.

The emphasis of philosophical personalism lies primarily on the primacy of the human being / a person who perceives reality primarily through the conscious mind and first-hand-experience. Philosophical personalism might be considered a philosophical perspective concentrating on “a person” as the central organizing concept of the whole philosophical investigation. For philosophical personalism it is important to concentrate on the personal characteristics of human beings – namely self-consciousness, self-determination, self-identity based on human dignity and value of human life.

Personalism emphasizes the significance, uniqueness and inviolability of the person, as well as the person’s essentially relational or social dimension. Personalists believe that the person should be the ontological and epistemological starting point of philosophical reflection. Many are concerned to investigate the experience, the status, and the dignity of the human being as person, and regard this as the starting-point for all subsequent philosophical analysis. Personalists regard personhood (or

“personality”) as the fundamental notion, as that which gives meaning to all of reality and constitutes its supreme value. Personhood carries with it an inviolable dignity that merits unconditional respect. Personalism has for the most part not been primarily a theoretical philosophy of the person. Although it does defend a unique theoretical understanding of the person, this understanding is in itself such as to support the prioritization of practical or moral philosophy, while at the same time the moral experience of the person is such as to decisively determine the theoretical understanding. For personalists, a person combines subjectivity and objectivity, causal activity and receptivity, unicity and relation, identity and creativity. Stressing the moral nature of the person, or the person as the subject and object of free activity, personalism tends to focus on practical, moral action and ethical questions.

Personalism stems from the tradition of René Descartes’ “*cogito, ergo sum*” (“I think, therefore I am”). The essence of the saying rests in the subjective flow of first hand-lived-through-experience of a person; of a perceptual process of person’s senses transferring the experience of the world and life to a very personal level of understanding and experiencing. This also may mean a great danger to the broader social level of understanding – personal experience and the emphasis on its authenticity may separate persons from each other thus creating a gathering of single monads without any kind of connection. Social community requires openness to a mutual sharing of experiences, willingness to risk the exposure of one’s weaknesses and opens the space for sincere social solidarity.

We recognize various kinds of personalism - it exists in many different versions, and this makes it somewhat difficult to define

as a philosophical movement. Many philosophical schools have at their core one particular thinker or even one central work. Personalism is a more eclectic movement. It is, therefore more proper to speak of many *personalisms* than one personalism. For the sake of the main point of this presentation we will focus only on two kinds of personalism – theistic and atheistic personalism.

Most of the personalist incline to theism reasoning for a deity, higher form of being – perfect being as the prototype of a perfect model of a being. The deity, being the origin (original creator) of humans also serves as the ultimate judge, the ultimate moral code for human behavior. This type of personalism suggests human beings being created in the image of deity thus deriving their value and dignity from the image of the original deity – bearing the image of the deity in their very essence of the being.

There are personalist reasoning for atheism considering the human being the highest of the beings. They reason with the natural order of the world - observable evolution of life. Human beings evolved into beings with the ability to communicate in a higher form with the emphasis on their self-consciousness, self-awareness and self-confidence together with the ability to create communities based on the common/shared values. The community serves to offer security and defend its members against other communities.

Both of these approaches to the question of personalism accentuate the ultimate value of human life, the autonomy of the freedom and morality/moral behavior of a person within a certain social community. Even though the source (and the final solution) for these features is widely different for them, in this short article we will not concentrate on these differences, but we will try to

offer a solid reasoning for the features that they have in common – human dignity and social solidarity.

2. Human dignity and relationality

Personalism affirms the dignity of each person, which gives rise to specific moral requirements. Dignity refers to the inherent value of the person, as a “someone” and not merely “something”. Every person without exception is of immeasurable worth, and no one is dispensable or interchangeable. The person can never be lost or assimilated fully into the collectivity, because his/her interrelatedness with other persons is defined by the possession of a unique, irreplaceable value.

If a person has certain worth it is connected to the cardinal virtue of justice. Personalists in the broader sense lay special stress on what persons deserve by the very fact of their personhood. How persons should be treated forms an independent ethical category – it is not only the person’s freedom and moral character (conscience, virtue) but the very fact of human dignity of all persons that plays an important role. For personalists, human dignity must be rooted in human nature itself, so that on the deepest level, despite the variations of moral conduct and the resultant differences in moral character, all members of the species share this dignity.

Yet we must think of the uniqueness of each person, particularity, and irreplaceability of human being - an individual. This is the only way to come to a true understanding of the human being. It is impossible to come to a true understanding of the person while neglecting his/her subjectivity.

At the same time personalists stress the person’s nature as a social being. The person never exists in isolation, and moreover

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persons find their human perfection only in communion with other persons. Interpersonal relations are never superfluous or optional but are indicated by the very nature of each human being. It is an eternal question of individualism on the one hand and collectivism on the other. Personalists consider human beings as a "beings for others" or "beings with others." We can clearly recognize the strive for independence on one side, but also human reliance on others on the other side. This interdependence is a hallmark of human existence - each person tends toward society. Such society is not only a matter of convenience but reflects a basic tendency of the person to seek out his fellows and enter into certain kind of association with them.

Human capacity for community and friendship makes human beings social. "Society," may be also applied to non-personal beings living and interacting as a group. The more precise word "communion" could never be understood in this way. *Communio* does not simply refer to something common, but rather to a mode of being and acting in common through which the persons involved mutually confirm and affirm one another, a mode of being and acting that promotes the personal fulfillment of each of them by their mutual relationship. This mode of being and acting is an exclusive property of persons – human beings.

Personalists see the human person's vocation to communion as rooted in rational nature, through the person's subjectivity and self-determination. The person, being free willing subject cannot be possessed by another, unless he/she chooses to make a gift of himself/herself to another. Self-possession does not imply isolation. For personalists, this "law of the gift" shows that the relation and the society of which the person alone is capable, and which are necessary for his realization as a person, consist not only

in association, but in love. Only persons can give love and only persons can receive love freely, based on their true nature.

3. Social solidarity and subsidiarity

The final section provides the practical implications of implementing two principles - love and subsidiarity - in order to build a society/community of mutual interaction and thus increase the effectiveness of provided and received support.

Social teaching within the realm of Central Europe identifies two basic inclinations in human collectives - giving and taking. The inclination to take originates from the fact that social life is a crucial element of becoming truly human and a person's development. There are many goods and values that an individual cannot attain without the help of others. The existence of various communities reflects this insufficiency and the need to complement each other, which leads people to work together towards comprehensive development and to produce the values, which are necessary for life. The nature of a community, and its scope of socialization, is determined by the extent to which it meets human needs. This is due to the fact that the human individual is the ultimate subject and goal of social life. On the other hand, the tendency to give results from the fact that a human, as a social being, feels not only the need to "take", but also the want to involve himself with others and make sacrifices for them. Without meeting these needs, the development of an individual is impossible, because individuals exist not only for themselves but also for others (Piwowarski 1993; Skorowski 1996; Borutka et al. 2004; Kalinowski 2007).

What should be done to fulfill the directives coming from the principle of social love. The general answer is that this norm dictates the transformation of social relations and structures in the

direction of giving them a more human nature, that is, it determines both the way humans function in collective life and their specific actions towards human communities. Therefore, love can be considered a social principle if it determines the direction of community activities. When implementing this norm, a person must take into account the social processes that limit the freedom of this endeavor, and they must also create structures that allow for the development of ad hoc activities (Strzeszewski 1993; Skorowski 1994).

The realization of the presented norm translates into various social attitudes in specific life situations. Sometimes this will be in the form of solidarity understood as the cherishing of the shared common good. At other times, it will manifest in the dedication of time or service to fellow human beings, and, under different circumstances, it will be reflected in the ability to cooperate. One of its most important manifestations is the building of unity and reconciliation between people, social groups, and countries through mutual forgiveness, especially when, in a name of alleged injustice, others are repeatedly destroyed, killed, deprived of freedom, or stripped of their elementary rights (Strzeszewski 1985; Skorowski 1994; Nagórny 1998).

The implementation of the principle of social love performs two important functions: 1) the affirmation of the community, 2) the building of the civilization of love.

1) Affirmation of the community. Social love, concerning various communities, is based on the affirmation thereof since communities constitute communities of people. The crucial function of communities is connected to the fact that a human leaves the world of their personal matters, and they involve themselves in the problems of the community. Belonging to and

acting for the benefit of the community lead to the creation of a special bond between a community's members, which is itself an interpersonal brotherhood, a motivating sensitivity to the needs of others, coexistence, a unity of goals, and cooperation in their implementation (Majka 1993; Bartoszek 2000; Skorowski 2000).

2) Building the civilization of love. The meaning of the principle of social love in shaping a new vision of humanity is derived from several premises. Firstly, it allows one to free themselves from selfishness and the desire to obtain only for oneself, all for the benefit of the community's common good. Secondly, it creates a readiness to help, enables people to serve, and makes sacrifices for the benefit of oneself and that of their community. Thirdly, it constitutes a unifying force as it awakes compassion, mitigates opposites, and facilitates forgiveness. Fourthly, brotherly interpersonal relationships are typically targeted at the establishment of larger communities, leading up to the establishment of widespread brotherhood among individuals (Nagórny 1998; Hoffner 1999).

Now let's look at strengthening of the effectiveness of social support as a consequence of the implementation of the principle of subsidiarity. The principle of subsidiarity has been defined as the norm which shapes the entitlements of the individual in relationship to the community, and a smaller community in relationship with a larger community, with this depending on the fact that a larger communities provides complementary support to smaller communities, and that all larger and smaller communities provide complementary support to the human being. The principle presented above is grounded in the tendency of life in a community, which is characterized as "taking" because of the primacy of the human individual in relationship with the

community and the prioritization of smaller groups of people ahead of the larger groups. As such, the principle of subsidiarity formulates responsibilities "from on high" and entitlements "from below" in all kinds of manifestations and forms of life in the community (Strzeszewski 1985; Piwowarski 1965; Piwowarski 1993; Borutka et al. 2004; Kalinowski 2007).

The principle of subsidiarity ought to be implemented in its two aspects: the negative and the positive. The negative aspect of the principle consists in respect for the initiative, freedom of action, competence, and responsibility of individuals in relationship with a community, as well as smaller communities in relationship with larger communities. In the negative perspective of the principle under analysis, this support can consequently and paradoxically be associated with a lack thereof. It is the individual who is responsible for their own lot, and larger communities are not permitted to take the initiative away from smaller communities because this is a violation of the rights of smaller communities to exist and develop within a society. This is why the important postulate can be derived from the principle of subsidiarity that all human communities should maintain themselves within the boundaries of their own activities and not interfere with the scopes of other communities, as any interference into the autonomy of an individual or the eligibility of smaller communities by larger ones would prevent them from accomplishing their natural tasks and is therefore a violation of natural law (Strzeszewski 1985; Piwowarski 1993).

The positive aspect, on the other hand, consists in providing support wherever it is necessary. Nevertheless, this does not have to be permanent support, but is rather emergency support which enables an individual or a group of people who are unable to

accomplish their goals by themselves to continue accomplishing particular tasks independently after they have received necessary support. Relatedly, the operations carried out by larger and better-organized communities should complementarily provide support to smaller and less well-organized communities, whereas all communities – larger and smaller – are established only for the support of the performance of the individual subsidiarily in the process of their development, with this being because neither any other individual nor any community can accomplish the tasks of the individual. It is important to accentuate the fact that humans create social life not so that communities strip them of their autonomy and initiatives, but so that communities can provide them with complementary support concerning the objectives which individuals want to accomplish in life. And this is why every community that brings people together implements shared values in its own autonomous scope of activities. From the positive perspective, the principle of subsidiarity postulates that all communities should accomplish their own tasks through common welfare. The better they accomplish these tasks, the more the common welfare of these communities will increase, which - in turn - will contribute to a greater perfection of human individuals as members of these communities. Another benefit will also be the development of the common welfare of a society, and together with it an authentic social order and purpose (Piwowarski 1965; Piwowarski 1993).

The principle of subsidiarity is considered to be a fundamentally natural legal norm, which is of significance for different aspects of the functioning of human communities as the consequence of the fulfillment of the three following functions (Piwowarski 1992): 1) the respecting of autonomy (the guarantee

and protective function), 2) multidimensional support (the supportive function), 3) the formation of social behavior (the pedagogical function).

Ad 1) The respecting of autonomy. The guarantee and protective function emerges when highlighting the accomplishment of one's own goals and consequently the responsibility for one's own development from the "bottom-up". A community is not permitted to take away "their own tasks" from the human individual, just as the larger community is not permitted to take tasks away from any smaller community. By the means of this, the norm of subsidiarity provides a guarantee of the autonomy of the lives of individuals and small communities as well as protects them from the enslaving and enforcing system of major social frameworks. On the foundations of the analyzed norm, a postulate was formulated that provides for the service of public authorities and consists, among other activities, in awakening social initiatives, responsibility for other individuals, in coordinating the performance of individuals and communities, as well as in maintaining the performance thereof within the boundaries of clearly determined competences. Serving others, which violates the rights of individuals and smaller groups of people when considering autonomy, is a totalitarian activity, which eventually results in the trampling of the dignity and rights of human beings (Piwowski 1992; Nagórny 1998; Hoffner 1999).

Ad 2) Multidimensional support. On the one hand, the principle of subsidiarity protects the autonomy of the life of an individual and the life of the community, but on the other hand – the principle is connected with interventional "top-down" support. Support by a larger community of people can be undertaken for two primary reasons. First of all, this concerns in a situation where

particular individuals or smaller communities are not capable of accomplishing the tasks that have been assigned to them. Second of all, this concerns activities that can only be undertaken by larger social organizations, because the establishment of larger systems is a consequence of the fact that neither the individual nor the small community is self-sufficient. In other circumstances, there should not be a situation where the fundamental right of pursuing one's own objectives is taken away. Stronger communities are, on the one hand, obliged to learn about the problems bothering people in a given environment, and on the other – should support the weaker by stimulating, supporting, and coordinating their activities with the activities of other groups to achieve the common good (Piwowarski 1992; Hoffner 1999; Zwoliński 2000).

Ad 3) Formation of social behavior. A highly significant aspect of the principle of subsidiarity is its pedagogical function, which should be marked in all those branches of the functioning of communities of people where attributes such as independence, initiative, individual activity, responsibility, and democratization are important. The principle of subsidiarity also calls for the establishment of the attitudes of a pluralistic society aimed at the common welfare. The attitudes concerning shared values should not only be formed "top-down" but, at the same time, should also be formed "bottom-up". This indicates that the authentic beliefs and valuation judgments of the members of a given society, which demonstrate their responsibility towards common welfare, should influence the order and management of life within a community (Piwowarski 1992; Hoffner 1999; Kalinowski 2007).

CARTESIAN INDIVIDUALISM, RELATIONAL ONTOLOGY, AND A NEW ECOLOGY OF BEING HUMAN: TOWARDS RECOVERING THE VALUES OF HUMAN MUTUALITY, INTERDEPENDENCE, AND SOLIDARITY

*Assoc. Prof. Dr. Michal Valčo**

Introduction

In the confusion of competing narratives, about who we are as humans and the nature of reality that we live in, we think, dream, and imagine a better future for ourselves and our world. A world where human communities would be permeated with prosperity, where human mutuality and solidarity would flourish, and where justice and social cohesion would thrive – all of this in environmentally, economically, and geopolitically sustainable fashion, of course. Such a future will allegedly be enabled and guaranteed by what most believe to be three converging forces of inevitable historical progress – those of (1) science, (2) technology, and (3) human politics/governance – the three sisters begotten by human reason, their common father. And so we envision “a brave new world” with the dystopian novelist Aldous Huxley (1894-1963) and many who walk in his footsteps.¹

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¹ Huxley, Aldous. (1932). *Brave new world*. Chatto & Windus, London. Cf.: Miller, D. D. (2011). "Brave New World" and the Threat of Technological

Yet, it seems that despite hundreds of years of thinking, dreaming, and imagining, and after countless clumsy attempts of implementation, we have not, from an experiential perspective, moved much closer to the desired ideal, legitimate though it certainly is. We are finding out the hard way that the ideals of a socialist society remain elusive. Without having enough people with a genuine, pro-social, philanthropist mindset, actualized in daily practiced virtues, the socialist vision remains out of reach.

This reminds us of Rosa Luxemburg's idea that the working class's path to emancipation and a profound societal change must lead through a thorough mental and spiritual¹ development of the masses which cultivates the conscious support of the majority of the working class for a societal change. In other words, people's minds and moral imagination must be ready for such an essential transformation.

In my paper, I argue that one of the essential obstacles to the emergence of a socially cohesive, just, prosperous, and sustainable society in a Western context is the lingering legacy of a 'Cartesian anthropology,' which leads to excessive individualism and downplays the importance of human relationality, interdependence, and mutuality. I argue for a new anthropological paradigm – one based on a 'relational' understanding of human beings as contingent, interdependent persons. Also, I argue that our common humanity is both a given and an emerging property

Growth. *Inquiries Journal*, 3 (04). Retrieved 9, 2022, from <http://inquiriesjournal.com/articles/509/brave-new-world-and-the-threat-of-technological-growth>.

¹ 'Spirituality' here can refer to self-transcendence and a 'higher meaning' and not necessarily to a divinity in any religious sense. Rosa uses the term as a moral and philosophical category, not a religious one.

of the intricate interplay of our biological constitution and social environment. I propose that it would be helpful to conceive of humans as complex 'socio-biological ecosystems' (hence our reference to a 'new ecology of being') instead of autonomous 'thinking selves' (following the fateful mind/body dualism of Rene Descartes), as this would likely increase our sense of human mutuality resulting in more widespread solidarity.

Cartesian Dualism vs. a Relational Understanding of the Human

The Cartesian 'cogito, ergo sum' stands at the core of the philosophical and cultural movement of humanism, which survives as the de-facto dominant cultural/philosophical vision in the West today. In his search for a dominant source of agency in humans, Rene Descartes (and other humanists) pointed to the thinking, intentional human subject, identified with the human mind, as the sole constitutive element of our shared humanity. The ensuing mind/body dualism convinced Western intellectuals that the mind's intellectual faculties are capable to control the lower instincts and drives of the body. The human mind has since been considered autonomous from nature and, to some degree, even from its social environment.¹ Its faculty of reason and ability of speech are key to the mind's development, helping the human subject exert its superiority and dominance over other living beings, even the natural world itself.²

¹ Charles Taylor labels the modern idea of an 'autonomous self' the *buffered self* in his masterpiece, *A Secular Age*. For the modern, buffered self, the possibility exists of taking a distance from, disengaging from everything outside the mind. My ultimate purposes are those which arise within me, the crucial meanings of things are those defined in my responses to them." Taylor, 2008: 38.

² According to Kenneth Burke, a modernist and a typical proponent of humanism, the human being is grounded in the linguistic capacities of the

It is easy to see how such a paradigm of autonomy and dominance engenders oppression and exploitation – socially, economically, and environmentally. Why environmentally? Because the mind/body dualism finds its expression also in a harmful dichotomy between culture and nature by removing the human from her essential dependency on and entanglement with the surrounding natural environment.¹

A critical question emerges here: Should we define the human being based on one's inner (intrinsic) qualities and capacities? If so, which capacities of the psychosomatic unity of our bodily existence should we favor, and which should we consider as less important: rational, emotional, intuitive, volitional, imaginative, affective, or relational?

Attempts to identify the essence or constitutive elements of human personhood based on the human individual's innate capacities amount to helpful descriptions of human existence on

human subject, i.e., "bodies that learn language." This linguistic ability establishes human uniqueness, indeed, a privileged ontological position of humans within the wider order of being. See: Chris Mays, Nathaniel A. Rivers, and Kellie Sharp-Hoskins (eds.), *Kenneth Burke + The Posthuman*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017, 85. The 'humble irony' of the human predicament is that the human being is "just one animal among the very many living and nonliving things, yet capable of living and speaking well, ethically, in this world." Ibid., 6.

¹ Latest research in human biology and genetics may lead us "to emphasize a less hierarchical ontology, diffusing the human subject by placing her within symbolic and material systems or ecologies always already in the process of becoming otherwise." Jason Kalin, Diane Marie Keeling & Nathan Stormer (2018), Chris Mays, Nathaniel A. Rivers, and Kellie Sharp-Hoskins, eds. (2017), *Kenneth Burke + The Posthuman*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 237 pages. \$32.95 paperback. In: *Rhetoric Review*, 37:3, 314-316, DOI: 10.1080/07350198.2018.1463732 (cited page: 314).

the phenomenological level¹ but fail to account for our essential contingency and relationality as persons and our interdependence as psycho-socio-biological emerging organisms who are fundamentally entangled in intersecting webs of ecosystems.² In addition, such attempts fail to provide the necessary foundation for human dignity and inalienable rights in marginal groups and special circumstances – e.g., the disabled, too young, too old, patients with dementia etc.

Where phenomenologically substantive definitions of human personhood fail to provide a solid foundation for a new ecology of being, for human mutuality and cohesiveness of human communities, a relational ontology of human personhood reveals a new possibility to us: namely to ground our understanding of what it means to be human, and specifically the dignity of the human person, in outer (extrinsic) conditions as found in complex ecosystems (social as well as biological in nature) and endowments conferred by the immanent ‘others’ or a transcendent other (conferring ultimate meaning and purpose).³

¹ Sokolowski, R. (2008). *Phenomenology of the human person*. Cambridge University Press.

² It might be wise to revisit critically the nature of “Anthropocene and complex systems that draw out the radical interdependence and indeterminacy of living in this world in which small actions of unknown origins may have momentous consequences.” Jason Kalin, Diane Marie Keeling & Nathan Stormer (2018), Chris Mays, Nathaniel A. Rivers, and Kellie Sharp-Hoskins, eds. (2017), *Kenneth Burke + The Posthuman*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 237 pages. \$32.95 paperback. In: *Rhetoric Review*, 37:3, 314-316, DOI: 10.1080/07350198.2018.1463732 (cited page: 316).

³ For a fuller treatment of this section of our paper, see: Valčo, M. and Šturák, P. (2018). The “Relational Self”: Philosophical-Religious Reflections in

It is appropriate at this point for us to remember the fact of human fundamental contingency. Human contingency points us to an outside source of both, our *being* (ontologically) and our *existence* as persons (phenomenologically, ethically – as self-aware, moral agents). We are not necessary, self-constituted (and thus self-referential) beings. Someone “willed us” into existence without our asking. This does not need to be understood in any mystical way. We may, as well, stay in the mundane dimension and remember that each of us has (had) biological parents who, so to speak, “willed us into existence.” Thus, we are temporal, limited, conditioned, dependent, teleologically¹ ordained beings. From the perspective of our ‘horizontal contingency,’ we find ourselves ‘tossed into existence’ by our parents (ontological aspect); imparted with the language, symbols, narratives, shared practices (both sacred and secular) of our parents and culture (spiritual aspect understood as vision and meaning of life); and shaped by examples and practices of moral nature (moral aspect; Ethos). From the perspective of our ‘vertical contingency’ (transcendence understood beyond our biological and social contingencies), we yearn for a continuity of our being (longing for eternity; ontological aspect); we yearn for meaning and self-fulfillment in actualizing our potential, reaching for the unity of *Truth* and *Beauty* (spiritual aspect); and we yearn for self-actualization in a life of virtue, reaching for the ideal of *Goodness* (moral aspect). Our being ‘tossed into existence’ as embodied

Anthropology and Personalism. In: XLinguae: European Scientific Language Journal, 11(1) (2018): 289-299. DOI 10.18355/XL.2018.11.01XL.24.

¹ At the most fundamental level, we are teleologically oriented to hand over our genes to a future generation of humans and thus to promote and propagate sentient life.

beings is not a curse but a gift, an opportunity to actualize our human potential in developing our human personhood.

Furthermore, our contingencies imply, and our shared human experience confirms that we are essentially relational beings. As bio-psycho-social beings we are born with an intrinsic porosity – here we are referring to Charles Taylor’s ‘porous self,’ being able to receive with trust the self-communication of others (and/or the Transcendent Other).¹ Thus, the human person is fundamentally relational, even before one develops his capacity for self-awareness. My being as the being of a human person is a gift of love relationships (my parents, grandparents, etc.). Before I was born, a psycho-biological connection was established between my mother and me. I was born out of a relationship of love into relationships of love within my family. The intimate other’s relation to me (most essentially, my mother’s relation) is constitutive to my *self* (my emerging personhood) – I derive my sense of security and belonging through an elementary relationship of trust (faith) that is developing between my mother and I. Some developmental psychologists call this ‘psychological imprinting,’ which is similar to and yet much more complex than the merely instinctive imprinting in birds.

Therefore, before being fully aware of my *self*, before the thinking, feeling, and willing ‘I’, there is a *trusting* ‘I’ – a sense of elementary security and belonging of the *emerging self*, enabled by

¹ “By definition for the porous self, the source of its most powerful and important emotions are outside the ‘mind’; or better put, the very notion that there is a clear boundary, allowing us to define an inner base area, grounded in which we can disengage from the rest, has no sense... the boundary between self and other is fuzzy, porous. And this has to be seen as a fact of experience, not a matter of ‘theory’, or ‘belief.’” (Taylor, 2007: 38-39)

a fundamental porosity of my being. This trusting I is established by the relationship of the intimate other (mother) to me. This initial and continuous relatedness of the other to me is a fundamental endowment that helps me become who I am as a person. My self thus emerges as a result of others' selves relating to me and my reciprocal relating to them. Before I was conceived, my coming into being was intended by someone (my parents). Even if conceived unintentionally, I am still part of a circle of love that desires life and thrives in mutually caring relationships by virtue of my belonging to the human species as a fellowship of persons. I become a person because other human persons love me, care for me, self-communicate themselves to me, and imagine a future actualization of my personhood. There is a web of relationships that sustains me (providing care, symbols, language, stories, and rituals) before I reach self-awareness.

The constitutiveness of *transcendence* for the moral responsibility of the human

If my self is truly relational, that is, if the relationships I find myself in mold, constitute and define who I am as a human person, I can only stay true to myself by transcending my egoistic horizon and accepting responsibility for others. As humans, we are thus called to and defined by a movement of *inner* and *outer* transcendence, thus recovering a sense of *transcendent relationality* of the human person. *Inner transcendence* is the (horizontal) movement of the 'relational I' in which I recognize and enact my responsibility to others. I employ my rational, intuitive, emotional, imaginative/artistic, and volitional capacities as I relate to others. I derive my dignity and respect as a human person from my participation in the personal web of relationships, being necessarily related not merely to my parents but indirectly to the emerging and ever-renewing community of human persons. In it, I

am necessarily situated (most of the time also recognized) as an embodied member of a moral community. *Outer transcendence* is the (vertical) movement of the 'relational I,' invited, and made possible by what I imagine or experience as 'the divine,' in which I recognize my relatedness to, desire for, and dependence on the ultimate Other.¹ An internalized notion and experience of t(T)ranscendence provides us with inspiration and aspirations by which all life has its meaning, stimulus, and orientation. In a context of such 'reconciled relationality,' my thinking, feeling, and willing are being purified and recalibrated towards that which is true, good, and beautiful. My rationality manifests itself as veracity, opening my self to freely wish for that which is good not only for me but also for other people and living organisms occupying this living planet.

Conclusion

Given the essential ontological and phenomenological contingency, relational porosity, and inescapable interdependence of humans in both the social and environmental dimensions, we should no longer assume that the human is his own conscious and autonomous master, elevated on account of the faculties of his mind above all other living and non-living environment with the right to coerce and exploit it as his wits and will to power allows him. In place of a permanent yet often misguided search for individual happiness of humans as autonomous monads, we can rather conceive of humans as a dynamic community of interdependent persons whose self-identification and self-confidence originates in humble recognition of their contingency,

¹ This 'divine,' or 'ultimate' other can be both sacred or profane. In addition to a typical religious entity, it can be a humanist ideal or ideology with its own meaning-conferring narratives and symbols.

emergence (in contrast to any kind of essentialism), and interdependence. In contrast to “the self-sufficient, self-constructing ‘therapeutic self’ of modern psychology, as exemplified by Abraham Maslow” or over against the destabilized Nietzschean self, “wherein the modern ideal of the stable unitary self has been replaced by the decentered fleeting ‘self,’”¹ we need to develop a social, communal understanding of the ‘self’ – self as a relational person with an acute sense of mutuality and solidarity.

Being inspired by such anthropological understanding, we may argue that the *trusting I* is (and ought to be!) situated in caring relationships in a reconciled community of persons as relational/porous selves, who live in (and from) forgiveness and acceptance within mutually enriching interactions and who cultivate a mutual sense of reconciliation and belonging. This shared experience opens new possibilities of freedom to be there for the other, that is, in concrete acts of solidarity. This process can be conceived of on the level of inner/horizontal transcendence but is more fully realized when the porous human person freely receives the gift of participation in the relationship with outer/vertical transcendence by trusting in a meaning-conferring metanarrative. This can be an effective way to cultivate a robust, pro-social inner disposition of the moral subject. If conducted long-term and on a large enough scale, we can reach the critical mass of socially and environmentally conscious citizens who will act upon their experienced human mutuality and usher in a new era of solidarity and cohesion.

¹ Grenz, Stanley J. (2001). *The Social God and the Relational Self: A Trinitarian Theology of the Imago Dei*, Vol. 1, *The Matrix of Christian Theology*. Louisville, p. 16-17.

PART II

THE CORE VALUES SOCIALISM

THE VALUES OF SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM IN THE PERIOD 1930 - 2022

Ho Si Quy^{1}*

The process of building socialism in Vietnam was theoretically prepared by the Communist Party of Vietnam, but it truly began only 25 years later, in 1955, after the resistance against the French ended, the country gained independence, but was divided into two parts. The South was under the Republic of Vietnam, with direct support from the United States. Only the North carried out the socialist revolution to establish socialism in Vietnam.

The 1950s to the 1970s was a period of prosperity for the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist system. The construction of socialism in Vietnam was encouraged by these achievements, so many views and ideas about socialism in Vietnam inevitably carried faith and hope in the Soviet model.

It (socialism) started with land reform, followed by the transformation of capitalist private enterprises, collectivization of agriculture, and industrialization. Many achievements were made, especially in the industrialization of the country and the development of a new mode of production. However, many

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issues arose, including naive mistakes and left-wing extremism in building socialism, particularly in the land reform process.

After a short time, the face of the country has changed a lot. However, the period of enthusiasm for building socialism did not last long. Only in 1964, in the North the period of peace ended because the US waged a fierce war of destruction in the North, and the whole country was in a state of war. The work of building socialism in the North in the following years continued, but the situation was different than before, due to the task of supporting the resistance war in South Vietnam.

In 1975, the South was liberated, and the country was unified to build socialism. However, during this period, Vietnam was besieged and subject to embargoes; international aid to Vietnam was interrupted; the socialist camp faced many problems and weakened; wars broke out at both ends of the country, leaving the nation facing numerous challenges and plunging into a severe economic and social crisis. As a result, the socialist construction effort across the country not only failed to achieve significant results, but also caused many complex economic and social issues.

The *Doi Moi* (Renovation) process, which began in 1986, opened the way for the country to escape the crisis. More importantly, *Doi Moi* brought about profound changes in the conception and practice of building socialism in Vietnam. Many ideas about socialism in Vietnam were adjusted, renewed, and proved successful when applied in practice. Ideas about socialism and its essential characteristics to be built in Vietnam, the length of the transitional period, the role of private property, exploitation, capitalism, and the market economy—concepts

now widely embraced by society—are fundamentally different from those in the past.

The country, by freeing itself from rigid dogma, overcame the crisis by the late 1980s, proactively embraced globalization, integrated more deeply with the world, joined international institutions, and used the market economy to build socialism... In 2009, Vietnam got rid of its slow development and became a middle-income country. Currently, although it is still facing many pressing and pressing socio-economic problems, but Vietnam is one of the 40 major economies in the world with GDP per capita is about 3,700 USD per year (according to the World Bank in 2022¹), many development indicators are at a positive level, the rate of participation in the Internet and social networks is very high. Vietnam is a reliable partner of many countries, and the living standards of many classes of residents have been greatly improved. compared to the past and compared with some countries in the region.

Thus, socialism in Vietnam was only actually built for about 10 years, from 1955 to 1964. From 1975 to 1986, the need to survive and stand firm for development became greater than the need to build socialism. From 1986 to the present, the dominant trend has been to find a way to renew socialism both in terms of understanding and in practice. To date, as assessed in the documents of the 13th Party Congress, the theory about the renewal path, socialism, and the way to socialism in our country has been increasingly refined and gradually realized. Understanding of the market economy has become more

¹ World Bank, Vietnam Overview, 2022, <https://www.worldbank.org/vi/country/vietnam/overview#1>

complete. The country has achieved great, historically significant accomplishments and is developing strongly and comprehensively compared to the past, and has never had such national strength, potential, position, and international prestige as it does today¹.

I. SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM IN THE PERIOD 1930 – 2022: ON THEORETICAL ISSUES

Surveying Party documents from 1930 to the present, the paper shows that the main theoretical ideas on building socialism in Vietnam include:

1. Vietnam, from the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the land reform revolution, will progress towards a communist society; the Indochinese countries will, with the help of the proletarian dictatorship of other nations, bypass the capitalist stage and move directly to socialism (Brief Program, 1930).

2. Three phases of the Vietnamese revolution - national liberation, consolidation of the people's democratic state; abolishing the feudal system, implementing "land to the tiller"; advancing to socialism (Vietnamese Revolutionary Program, 1951).

3. The revolution in the North could not follow a death end but must go to the path of life, must go to socialism (Political Report of the Third Party Congress, 1960).

Those are the three major ideas that were formed from 1930 to the Second Party Congress of the Party. These ideas affirm the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documents of the 13th Party' National Congress*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2016, p.59, pp. 103-104

development trend of the Vietnamese revolution: after implementing the national-democratic revolution and abolishing the French colonial yoke, Vietnam must necessarily eliminate the remnants of feudalism, carry out the land revolution, perfect the people's democracy, and move up to socialism. The international context of Vietnam in the early 20th century allowed Vietnam to choose the path towards socialism, which, in theory, was the most optimal and desirable path.

From the 3th to the 4th Party Congress, the cause of building socialism in Vietnam was argued and confirmed by the following ideas:

1. The socialist revolution is the most radical and profound revolution, it abolishes private ownership of means of production, implements public ownership, and opens the path for production to advance from backwardness to modernity (Report on Politics of the 3rd Party Congress, 1960).

2. The North has all the conditions to bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance directly to socialism (Political Report of the 3rd Party Congress, 1960).

(3) In building socialism, alongside the revolution in ideology, it is necessary to carry out a socialist revolution in culture and technology (Political Report of the 3rd Party Congress, 1960).

(4) The transitional period begins when the North is completely liberated and will end when the construction of socialism is fundamentally completed; industrialize socialism by prioritizing the rational development of heavy industry, while also striving to develop agriculture and light industry... (Political Report of the 3rd Party Congress, 1960).

(5) The socialist revolution is a process of class struggle that creates new forces of production (FOP), new relations of production (ROP), new infrastructure, and a new superstructure, as well as new material life and new spiritual and cultural life (Political Report of the 4th Party Congress, 1976).

(6) The socialist revolution in Vietnam is the process of carrying out three revolutions: a revolution in the relations of production, a revolution in science and technology, and a revolution in ideology and culture, with the revolution in science and technology being the key... (Political Report of the 4th Party Congress, 1976).

(7) Socialist collective ownership means collective ownership in politics, economy, and culture... (Political Report of the 4th Party Congress, 1976).

(8) The general line of the socialist revolution: firmly grasp the proletarian dictatorship, promote the collective ownership of the working people; simultaneously carry out three revolutions; accelerate socialist industrialization; build a system of collective ownership, large-scale production, a new culture, and the new socialist person (Political Report of the 4th Party Congress, 1976).

(9) Economic policy: build the material and technical foundations of socialism, elevate the economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; combine the development of the forces of production with the establishment and improvement of new relations of production. The period to move the economy from small-scale to large-scale socialist production is about 20 years (Political Report of the 4th Party Congress, 1976). 8. The general line of the socialist revolution: To firmly grasp the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote the

collective mastery of the working people; conduct three revolutions simultaneously; promote socialist industrialization; build a regime of collective ownership, mass production, a new culture and building a new socialist human (Political Report of the 4th Party Congress, 1976).

Those were new, creative ideas but many ideas had not yet been tested in the practice, because the country's situation from the 1960s to 1986 had many vital problems to be solved before building socialism according to theoretical models. Peace was only temporary in the North for the period of 10 years from 1955 to 1964. From 1964 to 1975 there was war in the whole country, the task of national liberation was given priority above all else. Since 1975, the severe socio-economic crisis has significantly limited all wishes to build socialism. And by 1986, the world and Vietnam's practical situations were full of challenges, forcing society to innovate. The cause of Doi Moi, in fact, has brought new ideas to the theory of socialism in Vietnam, which are summarized in the documents of the 6th, 7th, 11th, 13th Party Congresses as follows:

1. The transition period is a relatively long historical process, going through many stages; It is not in a hurry to immediately eliminate the non-socialist economic sectors; The multi-sector economic structure will exist for a long time in socialist society (Political Report of the 6th Party Congress, 1986).

2. The productive forces are constrained not only when the relations of production are backward, but also when the relations of production have elements that go too far (Political Report of the 6th Party Congress, 1986).

3. Taking the people as the root; Starting from reality, respecting and acting according to objective laws; Combining

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the strength of the nation with the strength of the times (Political Report of the 6th Party Congress, 1986).

4. National independence is a prerequisite for the implementation of socialism, and socialism is a solid foundation for national independence (the 1991 Platform and 2011 Platform).

5. Capitalism still has potential for development. Developing a market economy and building a socialist rule of law state are features of socialism but the abolition of private property is not a feature of socialism (Programme 1991 and Platform 2011).

6. The transition to socialism is a long process, going through many stages (Programme 1991 and Platform 2011).

7. Building socialism in today's conditions requires successful resolution of 10 major relationships (Principle 2011 and Political Report of the 13th Party Congress, 2021).

At the 13th Party Congress, achievements in national construction and development and socialist construction were reflected in theory into valuable and meaningful theoretical ideas that paved the way for the country to continue to develop. development with new expectations for a prosperous and happy Vietnamese society in the middle of the twenty-first century:

8. Developing a market economy with many forms of ownership is one of the major orientations of economic development. The private economy is one of the driving forces of the economy in the transition period (Political Report of the 13th Party Congress, 2021).

9. Theory of renovation, socialism and the way to socialism in our country has

been improved and gradually realized; awareness of the market economy is more and more complete (Political Report of the 13th Party Congress, 2021).

10. By 2045 Vietnam will become a developed, high-income country (Political Report of the 13th Party Congress, 2021).

II. SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM IN THE PERIOD 1930 – 2022: ON PRACTICAL ISSUES

In the period from 1955 to 1975, the country was divided. The construction of socialism in the North is often divided into the following periods: (1) The years 1955–1957 were a period of economic recovery, healing the wounds of war, completing land reform, and laying the foundation for the North's progress towards socialism. (2) The years 1958–1960 focused on implementing the task of socialist transformation of the economy. (3) The years 1961–1975 were dedicated to developing a socialist economy in the context of war.

After 1975, the country was unified, and the whole nation began building socialism. However, the socio-economic situation from 1975 to 1986 was marked by crisis. From 1986 to the present, the Renovation (Đổi mới) process has freed up internal resources, attracted external resources, and gradually led to the development of Vietnam's economy and society. In 2009, Vietnam surpassed the threshold of 1,000 USD per capita, becoming a middle-income country. According to the World Bank, Vietnam is a successful developed country. Economic reforms since 1986 combined with favorable global trends have rapidly helped Vietnam grow from one of the poorest countries in the world to a low-middle-income country within a short

period of time. generation. From 2002 to 2020, GDP per capita increased 3,6 times, reaching nearly 3.700 USD¹.

1. Land reform in the North 1953-1956

Between 1953 and 1956, land reform was carried out in northern Vietnam. This was part of the "land reform" program, aimed at redistributing rural land, eliminating the remnants of feudalism and imperialism, and was implemented by the Communist Party and the government of Vietnam.

Before 1945, in the North, only 4% of the population owned 24.5% of the total land. By early 1945, 60% of farmers owned only about 10% of the land². The feudal landlords, French colonial landlords, and Catholic landlords, who made up less than 5% of the population, controlled 70% of the land³. The famine of 1945, which led to the deaths of 2 million people, disproportionately affected landless farmers, who had the highest mortality rate.

Based on the "land reform" model of China (1946–1949), land reform in the North was organized with direct advice from China. On December 4, 1953, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam convened and passed the Land

¹ World Bank. *Vietnam Overview*, 2022, <https://www.worldbank.org/vi/country/vietnam/overview#1>

² Le Mau Han (Chief Editor). *General History of Vietnam*, Education Publishing House, 2007, Vol. 3

³ See: Lâm Quang Huyền, *Changes in the Peasant Class and Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Southern Vietnam During the Modern Period*, 2008, Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Vietnam Studies. http://www.hids.hochiminhcity.gov.vn/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=e39e840c-5e61-4169-94b2-6fc4cc4b690d&groupId=13025.

Reform Law 197/HL. This law was officially promulgated on December 19, 1953.

The Law on Land Reform stipulated the policy of confiscating all or part of the land and property of each type of subject; stipulated the price for the purchase of land, cattle, agricultural tools, etc., and the payment term. Unauthorized arrest and killing, beatings, torture, or any other form of humiliation are prohibited. The Party also appointed a leadership committee for the land reform program, consisting of: Campaign Initiator and Ideological Leader: Hồ Chí Minh (President of the Labour Party of Vietnam and Head of State); Head of the Steering Committee: Trường Chinh (General Secretary); Head of the Pilot Steering Committee for Thái Nguyên province: Hoàng Quốc Việt (Politburo member); Head of the Pilot Steering Committee for Thanh Hóa, Nghệ An, Hà Tĩnh provinces: Lê Văn Lương (Alternate Politburo member); Direct Director of Campaign Operations: Hồ Việt Thắng (Alternate Central Committee member).

At the third session of the First National Assembly of Vietnam (December 4, 1953), President Hồ Chí Minh stated: "Our Land Reform Law is based on benevolence and righteousness, and is reasonable and just. It not only allows poor peasants, landless peasants, and middle peasants to own land, but also takes into account the interests of wealthy peasants and landlords..."¹

Land reform began with a rent reduction program. From 1953 to 1956, a total of 8 rounds of rent reduction were carried out in over 1,875 communes. The Land Reform Teams entered

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Complete Works*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2000, Vol. 7. pp. 186-187

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villages and implemented the "3 Together" policy with poor and middle peasants. All families were classified into 7 categories: (1) landlords; (2) wealthy peasants; (3) middle peasants (hard); (4) middle peasants (moderate); (5) middle peasants (weak); (6) poor peasants; (7) landless peasants. Landlords were further categorized as: (1) ruthless landlords; (2) regular landlords; (3) landlords who supported the resistance.

From 1953 to 1956, 5 rounds of land reform were conducted in 3,314 communes. By the end of 1954, the reform was intensified, especially in Thái Bình, where 294 communes were included in the reform program.

In the first stage, the reform achieved good results, contributing to boosting the morale of the army and people in the resistance war against the French. However, in the later period, the reform caused many losses in the localities. From middle of the year 1955, in some places, farmers became violent, and denounced rampant, causing many people to be wronged, typically Mrs. Cat Hanh Long, ie Nguyen Thi Nam, in Thai Nguyen province. Many landlords' families with achievements in the resistance war, including party members, cadres and soldiers serving the resistance were also denounced. Many "special people's courts" have abused their power and arbitrarily pronounced sentences.

The stipulated figure of 5.68% landlords in the population was much higher than the actual percentage. The total number of people classified as landlords during the land reform was recorded as 172,008 individuals. Among them, "ruthless landlords" numbered 26,453 people, and after corrections, 20,493 people were found to have been wrongly classified, with an error rate of 77.4%. "Regular landlords" were 82,777 people, and after corrections,

51,480 were found to have been wrongly classified, with an error rate of 62%. "Landlords who supported the resistance" numbered 586, and after corrections, 290 were found to have been wrongly classified, with an error rate of 49%. "Wealthy peasants" numbered 62,192, and after corrections, 51,003 were found to have been wrongly classified, with an error rate of 82%. The total number of people classified during the land reform was 172,008, of whom 123,266 were found to have been wrongly classified after corrections, with an error rate of 71.66%¹.

These mistakes were addressed in a speech by lawyer Nguyễn Mạnh Tường at the Vietnam Fatherland Front on October 30, 1956².

After realizing the extent of these injustices, in February 1956, the 9th Central Committee Conference ordered a suspension of the land reform program. On August 24, 1956, Nhân dân newspaper announced that some loyal party members had been mistakenly executed during the land reform process. In September 1956, the 10th Central Committee Conference imposed disciplinary measures on the leadership of the land reform program: Comrade Trường Chinh was required to resign as General Secretary, Comrade Hoàng Quốc Việt was removed from the Politburo, and Comrade Lê Văn Lương was also resigned as an alternate member of the Politburo, Comrade Ho Viet Thang had to leave the Central Committee. On October 29, 1956, General Vo Nguyen Giap, who did not participate in the

¹ Đặng Phong (Chief Editor), *History of Vietnam's Economy, Volume Two (1955–1975)*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 2005

² Nguyễn Mạnh Tường, *Through the Mistakes of Land Reform - Building Leadership Perspectives*, 1956. <http://www.talawas.org/talaDB/showFile.php?res=4412&rb=0505>

Land Reform program, on behalf of the President read the report of the 10th Central Conference publicly admitting mistakes and launching a campaign to correct the problem. wrong. In December 1956, at the 6th session of the National Assembly, term I, Ho Chi Minh cried and on behalf of the government admitted shortcomings in land reform.

According to the census as of September 1957, the correction campaign has restored honor and returned property about 70-80% of convicts.

The reform actually redistributed land to the majority of farmers in the North. 810.000 hectares of land in the Northern Delta and Midlands, from 1953 to 1957, was divided among 2 million farming households (about 10 million people), accounting for about 72,8% of the farming households in the North. The reform eliminated the landlord class and the remnants of feudalism in the North. 1957 was a year of great harvest, food production reached over 4,5 million tons, far exceeding pre-war levels. The North has solved the grain famine, a chronic disease since feudal times. After 3 years of reform (1955-1957), the cultivated area in the whole North increased, rice yield increased by 30,8%, food production increased by 57%, food per capita increased by 43,6%.

2. The process of socialist cooperation in the North before 1975¹

As early as the late 1950s, the process of collectivization following the Soviet model began in the North. According to this

¹ Data and Documents can be found at <http://tuyengiao.vn/tu-lieu/nhung-thanh-tuu-noi-bat-75-nam-nuoc-cong-hoa-xhcn-viet-nam-129371>

model, cooperatives are economic units next to the state economic system. The decision-making power of the cooperative is almost always subject to the guidance of the plans from the superiors. Membership of agricultural cooperatives is almost mandatory, although in theory it is voluntary.

In just a short time, by the end of the 1960s, the whole North had more than 50.000 cooperatives established in the following industries and fields: agriculture, handicrafts, trade, fishery, credit, more than 41.000 agricultural production cooperatives were established with 2,4 million households, accounting for 84,8% of the rural population and cultivating about 76% of agricultural land. Since the late 1960s, the government has encouraged the consolidation of cooperatives, thereby reducing the number from more than 40.000 to less than 20.000. By that time, the cooperative had an average of 300-500 households and an area of 200-300 ha. By 1975, 95% of rural households in the North were members of cooperatives who cultivated over 95% of agricultural land and produced 92% of total agricultural output¹.

Agricultural production cooperatives (APC) directly manage the land, organize the production, supply and consumption of products. In addition, 5% of the land in each cooperative is allocated to individual farming households. In practice, there is little or no incentive to work in the cooperative system. In many cooperatives, people do not have enough to eat. To the extent that 5% plots contribute 40-60% of total production and 60-70% of farmers' income.

¹ Wolz, Axel, *The Development of Agricultural Co-operatives in Vietnam since Transformation*, 2000, <https://www.sai.uni-heidelberg.de/intwep/fia/DISKUS72.htm>

In the South, after 1975, collectivization was also applied. By 1980, there were 1.750 agricultural production cooperatives and 18.800 production teams. These units account for 50% of rural families and use 36% of the arable land. However, the cooperatives only existed for a very short time, after which private production continued to be as small as before. By 1985, only about 750 agricultural cooperatives remained in operation.

3. The process of socialist industrialization in the North before 1975

According to the Soviet economic model, industry in the North developed relatively strongly, growing 18% per year in the years 1960-1964. The number of workers also increased to more than one million. Industry attracts 49% of state capital compared with 22% of spending on agriculture. Heavy industries such as electricity, metallurgy, chemicals, and minerals account for 80% of the budget. Light industry produces consumer goods, which is spent 20%. State-owned industry accounts for 93,1% of the total value of industrial output in the North, playing a key role in the national economy. Heavy industry output in 1965 increased three times compared to 1960, state-owned industry accounted for 93% of the total value of industrial output in the North. The electricity industry, until 1965, built 40 power plants (compared to 5 plants before 1954), bringing the total electricity supply 3,4 times higher ¹.

From the point of view of "Prioritizing the development of heavy industry reasonably on the basis of the development of

¹ See https://www.wikiwand.com/vi/Kinh_tế_Việt_Nam_Dân_chủ_Cộng_hòa_&_Vietnam:_a_Country_Study, https://www.loc.gov/resource/frdcstdy.vietnamcountryst00cima_0/?st=gallery

agriculture and light industry", the North advocates to attach importance to state-owned industry. The five-year plan 1961-1965 set the target of increasing industrial output by 150% compared to 1960. Small and private factories were gradually eliminated. By 1964, only state-owned enterprises remained. Thai Nguyen iron and steel zone with a capacity of 200,000 tons/year was established in 1959, Uong Bi thermal power plant was built in 1961, Thac Ba hydroelectric power plant was built in 1971, Bac Giang fertilizer plant was built in 1960, Lam Thao Super Phosphat factory built in 1959... In light industry, Viet Tri industrial park was built in 1959, Thuong Dinh (Hanoi) industrial park was built in 1957, Van Diem sugar factory was built in 1958, Hai Duong porcelain factory built in 1960, Van Dien battery factory built in 1960, 8-3 textile factory built in 1960...

In the period 1965-1975, the industrial growth rate decreased sharply due to sabotage war, only 3,9% per year. In general, the industrial growth rate in the North in the period 1960-1975 was quite limited, except for the coal, electricity, iron and steel industries (increasing about 2-8 times). However, the price is quite high, so it cannot be exported, but mainly supplies to the domestic market. Thus, in the period 1955-1975, the value of total industrial output increased 16,6 times, an average annual increase of 14,7%. Industrial products per capita in 1975 reached a much higher level than in 1955, in which: electricity 13,8 times, coal 4,8 times, cement 25,2 times, paper 14,5 times, cloth 4,8 times, sugar 4 times. In 1975, the North had 1.335 state-owned industrial enterprises, an increase of 323 enterprises compared to 1960. Some heavy industries had quite large production capacity. The position of industry in gross social

product increased from 32,7% in 1960 to 42,6% in 1975; national income from 18,2% to 28,7% in 15 years respectively¹.

4. Socialist economy in the North in the period 1954-1975

In the period 1946 - 1954, policies on land, rent reduction, income reduction, and land reform were implemented. Food per capita in 1957 reached 303 kg. GDP per capita of family members of agricultural cooperatives in 1970 increased by 20% compared to 1965. In 1954, rice-sized food production in the liberated area reached over 2,9 million tons, an increase of 13,7% compared to 1946. The output of rice grain increased from 3.759 thousand tons in 1955 to 4.738 thousand tons in 1956 and 4.293.000 tons in 1957. In 1954, in the liberated area, there were 135 hospitals, clinics, 790 medical clinics, 740 first aid stations. hospitals and 300 maternity homes.

From 1958 to 1960 was the period of economic reform in the North. The average gross social product per year increased by 13,6%, the national income increased by 7,7%, the value of total industrial output increased by 21,5%, the total retail sales of consumer goods and services. Social use increased by 9,1%, total export and import value increased by 13,8%. In 1975, in the North, the total social product was 2,3 times higher than in 1960, the national income was 1,9 times. The value of total industrial output is 3,4 times higher.

In the period 1955 - 1975, trade relations between the North and the world expanded, from 10 countries (including 7 socialist

¹ *Kinh tế Việt Nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa*, https://www.wikiwand.com/vi/Kinh_tế_Việt_Nam_Dân_chủ_Cộng_hòa & *Vietnam: a Country Study*, https://www.loc.gov/resource/frdcstdy.vietnamcountryst00cima_0/?st=gallery

countries) in 1955, to 1965, it increased to 35 countries (including 12 socialist countries).

By 1975, in the North, there were 1.180 medical examination and treatment establishments, with 56,6 thousand hospital beds. The number of health workers is 93 thousand people, including 29.600 doctors and nurses. On average, there are 12,1 doctors per ten thousand people. In 1975, the health system of communes and wards was almost nonexistent. In 1985, the whole country had 11.059 medical examination and treatment establishments with 202,2 thousand beds. The number of health workers is 187,4 thousand people, including 62,3 thousand doctors and nurses. On average, there are 13,6 doctors and nurses for every ten thousand people.

In 1956, the GDP of the South was 5 times higher than that of the North. At that time, the North was severely damaged in the war. In the period 1955-1970, this gap gradually narrowed, especially since 1963, when the South's economy was in recession. Since 1972, the North's GDP has exceeded that of the South, although from 1964-1972 the American war in North Vietnam was very fierce.

According to some statistics, the great influence of the destructive war in the North is more obvious. In the period 1955-1963, the North's GDP per capita increased 1,7 times. In the period of 1964 - 1975, the North's economy was greatly influenced by the American war.

In the period 1960-1976, the amount of rice per capita decreased from 335 kg/person (1959 when the cooperative was implemented) to 254 kg/person, because the population increased rapidly (from 13.5 million in 1955 to 24, 55 million in

1975) while production stagnated. In 1975, the amount of rice decreased to 194 kg/person. In the period 1965-1975, the North had to import 15% of the food needs to make up for the shortfall. In 1966 in Vinh Phu, a form of household contracting, called underground contracting, appeared. However, this method was condemned as contrary to socialist principles and Vinh Phu Provincial Party Secretary Kim Ngoc was disciplined.

According to Prof. Dang Phong, a total of 20 years, the socialist bloc has provided aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with a total volume of 2.362.581 tons of goods; converted into money is more than 7 billion rubles (equivalent to 7 billion USD, of which more than half is military aid)¹. According to a secret CIA document (declassified), the economic and military aid of the socialist bloc to North Vietnam, 1970-1974, was estimated at \$5,6 billion. The aid of the socialist bloc to North Vietnam, according to the CIA, is much lower than that of the United States to South Vietnam. The figures below are all US estimates.

5. Renovation of private-capitalist industry and commerce after 1954 and after 1975

The Socialist Transformation was a policy based on a Soviet model, implemented in the North after 1954 and in the South—primarily in Ho Chi Minh city—after April 30, 1975. Its goal was to "eliminate the capitalist system of ownership of the means of production, capitalist exploitation, and the capitalist class." This policy was commonly referred to as the "Transformation of Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce".

¹ Đặng Phong, *Five Hồ Chí Minh Trails*, Tri Thức Publishing House, 2008, p. 120

In November 1958, the Government approved a three-year plan (1958–1960) for economic and cultural development and socialist transformation, which was ratified by the National Assembly on December 1, 1958. From April 16–30 and June 1–10, 1959, the 16th (expanded) Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee (Second Congress) passed a resolution on agricultural collectivization and the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce. The resolution outlined “the immediate task in the North as advancing the socialist revolution, with a focus on transforming the individual economy of farmers and artisans as well as the private capitalist economy”¹. Specific policies included inventorying and valuing assets, setting profit policies and rates, and assigning work for capitalists and their families.

Implemented from 1958 to 1960, the economic transformation process was considered completed: 81% of craftsmen had joined cooperatives. Excluding cooperatives involved in fishing, salt production, and timber extraction, by the end of 1960, the North had 2,760 handicraft cooperatives, including 521 advanced-level cooperatives and 2,239 basic-level cooperatives. 60% of small traders had been transformed and incorporated into cooperatives for buying and selling, and more than 10,000 people were transferred to other sectors of production. By mid-1961, 180,000 small traders, or 80% of the total, had been reorganized into cooperatives, with over 60,000 people having shifted entirely to production (no longer engaging

¹ *Resolution of the 16th (extended) Central Committee Conference, April 1959*, <https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/van-kien-tu-lieu-ve-dang/hoi-nghi-bch-trung-uong/khoa-ii/ngghi-quyet-cua-hoi-nghi-trung-uong-lan-thu-16-mo-rong-thang-4-nam-1959-ve-van-de-hop-tac-hoa-nong-nghiep-804>.

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in trade). In urban areas, 100% of the capitalist private industrial establishments subject to transformation were organized into joint-stock companies, cooperative enterprises, and joint-venture enterprises, with 1,553 businessmen becoming workers. 90% of craftsmen had joined handicraft cooperatives, and over 70,000 craftsmen were transferred to agricultural production¹.

In urban areas, 100% of private capitalist industrial establishments subject to transformation were converted into joint public-private enterprises or cooperatives, turning 1,553 entrepreneurs into workers. Additionally, 90% of artisans joined industrial cooperatives, with over 70,000 transitioning to agricultural production.

According to assessments, the transformation of Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce was effective. In the span of three years (1955-1957), the value of state-owned industrial output increased 6.4 times, from 34.1 million dong to 219 million dong. The total output of the industrial and handicraft sectors in the North increased by 269%, from 310 million dong to 834 million dong. State-owned industry increasingly dominated the output value of the modern industrial sector (rising from 41.7% to 66.6%), contributing to raising the proportion of modern industry in the economy from 1.5% to 9.5% (in 1939, this ratio was 10%). In 1960, state-owned industry reached an output value of 840 million dong, which was 383% of the 1957 output and 25 times the output value of 1955. The share of state-owned industry in the industrial and handicraft output of the North

¹ *Three years of transforming and developing the economy, and developing the culture of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam*, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, pp. 25-26

increased from 34.4% to 57%. The number of local state-owned industrial enterprises grew from 170 factories with 8,152 workers in 1958 to 546 factories with 25,712 workers in 1959, and 722 factories with 44,407 workers in 1960.

In the South before 1975, Saigon was the largest material, economic and technical base in the region, concentrating more than 80% of industrial production capacity in the Central and Southern regions. More than 38.000 industrial and handicraft establishments are concentrated here, including 766 companies and 8.548 private industrial establishments. At that time, overseas Chinese controlled almost all important economic positions, and especially firmly grasped three important areas: production, distribution and credit. By the end of 1974, the Chinese controlled more than 80% of the production facilities of the food, textile, chemical, metallurgy, electrical... and almost achieved a monopoly on trade: 100% wholesale, more than 50% retail and 90% import and export¹.

The transformation of Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce in the South has another reason: after 1975, the issue of the Chinese suddenly became complicated when they raised the Chinese flag and Mao Zedong's photo in the Cholon area, protesting for the preservation of Chinese nationality. This issue becomes a challenge to national sovereignty rather than an internal issue of Vietnam. Along with the complicated situation at the Border with Cambodia, Vietnam-China relations deteriorated rapidly. The policy of confiscation of property of the Chinese bourgeoisie in 1976 was conducted in this context.

¹ See: Saigon's Chinese--going, going, gone. <https://www.asiasentinel.com/pl/saigons-chinesegoing-going-gone?s=r>

On September 1, 1975, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Department had a meeting to approve the code-name plan X2. On September 4, 1975, the government of the Republic of South Vietnam conducted the first campaign to renovate the South's bourgeoisie. The campaign was divided into two phases. Phase 1 attacked and captured 92 bourgeois bourgeois. Phase 2 from December 4-6, 1975, confiscated 288 production and business establishments, including all assets, factories and machinery, including a usable area of 337.518 m2 with an asset value of VND 31.293.550¹.

On July 15, 1976, the Politburo issued Resolution 254/NQ/TW on abolishing the commercial village bourgeoisie and renovating the Transformation of Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce. In December 1976, the second bourgeois re-education campaign was conducted. In March 1977, the Politburo decided to complete the task of socialist renovation for the industry, commerce, and capitalism of the South's private enterprise in the two years 1977-1978. The Central Committee for Industrial, Commercial and Private Business Reform was established by Mr. Nguyen Van Linh as its head, and Mr. Do Muoi as its deputy; then from the beginning of 1978, Comrade Do Muoi was the head of the Committee. In Ho Chi Minh City, at that time, Mr. Do Muoi was the one who carried out the renovation work and was considered very active.

For those who are being rehabilitated, the confiscated shops and houses become public property and will often become a state-owned store or even housing for officials. Property is

¹ See: Đặng Phong, *Economic Thinking in Vietnam 1975-1989*, Knowledge Publishing House, 2009, p. 118

sealed, family members must receive a decision to go to "build a new economic zone". The total number of commercial households renovated in 1978 was 28.778; the value of the confiscated goods is 20,6 million dong. 3.494 households were moved to production in the provinces. 2.616 households moved back to their old hometown. In 1978, the state completed the basic reform of the small and medium-sized industrial bourgeoisie in the South, abolishing the control of many industries by the Chinese ¹.

By the end of 1985, the number of cottage industry establishments in the South had 2,937 professional cooperatives, 10,124 professional production groups, 3,162 agricultural and handicraft cooperatives, 529 cooperatives and 920 individual households.

Regarding commercial reform, Nhan Dan Newspaper, No. 8976, January 4, 1979 clearly stated that by the beginning of 1979, the State had forced 60,000 households (accounting for 26% of the total number of industrial goods trading households) to stop work. Procurement of goods from 30.000 households (accounting for 13% of the total number of industrial goods trading households). transferring 42.000 traders to production, transferring more than 8.000 people to operating in the state-owned commercial system; nationalized 17 shipping vessels, 500 river transport ships, organized 25 river transport cooperatives with more than 500 ships. In the field of construction, converting private production facilities of building materials into 10 state-owned enterprises and 22 public-private partnership enterprises.

¹ See: Đặng Phong, *Economic Thinking in Vietnam 1975-1989*, Knowledge Publishing House, 2009, p. 120

Has renovated 150 private construction contractors to establish 8 state-owned enterprises, 16 public-private partnership enterprises. About 10.000 construction workers out of 16.000 jobs created ¹.

The transformation of Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce both in the North after 1954 and in the South after 1975, were criticized by many people responsible for the regime as being childish, leftist and considered as too heavy a blow to the country's economy. GS. Dang Phong commented: "In the end, this policy should not be attributed to an individual. It is a trend and a phenomenon that accompany all countries when entering the process of building socialism"².

6. Vietnam's economy in the period from 1975 to present

After the victory in the spring of 1975, the country was unified, entering a new stage, the whole country went up to socialism. Contrary to the simple hope of many, the consequences of war cannot be resolved in a day or two; Socio-economic recovery and development is not smooth sailing but faces great difficulties and challenges. The stature of the victory in 1975 made many people intoxicated with the victory. In particular, the illusion of promoting Vietnam's power during the war is very different from that in economic construction and

¹ See: *The results of socialist transformation and the construction of industry and commerce in the southern provinces and cities*, Nhan Dan Newspaper, issue 8976, January 4, 1979. <http://baochi.nlv.gov.vn/baochi?a=d&d=Qik19790104.2.15&e=-vi-20--1--img-txIN---#//> Nguyễn Ngọc Chính, 2019, "Transformation of Industry and Commerce," <https://huongduongtxd.com/caitaothuongnghiep.pdf>

². See: Đặng Phong, *Economic Thinking in Vietnam 1975-1989*, Knowledge Publishing House, 2009, p. 124.

development in later stages. After 1975, the source of non-refundable aid to Vietnam decreased and ceased to exist. The US policy of encirclement and embargo put Vietnam in isolation from the world. The complicated situation after 1975 along with wars and wars on the southwestern border and the northern border have put the country in unprecedented grim situations.

Almost beyond all expectations, from 1975 to the end of the 80s, Vietnam's economy and society fell into crisis, with some areas of serious crisis. In 1996, looking back at the situation at that time, the document of the 8th National Party Congress commented: "The situation was complicated, at times it seemed difficult to overcome: inflation was at three digits for three consecutive years; the living standards of people receiving salaries and social allowances decreased sharply; many state-owned enterprises and many small-scale handicraft cooperatives stagnated, suffered losses, production was moderate and even had to close; tens of thousands of workers were forced to leave the factory; thousands of teachers have to quit their jobs; Credit fund failures occur in many places. Complicated international developments have adversely affected the situation in our"¹. In that situation, society spontaneously found its way through the phenomena of "breaking the fence", "underground contract", "three benefits", "study more", etc.

Starting from 1965 to 1967, Vinh Phuc province, under the leadership of the Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, Kim Ngoc, successfully "crossed the fence"/broke through by implementing a system of assigning agricultural production

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documents of the 8th Party Congress*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, pl 56

quotas directly to households. This was later criticized as "violating the principles of socialist management" and "contrary to the Party's agricultural collectivization policy."¹ Learning from Vĩnh Phúc, other provinces, beginning with Hải Phòng (1972) and Hà Sơn Bình (1978), followed by Thanh Hóa, Thái Bình, Đồng Nai, Hồ Chí Minh City, Hậu Giang, and Tiền Giang, also assigned production quotas to households. In June 1980, the Đồ Sơn District Party Committee issued Resolution No. 05, allocating land to cooperative members. On June 27, 1980, the Hải Phòng City Party Committee issued Resolution No. 24, officially abolishing collective labor quotas in six suburban districts. Subsequently, on January 13, 1981, the Party Central Secretariat issued Directive 100-CT/TW on assigning production quotas to groups and individual workers, formally recognizing the system nationwide. This contract system became commonly known as "Directive 100."

Directive 100 brought tangible benefits to farmers, creating strong incentives for agricultural production. Responding to societal needs, on April 5, 1988, the Politburo issued Resolution No. 10 NQ-TW on Renovating Agricultural Management. This resolution allocated land contracts to households for 15–20 years for short-term crops and 1–2 cycles for long-term crops. This policy became widely known as "Resolution 10." From this point, the economic role of farming households was reinstated, ushering Vietnam's agriculture into a new era. From a situation of chronic food shortages—Vietnam still had to import over 450,000 tons of rice in 1988—the country achieved self-

¹ Notification No. 224-TT/TW dated December 12, 1968, from the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party.

sufficiency by 1989. Vietnam not only met domestic food demand but also began exporting between 1 to 1.5 million tons of rice¹.

Since 1986, following the policy of *Đổi Mới* (Renovation), Vietnam began by renovation in thinking and subsequently reforming its economy. The administrative-subsidy mechanism and rigid dogmatic notions were abolished. New conceptions/views on socialism, the length of the transitional period, the adaptation and development of capitalism, the essence and economic role of exploitation, and private economic activities by Party members emerged, stimulating dynamism in economic and social life.

By 1995, most of the key targets of the Five-Year Plan (1991–1995) had been exceeded. The country emerged from crisis, and the average GDP growth rate for the decade 1990–2000 reached 7.5%. During 2006–2010, the average economic growth rate was 7%, with stable macroeconomic conditions, and the economy's scale and potential expanded rapidly. By 2009, Vietnam had overcome its status as an underdeveloped country, and by 2010, the GDP reached \$101.6 billion. From 2011 to 2020, macroeconomic stability was firmly maintained, and inflation was controlled. During 2011–2015, the average growth rate was 5.9%, while for 2016–2020, it was estimated at 6.8% annually. The average labor productivity growth rate in the 2016–2020 period is 5,8%. Foreign exchange reserves increased from 12,4 billion USD in 2010 to over 80 billion USD in 2020.

¹ Thái Duy, From "Contract" to Self-reliant Farming Households, in the book: *"Renovation in Vietnam: Remembering and Reflecting,"* Knowledge Publishing House, Hanoi, 2008

Agriculture's share in GDP also gradually decreased, from 38,06% in 1986 to 18,9% in 2010; 18,12% in 2014 and 13,1% in 2020. The share of the service sector in GDP has increased from 33,1% in 1988 to 38% in 2003 and 38,5% in 2010. From 2011 to 2020, the share of agriculture, forestry and fishery in GDP decreased from 18,9% in 2010 to 13,1% in 2020; the industrial, construction and service sectors increased respectively from 81,1% to 86,9%, exceeding the set target. The proportion of export value of high-tech products in the total value of high-tech products increased from 26,9% in 2010 to 78,3% in 2020. The construction industry grew rapidly, construction capacity and quality The quantity of modern construction works has been gradually increased. The service industry is developing diversified and the quality is getting higher and higher. The tourism industry has developed and become a spearhead economic sector, the number of international visitors is increasing rapidly, by 2020 it will reach about 20 million. The proportion of employees in the agricultural sector has decreased sharply, from 73% in 1990 to about 47% in 2014 and 33,5% in 2020. The proportion of employees in the industry - construction and service industries increased continuously, in which the industrial sector. industry and construction increased from 11,2% in 1990 to 18,2% in 2005 and 20,8% in 2014; the service sector increased from 15,8% in 1990 to 24,7% in 2005 and 32,2% in 2014. The proportion of trained workers increased from less than 10% in 1990 to 40% in 2010 and 65% in 2020.

Along with economic growth, the unemployment rate of urban workers tends to decrease from 4,5% in 2010 to 3% in 2020. From 2006 - 2011, jobs have been created for over 8 million workers, the unemployment rate in urban areas decreased to less

than 4,5%. The percentage of trained workers has improved significantly from 40% in 2010 to 65% in 2020.

Achievements in hunger eradication and poverty reduction are highly appreciated by the world. The rate of hungry and poor households has decreased continuously from 30% in 1992 to 8,3% in 2004. By 2000, chronic hunger has basically been eliminated. In the period of 2010 - 2020, the poverty rate decreased rapidly, from 14,2% in 2010 to 7% in 2015 (according to the poverty line for the period 2011 - 2015) and decreased from 9,2% in 2016 to less than 3% in 2020 (according to the multidimensional poverty line).

The lives of the vast majority of residents have changed for the better, including those in remote areas. From a poor and underdeveloped country, the income and living standards of many classes of people have improved both in terms of qualifications and quality. Vietnam has become a country with an average GDP, with the size of an economy ranked in the world and has the highest foreign exchange reserves in 2020 ever. Vietnam is one of the countries with remarkable and continuous progress in human development index (HDI). The trend of the human development index being higher than the economic index has been maintained for the past 25 years and is continuing. In 2020, for the first time, Vietnam was ranked among 52 countries with a High Human Development Index (High Human Development Index: 0,700-0,800 – HDR 2020). Life expectancy is quite high, not inferior to countries with high HDI index and continues to increase. Over the past three decades, about 50 million people have been eradicated from poverty. Vietnam reached the finish line 10 years earlier than its commitment to the United Nations for the implementation of the

Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which was welcomed by the international community¹.

According to the latest announcement (published in 2021, calculated on 2018 data), Vietnam's KOF globalization index is 65,55. In which, the component indexes: Economic globalization 61,06, Political globalization 73,76, Social globalization 61,55. The average KOF for 194 countries in 2018 was 62,02. In 1970, the KOF index of Vietnam was 23,14. During the period of 1970 - 2018, the average value of Vietnam's KOF was 38,32².

Other statistics also clearly reflect Vietnam's development level: As of now, Vietnam has diplomatic relations with 189 out of 193 United Nations member states, and is an active member of over 70 international organizations. It has a Strategic Partnership with 16 countries, a Comprehensive Partnership with 11 countries, and more than 70 countries recognize Vietnam's economy as a market economy. Moreover, the Vietnamese population is a community of 72.53 million internet users, which is expected to rise to 82.25 million by 2025. Vietnam has 70 million Facebook users, 55 million YouTube users, and 50 million Zalo users. Google holds a market share of 95.27% for search engines. In January 2021, Vietnam had 154.4 million mobile connections, equivalent to 157.9% of the population. Vietnamese people rank 15th in the world in terms of online community size—an achievement regarded as "hopeful and enviable" by

¹ ADB, 2021, *Poverty Data: Vietnam*. <https://www.adb.org/countries/vietnam/poverty>

² Overall globalization: Vietnam (measure: points; Source: The Swiss Institute of Technology in Zurich). https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Vietnam/kof_overall_glob/ 2022: May 16

many communities worldwide, including several rich and developed countries¹.

Conclusion

The process of building socialism in Vietnam has been theoretically prepared by the Communist Party of Vietnam as early as 1930. With specific arguments/ideas about socialism and building socialism, as outlined in the presentations, these thoughts and theories reflect distinctive characteristics of Vietnam, shaped by the complex historical and social conditions of the country.

However, these thoughts and theories were not only influenced by domestic circumstances but were also tightly constrained by the complicated situations of the global communist movement and the international context of the early 20th century. In other words, the options available for decision-making were very limited..

Despite this, the creative application of socialist ideas in the practical construction of socialism in Vietnam allowed the country to find its own unique path to development. Thanks to *Doi Moi* (Renovation), rigid and dogmatic concepts of socialism have been revised or abandoned. Profound changes have occurred both in practice and in thought, in theory and in reality. Today, from ordinary citizens to the country's leaders, socialism is no longer understood in the same way as it was in the past.

In the history of building socialism in Vietnam, the most

¹ Degenhard J., 2021, *Internet users in Vietnam 2010 - 2025*, <https://www.statista.com/forecasts/1147008/internet-users-in-vietnam> 2022: May 16

striking period for the global community has been the emergence of a renewed socialist Vietnam—one that is open to integration and continuously developing in recent decades. From being a poor, underdeveloped country, Vietnam has transformed into a middle-income nation, with an economy ranked among the top 40 in the world, broad international relations, a high Human Development Index, and a large proportion of the population using the internet and social media. Over more than three decades since Doi Moi (Renovation), a long period of peace and stability in the country's history has created conditions for Vietnam to awaken its spirit of independence and self-reliance, while adapting to a dynamic, civilized, and developing world.

PRESENTING, PROMOTING AND PRACTICING CHINA'S CORE SOCIALIST VALUES

*Prof. Dr. Yan Jiehua**

Summarizing and proposing socialist core values is both an inevitable requirement of the history of China's construction and reform and the actual development of socialism, as well as an inevitable requirement to respond to the complex situation and requirements of the times. China is in a critical period of comprehensively deepening reform. Putting forward and practicing socialist core values with Chinese characteristics can solve the real problems of socialist values with Chinese characteristics, cultivate positive and healthy values, serve the nation scientifically, and contribute to the construction of a socialist harmonious society.

I. The Proposition of the Core Values of Chinese Socialism

Proposing socialist core values is not something that happens overnight, but is accompanied by the process of constantly conducting new research on the construction of socialist ideology and the process of deepening reform and opening up in China, step by step.

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In March 2006, the Chinese Communist Party introduced the socialist concept of honor and shame with the term "bát vinh và bát xỉ". In October 2006, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China put forward for the first time the major issue and strategic task of "building a socialist core value system", and clearly proposed the content of socialist core values, pointing out that socialist core values are the core of the socialist core value system. The generalization of socialist core values has been discussed in depth by academics.

In October 2007, the 17th CPC National Congress further pointed out that "the core socialist value system is the essential embodiment of socialist ideology". In October 2011, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee emphasized that the socialist core value system is "the soul of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation". Building the socialist core value system is the fundamental task of promoting the great development and prosperity of culture.

In November 2012, the report of the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China put forward "three propositions", namely, "to promote prosperity, democracy, civilization and harmony; to promote freedom, equality, justice and the rule of law; to promote patriotism, dedication, loyalty and benevolence; and to actively cultivate core socialist values". Prosperity, democracy, civilization and harmony are valuable goals at the national level; freedom, equality, justice and the rule of law are values at the social level; patriotism, respect for karma, loyalty and friendliness are standard values at the individual level; these 24 words are the basic content of the core socialist values.

In December 2013, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee issued the Opinions on Establishing and Practicing

Socialist Core Values, which put forward the basic content of socialist core values "in line with the development requirements of socialism with Chinese characteristics", an important conclusion made by the Party on the basis of the consensus on values of the whole Party and society. On October 18, 2017, Comrade Xi Jinping pointed out in the report of the 19th Party Congress that the core socialist values should be cultivated and practiced.

We should focus on cultivating the new man of the times who will take up the important task of revitalizing the motherland, strengthening the orientation in education, cultivating in practice, ensuring quality in the system, promoting the leading role of socialist core values in national education, building spiritual civilization, integrating socialist core values into all aspects of social development and transforming them into people's consensus, emotion and behavior. Insist on universal action, with cadres taking the lead, starting from families and shaking hands with babies. Dig deeper into the ideological concepts, humanistic spirit and ethical and moral standards contained in China's excellent traditional culture, and inherit them creatively according to the requirements of the times, so that Chinese culture can show its enduring and uncommonly fashionable charm of the times.

On March 11, 2018, the first meeting of the 13th National People's Congress adopted amendments to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, in which the phrase "the state promotes public morality" Communists love the motherland, love the people, love the people's labor, love science and love socialism" was replaced by "The state promotes the core values of socialism, public morality, love for the motherland. Love for the people, love for labor, love for science, love for socialism".

So far, the socialist core values have been summarized and the active promotion and practice of socialist core values has become the focus.

II. Propagating China's socialist core values

Socialist core values propaganda mainly relies on the media, the network battlefield and the main propaganda force.

First of all, the media plays the role of the main channel for the dissemination of mainstream social values. Always put the promotion of stability and unity in the first place, adhere to the positive wind propaganda, firmly grasp the direction of public opinion, the core socialist values into the daily propaganda, political performance propaganda, dissemination of themes, propaganda offensive, guide hot spots, monitor public opinion, spread basic views, spread positive energy, and constantly consolidate and grow mainstream ideas and public opinion, positive and healthy society.

Second, build an online communication battlefield for socialist core values. Adapt to the rapid development of the Internet, skillfully use the laws of online communication, reflect socialist core values in online propaganda, online culture and online services, and occupy the battlefield with positive voices and cutting-edge culture. Vigorously develop key online newspapers and promote the construction of key commercial websites to form a good online public opinion environment and gather the influence of online public opinion.

Finally, study and education are incorporated into the study plans of the theoretical study center groups of party committees at all levels and into the regular lectures of party committee lecturers at all levels. As an important group of lecturers, members of the

teaching team undertake the main task of spreading the core socialist values. Teaching team members should study in depth the theoretical and practical issues of socialist core values, explain in depth the rich connotation and practical requirements of socialist core values, strengthen the analysis of social thought dynamics, enhance the initiative to pay attention to hot spots and social dilemmas, expand social consensus and respect differences. Form an ideological consensus that is inclusive of diversity.

III. The practice of China's socialist core values

Socialist core values focus on cultivating in practice, bringing this important value into the people's productive life and spiritual world, shaping good moral qualities, forming a positive social climate, and creating spiritual power for the people to build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

First, the practice of socialist core values into the whole process of national education. Incorporate socialist core values into the overall national education plan, divided into the fields of basic education, higher education, vocational and technical education, continuing education and practical training. Throughout all stages of training, teaching and management, covering all school education, forming a humanistic educational foundation that unifies classroom teaching, social practice and school culture. Continuously improve the cultivation of excellent Chinese traditional culture, the formation of love of learning, love of labor, love of the motherland in an effective form and long-term mechanism, focusing on the cultivation of moral, intellectual and physical development of socialist builders and successors, beauty and labor.

Second, the practice of socialist core values into the practice of economic development and social governance.

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Formulating economic development goals and development plans, formulating economic and social policies and major reform measures, carrying out production and business activities must follow the requirements of socialist core values, focusing on social responsibility, social benefits, operating in accordance with the law, fair competition, respect for loyalty and compliance with the rules, forming a well-oriented policy, benefit mechanism and good social environment for promoting socialist core values.

The law is an important guarantee for the dissemination of mainstream social values. The practice of socialist core values should be taken as an important element of social governance, integrated into the construction of governance system and governance, and formed into an expression mechanism suitable for social needs. Effective mechanisms for promoting social harmony, coordination of interests, mediation of conflicts, and maximization of rights and interests. Innovate social management, improve incentive and reward mechanisms for good deeds, carry out mutual promotion of governance effectiveness and moral cultivation, and form a positive effect of good people having good rewards and good deeds having good rewards. Improve the city's civic conventions, village rules, student codes, and industry standards, and focus on strengthening the implementation of rules and regulations that clearly reflect core social values in the daily governance of the public sphere in order to encourage right behavior and condemn inappropriate behavior.

HO CHI MINH'S VIEW ON THE VALUE OF SOCIALISM AND THE PATH TO SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM

*Dr. Nguyen Anh Hong Minh**

1. Introduction

In the context that the national liberation work was falling into a crisis about the way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh was well aware that only going to the West where capitalism was born from the great bourgeois revolutions in the world to be able to understand the nature of capitalism. During his wandering years, Ho Chi Minh realized that the working people were hungry everywhere, and imperialism was also the enemy of exploitation everywhere. Although the French Revolution and the American Revolution have been successful for more than 150 years, the working people are still suffering and they want to make a revolution again. Unable to save the country based on feudalism, Ho Chi Minh realized that it was even more impossible to liberate the nation by the path of bourgeois revolution because its nature was not radical. It only replaces one exploitative regime with another more sophisticated one but it does not eliminate exploitative oppression. And it only brings benefits and democracy to a few people but the workers are still extremely

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miserable. Not to mention that in Vietnam, the bourgeoisie is a new and small, weak force that will be crushed by the strong bourgeoisie that has grown in the world in other countries according to the law of strength and weakness. Therefore, saving the country with the banner of the bourgeoisie is not the way out for the nation.

Realizing the nature of capitalism, which later developed into imperialism, but after many years of living and constantly searching in European countries, Ho Chi Minh still could not choose the revolutionary path to liberate the Vietnamese people. It was only in July 1920, after reading *the first draft of Lenin's theses on national and colonial issues* published in the Humanitarian newspaper, Ho Chi Minh found the revolutionary path to liberation. There is no other way than that of the proletarian revolution to save the country and liberate the nation. From here, along with the performance of tasks for the international communist movement, Ho Chi Minh carried out the propagation of Marxism-Leninism, outlined the strategic direction of the Vietnamese revolution, and *remained steadfast in the path to socialism* - a society that brings equality and happiness to people - is not an ideal but really a reality that must be followed. However, to achieve that reality, according to him, we will have to go through a long, difficult and arduous road that cannot be subjective or hasty. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have also repeatedly emphasized that their theory is not a complete, complete solution that can be applied mechanically to life. They claimed that the development of theory must be associated with the development of society, without dogma, mutilation and misinterpretation. Obviously, K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin did not participate in the communist's mistakes when building a new society, they

demanded that those who received and inherited their theory had to improve and apply it to specific situations. Marxism when it came to Lenin's time had to have applications and development because at that time capitalism had developed into imperialism, it needed creativity and practicality to succeed. Lenin's creation of Marxism led to the victory of the Russian October Revolution and when Marxism-Leninism came to Ho Chi Minh, it was also creatively applied to suit the reality of Vietnam and from that also achieved the victory of the August Revolution.

Ho Chi Minh affirmed that Marxism needs to be supplemented and perfected to suit the conditions of Asian countries. In "Report on Tonkin, Middle and Cochinchina" in 1924, Ho Chi Minh wrote: "The class struggle did not take place like in the West" and assessed Marxism as follows: "In the future, when Western capitalism changes the East, should the class struggle be decisive first? Generally yes, if we consider the example of Japan. Actually yes, because of the increasing and inevitable westernization of the East; In other words, Marxism will still hold true there. In any case, it is not possible to forbid the addition of the "historical basis" of Marxism by adding to it materials that were not available to Marx in his time. Marx built his doctrine on a certain philosophy of history, but which history? European history. What is Europe? That's not all of humanity. Marx tells us that the evolution of societies goes through three stages: slavery, serfdom, capitalism; and in each of those stages, the class struggle is different. We must watch out! Did the peoples of the Far East pass through the first two stages? Haven't they enjoyed peace since these many centuries to the point of making Europeans despise them (lazy, ignorant for thousands of years, etc.) Revisiting Marxism on its historical basis, reinforcing it with Eastern ethnography. That is the task

the Soviets undertake...¹. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "Our compatriots who are tormented and suffering! This is what is necessary for us, this is the way to our liberation!"². Since then, Ho Chi Minh had always been loyal and creative when applying Marxism-Leninism in his thoughts on socialism and believed that the path to socialism was valuable to free humanity from oppression, injustice, towards a better society.

2. Ho Chi Minh's view on the value of socialism

Marxism-Leninism is not absolutely perfect, but on the positive side, it has given us a solid ideological foundation, rich and profound theoretical and methodological fulcrums, helping us expand our understanding, think independently and creatively and find the right solutions and directions to deal with problems in the new era. Ho Chi Minh was an example of applying Marxism-Leninism and determined the path to socialism based on Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, in the thought of Ho Chi Minh and Marxism-Leninism on socialism and the values of socialism, there are common points, specifically as follows:

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh affirmed the necessity of choosing the socialist path in Vietnam. In fact, in the history of Vietnam in the previous years, all revolutionary movements failed because of the policy of gaining independence by peaceful means, by insurrection movements but they were fragmented, lacked methods, lacked of a class with a real historical mission. Because of the nature of the ruling class, it never cedes its power to the

¹ Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 509-510

² Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 562

ruled class so in order to gain power, the ruled class must use revolutionary violence. According to K. Marx, socialism aims to eliminate class antagonism that previous social models for the benefit of the ruling class could not do. Based on the Marxist-Leninist views on the characteristics of socialism, Ho Chi Minh has raised the essential characteristics of socialism in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh wrote: "only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressive peoples and laborers of the world from slavery"¹, "only communism can save the world and give everyone, without distinction of race and origin, freedom, equality, fraternity, solidarity, well-being on earth, give jobs to all, for all, for joyment, peace, and happiness"². In other words, the value of socialism is to free people from oppression and exploitation, creating conditions for people to develop comprehensively.

Secondly, socialism in the thought of K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and Ho Chi Minh is all about the pursuit of happiness for people, towards building a society that removes oppression and injustice, bringing a prosperous, equal, happy and full life to people. These are also the values that socialism brings to humanity in general and the Vietnamese nation in particular. Moreover, socialism is a social system with highly developed productive forces, which as Marxism-Leninism says: the material and technical basis of socialism is the great mechanical industry associated with the development of scientific advances. In addition, Ho Chi Minh also accepted in Marxism-Leninism, the characteristics and values of socialism are the abolition of private

¹ Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 563

² Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 496

property and the socialization of means of production. When the means of production is common property, everyone will work and enjoy the distribution according to the principle: work according to ability, enjoy according to labor, whoever works more eats more, whoever works less eats less, whoever does not work does not eat, except of course the old, the sick and the children,...¹. In the thought of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh, both affirm that socialism is really the cause of the masses, the result of the creative process of the masses, and truly brings about an equal society for humans.

Thus, in Ho Chi Minh's thought, socialism is the way to liberate the oppressed peoples, bring the values of freedom, justice, equality, democracy... to help people have conditions for comprehensive development. It is truly a society for people.

3. Ho Chi Minh's view on the path to socialism in Vietnam today

Ho Chi Minh was aware of the importance of material foundations to move to socialism and pointed out that in the transition to socialism in Vietnam, two tasks must be performed as follows:

First, building material foundations, economic, political, cultural and ideological premise of socialism. Because Marxism-Leninism has affirmed that the material and technical basis of socialism is the great mechanical industry, which systematically regulates social production, and commodity production has basically become a should be redundant, creating a new way of organizing and disciplining labor. Therefore, President Ho Chi

¹ See: Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 10, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2013, p. 390

Minh affirmed that “our most important task is to build the material and technical foundation of socialism”¹.

Second, there must be a particular socialist construction path suitable to the specific conditions of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh approached socialist thought from the point of view of socio-economic form of K. Marx. The thesis of K. Marx and F. Engels about a new society with the essential features of abolishing the exploitation of human rights based on private ownership of the means of production, and political oppression as well as mental enslavement. V.I. Lenin developed the thesis of socialism under the condition that capitalism had turned to the stage of monopoly, i.e. imperialism. The Russian October Revolution of 1917 made the theory a reality: socialism as a new society, a step higher and better than capitalism. Ho Chi Minh affirmed the decisive role of productive power in the development of society as well as in the transition from one society to another. However, he also affirmed that in human history there are 5 socio-economic forms but not all nations and countries have undergone such sequential steps of development. Ho Chi Minh received the transitional thought of moving straight to socialism without going through the capitalist stage from Lenin and realized that our country did not go through the period of slavery, but was imbued with Eastern feudalism. The class conflict was not as sharp, drastic and prolonged as in the West, thus forming a nation-state early. Right from the very beginning of nation building, we had to constantly fight against foreign invaders, form traditional patriotism, be an agricultural country, take land and water as the foundation with the public farming system to form a stronger community which love and

¹ Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 13, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2000, p. 13

protect each other in difficulties, in struggles and uniting the national community. From the above historical facts, Ho Chi Minh realized that peoples can move towards socialism in different ways. Therefore, he affirmed: "Our greatest feature in the transitional period is that we move from a backward agricultural country straight to socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage of development"¹. Regarding the issue of socialism and the transitional path to socialism in Vietnam, first of all, he affirmed: After basically completing the national-democratic revolution, we must make a transition to democracy. Only by building socialism can we truly liberate the nation, society and people. Therefore, the policy of simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks: the North's transition to socialism, and the South's continued completion of the national liberation revolution and the national democratic revolution, is a great creation, highly revolutionary and in line with the country's realities.

In theory as well as when talking about the construction of socialism, if Marxism - Leninism talked about class, then Ho Chi Minh often used the words "masses", "people". Therefore, Marxism-Leninism is the right way to save the country but it is necessary to focus on the human element, which here is the people. Building socialism must come from the moral aspect of the Vietnamese people, preserving the identity and culture of the Vietnamese people. Ho Chi Minh's thought on socialism has deep roots in patriotism, benevolent tradition and Vietnamese village community thought, which has been formed for a long time in the history of building and defense the country. Ho Chi Minh emphasized that the revolutionary cause belongs to the masses;

¹ Ho Chi Minh: *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 411

socialist state is the state of the people, by the people, for the people; Socialism is a collective work built by the working people with their own strength, talent and intelligence... Everything must be based on "the people" as the root. The idea of upholding the people is a creative feature when applying Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam.

4. Conclusion

Ho Chi Minh's thought on socialism is faithful but creative based on Marxism - Leninism to present us a current practice that we should not apply any theory mechanically or rigidly. Because there is no perfect theory, it always needs to be supplemented and perfected to suit the actual situation and social development history of each specific place. According to Ho Chi Minh's point of view, socialism is the way to liberate the oppressed people, the goal towards a good, free, fair, and truly democratic society and help people to have the opportunity to develop fully and comprehensively. These are the greatest values of socialism.

HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT ON THE CORE VALUES OF SOCIALIST OF VIETNAM

*Dr. Phan Thi Thu Hang**

Introduction

Vietnam has made many impressive achievements in various fields in the cause of socialist construction, contributing positively to the country's continuous development and growth and its integration into the international community. In addition, Vietnam is facing many challenges brought by globalization, such as economic growth and social justice, independence and national identity ...Therefore, studying and understanding the core socialist values in the current context is not only an urgent requirement for theoretical work, but also directly improves the scientific basis for improving the socialist guidelines and policies of the Party and the State.

Ho Chi Minh ideology is considered one of the ideological bases and guidelines of the actions of the Vietnamese Communist Party. In the 1980s, Vietnam and other countries of the socialist system fell into a socio-economic crisis, but the Communist Party of Vietnam, in line with the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, President Ho Chi Minh led the people to overcome difficulties and stepped into the process of national renewal.

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Therefore, at its 11th Congress, the Communist Party of Vietnam continued to adhere to the goal of building socialism: "The socialist society built by our Party, State and people is a rich, democratic and civilized society; owned by the people; with a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and relations of production appropriate to the level of development of productive forces; with an advanced culture full of national identity; with people liberated from oppression and injustice and living in abundance, freedom and happiness have comprehensive development; have equality, solidarity, mutual support and mutual progress among all ethnic groups in Vietnamese society have a socialist state of law of the people, by the people, for the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party have friendly and cooperative relations with all countries in the world"¹.

It can be seen that the above is the inheritance and development of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought in a new context. Ho Chi Minh's thought still retains its vitality and revolutionary value today. Therefore, in this report, the author hopes to explore in depth the core socialist values established by Ho Chi Minh to determine their methodological significance for building socialism in the current era of globalization and internationalization.

1. Core Socialist Values in Ho Chi Minh's Thought

It can be said that the theory of Ho Chi Minh's ideology is closely integrated with practice. The highlight of his socialist ideology lies not only in the realization of socialist ideals and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, Document of the 10th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2006, pages 17-18

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goals, but also in the identification of steps and measures suitable for Vietnam's national conditions to turn ideals into reality.

Although Ho Chi Minh did not systematically present the content of socialism, we can summarize his thoughts on the core values of socialism through his political activities and some revolutionary writings. It is worth noting that the core socialist values identified by Ho Chi Minh were not generalized abstractions, but directly related to specific goals in the process of building socialism.

First, attached to this political goal are the democratic values identified by Ho Chi Minh as the core values of building socialism.

Socialism is a democratic political system that guarantees the right of the people to be the masters of their own house. Democracy in Ho Chi Minh's thought is the role and the centrality of society to the people: "Today, we are the owners. We own the new lives we build. We control our own future as well as the future of our children and grandchildren. Therefore, we are ready to devote our full energy to the common cause of our class."¹ He explains the value of democracy in simple terms so that it can be understood: "If there is nothing more precious in heaven than the people, democracy is the most precious thing in the life of the people; democracy is that the people are the people and the people are in charge²". "Our regime is democratic, the people are the masters" "How much benefit is given to the people, how much

¹ Ho Chi Minh Complete Collection, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2002, volume 10, tr. 111-112.

² Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 6, National Program Publishing House, H. 1995, p. 515

right belongs to the people, the power and authority is in the hands of the people".

Democracy also means always taking the people and their well-being as the criterion for evaluating the work of the party and the state. He wrote: "The policy of the Party and the government is to care for the lives of the people. When the people are hungry, the Party and the government are at fault; when the people are indifferent, the Party and the government are at fault; when the people are ignorant, the Party and the government are at fault; when the people are sick, the Party and the government are at fault¹." Ho Chi Minh emphasized the need to promote the democratic rights and political activities of the people. To promote people's ownership, Ho Chi Minh clearly pointed out ways and measures to implement direct forms of democracy, improve the capacity of mass socio-political organizations to function, and consolidate representative forms of democracy.

On the other hand, it is necessary to strengthen the effectiveness and efficiency of the management of the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers and to clarify their functions.

It can be said that Ho Chi Minh identifies democracy as a universal value that mankind has always wanted and that this universal value can reach its most complete level only through a socialist system. At the same time, he also considered democracy as the driving force of social development and the basic foundation of the relationship between the Party and the people, especially under the conditions when the Party is in power and leads the country.

¹ Ho Chi Minh Complete Book, volume 7, National Political Publishing House, 1995, p. 252

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Second, related to the economic goal is the value of prosperity. Ho Chi Minh repeatedly mentioned that improving the material life of the people is the goal of socialism. Some of his arguments on this issue are as follows:

"Socialism means that people of all ethnic groups are getting richer and stronger, and our children and grandchildren are getting happier and happier¹."

"In a nutshell, austerity, socialism is first and foremost about lifting working people out of poverty so that everyone has a job, everyone is rich, and lives happily ever after²".

"Socialism is how to make the people rich and the country strong³."

For Ho Chi Minh, socialism only had real meaning when it brought prosperity and abundance to the masses. In a letter to youth and children on the Vietnam Mid-Autumn Festival (September 25, 1952), the author writes: The purpose of Uncle Ho and the Union and the Government is to build a peaceful, free and happy life for the children⁴".

Stemming from that purpose, Ho Chi Minh attached great importance to the country's economic development and implemented a policy of building state and collective economies in

¹ Ho Chi Minh Complete Collection, Volume 10, National Political Publishing House, 1995, p. 317

² Ho Chi Minh Complete Collection, Volume 10, National Political Publishing House, 1995, p. 17

³ Ho Chi Minh Complete Book, volume 8, National Political Publishing House, 1995, p. 226

⁴ Ho Chi Minh Complete Collection, Volume 6, National Political Publishing House, 1995, p. 571

the fields of agriculture, commerce and handicrafts. He particularly emphasized the role of heavy industry, advanced science and technology in improving labor productivity and enriching the country.

Third, related to the socio-cultural goals are the values of civility and progress.

In Ho Chi Minh's thought, socialism not only brought a new regime and a new economy with an increasingly high material standard of living for the people, but also led to the construction of a new culture.

According to Ho Chi Minh, culture is one of the basic objectives of the cause of socialist construction. Culture is expressed in all spiritual activities of social life, such as eradicating illiteracy, building and developing education, improving people's knowledge, developing art and culture, introducing new ways of life, healthy entertainment, eliminating superstition, overcoming obsolete customs.... This is reflected in his following statement: "We must build an entirely new society never before seen in the history of our nation. We must fundamentally change lifestyles, habits, ideas and prejudices that have been rooted for thousands of years. We must change the old relations of production, eliminate the exploiting classes, and establish new relations of production free from exploitation and oppression. To do this, we must gradually transform our country from a backward agricultural country to an industrial one.... We must transform a foolish, miserable country into a country with a high culture and a happy, happy life¹."

¹ Ho Chi Minh Complete Volume, Volume 8, National Political Publishing House, H, 1995, pp. 493-494.

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Thus, a highly cultured, civilized, and progressive life was considered the core value of socialism in Ho Chi Minh's thought. He asserted that: "To have a socialist, one must have: a socialist person¹". Therefore, Ho Chi Minh set the standards of character in building the socialist cause. He believed that the new socialist people must meet the basic standards of "rigidity and professionalism," "loyalty to the state, to the Party, to the people," and "diligence, thrift and honesty. Zhiming also set the standards of civic morality for party members, making people aware of their role in socialist construction.

The value of "noble culture" is linked to the moral standards and sense of responsibility of each individual in nation-building. For citizens, the moral standards are

- Compliance with state laws
- Observance of labor discipline
- To maintain public order
- Paying taxes on time and in the right amount to build the common good
- Enthusiastic participation in joint work
- Protecting public property
- Protecting the country²

For party members, the moral standard of the revolution is:

"Determination to fight for the Party and the revolution for the rest of your life. That is the highest level.

¹ Ho Chi Minh: Complete Volume, volume 9, National Political Publishing House, H, 1995, p. 296

² Ho Chi Minh: Complete Volume, volume 7, National Political Publishing House, H, 1995, p. 452

Work hard for the Party, adhere to Party discipline, and carry out the Party's line and policies.

To put the interests of the Party and the working people above one's own interests. And serve the people wholeheartedly. For the Party and the people, struggle selflessly and set an example in everything.

Strive to study Marxism-Leninism and always use self-criticism and criticism to improve our thinking and our work¹.

2. The significance of Ho Chi Minh's core socialist values in the present era

It is certain that Ho Chi Minh's ideology is the result of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the Vietnamese reality, creating an important theoretical premise for the Vietnamese Communist Party to plan the road to building socialism.

In Ho Chi Minh's thinking, socialism is the construction of an ever-increasing material life, a better spiritual life, an increasingly advanced and civilized society ...for the happiness of the people. To achieve these goals, Ho Chi Minh believed in relying on the people and bringing their talents and strengths to bear for their happiness. What is good for the people must be determined. Anything that is harmful to the people must be avoided. As can be seen, the core socialist values he identified above are not only scientific and revolutionary, but also full of humanism. Thus, in today's context of such a high degree of globalization and international integration, Ho Chi Minh's ideas still hold profound theoretical and practical value.

¹ Ho Chi Minh: Complete Volume, volume 9, National Political Publishing House, H, 1995, p. 285

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In the present era, there are many new and complex developments in the world situation and uncertainties, which make the application of Ho Chi Minh's thought require creativity and science. At the same time, hostile forces are constantly trying to develop peace, and it is becoming more and more urgent to protect and creatively develop Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought in order to make us deviate from socialism.

From Ho Chi Minh's thought on the core value of socialism, we can draw the methodological significance for the current socialist construction as follows:

Socialism is the cause of the people, the people's cause, the people's cause. The activities of the party and the state must be based on the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people. The ruling party puts the people in charge and the people in charge. The government is a public servant of the people. "Staying away from the people, not getting up close and personal with them, is like standing in the sky; you are doomed to failure¹."

Building new people and promoting human resources as the main body of development

To implement economic and social development strategy, human strategy must be one step ahead: "In ten years, we must plant trees, and in a hundred years, we must plant people²". In particular, Ho Chi Minh always insisted on the issue of establishing a standard system of values, ethics and personality in the construction of socialism. In his view, it is a very important

¹ Ho Chi Minh, Complete Volume, volume 5, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1995, p. 286

² Ho Chi Minh, Complete Volume, volume 9, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2004, p. 222

and necessary thing to raise a revolutionary generation for the next life.

It is thus clear that the legacy of socialist thought left by Ho Chi Minh has profound connotation, theoretical value and practical value. The core values of socialism identified by Ho Chi Minh are clearly reflected in the ideals of his life that he always kept in mind: "I have only one wish, the ultimate wish, to make our country better. Completely independent, our people completely independent. Free, our compatriots are fed and clothed, and everyone can go to school"¹. The basic elements of Ho Chi Minh's socialist ideology are the implementation and development of our Party in the cause of industrialization and modernization of the country in order to achieve the goals of people's prosperity, national enrichment, social justice civilization, and human happiness.

¹ Ho Chi Minh Complete Book, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1995, volume 4, pp. 161-162

HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT ON HAPPINESS AS A SOCIALIST VALUE

*Prof. Dr. Nguyen Van Tai**

*MA. Duong Thi Thu Hien***

Happiness is an ideal and a goal on Ho Chi Minh's path to national salvation and national liberation

In the process of finding a way to save the country and liberate the nation, Nguyen Ai Quoc - Ho Chi Minh simultaneously explored and established a future social model for Vietnam. That social model is socialism, a social system for the happiness of the people. He affirmed: "Only Communism can save humanity, bringing freedom, equality, fraternity, solidarity, and prosperity to all people, regardless of race or origin, providing employment for everyone, and creating joy, peace, and happiness on Earth". He affirmed: "Building socialism means building a prosperous and happy life for the people".

Socialism with core values: Independence - Freedom for the nation and Happiness for the people is the ideal and goal of the Vietnamese revolution. For Ho Chi Minh, the inevitable path of the Vietnamese revolution must go through is "to fight for reunification and independence for the Fatherland, freedom and

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happiness for the people", which is also the path of mankind. progress "to fight for independence, peace, democracy and happiness for all mankind in the world".

People's happiness is the highest aspiration that President Ho Chi Minh strives for: "I have only one desire, the ultimate desire, to make our country completely independent and our people completely free. Everyone in the country has food to eat and clothes to wear, and everyone can study." To fight for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and the happiness of the people, President Ho Chi Minh dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause of the nation: "My whole life I have only one purpose, to be strive for the interests of the Fatherland, and the happiness of the nation. When I have to hide in the mountains, or go in and out of prison, and rush into danger - it's for that purpose."

The pursuit of happiness is a fundamental human right - a core value of socialism and of the culture of humanity

Happiness is one of the best values that humanity orients to. In Ho Chi Minh's thought, happiness is not only a value of social meaning but also a universal human value that everyone wants to achieve. In the poem to celebrate 1961, President Ho Chi Minh said: Happy New Year, Happy New Year / Happy Vietnam, Celebrating the World / Road to the immense happiness.... Happiness is what is good, full of hope and the way to the vast happiness not only for Vietnam but the common path of all humanity. The pursuit of happiness for man is a basic human right, a factor that makes the value of the doctrines and typical ideas in human history. Ho Chi Minh has selectively absorbed the progressive ideas in the French and American bourgeois revolutions. In the Declaration of Independence (September 2,

1945), Ho Chi Minh cited the Declaration of Independence in 1776: "'All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and concluded, "These are self-evident truths that no one can deny." Ho Chi Minh found the similarities between various doctrines, all of which sought the happiness of humanity: "Confucianism has the merit of cultivating individual moral character. The religion of Jesus has the merit of its noble compassion. Marxism has the merit of its dialectical method of work. Sun Yat-sen's ideology has the merit of its policies being suitable for the conditions of our country. Don't Confucius, Jesus, Marx, and Sun Yat-sen all share this common merit? They all sought happiness for mankind and for society. If they were alive today, I believe they would live together in harmony as close friends. I strive to be a humble student of all of them." Ho Chi Minh not only absorbed Confucian and Christian ideas, but also Buddhist ideas. He said: "The Buddha is full of great compassion and mercy, rescuing the suffering and helping beings escape from hardship. The Buddha had to sacrifice and fight to eliminate evil forces.... We must follow the great compassion and mercy of the Buddha Shakyamuni.... "Thus, according to Ho Chi Minh, happiness is a core and noble value of human culture, and he sought to extract the common merits of these ideologies, which all aimed at pursuing happiness for humanity and welfare for society. Ho Chi Minh's thoughts on happiness represent the integration and synthesis of cultural values from both Eastern and Western, and from both ancient and modern ideologies. This was a direct result of his assimilation of Marxist-Leninist concepts of socialism, while also embracing the essence of human culture and creatively applying it to Vietnam's specific conditions. Ho Chi Minh selectively drew from the core

ideas of Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" (national independence, people's rights to freedom, and the people's welfare), adapting them to Vietnam's context, and established the national motto *Independence - Freedom - Happiness*. This motto has been used since the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945 and continues to this day in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh engaged in revolutionary activities and contributed to the liberation struggle of oppressed and unjustly treated peoples around the world. He once said: "To be in the world and as a human being, one must love the country, love the people, and love the oppressed humanity."

In 1923, the poet Osip Mandelstam (Soviet Union) wrote: "From Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) emanates a kind of culture, not the European culture, but perhaps the culture of the future... Through the noble demeanor, in the deep tone of Nguyen Ai Quoc's voice, we can almost hear tomorrow, we can sense the vast tranquility of universal brotherhood." Ho Chi Minh has contributed to the common values of humanity: peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. Those goals are to bring happiness to people, the peak of human cultural values. Therefore, humanity has honored Ho Chi Minh as "the hero of national liberation and outstanding man of culture of Vietnam". At the International Conference to celebrate the 100th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, held in Hanoi (March 1990), a delegate said: "If communism is like Ho Chi Minh's Communism, it is acceptable". "We come here, with some following Islam, some following Buddhism, Protestantism, or Catholicism. Before, we did not understand each other, but after two days of the seminar, we could sit together and talk cheerfully because we share a

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common ideal of Ho Chi Minh: "To bring freedom and happiness to humanity". The chairman of the Roman World Peace Council of Chandra said: "Wherever there is a fight for independence and freedom,

There is Ho Chi Minh, and the flag of Ho Chi Minh flies high.

Wherever there is a fight for peace and justice,

There is Ho Chi Minh, and the flag of Ho Chi Minh flies high.

Wherever people are fighting for a new world against poverty,

There is Ho Chi Minh, and the flag of Ho Chi Minh flies high".

Happiness is a measure of social progress, a criterion of socialism in Vietnam

In Ho Chi Minh's thought, *independence - freedom - happiness* is the core value system of socialism that Vietnam needs to build. In that value system, he paid special attention to the people's happiness value. When answering the question "What is socialism?", he wrote: "Socialism is to bring happiness and prosperity to everyone "; "The purpose of socialism is to continuously improve the people's living standards", because "'for the people, food is the foundation; only when people are well-fed can moral values be upheld,' as the proverb says: 'The people regard food as heaven.'" ...Thus, according to Ho Chi Minh, the value of happiness has a special place in socialism.

In the relationship between (the values of) *independence - freedom - happiness*, independence is the premise and condition for freedom and happiness, while freedom and happiness are a measure of the value of national independence. "If the country is independent and the people do not enjoy freedom and happiness, then independence has no meaning." He emphasized: "The people

only know the value of freedom and independence when the people are well fed and clothed". Only by going to socialism can there be a true and complete national independence, associated with the people's happiness. Because the people here are mainly the oppressed, exploited, and miserable working classes.

Happiness is the satisfaction in material enjoyment and spiritual enjoyment of people. Happiness and freedom according to Ho Chi Minh's point of view is that people must fully enjoy the material and spiritual life brought by socialism. Everyone has food to eat and clothes to wear, everyone can get an education. Those who have enough to eat are quite rich, those who are quite rich get richer; The people are the masters and the people are the masters.

Ho Chi Minh was the one who soon saw the problem of people's happiness and had a timely solution, suitable to the conditions of our country's revolutionary history. Immediately after the August Revolution in 1945 was successful, President Ho Chi Minh set out the policy of eradicating hunger, ignorance and foreign invaders. Thus, he was concerned with the issue of ensuring the material and cultural needs of the people, prioritizing the eradication of hunger and ignorance and at the same time eliminating foreign invaders. This is the realization of Ho Chi Minh's aspiration and will "freedom for my people, independence for my country, that's all I want; that's all I understand".

The problem of realizing the value of happiness according to Ho Chi Minh's thought in Vietnam.

It can be said that happiness in Ho Chi Minh thought is a noble value that becomes a life, faith and motivation for our people to follow the Party to make the revolution and today continue the cause of social renovation, national construction

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and defense. In order to realize the value of happiness, President Ho Chi Minh asked the Party to take care of the lives of the people: "The policy of the Party and the Government is to take great care of the lives of the people. If the people are hungry, the Party and the Government are at fault; if the people are cold, the Party and the Government are at fault; if the people are uneducated, the Party and the Government are at fault; if the people are sick, the Party and the Government are at fault". He emphasized: "What does our Party struggle for? It is to ensure that everyone has enough food and warm clothes, and freedom. What does each Party member struggle for? Also to ensure that everyone has enough food, warm clothes, and freedom. What is socialism? It is everyone having enough food, warm clothes, happiness, and freedom." He repeatedly emphasized solving the problem of happiness for the people in socialism: "Socialism means everyone has warm clothing, enough food, decent housing, and access to education." "Socialism aims to make people's lives increasingly happy, with enough food, warm clothing, education, and access to medicine when sick." "Our Party and State use the people's strength to build for the people an increasingly happy life. That is socialism". "In a brief, socialism is first of all to make the working people escape from poverty, make people have jobs, be full and live a happy life." In his *Testament*, President Ho Chi Minh advised: "The Party needs a solid plan to develop the economy and culture, aiming to continuously improve the people's lives." Caring for the happiness of the people is the duty and responsibility of the Party, as the Party has no interest outside the interests of the nation and the people. This way, the people will have firm trust in the Party, wholeheartedly following it in the struggle for independence, freedom, and happiness.

In the *Platform for Building the Country During the Transitional Period to Socialism (supplemented and developed in 2011)*, the Communist Party of Vietnam identified happiness as a characteristic of the socialist model in Vietnam: "The socialist society our people are building is a society where the people are prosperous, the country is strong, and society is democratic, just, and civilized; it is a society governed by the people... where people enjoy a prosperous, free, and happy life with the opportunity for comprehensive development."

The 13th National Congress of the Party affirmed: "Effectively implement social security policies, ensure social and human security, create significant progress in managing social development, achieve social progress and equity, and improve the quality of life and happiness index of the Vietnamese people." For more than 35 years of renovation, the Party and the State have implemented guidelines and policies on socio-economic development always aiming to constantly improve the material and spiritual life of the people. From one of the poorest countries in the world, underdeveloped, Vietnam has risen to a group of developing countries, with average income, and rapid economic growth in the region and the world. Simultaneously with economic development, cultural and social fields of development, progress and social justice have achieved positive results; The work of protecting and taking care of people's health has been focused, the average life expectancy increases... The material and spiritual life of the people has been improved. National defense, security, order and social safety are guaranteed. Anti-corruption has achieved many important results, contributing to strengthening people's confidence in the Party; Democracy in the Party and in society is increasingly promoted; strengthening the nation's synergy, creating a position and power for the country to

continue developing. In particular, the work of poverty reduction in Vietnam has achieved great achievements that are considered by the world as a bright spot. The poverty rate per capita (based on income spending) decreased sharply from over 70% (in 1990) to 58.1% (in 1993), 28.9% (in 2002), 14.5% (in 2008) and 13.5% (in 2014). In the 2016-2020 period, Vietnam is one of the first 30 countries in the world and the first country in Asia to apply the multi-dimensional poverty line. The poverty rate continued to decline impressively, from 9.2% (in 2016) to 6.8% (in 2018) and to 2.75% (in 2020). UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon once assessed Vietnam "as one of the leading countries in implementing the Millennium Development Goals" (2015). Social security and human security in Vietnam are increasingly guaranteed. Despite many difficulties, the State has set aside 21% of the budget for social welfare, the highest among ASEAN countries; Resources for implementing social security policies have been strengthened and achieved many other optimistic results. Over the past 5 years, the country has created about 8 million new jobs, with a better income. In particular, the social insurance and health insurance policy has become a main pillar in the social security system, when the coverage rate increases rapidly; Social assistance policies have covered most of the target groups... Currently, education, health, clean water, housing, information, are basic social services promoted by the State, improve quality and have been included in the standards in the multi-dimensional poverty line. The State has many policies to develop social service infrastructure in remote areas, ethnic minority areas, helping to improve access to schools, health stations, clean water and information. Vietnam is a country with a high human development index (HDI). On September 9, 2022, the United Nations Program in Vietnam published the Global Human Development Report (HDR) 2021/22. According to

UNDP, Vietnam's HDI value of 0.703 in 2021 has increased by two places in the global ranking from 117 out of 189 countries in 2019 to 115 out of 191 countries by 2021. The happiness index is a criterion to evaluate the development of the country. The United Nations decided to take March 20 every year to celebrate the International Happy Day. Up to now, 193 member countries, including Vietnam, are committed to supporting, acting and making more efforts to build a happy world and improve the quality of life. The assessment of "happiness" is basically based on indicators such as longevity, health, per capita income, social support in difficult times, corruption and social confidence, the level of the community and the people are free to make important decisions in life. The above indicators are compiled from more than 150 countries, made by the UN's network of sustainable development solutions, taking data mainly from Gallup World. In the World Happiness Report (WHR) 2022 published on March 18, Vietnam increased 2 places, to 77th position compared to 2021.

Entering a new era, Vietnam is determined to realize the aspiration to develop a prosperous and happy country, striving by 2045, the 100th anniversary of the country's founding, to become a developed country with high income. high income, a powerful, prosperous country with sustainable development in the future.

FREEDOM AS A VALUE OF SOCIALISM: FROM HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT TO THE CURRENT POINT OF VIEW OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

*Dr. Vu Thi Kieu Phuong**

Introduction

Freedom is a core issue in Ho Chi Minh's system of thought. From the initial awareness of independence for the Fatherland, freedom for the compatriots, through rich revolutionary practice, and approaching, inheriting and developing the ideas of the founders of Marxism - Leninism on freedom and socialism to the specific conditions of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh had a very unique thought about freedom as a value of socialism. That thought of his has brought the Vietnamese people to the shore of independence, freedom, happiness and progress with the development of the times. In the current context of the 21st century, the Communist Party of Vietnam has applied and made certain developments in Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism, thereby leading the Vietnamese people to get great achievements on the path of building socialism. These issues will be discussed in the following contents.

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1. Ho Chi Minh Thought on Freedom as a Value of Socialism

Talking about Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism, first of all, we must mention the origin of that thought. Those are the primitive perceptions of young Nguyen Tat Thanh (Ho Chi Minh) about freedom in the face of suffering and loss of country and home of the people under the "civilization" which is essentially the rule, oppression, exploitation and exhaustion of the French colonialists. The movements to fight against the French colonialists' invasion of patriotic politicians were failed and brutally suppressed in turn. The young man had the will to go abroad to see how other countries do in order to return to help his country regain independence and help his compatriots regain their freedom. The country that Nguyen Tat Thanh (Ho Chi Minh) wanted to visit first was France. That awareness of freedom became a red thread throughout Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary life as he said in the first spring of independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: "I have only one desire. The ultimate desire is to make our country completely independent, our people completely free, all compatriots have food to wear, everyone can get an education"¹.

Ho Chi Minh's awareness of freedom was increasingly supplemented and expanded during his contact and participation in international communist movements. An important and landmark milestone in Ho Chi Minh's awareness of freedom was when he read Lenin's *Thesis on National and Colonial Issues* published in *Humanitarian* newspaper. At that time, as Ho Chi Minh himself pointed out, he had to read and re-read it many times to understand the "difficult political words" in that Thesis. The thesis of V.I. Lenin mentioned very important issues for

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 4, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 187

people in colonial countries, for the struggle for national liberation in colonial countries when showing the way to free them from oppression. Therefore, V.I. Lenin's Thesis touched Ho Chi Minh's passionate patriotic heart, moved him, excited, enlightened and "completely believed in Lenin, believed in the Third International"¹. He wrote: "For all oppressed and enslaved peoples, Lenin represented a turning point in the history of their lives of suffering and disempowerment, symbolizing a new and brilliant future"². Since then, he has "bounced" into debates to defend V.I. Lenin and the Third International, participating in lively discussions on national issues, colonialism, proletarian revolution, etc. It can be said, coming to Leninism is the starting point for Ho Chi Minh's perception of freedom as a value of socialism, and at the same time marks a new stage of qualitative development in the Ho Chi Minh perception of freedom.

Leninism not only created a turning point in Ho Chi Minh's awareness of national freedom and independence but also a "handbook", a "guideline", "a shining sun" for the road to liberate the Vietnamese people from colonialism and lead the Vietnamese people to socialism and communism. Leninism is the bridge that brings Ho Chi Minh to Marxism, to the views of Marx and Engels about freedom as a value of socialism. Therefore, the thought of the founders of Marxism - Leninism about freedom as a value of socialism is the theoretical basis for Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism. On the basis of that theory with rich revolutionary practice and keen intellect, Ho Chi Minh

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 562

² Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 2, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 235

creatively applied the ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism on freedom as the value of socialism in Vietnamese conditions, contributing to the vitality of that thought in new contexts and conditions, thereby supplementing and developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism about freedom as a value of socialism.

Through studying Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary writings and life, it can be seen that Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism is reflected in the following two contents:

First, only socialism can bring freedom to all, only socialism can free the oppressed peoples and workers of the world from slavery.

Since knowing Leninism and the instructions of V.I. Lenin on the close connection between the proletarian revolution and the national liberation revolution, between the communists and the national liberation movement in the colonial countries, Ho Chi Minh affirmed that only the proletarian revolutionary path can help oppressed peoples like the Vietnamese people to escape the yoke of colonialism and to regain their independence and freedom. In this regard, he wrote: "In the beginning, it was patriotism, not communism, that led me to believe in Lenin, in the Third International. Step by step, in the struggle, while studying Marxist-Leninist theory and doing practical work, I gradually understood that only socialism and communism could liberate the nations that were oppressors and laborers of the world from slavery"¹. Ho Chi Minh pointed out that the force that will lead Vietnam's national liberation revolution to success and bring "all liberties to the people"² is the Communist Party of Vietnam and

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 563

² Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 3, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 22

the proletariat. At the same time, he also emphasized and upheld the self-reliance factor of the colonial peoples in the process of fighting for independence and freedom, which is to "put our strength to liberate ourselves"¹, he affirmed: "Of course, the help of friends from other countries is important but do not rely on it, do not wait for others. A nation that is not self-sufficient but waits for other peoples to help does not deserve independence².

For Ho Chi Minh, the struggle for national liberation and human liberation are issues of humanity. Therefore, besides the revolutionary struggle to regain independence and freedom for the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh was also an international revolutionary soldier who fought tirelessly for the independence and freedom of the colonial peoples and working people who were oppressed around the world. In that process, he always emphasized the close connection between the struggle of the proletariat in the home country and the national liberation revolution in the colonial countries, clearly pointing out that the results of this struggle is the premise for the success of the other struggle.

Second, the freedom that socialism brings is true freedom because it helps everyone to develop comprehensively.

In the process of traveling abroad to find a way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh realized more and more clearly that the freedom that the capitalist imperialist countries preached was actually only freedom for a small group in society with certain conditions. accompanied, but not free for all, much less for the working people and the peoples of the colonial countries. But the

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 3, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 596

² Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 7, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 445

reality of the Russian October Revolution and the Soviet State under the leadership of V.I. Lenin showed Ho Chi Minh that only the proletarian revolution and socialism can bring true freedom. He wrote: "In today's world, only the Russian revolution has succeeded, and it has succeeded, that is, the people enjoy the happiness of freedom, true equality, not the false freedom and equality like the French imperialist boasting in Annam"¹.

In the light of Marxism - Leninism in general, the thought of the founders of Marxism - Leninism about freedom as a value of socialism in particular, Ho Chi Minh pointed out, for each country, there are different conditions and characteristics so the path to building socialism to realize a prosperous, happy and free communist regime of each country will not be the same, but must be based on the following conditions. According to the specific conditions of each country, he wrote: "All working people in the world have a common goal: to escape oppression and exploitation, to live happily and freely, that is, to implement the communist regime. But to reach that goal, each country must gradually progress according to its practical conditions"². Therefore, with the condition of the nation and the young Vietnam after the August Revolution, freedom as a value of socialism was always talked about by Ho Chi Minh with very practical and understandable contents for all strata of society, that is: we have already gained independence and freedom but if "after being free and independent, the people keep starving and freezing to death", then "freedom, and independence are useless. The people only know the value of freedom and

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 2, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 304

² Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 8, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 254

independence, when they are well fed and clothed"¹; socialism not only "makes people happy, prosperous and academically progressive"², "makes the people rich and the country strong"³ but also gives everyone a "free" life⁴; etc.

Ho Chi Minh has gradually realized these liberal contents in the process of being the leader of the country. Before the First National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, he pointed out what the Vietnamese State needs to do to realize freedom as a value of socialism as follows: "Due to the nature of our State and because of our economic and social system, the State not only recognizes the rights of its citizens" (including liberties such as freedom of the body, freedom of speech, press freedom, etc.) "but also ensure the necessary material conditions for citizens to truly enjoy those rights"⁵; The State guarantees democratic freedoms for citizens but strictly prohibits abusing democratic freedoms to infringe upon the interests of the State and the people, as stated clearly in Article 38 of the revised Constitution"⁶. At the same time, he also pointed out that it is the responsibility of all

¹ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 4, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 175

² Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 521

³ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 10, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 390

⁴ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 14, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 605

⁵ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 377

⁶ Ho Chi Minh. *Collected works*, Vol. 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 378

citizens to voluntarily fulfill their obligations to the State and the collective while enjoying those rights.

In summary, Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism has brought the national liberation revolution in Vietnam closely linked with the world revolutionary movement and the trend of social progress of mankind; helped the Vietnamese people not only regain their independence and freedom but also reach new and higher values of freedom; There have been certain additions and developments in the theory of Marxism-Leninism in new conditions, making the vitality of Marxism-Leninism permanent in new circumstances.

2. The Communist Party of Vietnam applies and develops Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism in the current 21st century context.

The past two decades of the twenty-first century have shown that real socialism has been, is and will certainly continue to face many difficulties and great challenges, especially when forces hostile to socialism continues to oppose and seek to abolish socialism. In that context, Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism is a light to guide the way, a valuable manual for the Communist Party of Vietnam (the Party for short) in the process of leading the nation and the country to socialism. Because, in addition to pointing out the right revolutionary direction and purpose for the Vietnamese people, in that thought, there are also valuable lessons about the flexible revolutionary method to gradually implement successfully the goals of the Vietnamese revolution; contains immutable principles for a nation-state to maintain its independence and freedom in the face of complicated changes of the times. The reality of the country's development shows that the Party has properly and effectively

applied Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism, and at the same time has made developments to suit the new context of the times. That is especially reflected in the recent important documents of the Party, especially in *the Platform for building the country in the transitional period to socialism (Additional and development in 2011)* and in *the Documents of 13th National Party Congress*.

That application is reflected in the Party's view of the lessons learned from the Vietnamese revolution. That is, it is necessary to "*hold the banner of national independence and socialism*", to see a close connection between them because "National independence is a prerequisite for realizing socialism and socialism is a solid basis for national independence"¹. That is, it is necessary to "*combine national strength with the strength of the times, domestic strength with international strength*"², in which independent will and self-control are immutable principles, must be steadfast in any situation for a nation to exist independently, especially in the context of globalization and strong international integration today. That is, the correct leadership of the Party "*is the leading factor determining the victory of the Vietnamese revolution*"³.

That application is also reflected in the Party's view of the characteristics of the socialist society built by the Vietnamese people. The Party affirmed that, in the socialist society built by the Vietnamese people, "people have a prosperous, free and happy

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 65

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 66

³ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 66

life, and have conditions for comprehensive development"¹. These are the same issues that Ho Chi Minh mentioned many times when talking about the true freedom that socialism brings to humanity. However, in the socialist society that some documents of the Party congress and *the Platform for National Construction in the transitional period to socialism (Additional and development in 2011)* talk about, Free features have not been classified with essential features, the top is "Wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice, and civilization" ². Such defining and characterizing freedom is not consistent with the ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism as well as Ho Chi Minh's ideas on freedom as a value of socialism.

Along with the application of Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism, the Party also has certain developments in that thought when it has supplemented and clarified more liberty rights in society in the face of the new context of the times in order to enable all people to develop comprehensively such as the right to freedom in economic activities as prescribed by the Constitution and the law, "citizens' creative freedom"³, etc. Simultaneously with the affirmation of fundamental freedoms, human rights and citizens' rights are respected and guaranteed by the State, affirming that the State takes care of the happiness and the free and comprehensive development of children, The Party also emphasized that citizens'

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 70

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 70

³ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 76

rights are inseparable from civic obligations, human rights must be associated with the rights and interests of the nation.

Conclusion

Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom as a value of socialism is the result of a skillful combination of patriotism, the theory of Marxism-Leninism and his rich revolutionary activities. That thought has brought the Vietnamese people out of the yoke of oppression and dependence to become the people of an independent, free and happy Vietnam. The development practice of Vietnam shows that the Party has correctly and effectively applied Ho Chi Minh's thought on freedom with the way of a value of socialism, and at the same time there have been certain developments in that thought in the current 21st century context. However, in order to be true to the thought of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought about freedom as a value of socialism, freedom needs to be considered as one of the the essential and leading features of the socialist society that the Vietnamese people have built alongside the characteristics of "wealthy people, strong country, justice, democracy and civilization" in the Platform and other important documents of the Party.

DEMOCRACY - SOCIALIST VALUES: FROM HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT TO THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S VIEW

*Dr. Nguyen Dinh Hoa**

According to the logic of the development of history and social movements, as pointed out by the Marxist-Leninist theory of socio-economic formations, sooner or later people are certain and they are equal. The paths of different countries are different and all move towards socialism - a higher, more advanced and better socio-economic formation than the capitalist socio-economic formation. A value-based view of socialist society shows that, both in theory and in practice, socialism is a humane society, a society that is truly for and of the people. In the universal value system of socialism, democracy is a prominent value.

Democracy is a philosophical-political category that has a long history of existence and development with different forms and contents. At present, the concept of democracy is understood in many different and rich ways, depending on the position and purpose of the subject; however, in general, it has the following basic meaning:

First of all, democracy is a category in the political sphere and, as such, it is a form of state, one of the forms of state. It is the most central and important element of democracy.

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Second, democracy is a form of social organization. In the history of human social development, this form preceded the state. However, it is only recently that this element has gained wide recognition and is increasingly attracting the attention and discussion of theoretical researchers, as it is considered appropriate for the process of advocacy in a positive direction. The progress of social life, when the "power of the people" is demanded, is more and more deeply appreciated.

Third, democracy is a social value that benefits all human beings, and democracy means "the people are the masters of their country" and "the people run the country". The state may at some point cease to be necessary and die out, but democracy will not be lost.

With these three elements, it is possible to affirm that democracy is not only a political category, but also a social one; democracy is not only a historical category, but also an eternal one, because it remains as a common human value while human beings and human societies exist¹.

From the historical study of democracies, the founder of Marxism-Leninism said that democracy is the product and result of the process of struggle for progressive human values. Thus, democracy is a human value of mankind, a measure that reflects the level of development of each society in a certain historical period. According to Marx and Engels, democracy is an indispensable means for man to gain freedom and fully liberate the inherent capacity of every human being, i.e., for human rights to be

¹ See: GS. Dr. Pham Van Duc (Editor). Practicing democracy in terms of a single party in power. The National Political - Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 2017, p. 8.

guaranteed and fully realized. The basic feature of democracy is that all citizens have the right to participate in political life, and all state power belongs to the people. All citizens, regardless of gender and social status... are equal before the law.

1. Ho Chi Minh's thought on democracy with the value of socialism

President Ho Chi Minh was the first Vietnamese Communist to inherit, apply and creatively develop the Marxist-Leninist concept of democracy and to implement democracy in the cause of building a socialist society in Vietnam. In his view, democracy is the aspiration of human beings for generations and the goal of development that people always pursue and strive for; at the same time, democracy is a very natural and legitimate right and a precious value of the people. Democracy is closely related to freedom, and the exercise of democratic rights is a condition for people to truly have freedom. Ho Chi Minh wrote: "Democracy is the most valuable thing for the people"¹; "To practice democracy is to let all people enjoy the right to freedom and democracy"².

Ho Chi Minh is convinced that in the history of social development, " No regime respects the people, takes their legitimate personal interests into account, and satisfies them more than the socialist regime ³." Under that regime, people not only enjoyed a rich and free life, with other human rights guaranteed, but also created favorable conditions for all-round development, the opportunity to

¹ Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 8, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 279.

² Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 5, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 20

³ Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 11, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 610

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express and enhance their individuality, to own their strengths, to transcend selfish individualism, and to feel happiness through the intimacy of self "for everyone" and everyone "for me. The opportunity to express and enhance their individuality, to have their own strengths, to transcend selfish individualism, and to feel happiness through the intimacy of self "for everyone" and everyone "for me".

Ho Chi Minh reiterated that democracy means that the people are the masters of their own house and the people are in charge. With this in mind, democracy is expressed in his vision as one of the core values of socialism. Indeed, totally different from previous societies, a socialist society is one in which the people truly control the state, society and themselves; the people are the subject of all state power. Ho Chi Minh's famous theory of democracy with the value of people's democracy and socialism - all power belongs to the people: "Our country is a democracy with a high status. Especially the people, because the people are the masters¹" and "Our regime is democratic, which means that the people run the country"². With the democratic concept that the people are democracy and the people are the masters, he not only puts the people in the position of social subjects, but also points out that there is an inseparable relationship between the people's status as social subjects and the people being the masters. The people as social subjects, the people and the people's mastery of society, but also the close dialectical relationship between the people's rights (as masters)

¹ Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 6, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 276

² Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 5, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 698

and responsibilities (run the country). On the other hand, "the people as the master" is a matter of consciousness, and the core is the implementation of democracy, that is, "the people run the country". Accordingly, the essence of the dialectical relationship between people's democracy and people's mastery is the unity of awareness and action, theory and practice.

In Ho Chi Minh's philosophy, democracy is not only a goal of social development, but also a condition to stimulate people's motivation and creativity. With this in mind, democracy is one of the most important drivers of social development and progress. Speaking of the great role of democracy, Ho Chi Minh affirms that democracy is a panacea for the successful solution of all problems, no matter how difficult, because it stimulates and promotes all capabilities. The potential of every human being, above all, is intellectual capacity and creativity. He stressed, "Democracy, initiative and motivation, these three are related. Only democracy allows cadres and the masses to take initiative". The more those initiatives are praised and the more enthusiastic those people are, the more others will follow suit. While increasing the initiative and enthusiasm of work, minor defects can be corrected by themselves."¹ Therefore, to accomplish all revolutionary tasks well, especially in the cause of building a new socialist society, democracy must be widely practiced, thus stimulating the initiative and vitality of the people, and encourage and attract the whole people to truly participate in the management of the state and to work for the construction and maintenance of socialism. In short, only with a high degree of democracy can we mobilize the power of the entire people to advance the cause of the revolution.

¹ Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 5, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 244

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According to Ho Chi Minh, unlike bourgeois democracy, democracy in Vietnam is a democracy for all, a legitimate right of all people, not a "privilege" granted by anyone or any power. ...Ho Chi Minh gave a very general but very concise, easy to understand and concrete view of democracy: "Our country is a democracy. How much good does it do to the people. How many rights belong to the people. The responsibility for repair and construction lies with the people. The cause of anti-Japanese nation-building is the cause of the people. The government from the commune to the central government is elected by the people. The trade unions from the central government to the commune are organized by the people. In short, the power is with the people."¹ Thus, Ho Chi Minh offers a completely non-academic interpretation of the democratic values of socialism; rather, in the language of life, very simple but very profound. It also reflects and demonstrates that Ho Chi Minh is typical of the democratic style.

From the above arguments, the core elements of Ho Chi Minh's democratic ideology include: first, the people are the subject of all state power and have the right to determine the destiny of the nation - the nation. Second, a democratic state must ensure that all real power belongs to the people. Thirdly, the people have the responsibility and obligation to establish, consolidate and exercise power through the political system and democratic political system, and to establish and strengthen the institutions of state administration to serve their own interests. In other words, as Ho Chi Minh affirmed, democracy is "the people are the masters" and "the people run the country".

¹ Ho Chi Minh, Complete volume, volume 5, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 698

Ho Chi Minh believes that the people are the subject of society and the subject of power, and that the people must master - fully implement democracy, from mastering the state and society to mastering themselves; must master - in all areas of social life, from economy and politics to culture and society practicing democracy. For him, the implementation of democracy is an effective way to turn the "difficult" into the "easy", a "universal key" to all problems, an effective solution to all problems, and a topic for the practice of building socialism and defending the socialist motherland. This shows that Ho Chi Minh consistently attached great importance to the status, important role and great significance of the practice of democracy. In short, for Ho Chi Minh, democracy is the core value of socialism, and at the same time, the implementation of democracy is one of the most powerful driving forces that determine the cause of our socialist revolution.

2. The Communist Party of Vietnam's view on democracy - the core value of socialism

Three types of democracy have emerged in the history of human development - slave democracy, bourgeois democracy, and proletarian democracy (socialism). Slave democracy has been surpassed by history. Compared to slave democracy, bourgeois democracy is an important advance. However, by its very nature, it is a crippled democracy, a mere privilege and prerogative of the bourgeoisie, the class that holds all the main means of production in society. Just because the bourgeoisie is the dominant force in the economic life of society, it is also the dominant force in political life, that is, it turns democracy into a privilege and prerogative of the people.

Unlike bourgeois democracy, socialist democracy is a higher level of development of democracy. The main element of socialist

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democracy is that all powers of the state belong to the people, and the democratic rights of citizens are constantly guaranteed and expanded in all spheres of state activity in society, first of all in economic democracy. The goal of socialist democracy is nothing less than the elimination of exploitation of human beings, complete realization of social justice, establishment of gender and state equality, ensuring better and better human rights, creation of development opportunities for all citizens to develop fully and live a happy life. The founders of Marxism-Leninism made a scientific prediction that, according to the laws of evolution, all nation-states would sooner or later go to socialism. Therefore, socialist democracy is a democracy that has reached a high level, is being shaped and developed in countries that choose the path to socialism and will continue to be supplemented by human progress. It will be perfected in the future along with the development of society.

In Vietnam, people's democracy was established with the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1945). Entering a new era, at the Sixth Party Congress, our Party affirmed that "in all activities of the Party, we must deeply implement the idea of 'putting the people first' and build and promote the people's right to be the masters of labor¹". At the Seventh National Congress, the Communist Party of Vietnam introduced a new concept of democracy, confirming the entire organization and operation of our political system in the new era, aimed at building and gradually improving the national political system. Socialist democracy - the democratic rights of the democratic masses are guaranteed by law and led by the Party in all aspects of social life.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. Documents of the Party Congress in the renovation period. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2005, p. 28.

The Eleventh Party Congress adopted the Program for Building the State in the Transition to Socialism (2011 Supplementary Development Program), affirming that socialist democracy is the essence of the socialist system. We are both the goal and the driving force behind the the development of the country.

The 12th Communist Party Congress of Vietnam advocates continuing to build and improve socialist democracy and ensuring that all power in the state belongs to the people; that all party lines and undertakings, state policies and laws are for the benefit of the people; that cadres and civil servants should respect the people and serve them wholeheartedly; that the promotion of democracy must go hand in hand with strengthening the rule of law, upholding civic responsibility, and maintaining discipline and social discipline; and that the violation of the people's mastery, the abuse of democracy to the detriment of the state and national interests, and the creation of insecurity, order and social security should be severely punished.

The 13th Party Congress has always carried out the core value of democracy as the foundation of socialist society, making it clear: to continue to concretize and improve the system of democratic practice and to ensure that all power in the state belongs to the people; at the same time, to properly and effectively implement direct democracy and representative democracy, especially grassroots democracy¹. In the 13th National Congress document, democracy is supplemented with new elements, as shown in.

The first is to increase the people's right to monitor and benefit from the motto of democracy, becoming "the people know, the

¹ See: Communist Party of Vietnam, Document of the 13th National Congress of Deputies, t. I. National politics - Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 172-173.

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people discuss, the people do, the people inspect, the people supervise, the people benefit".

Second, affirming the role of the subject and the central position of the people in the national development strategy, as well as in the whole process of national construction and defense in order to promote the positivity, wisdom, and rights of the people. and responsibility of the people in implementing democracy.

Third, it emphasizes the requirement that party committees, party organizations, system organizations, party cadres, civil servants and public officials set an example in the practice of democracy by practicing democracy, obeying the law and practicing social ethics.

Nguyen Phu Trong, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, in his article "Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the socialist road in Vietnam", also stressed that "democracy is the essence of socialist power, both the goal and the driving force of socialist construction; building socialist democracy and ensuring that power truly belongs to the people is an important and long-term task of the Vietnamese revolution"¹. This is one of the priorities that outlines the essence of socialist democracy and the building of socialist democracy in today's Vietnam.

Therefore, the democracy being built and perfected in Vietnam is a socialist democracy with the following basic characteristics:

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong, Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam, National Political- Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 28.

First of all, the current democracy in Vietnam is the first democracy in the history of the survival and development of the Vietnamese nation, marked by the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. People's democracy has brought the most basic democratic rights to all Vietnamese people. These sacred and noble democratic rights are not only recognized by law, but also gradually implemented in practice.

Secondly, Vietnam's current democratic system is still in the process of formation and development and is not yet perfect; at the same time, a certain gap between reality and the goals to be achieved is inevitable and will be gradually overcome. On the other hand, socialist democracy is a high level of development of democracy; we are still in the transitional period of building socialism and cannot immediately reach the high and perfect level of socialist democratic politics. In other words, socialist democracy is still one of the basic elements in the basic overall goal system of socialist society we are building.

Third, the monist principle that only one class leads democracy through its own political party, the Communist Party, is consistent with the process of democratic development in Vietnam. It can be said that the leadership and power of a single communist party is both a feature of Vietnamese democracy and an expression of the principle of centralization and a necessary condition for the implementation of a democratic system of government.

Fourth, in Vietnam today, there is no separation of powers, but rather separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers. Vietnam is a state of law because the law is supreme and no organization or individual is above the law.

Fifth, democracy in Vietnam today is a unity among the Party, the State and socio-political organizations. The common task of all

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members of the Vietnamese political system is to take care of and protect the legitimate interests of the people and to encourage and create favorable conditions for the people to exercise their right to be masters of their own house.

Sixth, in Vietnam today, the people exercise their democratic rights in the form of direct or representative democracy through their elected representatives.

Seventh, the democracy that Vietnam advocates building and continuously improving is socialist democracy. The basic element of socialist democracy is that all powers of the state belong to the people¹.

To be sure, democracy is one of the core values that embodies the essence of socialist society and has always been closely related to the values of wealth of the people, strength of the country, justice and civilization. The implementation of democracy in Vietnam today is of particular importance, not only as a manifestation of the process of realizing people's rights in all areas of life, including human rights, but also as a way to promote the value of democracy, "sublimation" to create new values and favorable conditions for the all-round development of people, so that step by step, people can move from The "Kingdom of Necessity" to the "Kingdom of Freedom".

Talking about the elevation, "sublimation" and creation of new values of democracy refers to the important role of democracy in the development of society as a whole and in the development of humanity as a whole. This is of great importance for the construction of socialism and the defense of the socialist

¹ See: Nguyen Dinh Hoa. About some characteristics of democracy in Vietnam today. Philosophy Journal, No. 9, 2016, p. 32-39.

motherland. For, as is well known, the Marxist-Leninist theory on the role of the masses has shown that the masses are the creators of history. The struggle and construction of socialism is a common revolutionary cause of the people, a genuine people's movement (C. Marx); that is, the people are the real subject of the construction and development of socialism. Socialist society is a new society that is completely different in nature from the historically existing societies, and it is centered on the development of people. Therefore, this cause requires the creative work, spontaneity and strong spirit of all people. In this sense, democracy manifests itself not only as a humanistic goal, a common social value to be pursued for social development, but also as a motivation for real action. The people's consciousness and creativity - indispensable qualities and criteria for the successful construction of socialism. Obviously, when people are the "masters" and running the country, the masters of society and the masters of their own lives, the status of alienated labor will cease to exist. At that time, labor is the real model of the existence and development of society, including the interests of workers.

The practice of socialist democracy essentially means giving full play to the initiative, consciousness and creativity of the people as the masters of society. The goal of the practice of socialist democracy in Vietnam is to consolidate and strengthen the unity of the Party and the consensus of the people and to build a strong socialist political system; to ensure that all powers of the state belong to the people. Summarizing the practice of 35 years of renovation and 5 years of implementing the Resolution of the 12th Party Congress, the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam has drawn 5 important lessons and experiences that need to be thoroughly grasped. The second lesson from that experience was identified as: "in all work of the Party and State, one must

always deeply grasp the concept of "people are the root"; truly believe, respect and promote the people's right to mastery, persistently implement the motto "people know, people discuss, people do, people inspect, people supervise, people benefit". The people are the center and main body of innovation, construction and defense of the motherland, and all undertakings and policies must be truly based on the lives, aspirations, rights and legitimate interests of the people, and fought for with the goal of their happiness and well-being. Closer relations between the Party and the people, relying on the people to build the Party. Consolidating and strengthening the people's faith in the Party, the state and the socialist system". The thesis represents succinctly the Party's view of democracy as a socialist value in Vietnam.

THE CORE VALUES OF SOCIALISM IN THE SPIRIT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

*Prof.Dr. Tran Van Phong**

Socialism is understood in many different ways as an ideal, a doctrine or a social regime. Here, we approach socialism as a scientific socialism based on Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought. With such a perspective, socialism in the spirit of the Communist Party of Vietnam has the following core values:

First, socialism is a humane society with the goal of radically liberating humans.

This was clearly stated by K. Marx and F. Engels in *the Communist Manifesto*: "To replace the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, it will arise a union in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"¹. That is, socialism is a society that thoroughly liberates people from all forms of enslavement, oppression, exploitation, hunger, and injustice. In socialism, people are fully developed. It is no coincidence that in *the Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism in 1991*, the Communist Party of

* Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels: *Collected works*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1995, Vol. 4, p. 628

Vietnam determined that “Humans are liberated from oppression, exploitation, injustice, according to ability, enjoy according to labor, have a prosperous, free and happy life, have conditions for comprehensive personal development”¹. Summarizing 10 years of implementing the 1991 Platform, in the Platform (additional and development 2011) the Communist Party of Vietnam continued to affirm that one of the core and characteristic values of socialism that the Vietnamese people aims and builds is “people have a prosperous, free and happy life with conditions for comprehensive development”². It is no coincidence that in the article *“Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam”*, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Nguyen Phu Trong, insists that *“We need a society in which development is truly for the people, not for profit which exploits and tramples on human dignity”*. In human history, there have been many theories, ideologies and social models that set out the goal of human liberation but all these theories, ideas and social models failed to propose a truly scientific, practical and radical measures and way to liberate people. Only Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought with the model of scientific socialism can point out the right goals, paths and measures and attract laborers to participate in the cause of liberating self and humanity. In the current conditions, in order to completely liberate the Vietnamese people, it is necessary to persist in national independence associated with socialism. Because, only socialism can create necessary and sufficient

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 111

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 70

conditions to liberate people completely. Realistic socialism, despite certain limitations, has created a model of human liberation, which is first and foremost the emancipation of workers that no other model has yet overcome. The collapse of the model of real socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had various causes but not the cause of human liberation. Therefore, only by persevering towards socialism, led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people can realize the goal of radically liberating the Vietnamese people.

Second, socialism is a democratic society, all real power belongs to the people.

The Communist Party of Vietnam's *1991 Platform for building the country in the transition to socialism* clearly states that "in our country's political system, the Party is the leader to ensure all power belongs to the people. The people exercise their power first of all through elected agencies. The National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels must really have full powers delegated by the people. [...]. The Party resolutely overcomes the tyranny and autocracy, making excuses to replace the work of the state and mass organizations¹. Because, socialist society is a society "owned by the working people"². *The Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism* (supplemented and developed in 2011) affirms that "socialist democracy is the essence of our regime, it is both the goal and the driving force of country's development. Building and gradually perfecting a socialist democracy, making democracy implement in real life at

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 123

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 111

each level and in all fields. Democracy is associated with discipline and it must be institutionalized by law, guaranteed by law. [...]. The people exercise their right to mastery through activities of the State, the whole political system and other forms of direct democracy and representative democracy”¹.

Article 2, Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 2013, affirms that the political system in Vietnam is a political system in which real power belongs to the people, by the people and serves the interests of the people, not just a wealthy minority:

“1. The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a socialist rule of law state of the People, by the People, for the People.

2. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is owned by the People; All state power belongs to the People, whose foundation is the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

3. State power is unified with assignment, coordination and control among state agencies in the exercise of legislative, executive and judicial powers”. Article 3 of The 2013 Constitution also clearly stipulates that “The State ensures and promotes the people's right to mastery; recognize, respect, protect and guarantee human and citizen rights; realize the goal of wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization, everyone has a prosperous, free and happy life and has conditions for comprehensive development”. Thus, the political system in Vietnam is a political system in which real power belongs to the people, by the people, and serves the interests of the people. This is specifically provided for by the Constitution. Summing up 35

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 84-85

years of renovation, the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam has drawn an important lesson: "in all work of the Party and State, we must always deeply grasp the concept of *"the people is the root* truly believe, respect and promote the people's right to mastery, persistently implement the motto *"people know, people discuss, people do, people monitor, people supervise, people enjoy"*. The people are the center and the subject of the renovation, construction and defense of the Fatherland, all undertakings and policies must really come from the people's life, aspirations, rights and legitimate interests, taking the people's happiness and well-being as a goal to strive for. Tighten the close relationship between the Party and the people, relying on the people to build the Party; consolidate and strengthen the people's faith in the Party, State and the socialist regime"¹. It is also because the power belongs to the people in the political system that the 13th Congress requires "to organize effectively and essentially the people's participation in monitoring and evaluating the performance of organizations in the political system; quality and capacity of the contingent of cadres and party members. Taking the work results, satisfaction and trust of the people as important criteria to evaluate the quality of the organizational apparatus and the quality of cadres and party members"². That is, the operation of the political system of socialism has no other purpose than serving the people. It is no coincidence that General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Phu Trong affirms that *"we need a political system where real power belongs to the people, by the*

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 27-28

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 192

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people and serves the interests of the people, not just for a wealthy minority”¹.

Third, socialism is a just, civilized and progressive society.

Socialist society is a just, civilized, and progressive society. This is shown specifically as a benevolent, solidarity, mutual assistance and mutual assistance society towards the values of justice, social progress and humanity, not an unfair competition society like “big fish eat small fish” or for the selfish benefit of a few individuals and groups. This is both a core value and a goal that the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are aiming for. This is clearly reflected in *the Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism 1991*: “The cause of economic development puts people at the center, unifying economic growth with equity and social progress”². The 1991 Platform also repeatedly affirmed “to ensure the unification of economic growth with equity and social progress”³. Although, in the Platform (additional, development 2011), it has not been recorded as a separate feature but the contents such as “Wealthy people, a strong country, democracy, justice and civilization”; “Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, respect and help each other to develop”; “There is a socialist rule of law state of the people, by

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong: *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 21-22

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 115

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 118

the people, for the people led by the Communist Party”¹ and so on manifested on socialism that people live with compassion, solidarity, mutual assistance, towards the values of justice, civilization, social progress, not unfair competition like “big fish eat small fish” or for the selfish benefit of a few individuals and groups. In order to realize this value of socialism, the 6th National Congress of the Party required that “It is necessary to fully express in reality the views of the Party and the State on the unity between economic and social policies, to overcome the attitude of disregarding social policy, that is, disregarding the human factor in the cause of building socialism”². The 7th Congress of the Party emphasized: “The goals of social policies are consistent with the goals of economic development, both to promote the human factor and for the people”³. The 8th National Party Congress set the goal of “*fast, highly efficient and sustainable economic growth coupled with solving pressing social problems*”⁴. The 9th Congress of the Party developed a unified view of economic and social policies into the policy of “*combining socio-economic development*”. On that basis, the 9th Congress requested to associate socio-economic development with strengthening national defense and security and protecting and improving the

¹ See: Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 70

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 6th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, p. 86

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 73

⁴ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 8th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 168

environment¹. The 10th Congress of the Party continued to combine the spirit of socio-economic development with the motto “Combining economic goals with social goals nationwide, in each field and locality, ..., well implementing social policies on the basis of economic development”². The 10th Congress had drawn lessons from experience “the more we go into the market economy, the better we need to take care of social welfare, create jobs, eliminate hunger, reduce poverty, develop education, culture, and take care of people's health”³. The 11th Party Congress continued the spirit of “closely combining economic goals and policies with social objectives and policies”⁴; “Building a civilized social community in which *all classes and population classes* are united and equal in rights and obligations”⁵. The 12th Party Congress affirmed to continue “Strictly linking economic policies with social policies, economic development with improving people's quality of life”⁶. The 13th Congress of the Party determined: “Strictly and effectively managing and developing society, ensuring social security and human security; implementing social progress and justice; building a healthy and

¹ See: Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 9th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2001, p. 89, 163, 167

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 10th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2006, p. 101

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 10th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2006, p. 182

⁴ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 124

⁵ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 80

Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 12th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2016, p. 30,135

civilized cultural, social and moral environment; focusing on improving the quality of health services, the quality of the population, linking population with development; paying attention to all people, ensuring policies on labor, employment, income, well implementing social welfare and social security. Continuously improving comprehensively the material and spiritual life of the people”¹. Realizing this orientation is to contribute directly to affirming the society in which people live in compassion, solidarity and mutual assistance, towards the values of justice, civilization and social progress, there is no injustice, no “big fish eat small fish”.

Fourth, socialism is a society of sustainable development.

Unlike capitalism, “socio-economic development takes profit as the ultimate goal, considers the appropriation of wealth and increasing material consumption as a measure of civilization, taking personal interests as the pillar column of society. Those are also the essential characteristics of the capitalist mode of production and consumption”², socialism sets out the goal of sustainable development in terms of economy, politics, people, society and environment. Since Doi Moi (1986) until now, in general, our Party has advocated “Combining economic reform with political innovation from the outset, taking economic innovation as the focus, and at the same time gradually renewing

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol.1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 116

² Nguyen Phu Trong: *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 120

politics”¹ to ensure both economic and political sustainability, on that basis, to ensure sustainable human, social and environmental. That is why the Communist Party of Vietnam clearly affirms the point of view: “we must focus our efforts on doing well on economic reform, and at the same time gradually reform the organization and operation mode of political organizations. We can not conduct political system reform hastily without sufficient grounds, expand democracy without limits, without specific goals and not with centralization leads to political instability, to the detriment of the cause of innovation”². In order to ensure economic and political sustainability, the 7th Party Congress continued to specify that “we must focus our efforts on doing well in economic reform, meeting the urgent needs of the people in terms of life, employment and other social demands, building the material and technical foundations of socialism, considering it an important condition for the smooth conduct of innovation in the political field. Simultaneously with economic renovation, it is necessary to gradually reform the organization and mode of operation of the political system, to better bring into play the people's mastery and creative capacity in the fields of politics, economy, culture and society. Politics touches on particularly complex and sensitive relationships in society so the renewal of the political system is necessarily based on very serious research and preparation, and does not allow political instability leading to chaos but not because of that delay in renewing the political

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 71

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *Documents of the 6th Congress, The 6th Central Committee*.

system”¹. In the first direction of building socialism, the Platform (supplemented and developed in 2011) stated “to accelerate the industrialization and modernization of the country in association with the development of the knowledge economy, the protection of natural resources and environment”². For environmental sustainability, in the development orientation, the Platform (supplemented, developed 2011) also clearly states that “*Environmental protection* is the responsibility of the whole political system, of the whole society and the responsibility of all citizens. Closely combining the control, prevention and remedy of pollution with restoration and protection of the ecological environment. Developing clean energy, clean production and clean consumption. To attach importance to researching, forecasting and implementing solutions to respond to climate change and natural disasters. Managing, protecting, regenerating and rationally and effectively using national resources”³. The 12th Congress clearly defined the goal “By 2020, to strive to basically and synchronously perfect the socialist-oriented market economy institutional system according to popular standards of the modern market economy and international integration; ensuring the synchronization between economic and political institutions; between the State and the market; ensure the harmony between economic growth and cultural development, human development, progress, social justice, social security, environmental protection,

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 54

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 72

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 78

and sustainable social development, active international economic integration associated with building an independent and self-reliant economy; ensuring publicity, transparency and predictability reflected in the construction and implementation of economic institutions, creating stable and favorable conditions for socio-economic development”¹. In the renewal process, our Party attaches great importance to the issue of sustainable development, linking economic growth with environmental protection. Especially at the 13th National Party Congress, right in the first development orientation, our Party has determined “Continue to strongly renew thinking, build and complete synchronously the institutions for sustainable development in terms of economy, politics, culture, society and environment,...”². The Congress also emphasized “actively and effectively adapting to climate change, preventing, combating and mitigating natural disasters and epidemics; managing, exploiting and using resources reasonably, economically, efficiently and sustainably; taking the protection of the living environment and people's health as the top goals; resolutely eliminating projects that pollute the environment, ensuring the quality of the living environment, and protecting biodiversity and ecosystems; building a green economy, an environmentally friendly circular economy”³. It can be said that starting from the core value of socialism, this is a sustainable

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 12th National Party Congress*, Party Central Office, Hanoi, 2016, p. 104

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 114

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 116-117

development society that the Party and State of Vietnam always pay attention to sustainable development in terms of economy, politics, people, society and environment.

The above are the core values of a socialist society in the spirit of the Communist Party of Vietnam. These core values are both interrelated and complementary to each other, together creating the core values, the essence of socialism. It is because of these core values that humanity in general, and the Vietnamese people in particular, are constantly striving towards and for.

THE CREATION OF THE PARTY'S THEORY OF SOCIALISM AND THE PATH TO SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM FOR MORE THAN 35 YEARS OF RENOVATION - A VIEW FROM SOLVING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORIENTATION OF GOALS AND STEP-BY- STEP DETERMINATION OF SOCIALISM VALUES IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

*Nguyen Chi Hieu**

Right from the founding conference of the Communist Party of Vietnam on February 03, 1930, the Party affirmed its *goal* of making bourgeoisies' civil rights revolution and land revolution to advance toward a communist society, at the same time, formed the path of national independence and socialism for the entire revolutionary cause of the country. The renovation work under the leadership of the Party since 1986 has remained in line with that goal and path, applying and promoting the theory of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought creatively to build and form a new understanding of socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam in today's national and world context. Through each Congress, our Party has made new progress regarding this fundamental issue based on summarizing the

* Assoc. Prof. Dr. , Communist Review

realization of the socialism goal and ensuring the socialist orientation in combination with step-by-step determination of socialism values during the renovation and development of the country.

Our Party has creatively applied scientific socialism theory to the renovation process, established the development value system in building socialism, and especially determined and developed theory on the transition period to socialism by 2045.

During the renovation process, the Party has pointed out 6 features of the socialist model which is further developed into 8 features, demonstrating the continuous development in the Party's theoretical awareness of the socialist model - socialism goal in Vietnam; namely: 1- Rich people, powerful country, democratic, just and civilized society; 2- Being owned by the people; 3- Having a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and appropriate, progressive production relations; 4- Having an advanced culture deeply imbued with national identity; 5- People have a prosperous, free and happy life and have conditions for comprehensive development; 6- Ethnic groups throughout the country show the equality, solidarity, mutual respect and help; 7- Establishing a socialist rule of law-based state of the people, by the people, and for the people led by the Communist Party; 8- Having friendship relations and cooperation with other countries around the world¹.

To achieve that goal, we have to closely follow the orientation of accelerating the industrialization and modernization of the country in association with the development of (a knowledge-

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documents of the 11th National Congress of Deputies*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 70

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based economy; developing a socialist-oriented market economy; building an advanced culture deeply imbued with national identity; raising awareness of people and improving people's living standards; realizing social progress and justice; ensuring national defense and security, social order and safety; implementing foreign policies on the principles of independence, self-reliance, multilateralization, diversification, peace, friendship, cooperation and development, and proactive and active international integration; building a socialist democracy, promoting the will and strength of national unity in combination with power of the era; building a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, and for the people; building a clean, strong and comprehensive Party and political system.

The theoretical achievements of our Party within the understanding of the socialist model have always been accompanied by the identification of a goal system with the basic and most important values that Vietnam is aiming for, i.e. "Rich people, powerful country, democratic, just and civilized society", determining and orienting the development vision by 2045. Our Party has pointed out that, to realize that goal system, we have to master and deal with the following major relationships: "between stability, innovation and development; between economic innovation and political innovation; between compliance with market rules and assurance of socialist orientation; between the development of productive forces and building and step-by-step improvement of socialist production relations; between the State, the market and the society; between economic growth and cultural development, progress, social justice, environmental protection; between building and defending the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland; between independence, self-reliance and international integration; between the Party's

leadership, the State's management and the people's ownership; between practicing democracy and strengthening the rule of law and ensuring social discipline"¹.

Breakthroughs, creativity, and new developments in theory on the basis of summarizing the realization of the socialism goal, the assurance of the socialist orientation, and the step-by-step determination of socialism values during the renovation and development of the country, are shown in the following main aspects and fields.

The theory of the socialist-oriented market economy is the creativity and breakthrough in the Party's theoretical thinking in the renovation process.

The socialist-oriented market economic institution was formed during the renovation period starting from the 6th National Congress and has been increasingly fully understood by our Party, i.e. "an economy that operates fully and synchronously, following the rules of the market economy, while ensuring the socialist orientation suitable to each development stage of the country; a modern market economy on the basis of international integration, under the management of the socialist rule of law State, led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, with the aim of "Rich people, powerful country, democratic, just and civilized society" ².

Clearly recognizing and promptly remedying the limitations and mistakes of the bureaucratic, subsidized and planned

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documentd of the 13th National Congress of Deputies*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, vol. II, p. 333-334

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documents of the Central Conference 5 at its 12th session*, Office of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 2017, p. 30

economy in the pre-renovation period, theoretical understanding of the socialist-oriented market economic institution is *a creative development* that has been increasingly perfected and become a fundamental and profound theoretical contribution of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The 13th Party Congress affirmed that: “The understanding of the socialist-oriented market economy is getting more and more complete. The legal system, mechanisms and policies will continue to be perfected in line with the requirements of building a modern market economy on the basis of international integration. Market factors and types of markets have been gradually developed consistently, associated with regional and world markets”¹. The socialist-oriented market economic institution has been gradually perfected on the basis of modernity, synchronization and integration.

The theory of building a socialist rule of law State of the people, by the people and for the people has been increasingly consolidated and developed in order to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the State's operations, meeting requirements and tasks of country innovation and development course.

The Party has determined more and more clearly that, the Socialist rule of law State of Vietnam is substantially the State of the people, by the people, and for the people, managing all aspects of social life by law, built on the basis of strengthening and expanding the great unity of all people, focusing on the alliance of working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, and led by the Party.

The socialist rule of law State of Vietnam is defined by its essential attributes, which become a principle in the model design

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documents of the 13th National Congress of Deputies*, vol. 1, p. 59 - 60

of our state, i.e. *All power is vested in the people and belongs to the people*. State power is concentrated and unified by the people, without division of power, or “using power against power”. Although power is unified and not divided, in the state power structure, there must be power *assignment* and *coordination* according to functions and tasks to ensure unity and focus on one single goal: “exercise and protect powers of the people”.

The contents on state building stated in Constitution 2013 have shown important progress of the Party regarding views and understanding of building a socialist rule of law State.

Developing creative theories, harmoniously and rationally handling the relationship between economic growth and the realization of social progress and justice, protecting the environment, and focusing on building a value system and culture of Vietnamese people in the new context.

Since setting out the comprehensive renewal policy, the Party has paid great attention to solving social problems, realizing social policies with the aim of fairness, equality, and social progress; especially, on the 13th National Congress, for the first time, in the Document, the Party defined that social policies are a means/tool for socialist orientation with the view: “*Full awareness and assurance of socialist orientation in social policies*”⁽⁵⁾.

In the important article “*Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*”, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong convincingly points out the goals and objectives as the true values of Vietnamese socialism: “*We need a society with development truly for the sake of people but not for profit to prevent exploitation and trampling on human dignity. We need economic development associated with social progress and justice but not widening*

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the gap between rich and poor and resulting in social inequality. We need a society of compassion, solidarity, mutual support, progressive and humanistic values but not of unfair competition and “dog-eat-dog” for the selfish benefit of a few individuals and groups. We need sustainable development in harmony with nature to ensure a healthy living environment for current and future generations but not exploitation and appropriation of resources, unlimited consumption and environmental destruction. And we need a political system where real power belongs to the people, for the people and serves the interests of the people not just for the wealth of a few individuals or groups. Are those good wishes the true values of socialism and also the goals and the path that President Ho Chi Minh, our Party and people have selected and are steadfastly pursuing”⁽¹⁾.

General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong clearly explained: “A basic feature as an important attribute of the socialist orientation in the market economy in Vietnam is to associate the economy with society, unify the economic policy with social policy and economic growth with the realization of social progress and justice in each step and policy and throughout the development process” ⁽²⁾. It means that we do not wait until the economy reaches a high level of development to realize social progress and justice, and we do not “ignore” social progress and justice to pursue economic growth. Rather, *each economic policy must aim at social development; each social policy must aim to create a driving force for economic development, promote lawful livelihood in hand with sustainable hunger eradication and poverty reduction, take care of people with meritorious services and those in disadvantaged*

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong: “Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam”, Communist Review, No. 5-2021, p. 5 - 6

² Nguyen Phu Trong: “Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam”, Communist Review, quoted, p. 8

circumstances. This is a principled requirement to ensure a socialist-oriented healthy and sustainable development.

A Socialist society is a society with progressive and humane values, based on the common interests of the whole society in harmony with the legitimate interests of people, which is qualitatively different from competitive societies for the personal interests of individuals and groups⁽¹⁾, thus, building social consensus instead of social opposition requires favorable conditions. In the socialist political regime, the relationship between the Party, the State and the people is the relationship between actors pursuing the same goals and interests; all the guidelines of the Party, policies, laws and activities of the State are *for the interests of the people and people's happiness-centered*.

Further developing theories on the role and mission of the Party, especially on Party building and consolidation, and a clean and strong political system to ensure the correct and wise leadership of the Party towards the cause of national reform and building and defending the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The Party defines that Party building and consolidation is a fundamental, important, urgent, and decisive task for the entire cause of building and defending Vietnam itself, the survival of the Party and the regime and the sustainable development of Vietnam. The theory of Party building and consolidation is expressed in the *higher awareness of the relationship between Party building and consolidation, the connection of these two aspects with building a clean and stable political system*. The theory of Party building and consolidation is also reflected in the *higher awareness of the structure of*

¹ See: Nguyen Phu Trong: "Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam", Communist Review, quoted, p. 9 - 10

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Party building work. The document of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam emphasized that in the coming years, special attention must be paid to Party building and consolidation which should be further strengthened comprehensively in terms of politics, ideology and morality, organizations and personnel. It is the development of awareness of the structure of Party building work.

Especially, the 13th National Party Congress has determined that “Strengthening the Party building and consolidation and a clean and strong political system” is the most important and indispensable requirement in the process of more and more widespread national reform and international integration to improve the Party’s leadership and ruling capacity, contribute to enhancing the effectiveness and performance of the political system, promote socialist democracy, and ensure the synchronization and compatibility between economic and political innovation for the quick and sustainable development of Vietnam.

Inheriting Ho Chi Minh’s thought, our Party has developed the theory of strengthening the building and step-by-step perfection of the socialist democracy, strong promotion of the right to mastery and the main role of the people in the development of socialism in Vietnam

The political model and general operating mechanism are the Party’s leadership, the State’s management and the people’s right to mastery. Democracy is the essence of the socialist regime, both the goal and the driving force of socialist building; building a socialist democracy and ensuring that power truly belongs to the people is an important and long-term task of the Vietnamese revolution. We advocate to constantly promote democracy, and build a truly socialist rule-of-law State of the people, by the people and for the

people, on the basis of an alliance between workers, farmers and intellectuals led by the Communist Party of Vietnam. The State represents the people's right to mastery, and at the same time, is the organizer of the implementation of the Party's guidelines; has a mechanism for the people to exercise their direct right to mastery and representative democracy in all fields of social life and participate in social management. We realize that the socialist rule-of-law State is *fundamentally* different from the bourgeois rule-of-law State in the fact that the rule of law under capitalism is essentially a tool to protect and serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, while the rule of law under socialism is a tool to manifest and exercise the people's right to mastery, guarantee and protect the interests of the majority of the people. Through law enforcement, the State ensures the conditions for the people to be subject to political power, and carry out a dictatorship with all actions that infringe upon the interests of the Fatherland and the people. At the same time, we determine great national unity is a source of strength and a decisive factor to ensure the sustainable victory of the revolutionary cause in Vietnam and constantly promote equality and solidarity among nations and religions ⁽¹⁾.

Developing theories on national defense, security and foreign relations, ensuring the supreme interests of the nation-state; actively, proactively and deeply integrating into the international community on the basis of resolutely maintaining independence, self-reliance, unity and territorial integrity.

In the context of complicated changes in the domestic and international situation, our Party has made innovations in

¹ See: Nguyen Phu Trong: "Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam", Communist Review, quoted, p. 10

theoretical awareness of the nature and characteristics of the two tasks: national construction and defense, and preservation of National security. On that basis, the Party determines that strengthening national defense, and maintaining national security, political stability, social order, and safety is an important and regular task. We aim at persistently and resolutely defending our country's independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, strategic interests, and survival; persistently and resolutely defending the socialist regime (defending the Party, socialist State and the ideological foundation of the Party), persistently and resolutely protecting the people and national cultural identity.

The consistent guideline of our Party is independence, self-reliance, peace, cooperation and development, for the supreme benefit of the nation-state, and for a rich, strong, prosperous and happy socialist Vietnam. In the context of today's unpredictable changes in the world, the new development in our Party's external relations policy aims at multilateralization, diversification of relations, proactive and active international integration; raising our country's position in the international arena, becoming a reliable friend and partner and a responsible member of the international community, contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

THE NEW THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES ON SOCIALISM AND THE PATH TO SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM

*Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dang Quang Dinh**

Over the past 35 years of national renovation, under the Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of the revolution cause and socialism development, especially, Vietnam has achieved great achievements with historical significance. "Our country has never had the fortune, potential, international position and prestige like nowadays"¹. "The implementation of the renewal policy has brought about clear, profound and positive changes in Vietnam: the economy growth, higher productivity; rapid and continuous poverty reduction; a higher standard of living, many solved social problems; political and social stability, ensured national defense and security; increasingly expanded foreign affairs and international integration; the enhanced position and power of the nation; greater trust in the Party's leadership"². "Renewal achievements in Vietnam have proven that *"socialist-oriented development not only has positive economic effects but also solves social problems much better than other capitalist countries in the same level of economic development"*.

* Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics

However, socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam is a very basic and important theoretical and practical topic, with the broad, rich and complex content in many different approaches, requiring a very elaborate and serious study, summarizing practicality profoundly and scientifically. This article focuses on the following basic theoretical and practical issues:

First, the theoretical issues

We all know that the theory of scientific socialism was initiated by Marx and Engels in the 40s of the 19th century and has been around for nearly 200 years now. The context of their times was very different from ours nowadays. It has even been over 100 years since V.I. Lenin creatively applied that theory, directly led the socialist revolution and developed socialism in Soviet Russia. Therefore, the new practicality states many issues that need to be summed up in order to develop the theory of scientific socialism.

There are a number of theoretical issues that need to be further understood in the following aspects:

First, how to understand the evolutionary rules of history with the theory of scientific socialism to reach communism, especially in countries without undergoing capitalism.

Up to now, the great philosophers' predictions about the formation of socialism and communism as an inevitable trend of history. However, we understand that the evolutionary history of mankind is not in a straight line but complicated, so to have a revolutionary change of that evolution it takes time for gradual changes, interruption in continuity. So, how long has capitalism lasted to bring about the formation of socialism in the world? The production forces have reached the level of globalization and internationalization as predicted by Marx and Engels, but a social

revolution will happen in which time to change the entire human society and end the existence of capitalism. This needs to be further discussed.

On the other hand, socialism is not a sectarian movement, but an evolutionary trend of mankind's history. "Communism is not from nowhere; its root is in the heart of capitalism. The conditions of the communist movement are created by the existing premises in the heart of capitalism". Therefore, socialism must inherit the achievements of mankind civilization, especially in capitalism to create the basis and premise for the formation of socialist factors. Therefore, the study of methods and contents of capitalism inheritance is an indispensable requirement.

We all admit, though, that capitalism cannot resolve its contradictions. These are the contradictions between global labor and capital, the grievances, the crisis, the unemployment and the totalitarian political system... But we must also know, "Capitalism has never been more global as it is today and has also achieved many great achievements, especially in the field of liberation, productivity development, science and technology development. On the basis of high economic conditions and as a result of the struggle of the working class and the working people, many developed capitalist countries have taken measures to adjust, formed many more advanced social welfare regimes than before"⁵.

Therefore, in the development trend, it is necessary to inherit the achievements of human civilization in capitalism, and promote the socialist factors in capitalism to develop socialism. In the article *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong pointed out: "To say that ignoring the capitalist regime is to give up the through

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the oppressive, unjust, and exploitative capitalist regime; ignore the bad habits, unsuitable political institutions and institutions with the socialism, but not even the achievements and civilization values that mankind has achieved in the capitalism development. Of course, the inheritance of these achievements must be selective from the point of view of science and development".⁶

Second, it is necessary to realize that socialism development is a difficult and long-term cause, so it has to go through a transition period. It is not possible immediately to have a fully developed society.

We need to realize that developing a new social regime is a long, difficult and complicated process. Although the communist socialist regime is progressive, eliminating the oppressive and exploitative regime, it is not quick and easy, but very long, difficult and complicated. Because it includes both the negation of the old social system and the development of a new one. These are non-stop revolutionary renovations.

On the other hand, due to the different development level of world history, there is a difference in characteristics, time and manner of the transition period between each country in socialist development. V.I. Lenin wrote: "The general rule of the world's historical development does not exclude, but on the contrary, includes a number of stages of development with characteristics, form or the order of that development".

The world revolution and Vietnam are in the transition to socialism. This is *"a long, extremely difficult and complex career*, because it must create a qualitative change profoundly in all fields of social life. Vietnam has transmitted to socialism from a backward agricultural country, ignored the capitalist regime, with very low productivity, experienced decades of war with very

heavy consequences; and hostile forces's harassment, so it is more difficult and complicated, necessarily going through a long transition period with many steps, many forms of intertwined economic and social organization with a struggle between the old and the new".

C. Marx noted that in order to abolish exploitation, the abolition of private ownership is an indispensable and essential condition for the economic and political emancipation of workers. However, the "abolition of private ownership... will go through a very difficult and long process in reality". Therefore, a hasty abolition of private ownership, regardless of the level of development of the productive forces of culture and civilization, can only result in a crude communism.

Socialism is a social system without any precedent in history, so it's not possible to avoid the shortcomings and mistakes in terms of specific methods and models during the process of awareness and building. However, if you do not maintain the principles in the process, failure is inevitable. The collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is an example.

Third, it is necessary to have a deeper understanding of the nature and characteristics of socialism.

Since the formation of real socialism up to now, the awareness of the nature and characteristics of socialism is a basic and barycentric theoretical content. However, it's necessary for further study of many issues.

Marx and Engels talked about the characteristics of communist society as:

Private ownership of the production materials was abolished.
Ownership of the whole society.

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The class division is abolished, so the domination of one class over other classes is also abolished, and the state, as the instrument of domination, is not available.

The division of labor with class stratification is abolished, so there is no longer any opposition between manual labor and intellectual labor, between urban and rural areas.

Every individual is a free and fully developed person, human owns all means and material conditions, actively and voluntarily coordinates them to serve humans.

Communist society has all the conditions to transform humans into real humans in its full meaning.

However, the presented contents of Marx and Engels only stop the principles of communism. For example, with the issue of ownership, Marx and Engels just showed the idea of ownership of the whole society, but it should have further study to understand how to own the whole society.

For example, in *the Platform for nation building in the transitional period to socialism* (1991) the Communist Party of Vietnam identifies six characteristics of socialism in Vietnam:

Owned by the working people.

There is a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and public ownership of the main materials of production.

There is an advanced culture deeply imbued with national identity.

People are liberated from oppression, exploitation, injustice, from each according to his abilities, to each according to his working, there is a prosperous, free and happy life, and conditions for comprehensive personal development.

There is equality, unity and help between the nationalities in the country.

There are friendly and cooperative relationships with the people of all countries in the world"¹⁰

But in 2011, in *the Platform for nation building in the transitional period to socialism* (added and revised in 2011), listing eight characteristics of socialism in Vietnam.

Although it is known that the characteristics of socialism can be changed depending on the conditions and development level of economic and socio-political regimes. However, the change in many views on the nature and characteristics of socialism has stopped predictions, and there is no logical stability in arguments and substantiations. Some contents are not even agreed on the comprehension of opinion.

For example, in the *Platform 2011*¹², there is the point of view: "a highly developed economy, fully based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations". But up to now, it needs to have further awareness of point of view and understanding exactly about appropriate progressive production relationships.

At present, shall it be necessary to express that *the socialist production relationships should be built in accordance with the level of modern production forces*. This both ensures orientation and is consistent with Marxist-Leninist theoretical principles. In which, it is possible to express more deeply the content of socialist production relationship (the public ownership, the entire-people ownership, state economy...), and to create a production relationship in accordance with the development trend of modern production forces in the period of the industrial revolution, the development of science and technology.

Recently, in the article *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong stated: " sustainable development in harmony with nature to secure a clean living environment for present and future generations, instead of unlimited exploitation and possession of resources, unrestrained consumption and destruction of the environment. And we need a political system where power truly belongs to the people, is enforced by the people and serves the people."¹³ This view suggests a new and substantive approach to Vietnamese socialism.

Second, the practical issues

First of all, it is necessary to clarify measures and ways to build socialism in Vietnam.

In the article *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong showed many contents that we need to inherit to deepen our perception of measures and ways to build socialism. The General Secretary said that, "To achieve this goal, we must step up industrialization and modernization in conjunction with the development of a knowledge-based economy. We must also develop a socialist-oriented market economy, build an advanced culture imbued with national identity, boost human resource development, improve the people's living standards, and exercise social progress and equality; We must safeguard national defense and security, public order and security. We must implement the foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, multilateralization and diversification for peace, friendship, cooperation and development, and actively engage in international integration. We must build a socialist democracy, harness the will and power of all-nation unity in combination with the power of our time. We

must build the socialist rule-of-law state of the people, by the people and for the people. We must build an untarnished, strong Party and polity in every respect"¹⁴. These are new and profound contents that need to be thoroughly grasped and creatively applied in the process of building socialism in our country.

Secondly, in the measures and ways to build socialism in Vietnam, it is necessary to further study the development of the socialist-oriented market economy. The socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam has its own characteristics and also demonstrates the development of economic theory of Marxism-Leninism in new conditions. It can be said that the socialist-oriented market economy is a new and extremely complex theoretical and practical issue, in conjunction with the perception of objective rules and the promotion of an active and creative role of the main subjects as the Communist Party, the State of the Socialist Republic and the working people. The formation of the thinking of the Communist Party of Vietnam on the socialist-oriented market economy is a long process of exploration and experimentation, from incomplete to increasingly complete, from not profound to more profound.

The characteristics of Vietnam's socialist-oriented market economy have been identified:

Regarding the purpose: "The purpose of the socialist-oriented market economy is to develop the production forces, develop the economy to build the material and technical foundations of socialism, improve the living standards of the people"¹⁵, for the rich people, the strong country, democracy, justice and civilization.

Ownership characteristics: many forms of ownership, including public and private ownership.

Characteristics of economic structure: many economic sectors, in which the state economy plays a leading role.

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Characteristics of distribution: Distribution according to labor and other production factors, based on the principle of the market mechanism with macro-regulation by the state

Regarding the operating mechanism of the economy: Combining the market mechanism with the role of the socialist state's administration, ensuring social development goals.

The subject of the socialist-oriented market economy is the leadership of the Communist Party and the management of the Socialist State, on the basis of promoting all the positivity, initiative and creativity of the people participating in socio-economic development and protecting the economic regime.

Regarding the means, tools and motivation of the socialist-oriented market economy, that is the market economy, opening up for integration, implementing industrialization and modernization...

Although "the concept of developing a socialist-oriented market economy is a very fundamental and creative theoretical breakthrough of our Party, it is an important theoretical result after 35 years of implementing the renewal policy, derived from Vietnam's reality and selectively absorbed the world's experience", but so far, the understanding of the true nature and operating principles of the socialist-oriented market economy is still limited creating asynchrony and inadequacies in the process of institutional development of the market economy. Many issues of this concept need to be studied more deeply, especially in the context of globalization, value chain production, logistics, etc.

We need to clarify the fundamental difference and opposition between the capitalist market economy and the socialist-oriented market economy. This is both to affirm that socialism economy and the market economy are not in opposition "like water and fire", and to show the superiority and nature of the socialist-

oriented market economy development both not maximize profits, and liberate social productive power; linking economy with society, unifying economic policies with social policies, economic growth goes hand in hand with the performance of social progress and justice right in each step, each policy and throughout the development process.

Third, it is necessary to realize that, “Communism is not a revolution of a purely ideological nature or politics, but the establishment of communism is, in essence, an economic nature: it is the material creation of the conditions for that association; it turns existing conditions into conditions of association”¹⁷. According to V.I. Lenin, the superiority of socialism over capitalism begins with labor productivity. Therefore, concentrating all resources for the powerful emancipation of social productive power is a basic condition for the successful construction of socialism.

In addition to the above basic contents, the cause of building socialism in Vietnam still has many new theoretical and practical issues that need to be further studied. This is not only our duty but also our responsibility to the country, to history.

THE CORE VALUES OF SOCIALISM IN THE SPIRIT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

*Tran Tuan Phong**

Socialism is understood in many different ways as an ideal, a doctrine or a social regime. Here, we approach socialism as a scientific socialism based on Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought. With such a perspective, socialism in the spirit of the Communist Party of Vietnam has the following core values:

First, socialism is a humane society with the goal of the complete liberation of humanity.

This was clearly stated by K. Marx and F. Engels in *the Communist Manifesto*: "In place the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"¹. That is, socialism is a society that thoroughly liberates people from all forms of enslavement, oppression, exploitation, hunger, and injustice. In socialism, people are fully developed. It is no coincidence that in *the Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism in 1991*, the

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¹ K.Marx and F.Engels: *Collected works*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1995, Vol.4, p. 628

Communist Party of Vietnam determined that “Humans are liberated from oppression, exploitation, injustice, work according to ability, enjoy according to their labor, have a prosperous, free and happy life, have conditions for comprehensive personal development”¹. In summarizing 10 years of implementing the 1991 Platform, in the *Platform (supplemented and developed in 2011)* the Communist Party of Vietnam continued to affirm that one of the core and characteristic values of socialism that the Vietnamese people aim and build is “people have a prosperous, free and happy life with conditions for comprehensive development”². It is no coincidence that in the article “*Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*”, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Nguyen Phu Trong, insisted that “*We need a society in which development is truly for the people, not for profit which exploits and tramples on human dignity*”. In human history, there have been many theories, ideologies and social models that set out the goal of human liberation but all these theories, ideas and social models failed to propose a truly scientific, practical and radical measures and way to liberate people. Only Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought with the model of scientific socialism can point out the right goals, paths and measures and attract laborers to participate in the cause of liberating self and humanity. In the current conditions, in order to completely liberate the Vietnamese people, it is necessary to persist in national independence associated with socialism. Because, only socialism can create

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 111

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 70

necessary and sufficient conditions to liberate people completely. Realistic socialism, despite certain limitations, has created a model of human liberation, which is first and foremost the emancipation of workers that no other model has yet overcome. The collapse of the model of real socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had various causes but not the cause of human liberation. Therefore, only by persevering towards socialism, led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people can realize the goal of radically liberating the Vietnamese people.

Second, socialism is a democratic society, all real power belongs to the people.

The Communist Party of Vietnam's *1991 Platform for building the country in the transition to socialism* clearly states that "in our country's political system, the Party is the leader to ensure all power belongs to the people. The people exercise their power first of all through elected agencies. The National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels must really have full powers delegated by the people. [...]. The Party resolutely overcomes tyranny and autocracy, making excuses to replace the work of the state and mass organizations¹. Because, socialist society is a society "owned by the working people" ². *The Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism* (supplemented and developed in 2011) affirms that "socialist democracy is the essence of our regime, it is both the goal and the driving force of country's development. Building and gradually perfecting a socialist democracy, making democracy implemented in real life at

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 123

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 111

each level and in all fields. Democracy is associated with discipline and it must be institutionalized by law, guaranteed by law. [...]. The people exercise their right to mastery through activities of the State, the whole political system and other forms of direct democracy and representative democracy”¹.

Article 2, Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 2013, affirms that the political system in Vietnam is a political system in which real power belongs to the people, by the people and serves the interests of the people, not just a wealthy minority:

“1. The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a socialist rule of law state of the People, by the People, for the People.

2. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is owned by the People; All state power belongs to the People and is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

3. The state power is unified and delegated to state agencies which coordinate with and control one another in the exercise of the legislative, executive and judicial powers “. Article 3 of The 2013 Constitution also clearly stipulates that “The State shall guarantee and promote the People’s right to mastery; recognize, respect, protect and guarantee human rights and citizens’ rights; and pursue the goal of a prosperous people and a strong, democratic, equitable/just and civilized country, in which all people enjoy an abundant, free and happy life and are given conditions for their comprehensive development”. Thus, the political system in Vietnam is a system in which real power belongs to the people, by the people, and serves the interests of the people. This point is specifically articulated in the Constitution.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 84-85

Summing up 35 years of renovation, the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam has drawn an important lesson: "in all work of the Party and State, we must always deeply grasp the viewpoint that *"the people are the root"*, truly believe, respect and promote the people's right to mastery, persistently implement the motto *"people know, people discuss, people do, people monitor, people supervise, people enjoy"*. The people are the center and the subject of the Renovation, construction and defense of the Fatherland, all undertakings and policies must really come from the people's lives, aspirations, rights and legitimate interests, taking the people's happiness and well-being as the highest goal. It is necessary to tighten the close relationship between the Party and the people, rely on the people to build the Party; consolidate and strengthen the people's faith in the Party, State and the socialist regime"¹. It is also because the power belongs to the people in the political system that the 13th Congress requires "to organize effectively and essentially the people's participation in monitoring and evaluating the performance of organizations in the political system; quality and capacity of the contingent of cadres and party members. Taking the work results, satisfaction and trust of the people as important criteria to evaluate the quality of the organizational apparatus and the quality of cadres and party members"². That is, the operation of the political system of socialism has no other purpose than serving the people. It is no coincidence that General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Phu Trong affirms that "*we*

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol.1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 27-28

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol.1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 192

need a political system where real power belongs to the people, by the people and serves the interests of the people, not just for a wealthy minority”¹.

Third, socialism is a just, civilized and progressive society.

Socialist society is a just, civilized, and progressive society. This is shown specifically as a benevolent, solidarity, mutual assistance and mutual assistance society towards the values of justice, social progress and humanity, not an unfair competition society like “big fish eat small fish” or for the selfish benefit of a few individuals and groups. This is both a core value and a goal that the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are aiming for. This is clearly reflected in *the Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism 1991*: “The cause of economic development puts people at the center, unifying economic growth with equity and social progress”². The 1991 Platform also repeatedly affirmed “to ensure the unity of economic growth with equity and social progress”³. Although, in the Platform (additional, development 2011), it has not been recorded as a separate feature but the contents such as “Wealthy people, a strong country, democratic, just and civilized society”; “Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, respect and help each other to develop”; “There is a socialist rule of law State of the people, by the people, for the people led by the

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong: *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 21-22

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 115

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 118

Communist Party”¹ and so on... manifested on socialism that people live with compassion, solidarity, mutual assistance, aiming for values of justice, civilization, social progress, rather than unfair competition, where “big fish eat small fish”, for the selfish benefit of a few individuals and groups. In order to realize this value of socialism, the 6th National Congress of the Party required that “It is necessary to fully express in reality the views of the Party and the State on the unity between economic and social policies, to overcome the attitude of neglecting social policy, that is, neglecting the human factor in the cause of building socialism”². The 7th Congress of the Party emphasized: “The goal of social policy is aligned with the goal of economic development, both aiming to promote the human factor and for the benefit of the people.”³. The 8th National Party Congress set the goal of “*rapid, effective, and sustainable economic growth alongside solving pressing social issues*”⁴. The 9th Congress of the Party developed a unified view of economic and social policies into the policy of “*combining socio-economic development*”. On that basis, the 9th Congress requested to associate socio-economic development with strengthening national defense and security and protecting and improving the environment⁵. The 10th Congress of the Party

¹ See: Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 70

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 6th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, p. 86

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 73

⁴ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 8th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 168

⁵ See: Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 9th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2001, p. 89, 163, 167

continued to combine the spirit of socio-economic development with the motto “Combining economic goals with social goals nationwide, in each field and locality, ..., well implementing social policies on the basis of economic development”¹. The 10th Congress had drawn lessons from experience “the more we go into the market economy, the better we need to take care of social welfare, create jobs, eliminate hunger, reduce poverty, develop education, culture, and take care of people's health”². The 11th Party Congress continued the spirit of “closely combining economic goals and policies with social objectives and policies”³; “Building a civilized social community in which *all classes and population classes* are united and equal in rights and obligations”⁴. The 12th Party Congress affirmed to continue “Strictly linking economic policies with social policies, economic development with improving people's quality of life”⁵. The 13th Congress of the Party determined: “Strictly and effectively managing and developing society, ensuring social security and human security; implementing social progress and justice; building a healthy and civilized cultural, social and moral environment; focusing on improving the quality of health services, the quality of the population, linking population with development; paying

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 10th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2006, p. 101

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 10th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2006, p. 182

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 124

⁴ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 80

Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 12th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2016, p. 30, 135

attention to all people, ensuring policies on labor, employment, income, well implementing social welfare and social security. Continuously improving comprehensively the material and spiritual life of the people”¹. Realizing this orientation is to contribute directly to affirming the society in which people live in compassion, solidarity and mutual assistance, towards the values of justice, civilization and social progress, there is no injustice, no “big fish eat small fish”.

Fourth, socialism is a society of sustainable development.

Unlike capitalism, which “sets economic and social development with profit as the ultimate goal, viewing the accumulation of wealth and the increasing consumption of material goods as the measure of civilization, and personal interests as the cornerstone of society. These are also the essential characteristics of the capitalist mode of production and consumption”², socialism sets out the goal of sustainable development in economics, politics, human welfare, society, and the environment. Since the *Doi Moi* (1986) until now, in general, our Party has advocated “Combining economic reform with political innovation from the outset, taking economic innovation as the focus, and at the same time gradually renewing politics”³ to ensure both economic and political sustainability, on that basis, to ensure sustainable human, social and environmental. That is why

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol.1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 116

² Nguyen Phu Trong: *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 120

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, Ibid, p. 71

the Communist Party of Vietnam clearly affirms the point of view: “we must focus our efforts on doing well on economic reform, and at the same time gradually reform the organization and operation mode of political organizations. We can not conduct political system reform hastily without sufficient grounds, expand democracy without limits, without specific goals and not with centralization leads to political instability, to the detriment of the cause of innovation”¹. In order to ensure economic and political sustainability, the 7th Party Congress continued to specify that “we must focus our efforts on doing well in economic reform, meeting the urgent needs of the people in terms of life, employment and other social demands, building the material and technical foundations of socialism, considering it an important condition for the smooth conduct of innovation in the political field. Simultaneously with economic renovation, it is necessary to gradually reform the organization and mode of operation of the political system, to better bring into play the people's mastery and creative capacity in the fields of politics, economy, culture and society. Politics touches on particularly complex and sensitive relationships in society so the renewal of the political system is necessarily based on very serious research and preparation, and does not allow political instability leading to chaos but not because of that delay in renewing the political system”². In the first direction of building socialism, the Platform (supplemented and developed in 2011) stated “to accelerate the industrialization and modernization of the country in association with the development

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *Documents of the 6th Congress, The 6th Central Committee*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 7th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 54

of the knowledge economy, the protection of natural resources and environment”¹. For environmental sustainability, in the development orientation, the Platform (supplemented, developed 2011) also clearly states that “*Environmental protection* is the responsibility of the whole political system, of the whole society and the responsibility of all citizens. Closely combining the control, prevention and remedy of pollution with restoration and protection of the ecological environment. Developing clean energy, clean production and clean consumption. To attach importance to researching, forecasting and implementing solutions to respond to climate change and natural disasters. Managing, protecting, regenerating and rationally and effectively using national resources”². The 12th Congress clearly defined the goal “*By 2020, to strive to basically and synchronously perfect the socialist-oriented market economy institutional system according to popular standards of the modern market economy and international integration; ensuring the synchronization between economic and political institutions; between the State and the market; ensure the harmony between economic growth and cultural development, human development, progress, social justice, social security, environmental protection, and sustainable social development, active international economic integration associated with building an independent and self-reliant economy; ensuring publicity, transparency and predictability reflected in the construction and implementation of economic institutions, creating stable and favorable conditions for socio-economic*

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 72

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 78

development”¹. In the renewal process, our Party attaches great importance to the issue of sustainable development, linking economic growth with environmental protection. Especially at the 13th National Party Congress, right in the first development orientation, our Party has determined the goal of "Continuing to strongly innovate thinking and build and complete a unified institutional framework for sustainable development in economics, politics, culture, society, and the environment,...”². The Congress also emphasized “actively and effectively adapting to climate change, preventing, combating and mitigating natural disasters and epidemics; managing, exploiting and using resources reasonably, economically, efficiently and sustainably; taking the protection of the living environment and people's health as the top goals; resolutely eliminating projects that pollute the environment, ensuring the quality of the living environment, and protecting biodiversity and ecosystems; building a green economy, an environmentally friendly circular economy”³. It can be said that starting from the core value of socialism, this is a sustainable development society that the Party and State of Vietnam always pay attention to sustainable development in terms of economy, politics, people, society, and environment.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 12th National Party Congress*, Party Central Office, Hanoi, 2016, p.104

² Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, Vol.1, p. 114

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: *The Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, Vol.1, p. 116-117

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The above are the core values of socialist society according to the spirit of the Communist Party of Vietnam. These core values are not only interconnected and unified but also complement each other, together creating the essential values and nature of socialism. It is because of these core values that humanity in general, and the Vietnamese people in particular, continue to strive towards and pursue them..

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND BUILDING SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN VIETNAM

*Dr. Than Thi Hanh**

Introduction

When human society was formed, man as an entity knew how to master the society with different levels in which social mastering became the highest goal. Historically, the best political regime has been a socialist democracy, which is a society of which most of the people are identified as social subjects, and the people are the masters of such society. When the people are the masters of the society, enjoying their achievement will become a great driving force for social development.

In Vietnam, when the August Revolution (1945) was successful, the first democracy in the nation's history was formed. President Ho Chi Minh always single-mindedly carried out the national liberation revolution and won the people's democratic rights. He affirmed: our country is a democratic country; all benefits obtained are for the people; all rights belong to the people; renovation and construction work is the responsibility of the people; the cause of resistance war and national construction is the work of the people; the government from the commune to the central government is elected by the people; mass organizations

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from the central government to the commune are organized by the people; In short, power and force are held by the people¹. From such foundation, through the process of revolutionary struggle, national construction and development, that Vietnam has always persevered in following the path of socialism, which is why the Communist Party of Vietnam has determined to build a socialist democracy, because this is a nature of the regime, both a goal and a driving force of the country's development.

1. Socialist democracy is both a goal and a driving force for the country's development

1.1. Democratic views

From the study of democratic regimes in the history and practice of leading the socialist revolution, the founders of Marxism-Leninism said that democracy is the product and achievement of the class struggle for the progressive values of human being, is a form of state organization of the ruling class and is one of the operating principles of socio-political organizations.

In terms of power, the democracy is the power that belongs to the people. The most fundamental right of the people is the state power owned by the people and of the society; the state apparatus must serve the people and the society. Therefore, only when all state power belongs to the people, thence it be basically guaranteed that the people enjoy the right to mastery as a right.

In terms of social regime and in the political field, democracy is a form of state, a democratic government, or a democracy.

¹ Ho Chi Minh: *Complete Volume*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, volume 5, p. 698.

In terms of social organization and management, democracy is a principle - a democratic principle. This principle is combined with the principle of democratic centralism in social organization and management.

Marxism-Leninism emphasizes that democracy with the above qualifications must be considered as a goal, a premise and also a means to reach freedom, liberate people, liberate classes and liberate society. Democracy as an organizational form of political institutions, a form or form of the state, it is a historical category, born and developed in association with the state and lost when the state is disappeared. However, the democracy as a social value is a permanent category that exists and develops with the existence and development of human beings and human society. As long as man and human society exist, human civilization is not destroyed, the democracy will still exist as a common human value.

It can be understood that the democracy means that all rights belong to the people. The people must really be the subjects of society and moreover, the people must be fully mastered: To own the state, to own society and to own themselves, to own and possess all their creative energies as the true subject of a society. On the other hand, the democracy must cover all areas of socio-economic life, from democracy in economy, democracy in politics to democracy in society and democracy in cultural and spiritual life and ideology, in which the two most important and prominent fields are democracy in economy and democracy in politics. Not only that, democracy in economy and democracy in politics also directly demonstrate human rights (human rights) and citizenship rights (civil rights) of the people, once the people are really social subjects and master their society truthfully.

On the basis of Marxism - Leninism and the actual situation of Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh has developed democracy in the direction: 1- Democracy is first of all a common human value. He affirmed that “democracy is that the people are masters and the people masters. He also said, “Our country is a democratic country, the highest position belongs the people, because the people are the masters.”¹. 2- When considering democracy as a political and social system, he affirmed: “Our regime is a democracy, that means, the people are the masters, and the government is the faithful servant of the people”². He said that “a democratic government means that the government owned by the people”; and once our country has become a democracy, “we are the masters”, then democracy is “the people master” and “the people are the masters, then the president, minister, deputy minister, other commissioner are servants to the people, not a revolutionary mandarin”³.

Upholding the valuable views and on the foundation of President Ho Chi Minh’s ideology on democracy, the Communist Party of Vietnam advocates building a socialist democracy, expanding and promoting the right to mastery of the people. The Party has affirmed that “in all its activities, the Party must thoroughly grasp the ideology of “taking the people as the root”, building and promoting the mastery of the laborers”⁴.

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Complete volume*, volume 5, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 515

² Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Complete volume*, volume 7, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 499.

³ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Complete volume*, volume 6, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 365.

⁴ Communist Party of Vietnam (2005), *Documents of the Party Congress in the renovation period*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 28

1.2. The importance of socialist democracy in the process of national development

Socialist democracy is the democracy of the majority of the people, associated with the people's right to mastery over all areas of social life, guaranteed by the law, under the leadership of the Party; is a form of expressing the freedom and equality of each citizen, identifying the people as the subject of power. Socialist democracy is the nature of our regime, both a goal and a driving force of the country's development.

Firstly, in terms of nature, socialist democracy is a political system in which power belongs to the people, the people are the supreme subject of political power, state power, which is governed by the people. The people exercise their right to mastery through the activities of state agencies, the political system and other forms of direct democracy and representative democracy. Democracy is associated with discipline and discipline and must be institutionalized by the law, guaranteed by the law...

Secondly, socialist democracy is a goal, a driving force and the most basic characteristic constituting the model of social development in Vietnam. The social development model, in each different development stage of the country, sets goals for that development. Each goal is associated with core issues, which are decisive for the survival of the socio-political regime as well as the prosperity of the nation. Socialist democracy stipulates the existence and development of the socio-political regime and is the basic content and criteria for the realization of those goals.

Thirdly, socialist democracy in Vietnam is closely organized, with assignment, coordination, implementation and control among the agencies, units and organizations that constitutes it.

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The leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the management of the Socialist Jurisdiction State of Vietnam, the Fatherland Front and various socio-political organizations operate under the close supervision of all classes of the people, in order to ensure transparency, publicity and efficiency.

It can be seen that, socialist democracy recognizes all the rights to individual freedoms, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the meetings, freedom of belief, religion and non-belief, religion, the inviolability of body and housing, the right to rest and study... The State respects and guarantees human rights and citizens' rights; take care of everyone's happiness and free development. Rights and obligations of citizens are according to the Constitution and laws. Citizens' rights are inseparable from civic duties.

Mastering and promoting President Ho Chi Minh's thought: "Our country is a democratic country"¹, In the Fundamental for building the country in the transitional period to socialism (supplemented and developed in 2011) of the Party, the socialist system built by the Vietnamese people is a society "owned by the people"², where the right to master in all areas of social life belongs to the people, the people are the master and master in all areas of social life according to the principle of the Communist Party - the vanguard of the public class, the people, the laborers lead and implement political monism. And the Party and State "must create appropriate mechanisms, policies and laws; On the other hand, the people must strive, practice, learn democracy,

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Complete Volume*, Volume 6, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 232.

² Communist Party of Vietnam (2011), *Document of the 11th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, p. 70.

improve their understanding of democracy, democratic practice methods, and have the courage to practice democracy”¹. The people exercise their right to mastery by direct and indirect forms, through organizations in the political system, in which the core is the socialist jurisdiction state of the people, by the people and for the sake of the people based on a socialist economy with the state economy playing the leading role. The state “represents the people’s mastery; also the organizer of the implementation of the Party’s line; there has a mechanism for the people to exercise their right to direct ownership and representative democracy in all areas of social life, and to participate in social management”².

During the years of innovation, the Party has deeply realized that in order to move up to socialism, along with the task of socio-economic development, building an advanced Vietnamese culture, imbued with national identity, race..., it is necessary to successfully build a socialist democracy. Because “democracy is both a goal and a driving force of development”³, Without democracy there is no socialism.

As the culmination of the entire evolutionary history of democracy, socialist democracy crystallizes in all the democratic values achieved in history and rises new democratic values in terms of quality. And one of the important results achieved in

¹ Dinh The Huynh, Phung Huu Phu, Le Huu Nghia, Vu Van Hien, Nguyen Viet Thong (2015), *Thirty years of innovation and development in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 238-239.

² Nguyen Phu Trong (2021), *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the road to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House Truth, Hanoi, p. 28.

³ Communist Party of Vietnam (2011) *Documents of the 11th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 70

building a socialist democracy in Vietnam in the innovation period is the democratic consciousness of citizens and of society, the level and capacity of people to master are gradually raised. The democratic guarantees on the rights and obligations, interests and responsibilities of the actors in that society are more specifically codified and implemented step by step with results. People's participation has become more and more active, contributing to building the Party's line, policies, and laws of the State.

2. Building a socialist democracy and ensuring that power truly belongs to the people is an important and long-term task of the Vietnamese revolution.

2.1. The policy of building socialist democracy

The August Revolution in 1945 succeeded, the government returned to the people, established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Communist Party of Vietnam and President Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "Our country is a democratic country. All benefits obtained are for the people. All rights belong to the people. The work of renovation and construction is the responsibility of the people. The cause of resistance war and national construction is the work of the people. The government from the commune to the central government is elected by the people. Organizations from central to commune are organized by the people. In short, power and force are under the people"¹

Thus, from the very beginning of the country's establishment, the Party defined the Vietnamese regime as a democracy. During the congresses of the Party, democracy continued to be affirmed consistently, and continued to be supplemented and developed.

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011), *Toàn tập*, tập 5, Nxb. Chính trị Quốc gia - Sự thật, Hà Nội, tr. 698.

The 6th Party Congress emphasized the policy of promoting democracy to create a strong driving force for the country's development "in all its activities, the Party must thoroughly grasp the ideology of "taking the people as the root", building and developing exercise the mastery of the laborers. Promoting the spirit of the 6th Congress, the next congresses also emphasized "the revolutionary cause is of the people, by the people, for the people" and the important task in the revolutionary cause is "building and gradually perfecting socialist democracy, ensuring that power belongs to the people".

The Resolution of the 9th National Congress of the Party continued to mention that democracy is associated with disciplines and laws: "Promoting democracy goes hand in hand with disciplines and laws, strengthening the rule of law and managing the society by law, propagating and educating the whole people to raise awareness and obey the law"¹

Then, in the Resolution of the 10th National Congress of Deputies, the Party affirmed to realize "rich people, strong country, fair, democratic and civilized society". At the 11th Party Congress, he once again said that the socialist society that our people built is a society: "Rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization; owned by the people". In particular, the phrase "democracy" is put before the phrase "fair and civilized". This shows that the Party has clearly identified the position of democracy and practicing democracy in the process of social development, which is a prerequisite and an essential basis for building a just and civilized society.

¹ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2011), *Văn kiện đại hội Đảng lần thứ XI*, Nxb. Chính trị Quốc gia - Sự thật, tr. 86

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At the 12th Congress, the policy on building a socialist democracy was expressed more clearly, the Congress stated: “Continuing to build and perfect socialist democracy, ensuring all state power belongs to the people; all lines and guidelines of the Party, policies and laws of the State are for the benefit of the people; cadres and civil servants must fulfill their assigned responsibilities and tasks well, respect the people, wholeheartedly serve the people... There are specific mechanisms for the people to practically exercise their right to direct ownership... Promoting democracy, upholding civic responsibilities, guidelines and social rules; criticizing and severely punishing acts that violate the people’s right to mastery”¹. Moreover, to emphasize the role and meaning of promoting socialist democracy, in the Document of the 12th Party Congress, the phrase “socialist democracy” has been added to the title of the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 12th Party Congress, also, continued to emphasize the need to create positive changes, improve the efficiency of democracy implementation, and adhere to the jurisdiction in the organization and activities of the State. It can be seen that, throughout the leadership process, the Communist Party of Vietnam always puts the promotion of socialist democracy first, an extremely important task of the country.

Over the course of development, the view on building socialist democracy has always remained steadfast, at each stage, it should be supplemented and adjusted to suit the actual situation, specifically, at the Congress of Deputies. During the 13th National Party Congress, the issue of socialist democracy was emphasized: “Practicing and widely promoting socialist democracy, the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2016), *Documents of the 12th Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, p. 169

people's right to mastery and subjectivity; promoting the great unity of the whole nation; consolidating and raising the people's confidence; strengthening social consensus; continuing to innovate the contents and modes of operation of the Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations"¹

Thus, the building of socialist democracy with complementary perspectives, the development is carried out according to different development stages, but unifying that is the nature, method and driving force of the country's development, affirming that all state power belongs to the people; The people are the masters, and the people master. And the people exercise their right to be the master and master under the leadership of the Party and the State's management throughout the development process.

2.2. Practicing socialist democracy

Vietnam's success in building a socialist democracy is a harmonious combination between a deeper and deeper awareness of democracy to have appropriate guidelines, policies, and laws, among theory of democracy with the practice of democracy in all aspects of social life. To practice democracy is to form effective mechanisms, policies, regulations, principles and measures to ensure that all people exercise their democratic rights, and to realize the motto that the Party has determined "People know, people discuss, people do, people check, people benefit".

The nature of the practice of socialist democracy is to promote the role of the Party, the State, socio-political organizations and the people in order to mobilize all resources to build and defend the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Volume I, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 13

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Fatherland. It is promoting the active, self-conscious and creative role of the people as the owners of society.

The goal of socialist democratic practice in Vietnam is to consolidate and strengthen unity within the Party, consensus among the people, and to build a strong socialist political system; maintain political stability, rapid and sustainable economic development, create a premise for promoting industrialization and modernization of the country; strengthen the close relationship between the Party, State and the people, demonstrate the preeminent nature of the regime.

The basic content of democratic practice is that the Party leads the entire society to develop according to the socialist orientation; The State is the power organization of the people, institutionalizes the views and lines of the Party into policies and laws, organizes the management and administration of society in order to implement the Party's line and ensure the interests of the people; socio-political organizations operating according to the Party's line and the State's laws and ensuring the right to mastery of all classes of the people. The people have the right and responsibility to directly participate in the building, planning and implementation of the guidelines of the Party, policies, and laws of the State.

As the millennial aspiration of the complete majority of the laborers, however, building socialism and communism in general, and socialist democracy in particular is an unprecedented practice. It is different from the bourgeois democracy with a history of many hundreds of years and has itself continued to be improved and adjusted. The Communist Party of Vietnam has determined that building a socialist democracy is a long process and in the process of building a socialist democracy, it will be difficult to promote the people's real mastery, it needs fixing a few things:

Firstly, to overcome the subjective expressions of impatience, as well as a depressed and easily accepted mentality that makes the democratization process stagnate and inadequate with the requirements of innovation.

Secondly, it is necessary to avoid manifestations of formal democracy, extreme democracy, Western-style democracy, taking advantage of democracy - human rights to destabilize, implement a “colorful” revolution in order to change the socialist regime in the process of promoting the democratization of social life,

Thirdly, not be one-sided in perceiving the relationship of “multi-party”, “pluralism” with high and low levels of democracy; overcoming the ambiguity about the substance and form of manifestation of bourgeois democracy. The mistake is even more serious for those who are identifying democracy in the transition period to socialism with democracy in a fully socialist society, as was made in the pre-renovation period.

Fourthly, it is necessary to overcome isolation in building and perfecting a socialist democracy. Although it is different in political nature from bourgeois democracy, that does not prevent the inheritance and selective absorption of mankind’s achievements in building democracy in Vietnam.

All the methods and solutions to practice democracy in Vietnam have led to good results, which further affirms that the Communist Party of Vietnam is a symbol of democracy and a key issue to build and protect the nation is to ensure the people’s right to mastery

3. Promoting socialist democracy in Vietnam

The reality of Vietnam’s revolution, especially over the past 35 years of renovation, very clearly and vividly shows the progress

made in promoting democracy and building socialist democracy of the Party and State and the people. The Party also pointed out that in order to build a socialist democracy, promote the people's real mastery is an important task, because socialist democracy is one of the true values of socialist democracy and is also the goal and path that President Ho Chi Minh, the Party and people of Vietnam have chosen, and are consistently and persistently pursuing. Without socialist democracy, there will be no socialism. This requires "... a political system where real power belongs to the people, by the people and serving the interests of the people, and not just for a wealthy minority."¹. That political system must be "oriented towards progressive and humane values, based on the common interests of the whole society in harmony with the legitimate interests of people..."². The operating mechanism must be adopted by the Party leadership, the State management and the people's mastery to promote the people's right to mastery. Since, this is "the relationship between the subjects who agree on goals and interests; all lines of the Party, policies, laws and activities of the State are for the benefit of the people, taking the people's happiness as a goal to strive for."³. This general mechanism is one of the "ten great relationships" that need to be strengthened and resolved in the current period.

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong (2021), *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the road to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 21- 22.

² Nguyen Phu Trong (2021), *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 28.

³ Nguyen Phu Trong (2021), *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the road to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 21- 22.

The institution for exercising the people's mastery rights has been gradually established, concretized and come into life as a matter of course. The democratic consciousness of citizens and society, the people's level of mastery has been markedly raised. Many guidelines and measures to promote the active and proactive role of the people have been effectively implemented. The people's trust in the Party and with the State is consolidated and becomes an organic and solid relationship. In the context of the covid-19 pandemic having a strong impact on Vietnam, causing a lot of socio-economic damage, it is in that situation that it is easy to see the superiority of the socialist democratic institution. Promoting the strength of the great national unity and the correct leadership of the Party; the drastic and timely executive direction of the government; the synchronous and active participation of branches, levels and socio-political organizations; with the strong companionship, response and support of the people over the country, we have promptly controlled and basically managed the epidemic, minimized damage, and ensured social security and welfare of the people, gradually restoring production and business to fulfill the tasks of socio-economic development at the highest level.

Economics: democracy in the economic field has an important development which is the basis for the guarantee of democracy in other fields of social life. The road of construction and development of a socialist-oriented market economy with many forms of ownership, many economic sectors, forms of business organization, forms of distribution, equality before the law, and operations according to the law, long-term mutual development, cooperation and fair competition, have created the basic conditions for the practice and promotion of democracy. The

economy is socialist-oriented, so Vietnam's economy has started to develop and develop continuously at a relatively high speed, since 1986 with an average growth rate of about 7% per year. The scale of GDP is constantly expanding, reaching 342.7 billion USD (USD) in 2020, becoming the fourth largest economy in ASEAN. Per capita income increased about 17 times, to 3,512 USD; Vietnam has been out of the group of low-income countries since 2008¹. From a country with constant food shortages, up to now, Vietnam has not only ensured food security but also become a leading exporter of rice and other agricultural products in the world. Industry has quite rapidly developed, the proportion of industry and services has continuously increased and currently accounts for about 85% of GDP². In the face of complicated developments of the covid-19 pandemic, it has greatly affected the economic situation of Vietnam. Thanks to promoting the superiority of socialist democracy, by 2022, GDP in the first 6 months of the year has increased by 6.42% over the same period, clearly showing the strong recovery of the economy. The statistics show that most sectors and fields of the economy are prospered; In particular, some industries had higher growth rates before the COVID-19 epidemic occurred.

Politics: in the political field, democracy in the Party, state organizations, mass organizations and society in the organization and operation of elected bodies has been

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong (2021), *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p.31

² Nguyen Phu Trong (2021), *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 31

expanded and brought into full play. The protection of citizens' legitimate rights and interests, and handling of violations of democratic rights, are more focused. The political system has had innovations in the direction of streamlining, compactness, effectiveness and efficiency; democratization, publicity and transparency in the mode of operation, through which social democracy is increasingly promoted and effective.

The Fatherland Front and mass organizations have gradually reformed the content and mode of operation in the direction of expanding and promoting democracy, better promoting the role of social supervision and criticism. Social, socio-professional organizations were born to meet the diverse needs of the people. Forms of implementing democracy have been gradually expanded, renewed and more effectively implemented.

Culture - society: Democracy in the field of culture - society is promoted and implemented more effectively. The legal system, mechanisms, policies and effective solutions in the fields of health, culture, education, sports, technology, environment... are increasingly improved and meet the requirements of life. Many legal documents have concretized the basic rights and obligations of citizens, which are more suitable for socio-economic development conditions. The principle that all citizens are equal before the law is codified and entered life step by step. Social justice and equality have made remarkable progress. The guarantee of human rights and citizens' rights has received more and more attention and promoted positive effects.

In addition to the positive results, the promotion of socialist democracy in Vietnam still has many limitations. "The people's right to mastery is sometimes violated in other places; still manifests formal democracy, separating democracy from

discipline and law”¹. The reason is that the operation of the political system is not really synchronized and effective; conditions for the people to own are not adequate; the lack of exemplary democracy in organizations and activities of some party, government and mass organizations, especially corruption, wastefulness, deterioration in political ideology and morality, and life of a part of cadres and party members; the lack of democratic consciousness, taking advantage of democracy by a part of the people.... These limitations and causes have greatly influenced the nature, goals and dynamics of socialist democracy in particular, the overall goal of Vietnamese socialism in general, it should be focused attention and overcome.

Over 90 years of revolutionary leadership, the Communist Party of Vietnam has always relied on the people, promoting the people’s mastery, considering it as the goal and driving force of the revolution. That is also a valuable lesson for the Party to overcome countless difficulties and challenges, to win one victory after another. Therefore, building a democracy must be considered a long-term revolutionary cause, but also considered an important task. Because socialist democracy is one of the true values of socialism and is also the goal and path that President Ho Chi Minh, the Party and people of Vietnam have chosen and persistently pursue.

Conclusion

Over the course of revolutionary history, the perceptions of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the State of Vietnam on

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of Deputies*, Volume I, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 89.

socialist democracy have become more and more profound, humanistic and progressive. It shows that the Party and State of Vietnam are constantly developing, correctly and creatively applying Marx's ideology on democracy and the principles of Marxism - Leninism into the reality of Vietnam's revolution. Those achievements in theoretical development of democracy were promptly added to the revolutionary line, concretized into the Party's guidelines and decisions and the State's policies and laws, and implemented in social life. In other words, from the initial principled awareness of democracy, the Party and State of Vietnam have continuously developed and perfected their awareness and guidelines and policies to build a social democracy, more and more vividly and progressively showing the principle of "State of the people, by the people and for the people".

The socialist democracy that Vietnam building and perfecting is fundamentally different from the bourgeois democracy and democracies that have existed in human history. It is a progressive, humane democracy of the entire laborers, demonstrating the people's right to mastery over all areas of social life. Socialist democracy is guaranteed by the legal system, by the system of state organizations elected by the people and led by the Communist Party. Socialist democracy is constantly being perfected along with the process of expanding and enriching the people's diverse requirements for freedom, self-determination and conditions for the all-round development of human being. That democracy is the nature of the socialist regime, both the true goal of the revolution and the driving force of development in the process of nation building.

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COMPARISON ON THE VALUE BETWEEN CONCEPTION ABOUT GREAT UNIVERSAL SOCIETY OF CONFUCIANISM AND SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM

*Assoc.Prof.Dr. Le Thi Lan**

1. Conception of Confucian ideal of Great universal society

In Confucian doctrine, the ideal society is the central issue. In Kinh Thu (Shu Jing), the society in the reigns of King Nghieu (King Yao) and King Thuan (Emperor Shun), with basic descriptions, is a society ruled by a wise king with a team of talented and talented servants, a respectful society, peaceful brothers, and sisters, social relations reached harmony with social security criteria such as young people having food to eat, old people having silk to wear¹ ... which were later perceived by Confucianists as a good, rational society.

In terms of standards, the leaders of a universal society are wise people like King Yao and King Thuan. "Old King Yao has great merit! He is respectful, wise; cultural, thoughtful, peaceful; really shrugging, giving in... Light all over the four directions outside, throughout, above and below! It is clear that moral is

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¹ Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 19, 31, 33, 36, 37, 43, 57.

great, to get close to the people of the nine tribes. The nine tribes agree, all hundreds of them. Hundreds of them were brilliant, in harmony with all countries. People all changed! Life is peaceful"¹. Let's see how King Yao chooses a successor with morality as the top standard. "Thuan lives in harmony with filial piety"², "the ancient Thuan king... profound; wise; cultural; insight; comely; respectfully; righteously; sincerely... That moral tacitly reached the king, heard about it, and gave him the position"³.

About King Thuan's way of leading and ruling the people: "Tell the twelve shepherds that eating is only in season! Attract people far away! Forge people nearby! The body of a virtuous person! Trust the benevolent! Resist the wicked! All the barbarians will submit"⁴.

Regarding the use of talented people of King Thuan, using Ba Vu as Tu Khong, pacifying land and water; using Tac to do agriculture; using Xue as a Tu Do to teach the Five common relationships of society; using Cao Rao as a scholar, using five punishments for the people's uniform; using Thuy as a public servant to take care of the worker's work; using Ich as a position of Ngu, taking care of things above and below grass, trees and birds; use Ba Di to consider the worship of heaven, earth, and human gods; using Quy to consider the music to the eight tones are

¹ Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 15.

² Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 19.

³ Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 21

⁴ Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 25.

favorable, gods and people are therefore happy; use Long as the Recharge of Speech to consider the words that come in and out"¹.

The right way to do politic in Vu's time "King knows how difficult it is to be a king! Mandarin know how difficult it is to be a mandarin! Only then will politics be corrected; People will be quick to changing", " The important in politics is to feed the people... Politics is to take virtue! Good for use! Care for life! All must be peacefull."²

These criteria about the ideal society of Confucianism are actually more about the aspect of political and cultural values, the spiritual qualities of the society than the level of material civilization, and are unified in their concept of the ideal society of the Confucians of all times.

Confucianists believe that the reigns of King Yao and King Thuan were the times when the society had achieved great universality, the actual period of royal politics: "The great way is implemented, the world is shared, and talented people are recruited, people have honest speech, hamonious doing, natural virtue circulates everywhere, natural affection is clear, cunning mind does not arise, the habit of contention does not arise at all out"³. This is the period "because of the new development of the wind, the good fortune is running, the human heart is still pure

¹ Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 25-28.

² Confucius, Shangshu (The Book of the Book), Literary Publishing House. Hanoi, 2001. P. 30-31.

³ Le Quy Don. The counterpoint essay for Nham Than Dinh exam, Canh Hung date of Le Hien Tong dynasty (1752), documents of the Institute of Philosophy, warehouse symbol H 87.

and natural like that, it is not possible for a saint to do it"¹. The society of the Yao Shun period was the good society of the past with the ideal that everyone later aspires to. This ideal society was historical, objective, non-repetitive, and not attempted by saints that can do. This is the period when people's dispositions are pure, close to nature, according to nature. Later, the more society develops, the more complicated people's dispositions become, the more fierce the struggle for power and wealth becomes, the more people are separated from nature, the more divided, discord, and suffering society becomes by war, poverty, conflict. And the ancient society of harmony and peace has become the dream of living and the social ideal of everyone.

Great Universal society has appeared in ancient history but has passed, if saints appear, even if they want to, they can't make society return to that period of pure customs anymore, and that is the necessity rule of social movement. Confucianists are well aware of that rule, but at the same time seek a way to restore that ideal good society and believe that there is only the moral path, overcoming social evils by means of self-cultivation, Educating humanity, respecting talents, and practicing the king's way according to the standards of this ideal society is the only right way for mankind to return to the ideal state of harmonious society in the Yao Shun period.

Each Confucianist is imbued with the political ideal of Confucianism, which is by way of morality, through the process of separation of things, wisdom, sincerity, righteous thoughts, self-cultivation, family rule, governance, and peace in the world, the

¹ Le Quy Don. The counterpoint essay for Nham Than Dinh Khoan exam, Canh Hung date of Le Hien Tong dynasty (1752), documents of the Institute of Philosophy, warehouse symbol H 87.

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Gentleman will bring society closer to the ideal social state that has passed.

A wise king-servant relationship is the key to good politics, the basic value of a Great universal society.

In order to achieve the ideal good society, Confucianism focuses first on human issues, requires a wise leader with a team of talented, loyal, virtuous servants who wholeheartedly help the king. Rule the country according to the saint's road in order to achieve the ideal social goal: "The Dao of Yao, Thuan, and the law of Van Vu can perform household chores, national affairs, world affairs. For all things that determine the rank, the conditions of rising and falling, the order before and after, uses of transformationthe are all natural"¹. Thus, the standard of the wise king and talented, loyal, virtuous servants in the conception of the ideal society of the Yao Shun period became the means and the goal of Confucian politics, a prerequisite for the ideal society to be realized. The problem of building an ideal universal society becomes a matter of building an elite leadership team.

In Great universal society, the person who has supreme power and wisdom is the one who achieves prestige by virtue

The head of the world must be a saint to bring society to a prosperous place. A sage is first and foremost a person who understands the reason (law) of heaven and earth, cultivates himself according to that reason to be qualified to be a politician and a teacher, has a reputation for winning people's hearts and minds, leading the people to follow the principles of holiness.

¹ Le Quy Don, The counterpoint essay for the Nham Than Dinh Khoa exam, the Canh Hung era of the Le Hien Tong dynasty (1752), documents of the Institute of Philosophy, warehouse symbol H 87.

"Heaven and earth use each other's inspiration to make all living things grow and prosper. Saints win people's hearts and people are at peace, that's natural. Heaven and saints, the other side is the reason, the other side is the image, there is a difference. Heaven is a saint who cannot speak. A saint is a talking heaven, one is two, two is one, it's the same." A saint is a wise person, who understands the natural reason to rule the country according to that natural reason, understands "the way to rule the world is basically in the heart of the people. Firmly grasp people's hearts, maintain life's affairs, make the world like a family, the whole country as a person by teaching and controlling, not allow the seven emotions rule to dominate, correcting the ten meanings, love tolerance, giving up fighting, making everything right, that's the sage who rules by reason"¹

In the Confucian conception, the doctrine of benevolence is the only legitimate way that the saint adheres to, the manifestation of the natural law in society. In other words, being humane is the path that King Yao and King Thuan followed to rule the country, the way to identify the natural law with the social law, to achieve the peaceful society ideal. A gentleman must understand "the reason of how to treat yourself and others is benevolent, what a superior person does to him but hates it, he does not do to the inferior, what the inferior does to him but hates it, he does not do with the superior person. With regard to the left and the right, before and after always treat them like this, so that the top and the bottom, the four sides are right, the world is peaceful, that is the right way in the Great Learning. That

¹ Le Quy Don, The counterpoint essay for the Nham Than Dinh Khoa exam, the Canh Hung era of the Le Hien Tong dynasty (1752), documents of the Institute of Philosophy, warehouse symbol H 87.

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reason can be understood. Hua Hanh, who lived under the reign of Dang Van Cong, put forward the theory that the king and servant work together, to plow, to eat together early and evening. Every one workes equally, the market has no two prices. This theory is considering as the theory of bringing people out to do false work, is the doctrine of demagoguery, could not be used to govern the state and was criticized by Mencius and many Confucianists, including Le Quy Don.

The leadership qualities of the wise man include the ability to make policies to use people generously, relatives and sages are used according to their ability, must respect both general literature mandarin and martial arts mandarin, depending on the time of peace or danger; maintain justice in politics by publicize the laws; cultivate filial piety as the root and the wise man must be a person who has ability to listen to the word of truth.

A team of talented servants is a criterion and a value of Great universal society

"The country prospered due to having many talents". The Confucian point of view affirms that the indispensable condition for building an ideal society is to have a bright king and a good servant in the power apparatus to administer the affairs. The condition for a talented person to be used, to bring his talent to the table, is to have a wise king.

The incompatibility between the theory of the ideal society and the actual conditions for building that society is in the precondition of having a bright king and a gentle servant. This incompatibility comes from three reasons: how does the king deal with the relationship between the theory of "respectful sage" and "for relatives" in political practice; the king decides to select criteria

how talented for recruiting sages; and from the criteria how is wisdom of the king's choice. In other words, the prerequisite for building an ideal society depends entirely on the subjective choice of the contemporary king, who has the ultimate authority to orient the criteria of talent, selection and use of talent, although these criteria were clearly defined by Confucian reasoning.

The time for talents appear depending on the objective conditions and the subjective will of the king. The top national officials must not have preconceived ideas and must be responsible for making the king to be right. These are two extremely important qualities of a great minister, which can help the king become a wise man, and at the same time help talented people have the conditions to be selected and used.

Confucianism affirms the decisive role of the king for national governance in the direction of realizing the ideal of a universal society, but in order to succeed, the king must establish a team of talented servants who wholeheartedly serve the ideal of serve king - help country.

Thus, considering the values of the ideal society in Confucianism, we find that the criteria for defining this ideal society are inclined towards the cultural-political value dimension of that ideal society. Therefore, the issue of building and perfecting the political qualities and capabilities of the leadership is of particular interest to Confucianism, and the human solution that Confucianism offers is a cultural, political and ethical solution ethics rather than economic solutions.

2. Marxism-Leninism's conception of socialism

Socialism is considered by the classics in two ways: as a scientific theory of society and as a superior social system over

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the capitalist social system. Socialism is not a socio-economic form but only an early stage, a low level of development of the communist society (a society in which all means of production and labor products are in common). Lenin thought that the word Communism could be used together to refer to socialism because under socialism the means of production belonged to the common people. In their works, sometimes Marx, Engels, and Lenin used the term communism to refer to socialism. Either way, the classics agree on the concept of socialism as a society that is "higher and better developed than capitalism, which is reflected in the fact that "socialism will create a higher labor productivity". Capitalism and the goal of socialism are for the people". According to the Marxist classics, "the productivity of labor is, after all, the most important thing, the most crucial thing for the victory of the new regime... capitalism can be defeated completely, and will be defeated, because socialism will create a new, much higher labor productivity" and "Socialism does not use those products of higher labor productivity to enslave people but to meet the increasing needs of people and all members of society".

Thus, socialism as an ideal social system according to the concept of Marxist classics has the most general nature, is a better society than capitalist society, means of production belong to the common property, has a higher labor productivity than capitalism, and people are more free under capitalism.

Features of socialism as a social regime

The classics of Marxism have pointed out nine characteristics of socialism:

- 1- The physical basis of socialism is the great mechanical industry

2- Socialism abolished capitalist private property and established public ownership of the means of production

3- Socialism planned to regulate social production, and commodity production would essentially become superfluous.

4- Socialism creates a new way of organizing labor and disciplining labor

5- Socialism implements the principle of distribution according to labor

6- When socialism has been built and communism has been implemented, society will no longer have classes.

7- Socialism liberates people from all oppression and exploitation, creating conditions for people to develop comprehensively. The classics associate class abolition with the eradication of differences between nations, with the issue of national liberation. "The proletariat in all countries share the same goal of building a new, just and equal society, a society free from oppression and exploitation, sharing the same interests and facing the same struggle against the bourgeoisie on a worldwide scale"¹. Socialism will liberate people from all oppression and exploitation, from the status of one nation dominating another: "The goal of socialism is to liberate people and create conditions for people to develop comprehensively. That is one of the basic and main characteristics of socialism"². "C. Marx and Ph. Engels considered

¹ Nguyen Trong Chuan, Pham Van Duc, Ho Si Quy (co-editor). "The basic views of Marx – Ph. Engels - V.I. Lenin on socialism and the transition period. Nxb. National Politics Publishing House. Hanoi. 1997. P. 113-116.

² Nguyen Trong Chuan, Pham Van Duc, Ho Si Quy (co-editor). "The basic views of Marx - Ph. Engels - V.I. Lenin on socialism and the transition period. National Politics Publishing House. Hanoi. 1997. P. 116.

socialism and communism as the liberation of people and considered comprehensive human development as the highest goal of socialism and communism". The thought "For the sake of man and liberate mankind", the idea that "society cannot liberate itself, without liberating each separate individual" is considered the core of the socialism's doctrine by C. Marx and Ph. Enghels, is the starting point in the question of building a new social system that is just, free of oppression and exploitation, everyone is equal, has the right to participate in labor and activities production: "Only in the community the individual has the means to fully develop his gifts, and therefore only in the community can individual freedom."¹. "Only a society without oppression and exploitation, where everyone is equal, has the right to participate in labor according to a unified common plan, is able to create material and the spirit conditions for everyone so that each person can freely develop their own nature, live with those around them in human relationships and not worry about others using violence to destroy their happiness"².

8- Socialism realizes social equality

The concept of socialism as a good society derives from the long-standing dream of social justice, of abolishing the centuries-old human exploitation system in society, of organizing a kind of society in which everyone is equal, has the right to participate in productive labor, and has happiness. Freedom, equality, and

¹ Nguyen Trong Chuan, Pham Van Duc, Ho Si Quy (co-editor). "The basic views of Marx - Ph. Engels - V.I. Lenin on socialism and the transition period. National Politics Publishing House. Hanoi. 1997. P. 121.

² Nguyen Trong Chuan, Pham Van Duc, Ho Si Quy (co-editor). "The basic views of Marx - Ph. Engels - V.I. Lenin on socialism and the transition period. National Politics Publishing House. Hanoi. 1997. P. 117-121.

charity are values brought by the bourgeois revolution but have not been realized. Only socialism can realize those eternal values. Equality is the foundation, the basis of socialism.

9- Socialism is really the cause of the masses themselves, the result of the creative process of the masses.

Of the nine characteristics mentioned above of socialism as a social system, the seventh feature includes all the values of socialism. The new, socialist society is an association in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"¹.

3. Comparison of values between universal society and socialist society

From examining the concept and characteristics of the mass society in Confucianism and socialism in Marxism-Leninism, we see that there are many similarities in terms of values. Both universal and socialist societies take the values of justice, equality, harmony, and having a prosperous and happy material life for all as the core values of society. This is a value system that attracts and attracts all social classes and has intense and eternal vitality. It is this value system that has brought the conquest of Confucianism and Marxism-Leninism to the progressive elite, making the legitimacy of the struggle for human liberation.

It can be said that the awareness of social justice and social equality, the goal of building a harmonious, happy and prosperous society on the basis of social welfare is increasingly

¹ Nguyen Trong Chuan, Pham Van Duc, Ho Si Quy (co-editor). "The basic views of Marx – Ph. Engels - V.I. Lenin on socialism and the transition period. National Politics Publishing House. Hanoi. 1997. P. 122.

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meeting people's needs in Confucianism, which is very close to the perception of socialism of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. This makes the perception of socialist society extremely close to the Vietnamese people, a people with a history of cultural development associated with Confucianism for thousands of years. The closeness of values of the ideal society between Confucianism and Marxism-Leninism is the cultural basis for Vietnam's choice of the path to develop socialism.

The young man Nguyen Tat Thanh, when he stepped off the ship to find a way to save the country, brought with him the baggage of Confucian knowledge, will, ambition to rule the country, and peace of mind. During the period of ideological transition from Confucianism to Marxism-Leninism, a large number of Confucianists followed the path of the proletarian revolution, because "as for the Confucians, they felt that they were inheriting those who have led the country for centuries and led the people in the national struggle for hundreds of years. The elite of the Confucian class still retain their pride and self-confidence"¹. Doctor Nguyen Khac Vien, son of scholar Nguyen Khac Niem, a great official of the Nguyen Dynasty, affirmed: "Marxism came to Vietnam not as a doctrine like other theories, but as a tool for solving problem of freedom, after the defeat of Confucianists, after the weak and hopeless efforts of the bourgeois intelligentsia against colonialism and feudalism. Marxism succeeds Confucianism to give the country a political and social doctrine, helping to solve practical problem, it meets Confucianism in historical development, but not in book

¹ Nguyen Khac Vien. Talk about Confucianism. World Publisher. Hanoi. 2000. P. 34

discussions”¹. It was Confucianism, with its concept of an ideal universal society reflecting the social dream of the Vietnamese nation, that created a favorable ground for the introduction of Marxism in Vietnam. Confucianism is a doctrine that "directs people's thoughts entirely to social life, so it stands on a common level with the Marxists. If he can convince a Confucian that Marxism will realize all the social ideals he dreams of, that Confucian is ready to give up Confucianism and accept Marxism”². Nguyen Khac Vien believes that the rational root of Confucianism is not opposed to science and Marxism. It is Confucianism's humanistic, human-centered, and social life-based basis that helps the sublime theory of socio-economic analysis, to understand history, and to determine the direction of socialism. Marx became close to Vietnam.

It can be said that the similarity in value in the concept of an ideal society towards which humanity is aiming between Confucianism and Marxism-Leninism is the cultural basis for Vietnam's choice of development path. President Ho Chi Minh on the road to national salvation, having met Lenin's Outline on the right of peoples and colonies to self-determination, has found Marxist doctrine as the guideline for the path to liberate the country, regain independence and develop the nation. Ho Chi Minh, with his revolutionary knowledge and experience of a man who dedicated his life to independence and freedom, came to the profound conclusion that only socialism and communism

¹ Nguyen Khac Vien. Talk about Confucianism. World Publisher. Hanoi. 2000. P. 36.

² Nguyen Khac Vien. Talk about Confucianism. World Publisher. Hanoi. 2000. P. 46-47.

can thoroughly solve the problem for the independence of the nation, only to bring about a life of freedom, prosperity and real happiness for all people and for all nations. In particular, an issue of special importance is bringing the Marxist concept of socialism to become extremely close to the Confucian ideal of society in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's moral dignity, his revolutionary life is an exemplary living witness for the ultimate combination of a gentleman and a communist soldier. Until the end of his life, in his Will, President Ho Chi Minh still fully dreamed of a good ideal society for the nation and humanity: "My last wish is: the entire Party and people We unite to strive to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, making a worthy contribution to the world revolutionary cause"¹.

Conclusion

At present, the concept of socialism as an ideal, revolutionary and scientific society still holds the number one position in the revolutionary theory of Vietnam mainly because of its similar social values between Confucianism and Marxism. General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong has very clearly identified a number of outstanding and most important values in the perception of socialism in the current era: "We need a society in which development is really for people, not for profit that exploits and tramples on human dignity. We need economic development to go hand in hand with progress and social justice, not widening the gap between rich and poor and social inequality. We need a society of compassion, solidarity, mutual

¹ Ho Chi Minh Complete Volume, Testament, volume 12, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1996, p. 500.

assistance, towards progressive and humane values, not unfair competition, "big fish eat small fish" for the selfish benefit of one person, handful of individuals and groups"¹. According to General Secretary of Vietnamese Communism Party Nguyen Phu Trong, "The socialist society that the Vietnamese people are striving to build is a society of rich people, a strong country, democratic, fair and civilized; owned by the people; have a highly developed economy, based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations; has an advanced culture imbued with national identity; people have a prosperous, free and happy life, have conditions for comprehensive development; Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, respect and help each other to develop; there is a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people led by the Communist Party; have friendly and cooperative relations with countries around the world"². In addition to the above values, the new values of the times such as sustainable development and harmony with the environment were also paid special attention by the General Secretary.

Although there is a huge and fundamental difference in terms of socio-political doctrine between Confucianism and Marxism-

¹ Professor, Dr. Nguyen Phu Trong, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. "Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam". <https://vietnamnet.vn/vn/thoi-su/chinh-tri/bai-viet-cua-tong-bi-thu-ve-con-duong-di-len-chu-nghia-xa-hoi-o-viet-nam-737210.html>

² Professor, Dr. Nguyen Phu Trong, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. "Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam". <https://vietnamnet.vn/vn/thoi-su/chinh-tri/bai-viet-cua-tong-bi-thu-ve-con-duong-di-len-chu-nghia-xa-hoi-o-viet-nam-737210.html>

Leninism, especially in terms of methods and the way to achieve the ideal social goal, but it is undeniable that the meeting on the most basic human values in the concept of the ideal society of these two theories. That is an important cultural and ideological basis that makes socialism an inevitable development choice of Vietnam.

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PART III

**FUNDAMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS
IN REALIZING SOME VALUES OF
SOCIALISM**

SOME THEORETICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM SINCE THE START OF RENOVATION

*Prof. Dr. Pham Van Duc**

The reality full of changes in the last years of the twentieth century has posed many problems for the creative application of Marxism in accordance with the new historical conditions of the world and the practice of the countries following the socialist path like Vietnam.

At the end of the 80s of the twentieth century, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the cause of renovation in Vietnam posed many problems related socialism and the renovation for leaders and scholars in Vietnam. In the context when many countries abandoned the socialist path, the Communist Party of Vietnam persisted in maintaining the socialist path in Vietnam and affirmed that the collapse of the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was not the breakdown of scientific Socialism but only the collapse of a particular model of socialism. Methodologically, this claim is very important: *on the one hand*, (it) contributes to strengthening the belief of the Communist Party and people of Vietnam in scientific socialism and socialist ideals, *at the same time*, (it) requests the Party and those doing the theoretical work to perfect and supplement new theoretical viewpoints, find a

* Philosophical Association

model of socialism suitable to the practice of the national development and development trends of the world.

K. Marx's theory of socialism and the path to socialism is the important foundation for the worldview and methodology for the creative application of theory of Marxism in the ever-changing practice of Vietnam. The search for a model of socialism suitable to the reality of the country's development is a long-term work and is regularly supplemented and perfected. With the practice of 36 years of renovation the Communist Party of Vietnam affirms that the overall goal expressing the nature of the socialist society that the Vietnamese people is building is "*the rich people, strong, democratic, just and civilized country; (this is a socialist society) mastered by the people; with a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and appropriate/compatible progressive production relations; with an advanced culture imbued with national identity; (in which) the people enjoy a prosperous, free and happy life, and (necessary) conditions for comprehensive development; (in which) ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, united, respect and help each other for shared/common development;(a society) with a socialist law-governed state of the people, by the people, and for the people under the leadership of the Communist Party; with friendly and cooperative relations with the people of other countries in the world*"¹. These are also the basic features of socialism with Vietnamese nature. These features not only inherit Marx's views but also the creation of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The socialist society that the Vietnamese people are building carries the universal values of humanity such as prosperity, democracy,

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong. *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path toward socialism in Vietnam*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 24

justice, civilization, prosperity, freedom, happiness, progress, for the sake of human development, etc. Thus, the socialist society that Vietnam is building is situated in the process of mankind's progressive development with the inheritance and development of human values.

In order to have a society with such characteristics, breakthroughs in theoretical perspective are needed. The Marxist materialist conception of history holds that the development of socio-economic formations is a natural historical process. The natural historical process is understood as the development that follows the objective laws of historical movement, including both sequential development and leapfrogging, skipping a certain stage of development with certain events. But even if the development leaps forward or shortens, the development of society must still inherit the important achievements that human society has achieved. Imbued with that point of view, the living reality of Vietnam's renovation process has proved that the theory of Vietnam's transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist phase is right and creative. Theory of bypassing capitalism, it can be said, is a supplement to the shortened development of socialism in Vietnam. According to that theory, the transition to socialism bypassing capitalism is to bypass the establishment of a dominant position of the relations of production and the capitalist superstructure, but to absorb, take advantage of the achievements that mankind has achieved under the capitalist regime, especially in science and technology, in order to rapidly develop the productive forces, build a modern economy and move towards building socialism¹.

¹ Political Report of the Communist Party of Vietnam's 8th Central Committee at the 9th National Party Congress

In the economic field, the Communist Party of Vietnam has built and developed the concept of a socialist-oriented market economy. It is not a capitalist market economy nor is it a socialist market economy with its full contents. The socialist-oriented market economy is a modern market economy, fully operating according to the rules of the market economy, under the management of the socialist rule of law state, led by the Communist Party of Vietnam. The Vietnamese Communist Party leads and serves the working people, realizing the goal of "rich people, strong country, democratic, just and civilized society". The practice has proven that developing a socialist-oriented market economy not only brings positive economic effects but also solves social problems better than other capitalist countries with the same level of economic development. Thanks to the development of a socialist-oriented market economy, Vietnam has overcome the economic crisis before the Renovation, achieved a record growth rate not only of Vietnam but also that of the region and the world in the past decades and now. Without such high growth, Vietnam cannot do well in dealing with economic and social problems. It can be said that the market economy is the achievement of thousand years development mankind civilization. The market economy is most strongly developed in capitalism and capitalism itself effectively uses the market economy for its economic development. But, even within capitalism, the market economy also has many different types depending on the economic, political and social conditions of each country. Besides the advantages, the market economy itself also brings social disadvantages. Therefore, capitalist countries have to regularly adjust to adapt to the requirements of reality.

If capitalist countries go to socialism, they already have the material foundations prepared by the market economy and the

move to socialism comes from economic necessities. However, for pre-capitalist countries, if they want to go to socialism, which is a higher development mode and a better society than capitalism, there is no other way but to develop a market economy. It can be said that Vietnam moves to socialism with a political and social necessity and an aspiration for the survival and independence of the nation, while the economic base preparing for a new society has not yet been established.

For a country like Vietnam that wants to shorten its development to socialism and bypass capitalism, the development of a market economy is an indispensable requirement. Of course, the market economy has a history of hundreds of years and has fully revealed its strengths and weaknesses. The political will of the follow-up countries is to use the strength of the market economy. Therefore, Vietnam chooses a socialist-oriented market economy development model with the aim of using the advantages of the market economy and overcoming its inherent shortcomings. As the document of the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam affirms: "The socialist-oriented market economy is the general economic model of our country during the transition to socialism. It is a modern market economy with international integration, fully and synchronously operating according to the rules of the market economy, under the management of the socialist rule of law state, led by the Communist Party of Vietnam to ensure the socialist orientation for the goal of "rich people, strong country, democratic, just and civilized society", suitable to each stage of the country's development."¹ The success of the general economic model, *the*

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *Documents of the 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 1. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 128

socialist-oriented market economy, depends on the correct leadership of the Party, the scientific management of the State and the active participation and support of the people.

According to some international scholars, this is a new type of market economy in the history of the market economy, along with the market economy types that have existed in history such as the free market economy, the social market economy or the socialist market economy in China. It can be seen that the conception of the development of a socialist-oriented market economy is a theoretical breakthrough of the Communist Party of Vietnam. As the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam has affirmed, the introduction of the conception of development of a socialist-oriented market economy is *a very fundamental and creative theoretical breakthrough of our Party*, the important theoretical achievement over the past 35 years of implementing the renovation policy derived from Vietnamese practice and selectively absorbing the world's experience¹.

Along with that breakthrough, the Communist Party of Vietnam has built and gradually perfected the political model and the general operating mechanism of that model, in which the Party leads, the State manages, and the People are the masters. Within this model, the leadership of the Party is the decisive factor for the victory of the Renovation and ensures the development of the country in accordance with the socialist orientation. The socialist rule of law state is a tool to exercise the people's right to mastery, to ensure and protect the interests of the majority of the people. All undertakings and lines of the Party, policies, laws and activities of

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong. *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path toward socialism in Vietnam*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 25

the State are for the benefit of the people, taking the interests of the people as a goal to strive for. It can be said that the rule of law State along with the market economy are the achievements of mankind that all countries must apply to suit (their) economic, political and social conditions for development. But the rule of law State in Vietnam is fundamentally different from the bourgeois rule of law State in that: the bourgeois rule of law State is a tool to serve and protect the interests of the bourgeoisie, while the legal State is a tool to serve and protect the interests of the bourgeoisie. The socialist rule of law State in Vietnam is tools to express and exercise the people's right to mastery, protect and ensure the interests of the majority of the working people. It is the State of the people, by the people and for the people, giving the highest priority to the interests of the people.

In that political model, democracy is considered the essence of the socialist regime, both the goal and the driving force of the socialist construction. With the motto "the people know, the people discuss, the people do, the people inspect, the people monitor and the people benefit", socialist democracy has come into reality, truly becomes the goal and driving force for the construction of a new society. Practicing democracy widely within the Party and in society is one of the ways to control the power.

Thus, in the socialist society that Vietnam is building, we see three very important pillars: the socialist-oriented market economy, the socialist rule of law state and the socialist democracy. All three pillars are under the unified leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam. If we compare it with Western theories on the pillars of society, we can see the inheritance and creation to suit the conditions of Vietnam. The social theories in the West also refer to market economy (there are different types of

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market economies), to the rule of law State and to civil society. Vietnam does not talk about civil society and does not advocate building civil society. What Vietnam emphasizes and builds is *the socialist democracy*. Democracy is the guarantee of people's creativity and an important means of controlling the (political) power. The essence of building civic organizations is to implement and promote democracy.

Marxism asserts that the masses are the ones who decide and create history; building socialism is building a society in one is for all and all is for one; The free development of each is a condition for the free development of all. That human/humanistic spirit has been applied and developed by the Communist Party of Vietnam since the renovation until now, especially in the first decades of the twenty-first century. That is also reflected in the three pillars of the socialist model in Vietnam, namely the socialist-oriented market economy, the rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people, and the socialist democracy.

Along with that, culture is considered as the spiritual foundation of the society, the endogenous strength and driving force of the country's renovation. In the process of building socialism in Vietnam, cultural development is oriented synchronously and in harmony with economic growth, social progress and social justice. Vietnamese culture is an advanced culture imbued with national identity, united in diversity and based on progressive and humanistic values. The development of culture and building of man are both the goal and the driving force of the renovation and construction of the country. The development of culture, society and man simultaneously with economic development; (it is) not for the sake of economic development to sacrifice the environment. Sustainable

development, the harmony between economic and cultural development, social justice and environmental protection is the strategic orientation in the process of building socialism in Vietnam. Just as General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong affirmed: "Do not wait until the economy develops to a high level of development to realize progress and social justice, do not "sacrifice" social progress and social justice to pursue (only) economic growth". On the contrary, *every economic policy must be oriented towards social goals; each social policy must aim to create a driving force for economic development; The promotion of legal enrichment must go hand in hand with hunger eradication, sustainable poverty reduction, and taking care of people with meritorious services and those in difficult circumstances.* This is a principled requirement to ensure a healthy and sustainable development under the socialist orientation."¹

Along with the above theoretical breakthroughs, the Communist Party of Vietnam has generalized into 10 major and lawful relationships in building socialism in accordance with Vietnamese reality: (they are the) relationships (1) between innovation, stability and development; (2) between economic innovation and political innovation; (3) between market economy and socialist orientation; (4) between the development of productive forces and the building and improvement of socialist production relations step by step; (5) the relationship between the State and the market; (6) between economic growth and cultural development, the realization of social progress and justice; (7) between building socialism and defending the socialist Fatherland;

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong. *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path toward socialism in Vietnam*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 27

(8) between independence, self-reliance and international integration; (9) between the leadership of the Party, the management of the state, and the people's mastery, and (10) between practicing democracy and strengthening the legislation, ensuring social order.

However, in addition to the 10 relationships that reflect the relationship between the fields of social life as well as the relationship between the aspects of a social field, there is an extremely important relationship that is the relationship between the goals and means of the process of building socialism in general and of the renovation process in particular.

The relationship between the goal and the means is a relationship that needs to be determined very clearly in the process of leading the revolution. The theory of the socialist revolution has shown that, in the process of leading the revolution, the leading party must clearly define the objectives of each revolutionary stage, the means and forces to achieve that goal. Confusing the goal with the means can lead to serious consequences or encounter undesirable results. We can give many examples to prove it. For example, if traffic policemen consider the goal of the policeman's activities is to raise the people's awareness of law observance and the guidance, explanation and especially fines is just a matter of means. But if they consider fines as their goal, they can fine as much and as possible without worrying about whether the fines will make people obey the traffic law well or not.

Or in the field of production, too, between the productive forces and the relations of production there is also the relationship of the goal and the means. If we consider the development of the productive forces as the goal and the relations of production as the

means, then to develop the productive forces we can choose different types of relations of production at each time (we can use private or public relations of production) provided that the productive forces are developed, but not necessarily a certain kind of relations of production. But if the development of relations of production is considered as the goal, it is a completely different matter.

In addition, by the 13th Party Congress, that goal was concretized in more detail and clearly marked with important milestones of the country in the period from now until 2045: “By 2025: (Vietnam will) be a developing country with modern industry, surpassing the low-middle income level. By 2030: (Vietnam will) be a developing country with modern industry and high middle income level. By 2045: (Vietnam will) become a high-income developed country”¹. This is a step to concretize the goal of “rich people, strong country, democratic, just and civilized society” that we have not been able to concretize for many years. However, if we look at those specific goals, we can see that economic goals are still clearer articulated than those of democracy, justice and civilization; socialist orientation is not yet specified more clearly than in previous documents. Cultural, social, human, political and external objectives are not yet clearly quantified.

Thanks to the steadfastness of Marxism-Leninism, taking Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought as the ideological foundation, Vietnam over the past three decades has achieved historical achievements in all aspects: from politics, economy to

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong. *Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path toward socialism in Vietnam*. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 53

culture, society, defense - security and status in the international arena. All of those impressive results demonstrate that Vietnam has been able to creatively apply Marxism in the ever-changing conditions of the early years of the 21st century. With these achievements, the Communist Party of Vietnam has identified Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thought and the Communist Party's innovative views as the ideological foundation of the Party. To defend that foundation is a very important task of our theoretical works.

The theory of cognition of dialectical materialism has shown that practice or more precisely the results of practical activity are the criterion of truth, but historical practice itself is always moving and changing, constantly changing and developing according to the necessary and objective laws. Therefore, the theory of socialism needs to be supplemented, perfected and developed together with the practice of building socialism not only in one country but all over the world. In this way we can see a normative necessity that the cause of comprehensive renovation and building the country toward socialism, as an ever increasing and deepening revolution, will raise new theoretical and practical problems related to the conception of socialism in Vietnam that require awareness and resolution in a timely and thorough manner. Only in this way, the theory will play the role of guiding the way and guiding practical activities; At the same time, the practice is regularly summarized and drawn, which will contribute to supplementing and developing scientific theory, which is the dialectic between theory and practice on building socialism.

In our view, the theory of socialism in Vietnam needs to be further explored and clarified in terms of theory and practice. This

is a very necessary thing, because understanding is a process. It is the discovery of newly emerging problems and finding ways to solve them satisfactorily that will make an important contribution to shaping the increasingly accurate model of socialism in Vietnam, thereby orienting the cause of building our socialism to success. Building and perfecting the conception of socialism in Vietnam is not only a clear, correct and complete set of goals, but also a basis for determining measures and methods to realize successfully those goals.

FROM SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM: CAN THE WESTERN LEFT REBUILD A MASS BASE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY?

*Dr. Loren Balhorn**

The modern understanding of socialism, both as a political movement as well as an intellectual current, is, historically speaking, a distinctly Western phenomenon. Emerging out the tumult of economic crisis and political rebellion in nineteenth-century Europe, socialism soon rose to become a powerful social movement encompassing millions of people across the West, growing particularly strong in Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, and other industrialized capitalist nations before spreading to the rest of the world.

Yet if socialism began in the West, it soon found itself confronted with seemingly intractable political limits: despite a mass following, nowhere in the West did the organized socialist movement succeed in organizing a majority of the working class to take power by revolutionary means, as originally conceived by Karl Marx and his co-thinkers. While socialist parties performed well in parliamentary elections and managed to introduce a number of progressive reforms, nowhere was the capitalist

* Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

economy abolished, let alone “overcome”, nor was parliamentary democracy replaced with socialist democracy.

Instead, it was in the East – first in Russia and Mongolia, later in China, Vietnam, and elsewhere – that socialists managed to establish and consolidate a new state and social order, while the Western Left saw itself increasingly integrated into the capitalist state and society. The mass parties of the early twentieth century were gradually reduced to political machines oriented towards winning elections, and the trade unions, though still a vital force for ensuring decent living conditions for working people, were largely devoted to negotiating with, rather than battling, the capitalist class.¹ By the end of the twentieth century, and particularly after the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe in 1989/90, socialism had been reduced to fringe subculture in large parts of the West, with little influence in the working classes it historically viewed as the agent of social change.

This situation began to change with the financial crisis of 2007/8, which sparked a gradual but undeniable renaissance of socialist ideas in Western discourse and a noticeable revival of anti-capitalist organizations. The 2010s proved to be a surprisingly hopeful decade for the Western Left, with new parties like Podemos in Spain and insurgent candidates like Jeremy Corbyn in the UK gaining new ground and mobilizing millions of young people behind socialist ideas. The last few years, however, have been marked by defeats, stagnation, and at least in some countries, undeniable decline, raising the fundamental question of how – if

¹ See, for example, historian Donald Sassoon’s masterful *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (I.B. Tauris, 2014).

at all – the current impasse can be overcome and socialism can rise to the level of a mass movement in the West once again.

From Outrage to Organization

The revival of socialism in the West would be unthinkable without the aforementioned economic crisis, as it created a reservoir of young, relatively highly educated people of middle- and working-class backgrounds for whom the modest economic prosperity their parents had known suddenly appeared unobtainable. In countries like the United States and Britain, where a university education can easily cost students tens of thousands of dollars, the sight of banks and corporations receiving trillions of dollars in government bailouts while their futures appeared to vanish before their eyes sparked strong feelings of betrayal and anger at capitalist elites and sparked a search for political alternatives.

This search initially crystalized in the so-called “movements of squares” in Europe and the Occupy Wall Street encampments in the US, where thousands of people gathered in public spaces for weeks on end to voice their anger at a system they perceived as unfair and unjust. Though certainly inspiring experiences for the people involved, these mobilizations lacked direction and organization. The Occupy encampments were soon evicted by police, and the occupations of the squares gradually fizzled out, as people grew tired or perhaps had more important things to deal with, such as finding employment, caring for family members, etc.

Yet the anger sparked by the financial crisis did not go away, and was soon taken up by left-wing organizations (some old, some new) that sought to channel it into more explicitly political directions, namely parliamentary elections. In Germany, Die Linke

succeeded in winning nearly 12 percent of the vote in 2009, while in Southern Europe several years later formations like Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece performed much better, even leading the government in the latter case. In the Anglophone world, Bernie Sanders came close to becoming the Democratic presidential candidate in 2016, while Jeremy Corbyn nearly became Prime Minister of Britain one year later. Reflecting this resurgence of left-wing ideas, by 2019, the American polling institute Gallup found that socialism was just as popular as capitalism among young people in the US.¹

The specifics of these campaigns and organizations varied depending on the national context, but all more or less adhered to a political strategy the Belgian political scientist Anton Jäger calls “left-populism”.² The term denotes a highly top-down campaign, heavily reliant on digital campaigning via social media and usually focused on the popular appeal of charismatic politicians, described by Italian sociologist Paolo Gerbaudo as “hyper-leaders”.³ It can just as easily be applied to Bernie Sanders in the US as it can to Pablo Iglesias in Spain or Jean-Luc Mélenchon in France.

¹ Lydia Saad, “Socialism as Popular as Capitalism Among Young Adults in U.S.”, *Gallup*, 25 November 2019, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/268766/socialism-popular-capitalism-among-young-adults.aspx>.

² Anton Jäger, “We Bet the House on Left Populism – And Lost”, *Jacobin*, 25 November 2019, <https://jacobin.com/2019/11/we-bet-the-house-on-left-populism-and-lost>.

³ Paolo Gerbaudo, “The age of the hyperleader: when political leadership meets social media celebrity”, *New Statesman*, 8 March 2019, <https://www.newstatesman.com/world/2019/03/age-hyperleader-when-political-leadership-meets-social-media-celebrity>.

This strategy proved successful in the short term, delivering a number of impressive electoral victories, but ultimately failed to reproduce the results that the classical socialist movement enjoyed throughout most of the twentieth century. There might be a lot more socialists in the West than there were 15 years ago, but they are still a far cry from a mass movement. Moreover, they are overwhelmingly concentrated in the sections of the highly educated white-collar working and middle class that was most affected by the financial crisis.

Searching for Socialism

The rise (and gradual fall) of left-populism as a political strategy was largely a product of the conditions under which the socialist revival of 2010s took place – it was not so much that left-populists did not want to join mass socialist parties, but that they no longer existed. Unfortunately for socialists, however, without a mass base and mass organizations, the socialist project is practically unobtainable. The experience of the twentieth century provides ample empirical confirmation of this notion: whether revolution in the East or social-democratic reform in the West, without the support of millions of people organized into trade unions and other mass organizations capable of exerting political and economic pressure on capitalist elites, it is next to impossible to win political victories. Rebuilding, or perhaps reinventing, this base is thus the only feasible path forward.

One of the most convincing answers to the riddle of mass organization can currently be seen in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) in the US, an organization that went from 5,000 to 100,000 members in the wake of the Bernie Sanders campaigns and has now become by far the most significant socialist organization in the country. Here, members and sympathetic intellectuals have

cohered around a strategy known as “class-struggle social democracy”, based on the notion that after decades of neoliberal attacks and the decline of class organization, most of the battles socialists must fight today are essentially defensive in nature: the Left in the West is not trying to build socialism, but rather to defend what is left of twentieth-century social democracy (i.e., the welfare state) against neoliberal capitalism. These battles, however, can only be fought with worker organization and class struggle. Socialists must thus enter the organized labour movement, revitalizing unions where possible and building new unions where necessary.

Winning such battles will not, by itself, open up a socialist perspective in the near or medium term. It does, however, greatly raise the chances of enacting progressive social and environmental legislation that will improve the lives of working-class people, shift the balance of forces towards labour, and thus broaden the audience for socialist ideas over time. As sociologist Vivek Chibber, editor of the Marxist journal *Catalyst* and an influential thinker around DSA, summarized it several years ago: “You build a party based in labor, you strengthen the organizational capacity of the class, you take on employers in the workplace and create rings of power in civil society, and you use this social power to push through policy reforms by participating in electoral politics.”¹

To some on the Western Left, this approach may sound old-fashioned – at worst, perhaps “class reductionist”. For while departing from the revolutionary strategy of classical Marxism-

¹ Vivek Chibber, “Our Road to Power”, *Jacobin*, 5 December 2017, <https://jacobinmag.com/2017/12/our-road-to-power>.

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Leninism, class-struggle social democracy retains an emphasis on the working class as the crucial agent of social change and the primary focus of left-wing political action. This stands in stark contrast to large parts of the Western Left, where post-Marxist approaches have become dominant and classical Marxism is often seen as being one-sidedly focused on the world of work to the detriment of gender, the environment, and other spheres. With a few exceptions, the left-populist formations of today talk less about the working class than they do about “the people” or “the movements” – vague formulations that more often than not obscure more than they reveal.

Yet if the last decade has taught us anything, it is that a broadly universalist message and a focus on social inequality has been the most effective tool in winning over new audiences to socialist ideas, and that organizing in the workplace is the most effective way to win concrete improvements in people’s material wellbeing. As socialists in the West seek to move beyond their marginal existence and build a coalition broad enough to reach a majority of society, keeping this lesson in mind will be essential.

The Western Left must grow beyond its overwhelmingly young, white-collar base in the cities and appeal to the millions of working-class people who stand to gain the most from the socialist agenda, but have yet to embrace it as their own. Whether such a feat is possible is anybody’s guess, but then again, who could anyone have predicted the events of the last decade?

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM IN THE AGE OF INNOVATION

*Dr. Dinh Van Thuy**

Introduction

Innovation in Vietnam is not about changing the goal of socialism but about achieving that goal more effectively. Therefore, there is a close relationship between socialism and innovation in Vietnam. Over the past four decades, innovation in Vietnam has achieved many significant achievements in all fields of social life, which our people and the international community have recognized. "After 35 years of Innovation from a poor, backward, low-income country, Vietnam has become a developing, middle-income country. The current per capita income has increased 14 times, and the size of the economy has increased 26 times compared to the early years of renovation. In nearly two decades, from 1990 to 2010, nearly 30 million Vietnamese people escaped poverty; the poverty rate has decreased from 58.1% in 1993 to 2.23% in 2021. Stable and inclusive growth has benefited the vast majority of people,

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contributing to a significant improvement in all social fields"¹. Regarding the success of the innovation process, the 13th Party Congress also affirmed: "Our country has never had the opportunity, potential, position and international prestige like today"². The innovation success in Vietnam affirms the correctness of the innovation policy as well as the scientific and revolutionary nature of the theory of socialism, and at the same time affirms the vitality and prospects of socialism. It is the practice of innovation in Vietnam that has gradually shaped socialism in Vietnam today. The development of the theory of socialism is most evident in the theory of the characteristics of socialism, the direction of building socialism, and the path to socialism.

2. The theoretical development of socialism in Vietnam in the innovation period

2.1. About the characteristics of socialism in Vietnam

National independence and socialism has been the goal throughout the founding of the Party until now. During the period of national liberation and national reunification, our Party and people "both resisted and built the nation." In that context, the characteristics of socialism were identified and effectively brought into play. However, when the country was unified, some features of socialism suitable for the war period are no longer suitable for the peace period. For example, the economic characteristic is the planned economy. Therefore, in the renovation period, the Party

¹ Nguyen Xuan Thang, Presentation (in the Scientific Conference "Science, Ethics and Human Development") <https://vietnamnet.vn/phat-bieu-cua-ong-nguyen-xuan-thang-2059677.html> (accessed 15/9/2022)

² Communist Party of Vietnam, *Documents of the 13th National Congress of Deputies*, vol 1, page 103-104, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021

has gradually identified the characteristics of Vietnam's socialism. At the 7th Congress (1991), it approved the *Platform for National Construction in the transitional period towards socialism* (referred to as the 1991 Platform). The 1991 Platform pointed out six characteristics of socialism in Vietnam:

- i) Is mastered by the labouring people;
- ii) Has a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and the regime of public ownership of the main means of production;
- iii) Has an advanced culture imbued with the national identity;
- iv) In which people are free from oppression, exploitation and injustice, work according to their ability and are entitled to results of their work, live a prosperous, free and happy life and enjoy conditions for individual development;
- v) In which all ethnic groups in the country enjoy equality, unite with and assist one another for common progress;
- vi) Which has friendly and cooperative relations with the people of all countries in the world¹.

The above six characteristics indicate the values of socialism in Vietnam: *Human values* are clearly reflected in human liberation and comprehensive development of people, in the country mastering of the labor, in the building prosperous, free, and happy life for people and in the equality and unite of all nations; *Economic value* is reflected in a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces; *Cultural values* is building an

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, *Documents of the 7th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 111

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advanced culture imbued with national identity; *Values to humanity* is friendship and cooperation with the people of all countries in the world. Those values are consistent with the progressive trend of human society.

At the 10th Congress (2006), summarizing 20 years of renovation, drawing lessons from the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, and consulting experiences from countries around the world, the Party have identified eight characteristics of socialism in Vietnam, including:

- People rich, the country strong, fair, democratic and civilized society;
- Mastered by the people;
- Has a highly developed economy, based on modern production forces and production relations suitable to the development level of production forces;
- Has an advanced culture imbued with the national identity;
- People are free from oppression, exploitation and injustice, work according to their ability and are entitled to results of their work, live a prosperous, free and happy life and enjoy conditions for individual development;
- All ethnic groups in the country enjoy equality, unite with and assist one another for common progress;
- Has a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people, under the leadership of the Communist Party;
- Has friendly and cooperative relations with the people of all countries in the world.

Thus, compared with the 7th Congress, the 10th Congress has added two more features namely: "*People rich, the country strong,*

fair, democratic and civilized society" and *"Has a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people, under the leadership of the Communist Party"*. These two characteristics have supplemented and clarified the content of socialism in Vietnam. The first *"People rich, the country strong, fair, democratic and civilized society"* clarified values of socialism: the people are rich and prosperous; the country is powerful and capable of protecting social justice as well as real democracy for the people; the society is advanced and civilized in all aspects. These values represent a good socialist society which gives people the right to master, to enjoy prosperity, freedom, and happiness, and ensures the conditions and prerequisites for exercise those rights. The second *"Has a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people, under the leadership of the Communist Party"* represents the people's tools and means for implementation values in Vietnamese socialism.

Along with adding two more features, our Party also adjusted the content of some characteristics to clarify the value of socialism in Vietnam. For example, the 7th Congress's *i) Mastered by the labouring people* is expanded in terms of ownership at the 10th Congress to be *Mastered by the people*. This is a development step in the theory and practice of democracy in Vietnam. Or the characteristic *ii) Has a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and the regime of public ownership of the main means of production* is adjusted to *"Has a highly developed economy, based on modern production forces and production relations suitable to the development level of production forces"*. This shows that our Party has applied the law of conformity of production relations with the development level of the productive forces more smoothly in the process of building socialism.

By the 11th National Congress, the characteristics of socialism in Vietnam were improved more than one step, which reflected in

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the Platform for National Construction in the transitional period towards socialism (the Platform supplemented and developed in 2011, referred to as 2011 Platform). Accordingly, the characteristics of socialism in Vietnam include:

- People rich, the country strong, fair, democracy, and civilization;
- Mastered by the people;
- Having a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations;
- Has an advanced culture imbued with national identity;
- People are free from oppression, exploitation and injustice, work according to their ability and are entitled to results of their work, live a prosperous, free and happy life and enjoy conditions for individual development;
- All ethnic groups in the country enjoy equality, unite with and assist one another for common progress;
- Has a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people, under the leadership of the Communist Party;
- Has friendly and cooperative relations with the people of all countries in the world.¹

It can be seen that compared with the features of socialism identified at the 10th National Congress in 2006, the characteristics identified in *the 2011 Platform* are defined more general and clearer. At the same time, the features are also modified to be more

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, *Documents of the 7th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2006, p. 68

scientific. For example, the feature "*People rich, the country strong, fair, democratic and civilized society*" is adjusted to "*People rich, the country strong, fair, democratisation, and civilization*" which is more inclusive and better equipped to convey the significance of "democracy". The priority placed on "democracy" over "fairness" is unquestionably the right one because "democracy" is the essence, the goal and the driving force of socialism, and at the same time, "democracy" is also a condition, premise for "fairness". Besides, a theoretical addition to the characteristics of socialism is quite evident in the third feature: "Having a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations", specifically adding the "progressive" connotation in the relations of production. The establishment of production relations in accordance with the development level of the productive forces is the correct application of the law; the establishment of progressive production relations demonstrates the preeminent nature of socialism in Vietnam. This is to ensure the rule of law, the progress and humanity of socialism.

From the characteristics of socialism in Vietnam, it can be affirmed that Vietnamese socialism carries many progressive and humanistic values: a society in which people is compassionate, solidarity and mutual support for mutual development instead of unfair competition, which means economic development goes together with social justice; a sustainable society, in harmony with nature, ensuring a healthy environment for future generations; a political system where the real power belongs to the people, by the people and serves the interests of the people.¹

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong, *Some theoretical and practical issues about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 21.

2.2. About the direction of building socialism in Vietnam,

The 1991 Platform outlines seven basic directions for building socialism:

i) Building a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people, using the union of workers - farmers - intellectuals as the foundation, under the leadership of Communist Party. Exercising fully the people's democratic rights, maintaining strictly social discipline, and prohibiting dictatorially all actions that infringe upon the interests of the country and the people.

ii) Developing the production force, industrializing the country in the direction of modernity associated with the development of comprehensive agriculture is the central task in order to gradually build the material and technical foundations of socialism. Improving Constantly social labor productivity and people's living standards.

iii) In line with the development of the productive forces, gradually establishing socialist production relations from low to high with diversity in forms of ownership. To develop a multi-sector commodity economy under the socialist orientation, operating according to the market mechanism under the management of the State. The state-owned economy and the collective economy are increasingly becoming the foundation of the national economy. Implement many forms of distribution, taking distribution according to labor results and economic efficiency as the key.

iv) Carrying out the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, making the Marxist-Leninist worldview and Ho Chi Minh's thought and morality hold the leading position in the spiritual life of society. Inheriting and promoting the fine cultural

traditions of all ethnic groups in the country, absorbing the cultural quintessence of humanity. Building a democratic and civilized society for the true benefit and dignity of the people with increasing levels of knowledge, morality, physical strength and aesthetics. Prohibiting unprogressive ideology and culture which is contrary to the good traditions of the nation, the direction of socialism, and noble values of mankind.

v) Implementing the policy of great national unity, consolidating and expanding the United National Front, gathering all forces to strive for the cause of rich people and a strong country. Implementing a foreign policy of peace, cooperation and friendship with all countries; showing loyalty to the internationalism of the working class, in solidarity with the socialist countries and all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

vi) Building socialism and defending the country are two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. While putting the task of national construction on top of priority, our people always raise vigilance, strengthen the national defense, protect the political security, the country and our revolution achievements.

vii) Building a pure, politically strong, ideologically strong Party and an organization at par with its tasks, ensuring the Party fulfills its responsibility to lead the cause of the socialist revolution in our country¹.

It can be seen that the seven directions of building socialism mentioned above are relatively comprehensive in all aspects:

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, Platform for National Construction in the transitional period towards socialism, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 11-13

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politics, economy, culture, security, and foreign affairs. At the same time, in each direction, our Party shows many specific contents, and also includes solutions in some directions. This has the advantage of detailing the direction, but it makes each direction lack the generality and the orientation of the long-term strategic vision.

Deeply aware of those limitations, to *the 2011 Platform* Our Party proposed eight directions that are more general and more concise, including:

- Accelerating industrialization and modernization of the country in association with the development of the knowledge economy, the protection of natural resources and the environment;
- Developing a socialist-oriented market economy;
- Building an advanced culture imbued with national identity; building people, improving people's lives, realizing social progress and justice;
- Firmly ensuring national defense, security and social safety;
- To implement the foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, peace, friendship, cooperation and development; proactively and actively integrating into the world;
- Building a socialist democracy, realizing great national unity, strengthening and expanding the united national front;
- Building a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people;
- Building a pure and strong Party¹.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, *Documents of the 11th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 72

It can be seen that not only the number of directions in *the 2011 Platform* have been increased, but the directions are expressed more generally and scientifically, so they should be clearer. Eight directions in the *2011 Platform* is very comprehensive, including *the direction of economic development* (the socialist-oriented market economy is a new economic institution in history, that is, both obeying market laws and being guided by the laws of the market. Driven and oriented by the values of socialism, it is different from the capitalist market economy, which is an economy with specific contents such as knowledge economy, industrialization, and modernization...); *the direction of strengthening socialist politics* (building the Party, Socialist Republic, socialist democracy...); *the direction of cultural and human development* (advanced culture imbued with national identity, building people, improving people's lives, realizing social progress and justice...); *directions for maintaining security and national defense* (firmly ensuring national defense, security, and social safety); *directions for expanding international cooperation relations* (implementing foreign policy of independence, self-reliance, peace, friendship, cooperation and development, proactive and active international integration).

2.3. On the road to socialism

In 1930, in its political platform, the Communist Party of Vietnam advocated: Carrying out the people's democratic national revolution led by the working class, skipping the time period (stage) of capitalism, going straight to socialism¹.

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong, *Some theoretical and practical issues about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 22-23

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The policy of moving toward socialism is absolutely correct, in line with the aspirations of our people, and has been consistently maintained by our Party throughout the revolution. However, before the innovation, the thesis of "skipping the capitalist period" was often interpreted to the extreme as ignoring all elements of the capitalist socio-economic form: the forces of economic development, quantity of production, relations of production (infrastructure) and capitalist superstructure. That extreme standpoint is essentially a complete negation of capitalism, which is contrary to the spirit of dialectical negation (in negation including inherited quintessence and rational values in order to create conditions and foundation for further development). Therefore, before the renovation, we did not inherit the achievements of the predecessors achieved in capitalism. That is one of the reasons why our country lags far behind developed capitalist countries.

Therefore, in the renewal of the Party, we have more clearly defined the path to socialism, which is not to skip all the achievements of capitalism, but only to skip the capitalist regime. That is reflected in *the 1991 Platform*: "Our country, from a society that is colonial, semi-feudal, with very low productive forces, has transitioned to socialism, skipping the capitalist system."¹

Thus, in *the 1991 Party Platform*, we did not use the concept of "skipping the capitalist period", but using the more scientifically accurate concept of "skipping the capitalist regime". This decision is suitable for the rules of development in our country and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, *Platform for National Construction in the transitional period towards socialism*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p. 11-13

overcomes the misunderstanding as a complete negation of capitalism. At the same time, that adjustment also represents the development of our Party's theoretical development on the path to socialism.

At the 9th Party Congress (2001), our Party more clearly defined the content of the transition to socialism, skipping the capitalist system, specifically: "Our country's path to the ascent is the development of socialism skipping the capitalist regime, which means eliminating the dominant position of the relations of production and the capitalist superstructure, but absorbing and inheriting the achievements that mankind has achieved under the capitalist regime, especially in science and technology, in order to rapidly develop the productive forces and build a modern economy"¹.

Thus, here our Party clearly states that we must not ignore the capitalist productive forces, but on the contrary we must know how to inherit and make use of the capitalist productive forces, especially the modern one based on high level of science and technology. We also do not ignore the capitalist relations of production, but only the establishment of the dominant position of the capitalist relations of production. We focus on eliminating the capitalist superstructure, especially the bourgeois state, the political pluralism, and the opposite multi-party system. In order to successfully erase the capitalist conventional architecture, we established political monism, one leading party, that is the Communist Party of Vietnam - the faithful representative of the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, *Documents of the 9th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2001, p. 84

working class and the whole nation, at the same time focusing on building a Socialist Republic's people, by people and for people.

Skipping the capitalist regime is essentially "*skipping the oppressive, unjust, and exploitative capitalist regime; ignore the bad habits, political institutions and institutions that are not suitable* for the socialist regime, not ignoring the achievements and civilized values that mankind has achieved in the period of development¹.

At the same time, our Party also clearly identifies the difficulty and complexity of the transitional period to socialism, which is reflected in *the 2011 Platform*: the transition period is a profound, radical, complicated revolution, struggling between the old and the new in order to create qualitative change in all areas of social life, necessarily through a long transition period with numerous development steps, many forms of economic and social organizations are intertwined².

Through identifying the transition period to socialism, skipping the capitalist regime, our Party's theory of the path to socialism is more and more complete, demonstrating the development of theoretical thinking of the Party on socialism in general as well as on the path to socialism in particular.

Conclusion

It can be affirmed that in the innovation period, through practical summaries and theoretical studies, the theory of socialism in Vietnam has been constantly supplemented and

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong, *Some theoretical and practical issues about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2022, p. 22-23

² Communist Party of Vietnam, *Documents of the 11th National Congress of Deputies*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 70

developed. The addition and development of theory on socialism is reflected in many aspects of socialism in Vietnam, but is most evident in the following three aspects: i) in defining the characteristics and the values of Vietnamese socialism; ii) in the current directions of building Vietnamese socialism to meet the characteristics and the values of socialism; iii) in determining the path to socialism, which is the transition to socialism while ignoring the capitalist regime, also considered as the backward and lacking in humanity. Socialism brings a good society and allows people to enjoy the true values of socialism.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM DURING THE INNOVATION PERIOD

*Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nguyen Thu Nghia**

After more than 35 years of renovation, Vietnam has been obtaining great achievements and historical significance. It has proved the superiority of socialism and affirming that the path to socialism is correct, “in accordance with the law of objectivity, Vietnamese reality and the development trend of the times”. This is affirmed by the Document of the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam: “We have achieved great achievements and historical significance, stronger and more comprehensive development than in previous years of renovation. With all humility, we can still say: Our country has never had the opportunity, potential, position and international prestige that it has today”¹.

Through the practice of building socialism, we have become acute, full, correct and more comprehensive about socialism and the transition to socialism in our country. We carry out a comprehensive process of reform to develop all aspects of economy, politics, society, culture and ideology to bring the country to wealth, democracy, justice, prosperity, freedom and

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¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021, Document of the 13th Party Congress, Volume 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 25.

happiness. This is “the most difficult and profound transformation” to build an entirely new society in history. We have tried to build new infrastructure and superstructures, develop new productive forces and correspondingly form new production relations. In this regard, our Party affirmed: “Going to socialism is the aspiration of our people, the right choice of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President Ho Chi Minh, in line with the development trend of history”¹.

The Political Platform on National Construction in the period of transitional to socialism (amended and developed in 2011) has identified eight characteristics of socialist society that Vietnam wishes to build: “Rich people, strong countries, democracy, justice and civilization; the people are mastered; having a highly developed economy based on modern production forces and appropriate progressive production relations; having an advanced culture, imbued with national identity; people have a warm, free, happy life, and have conditions for comprehensive development; the peoples of the Vietnamese community are equal, united, respectful and help each other develop together; there is a socialist rule of law state of the people, led by the people, for the people led by the Communist Party; having friendly and cooperative relations with countries around the world”². These eight characteristics reflect the Party's perception of socialism and socialism gradually being realized in Vietnam.

Currently, the process of building socialism in Vietnam has been achieving great achievements. Although the Soviet Union

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2011), Document of the 11st Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 70.

² Communist Party of Vietnam (2011), Document of the 11th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 70.

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and the system of socialist countries in Eastern Europe disintegrated, the process of socialist construction in some countries was in decline and crisis, but Vietnam still stood firmly, steadfastly on the path to socialism, creating new achievements in construction, protect and develop the country. The important achievements of socialism in Vietnam are reflected in all economic, political, cultural and social aspects.

The first achievement of socialism in Vietnam during the innovation period was *the introduction of a comprehensive reform of the country* - from thinking innovation to organizational renewal, from economic renewal to renewal of the political system and other areas of social life. Vietnam builds new infrastructure and superstructures; building new production forces and production relations; building new political institutions and new cultures with the goal of rich people, strong countries, democracy, justice, civilization in conditions of socialist-oriented market economy and international integration. It can be said that this is an important turning point in the process of social development in Vietnam. It is both an opportunity and an extremely difficult challenge for the Party and the people before the transition to the twenty-first century.

Vietnam builds socialism in terms of market economy and deep integration with the world. Therefore, the financial markets, banking, securities, investment, informatics, technology ... are great opportunities for Vietnam to train human resources, exploit resources, expand international relations, accelerate the development of production forces and production relations, and create important conditions for building a superstructure suitable for the development of society. Although building socialism in such conditions also creates many difficulties, challenges contain many risks and challenges for the development of a fragmented agrarian society, farmers account for more than 70% of the

population, have just come out of the fierce war for 30 years, technology, science and technology are still very outdated, the fertility rate is still high, the quality of the population is low, the culture and education are still outdated, the level of people's knowledge is not high, the social management system is still cumbersome... However, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the leadership of our Party since its establishment until now is national independence associated with socialism, we have developed production forces along with the formation and completion of new production relations, liberate labor potentials, build a suitable architectural superstructure, carry out industrialization, modernization, urbanization, build a socialist rule of law, build a suitable culture.

With the development of the socialist-oriented market economy, it has been creating a diverse production with many economic sectors, thereby forming many professional associations from urban to rural areas to create a new democratic atmosphere.

The second outstanding achievement of socialism in Vietnam during the innovation period was *political stability*. Political stability is the premise and prerequisite for the cause of innovation and development and it is that development that will create a more stable stability. Through more than 35 years of renovation, we have built a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people. The goal of the socialist rule of law is to build, organize and practice democracy in order to ensure that political power belongs to the people. The people exercise their mastery in two forms: direct democracy and representative democracy. The powerful organs of the State such as the National Assembly, people's councils and other powerful bodies are also organized and operate according to the principle of democratic centralization. This principle is a harmonious combination of the

two elements of centralization and democracy that aims to both ensure centralized leadership on the basis of democracy and ensure the expansion of democratic practice under centralized leadership. The State creates the most favorable conditions for people to participate in state management and social management in all areas of social life: economy, politics, culture, society, security, defense, foreign affairs...

Vietnam does not implement political pluralism but implements the socialist democratic mechanism according to the model of Party leadership, state management, and people-owned. When economic innovation towards a socialist-oriented market mechanism, we simultaneously innovate politically because it is political conformity that paves the way for economic development. It proves that politics has contributed an important impact while contributing to the consolidation of stable and sustainable politics.

Vietnam maintains political stability by means of economic development but retains the political character of the socialist-socialist regime, without changing the political regime in the direction of capitalism. We undertake innovation but persevere in the goal of building authentic socialism. When carrying out renovation, Vietnam thrives economy and renovates gradually the operation of the political system accordingly. To innovate, we build better socialism, not go back to capitalism. Because we always determine that going up to socialism is inevitable, objective, irreversible, suitable and responsive to the aspirations of the Vietnamese people despite the many changes and complicated developments in the region and the world. Vietnam's political operation mechanism is always strengthened and maintained: the Party leads, the State manages and the people own. The innovation is manifested in: renewing the leadership of the Party, renewing the State management to suit the new economic

mechanism and the new situation of the country; renewing the people's mastery mechanism to have a more socialist democracy brings the country to faster and stronger steps towards socialism.

The third achievement of socialism in Vietnam during the renovation period is building an advanced culture imbued with national identity. Vietnamese culture today is result of inheriting the culture of the entire previous national history. From the Resolution of the 5th Conference Central Committee Party term VIII the 5th on building and developing an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity to the Resolution of the 9th Conference Central Committee Party term XI on cultural construction and development, Vietnamese people meet the requirements of sustainable development of the country, Our Party always affirms: "The general direction of the cause of national transformation is to promote patriotism and the tradition of national unity, the sense of independence and self-reliance, self-reliance to build and defend the socialist Fatherland, build and develop the advanced culture imbued with national identity, absorbing the essence of humanity, making it deeply permeated into the whole life and social activities, into each person, each family, each collective and community, each population area, into all areas of life and human relations, create in our country a beautiful spiritual life, high level of people's intelligence, scientific development, effectively serve the cause of industrialization and modernization for the purpose of rich people, strong countries, fair society, transparency, and a firm step towards socialism"¹. Therefore, "the cause of building and developing Vietnamese

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 1998, Document of the 5th Conference Central Committee Party term VIII. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 54 -55

culture and people has made positive changes and achieved important results. Theoretical thinking about culture has evolved; cultural awareness of all levels, sectors and the whole population is raised. The cultural life of the people is increasingly rich, many traditional cultural values of the nation are promoted, many new cultural and moral standards are formed. Cultural and literary and artistic products are increasingly diverse; information technology, especially mass communication with strong development”¹.

Through more than 35 years of renovation, Vietnam's advanced culture imbued with national identity has activated the patriotism of millions of overseas Vietnamese to contribute to bringing Vietnam to a new level of a rich, democratic, justice and civilized people.

Cultural policies and institutions are creating new bonds between individuals and communities. In addition to the traditional linkage, Vietnamese culture links not only houses – villages – countries in all production activities but also creates ethnic and international relations, individuals and societies, people and the natural environment. The cultural achievement of patriotism is inextricably linked with the aspirations of independence, freedom, rich people, strong countries, democracy, justice and civilization thousands of generations ago of the nation.

The fourth achievement of socialism in Vietnam during the innovation period is the good implementation of social security issues. From a centralized, subsidized economy to a commodity economy that operates according to the market mechanism, the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2014, Document of the 9th Conference Central Committee Party term XI. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 43 -44.

social structure has undergone many profound changes. It can be said that, with this orientation, the first time in the history of the development of Vietnamese society, there is a great revolutionary upheaval in the structure of the entire social production. It has shaken up the entire smallholder production to a modern public-agricultural and service production structure. The modernization of market-oriented production will fundamentally change the relationship between agriculture, industry and services. Accordingly, the class structure and stratification in society also have a huge shift. The number of workers and entrepreneurs increased significantly and the peasant component decreased according to the development density of both gross domestic product and gross national product. Accordingly, the development of Vietnamese society from the structure of the working class, peasants and intellectuals at the subsidy stage to the renovation stage has added many new social classes and groups. That is entrepreneurs, small businesses, small owners (including large ranchers), hired laborers, overseas Vietnamese, etc. In addition to the emergence of many new classes and classes, even in the basic classes and classes such as workers, peasants, and intellectuals, there is also a strong division and transformation.

As a result of the war, many families with people who die in the war do not have labor to participate in the market. Some people are incapacitated, suffering from severe sequelae of Agent Orange who cannot meet the competition of the market. There are many other issues related to the labor management system, labor policy and some other areas. Therefore, with the high determination of the Party and the State along with the economic potential of the country being raised, it is an important basis to better ensure social security and social welfare. The social security system in recent years has effectively supported the poor, the

vulnerable and others. Social security policies are gradually expanded in scope, subjects and beneficiaries. Support policies increasingly receive the support and participation of individuals and communities based on the spirit of solidarity, sharing and mutual assistance.

Our Party determines: “Constantly improving and enhancing the material and spiritual life of meritorious persons and ensuring social security is a regular and important task of the Party, the State, the whole political system and society; Preferential policies on meritorious persons and social security must be suitable to the level of socio-economic development and the country's ability to mobilize and balance resources in each period; give priority to meritorious people, people with extremely difficult circumstances, the poor and ethnic minorities; The social security system must be diverse, comprehensive and shared between the State, society and people, between population groups in a generation and between generations; ensuring sustainability and fairness; The State shall ensure the implementation of preferential policies for meritorious persons and play a leading role in organizing the implementation of social security policies; promote socialization, encourage organizations, businesses and people to participate. At the same time, create conditions for people to improve their ability to ensure their own welfare; Strengthen international cooperation to gain more resources and experience in developing and implementing social security policies”¹.

¹ Resolution No. 15-NQ/TW, dated 10/6/2012, the Fifth Conference Central Committee Party term XI, <https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/van-kien-tu-lieu-ve-dang/hoi-nghi-bch-trung-uong/khoa-xi/nghi-quyet-so-15-nqtw-ngay-1062012-hoi-nghi-lan-thu-5-ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang-khoa-xi-ve-mot-so-van-de-ve-557> accessed October 1st 2022

With new, fuller, deeper and more comprehensive awareness of social security policies, promoting the achievements and good experiences achieved, overcoming weaknesses and inadequacies to build a social security policy system in the past period, Vietnam's social security policy has been gradually improved, achieving high efficiency, meeting the requirements of the country's renovation and improving people's lives. "Ensuring basic social security, paying attention to improving social welfare for people; better and better implementation of policies towards meritorious persons; continuing to improve wage policy; expansion of social insurance; health insurance rate reaches 90%"¹.

It can be affirmed that in more than 35 innovations, in economic terms, the change in economic development has contributed to promoting the economic development of the country, thereby contributing to improving the lives of the vast majority of people. Economic sectors are promoted, creative potentials are encouraged. The team of entrepreneurs has brought a new life to social life.

Politically, under the wise and ingenious leadership of the Communist Party, Vietnam has always enjoyed a stable and developed social life. This is also a favorable environment for economic development and implementation of social security issues. Thanks to the right political orientation of the Party, the urgent requirements in the material and spiritual life of the people are solved, bringing the people's confidence in the cause of innovation, becoming the driving force for the renovation to win many victories. The success of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam is the great opportunity of the country after 35

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2011), Document of the 13th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 65.

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years of renovation, a time for Vietnam to innovate more strongly in thinking; perfecting institutions and developing a socialist-oriented market economy; making efforts to reform the national governance system comprehensively and deeply. In addition, Vietnam also actively integrates into the world to promote industrialization and modernization of the country, firmly protect the socialist Fatherland of Vietnam, and maintain a peaceful and stable environment for national development.

For Vietnam, independence must be associated with socialism, the ideology of the era must continue to transform Marxism-Leninism. The national community must strongly promote the people's mastery, the social equality rights and patriotism must combine national strength with the strength of the times, at the same time the power of the individual is united with power of community. To accomplish that goal, the Communist Party has wisely led and instructed patriotic Vietnamese on how to proceed and realize their aspirations for independence in the context of imperialism redistributing the world. Every patriot must be politically enlightened and imbued with Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought.

The country is independent, the people must have freedom, they must have full rice, warm clothes, they must be educated. The people's desire for independence is also expressed in building a more decent and beautiful country after many years of devastation by war. Innovation is to realize the aspiration of independence in freedom, the people are rich, the country is always democratic, fair and civilized.

Culturally, the increasing exchange between the 54 ethnic groups in the country, as well as the expansion of cooperation with international friends, the resurrection of many folk beliefs,

the introduction and emergence of many new religions... Many traditional festivals with the meaning of promoting traditional values, connecting individuals and communities have been restored, making Vietnamese culture more diverse and rich.

Socially, sustainable development is the development of the human person, the development of the capacity, dignity, and inclination of each individual. The harmonious development between individuals and communities, between large and small communities, between social groups in market economy conditions must be an important content of social security policies in the current sustainable development model in Vietnam. The social transformation has contributed to raising the status as well as the sense of democracy of the people with the goal of rich people, strong countries, democracy, justice, civilization, political life and social prosperity. Many associations and social organizations formed and actively operated such as: Veterans Association, Youth Association, Student Association, Red Cross Association, Elderly Association, Study Promotion Association ... Basically, these institutions are conducive to social stability and national development in the long run.

Thus, although by the end of the twentieth century, the model of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries collapsed due to various reasons, until today, Vietnam has a socialist-oriented market economy, based on Marxist-Leninist theory, Ho Chi Minh's thought has been basically stable, there is no phenomenon of disrupting the economic system like some countries. Vietnam is still one of the countries that is continuing to firmly step on the path of building socialism successfully. With the achievements achieved in all aspects of economy - politics - culture - society, Vietnam can be proud of its steadfastness in the socialist path and choosing its development path. These achievements will

be important prerequisites for Vietnam to continue to innovate and develop strongly in the coming decades.

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PROMOTING THE VALUE OF SOLIDARITY AS A TRADITIONAL MORAL VALUE IN BUILDING SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM TODAY

*MA. Tran Thi Tuyet**

Introduction

Solidarity is a precious traditional moral value that has been crystallized, formed and developed through the nation's thousands of years of history of building and defending the country. In the line of national construction and development over the past 90 years, solidarity has always been identified by our Party as a core value, becoming a source of strength and a key driving force for the country to overcome many difficulties and challenges. In the current conditions, consolidating and strengthening national unity is one of the strategic and important ways to maintain political stability, economic development, social stability and successfully realize the goals of the socialist-oriented reform line.

1. Practice promoting solidarity values in Vietnam

The starting point of building a peaceful and stable society is to pay attention to promoting and ensuring the element of unity and harmony between interests, and above all, it is necessary to ensure social solidarity and consensus. In fact, in each country and nation,

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there are always different classes, social strata, ethnic groups, religions,... with different languages, cultural traditions, needs and interests so there are always *differences* between groups of people in terms of *interests*, *understanding* as well as *beliefs*. This is *an objective existence*. However, there is always a common interest to the whole nation, there is a common culture of that country or nation because only then will society survive and develop. Once the level of solidarity and consensus in the society is raised, the stronger and more developed the society. If a community and a society can guarantee solidarity and consensus, the political situation will be stable, the economic, cultural and social fields will have conditions for development, and vice versa, if there is no consensus, that community will exist risks leading to instability and conflict. Historically, thanks to solidarity, the Vietnamese people have unanimously overcome many difficulties and challenges, successfully built and defended the revolutionary achievements and the achievements of the country's renovation.

Accordingly, the common goal of promoting the current value of solidarity as the Resolution of the 11th National Party Congress affirmed: "Taking the goal of building Vietnam with peace, independence, unity, territorial integrity, wealthy people, strong country, democracy, justice, and civilization as similarities; removing guilt and prejudice about the past and class composition, accepting differences that are not contrary to the common interests of the nation; upholding the national spirit, the tradition of humanity and tolerance... to gather and unite people on the common front, and strengthen social consensus"¹. The political report of the 12th Party Central Committee at the 13th Party Congress

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 239-204

also determined that "...with the practice and widespread promotion of socialist democracy, the strength of the great national unity will be brought into full play. Strengthening social consensus is a directional content among the country's development orientations for the period of 2021-2030"¹. Thanks to the focus on promoting the strength of great solidarity, our country has achieved many great achievements in the fields of politics, economy, culture, and in social development. Typical is:

Politically, Vietnam has always been a country with political and social stability in the context of increasing instability in many parts of the world. This is also an important advantage for Vietnam to develop. On the basis of the consistent view: "Stability and development go hand in hand in the process of movement, progress, stability for development and there must be development to be stable"² that Vietnam has always maintained the stable political environment and and society, security is ensured, favorable conditions are available to arouse and promote internal forces and take advantage of external forces. After more than 36 years of renovation, Vietnam has achieved certain achievements, becoming an attractive destination for many countries around the world. This stability is achieved thanks to the important role of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the decisive factor in carrying out the historical mission of leading the State and society, building the unity bloc of the whole nation, combining the power of the whole nation with the strength of the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 1. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 118

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of the National Party Congresses in the Doi Moi period (sessions VI, VII, VIII, IX, X), Part 1*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2010, p. 40

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times to realize the goal of *wealthy people, a strong country, a democratic, just and civilized society*. The timely promulgation of development policies and implementation of policies of the Party and State, to a certain extent, has met the aspirations of the masses as well as economic and social organizations. The relationship between the Party leading and the State managing, as well as the relationship between the government and the people of all classes, is always unified.

Economically, Vietnam has built a socialist-oriented market economy with the goal of *wealthy people and a strong country*. In recent years, Vietnam's economy has grown rapidly, achieved many important achievements, and solved many pressing problems in society. According to the assessment of the 13th National Congress, the gross domestic product always reached the set plan. For example, in the 2016-2020 period, our country's economy has grown rapidly with the growth rate of gross domestic product (GDP) at an average rate of 6% per year. Although the country's economy will be heavily affected by the Covid-19 pandemic and natural disasters in 2020, Vietnam's average growth rate in this period is still among the highest in the world¹. Vietnam has entered the ranks of middle-income countries. As a result, people's living standards are enhanced; Collective, individual and social interests are respected. Every Vietnamese person is given the opportunity to get rich legitimately.

Culturally, as the subject of all socio-economic processes, human beings exist, grow, and develop thanks to their culture. Culture has been considered an endogenous factor that makes human quality

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 1. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 61

more and more perfect. People's creative activity ability is increasingly enhanced, and a noble mode of behavior between people are increasingly strengthened. In the process of national renewal, the Vietnamese have always been closely attached to the traditional cultural values of the nation, the main highlights being patriotism, a sense of national independence, self-reliance, self-help, solidarity, tolerance,... these are common values, creating empathy and unity in common perceptions of social norms and values. These traditional cultural values make a significant contribution to fostering political qualities and political culture which are the driving force for building a stable, democratic, free, just and humane society and sustainable development¹. Besides, along with traditional cultural values, new values are also being formed. Culture with the function of directing people towards Truthfulness, Compassion and Beauty is the source of awakening all endless creative potentials of human resources, creating a common environment that meets the needs of human development. People become the center of development and have a rich spiritual life.

Socially, along with political stability and economic development, social issues in Vietnam today have a harmonious development, people's intellectual level is increasing, gender equality issues are strengthened in recent years. Currently, Vietnam ranks 51st in the world, 4th in Asia and first in the Council of Parliamentary Union of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (AIPA) in terms of the proportion of female deputies to the National Assembly with 30,26% ². Viet Nam's achievements in socio-

¹ Nguyen Trong Chuan: *Culture and sustainable development of the country*, Communist Review, 2021 (<https://tuyengiao.vn/van-hoa-xa-hoi/van-hoa/van-hoa-va-su-phat-trien-ben-vung-dat-nuoc-128026>)

² Quynh Hoa: *First session, 15th National Assembly: Worthy of voters' trust*

economic development have achieved impressive results over the past decades, being assessed as a country with rapid poverty reduction, meeting the United Nations Millennium Development Goals on poverty reduction. Accordingly, within 15 years, the extreme poverty rate of Vietnam has decreased from 49,2% (1992) to 0,7% (2018)¹, and At the same time, the rate of poor households according to the national multidimensional poverty line has decreased from 9,88% (at the end of 2015) to less than 3% (in 2020), the average period of 2016 - 2020 decreased by more than 1.4%/year². In addition, the issues of policies on social insurance, social security, social assistance ..., are also increasingly improved, creating a guarantee and safety for members of society in risky situations,...

Generally commenting on Vietnam's achievements in recent years, the Documents of the 11th National Party Congress affirmed: "The socialist-oriented market economy institution continues to be built and completed. Cultural and social fields have achieved important achievements in many aspects, especially hunger eradication and poverty reduction. The material and spiritual life of the people has been improved markedly; democracy in society continues to expand. Politics and society are stable, national defense and security are maintained. Foreign affairs and international integration have been implemented extensively and effectively, contributing to creating a peaceful, stable environment

(<https://baucuquochoi.vn/ky-hop-thu-nhat-quoc-hoi-khoa-xv-xung-dang-voi-niem-tin-cua-cu-tri/1271.vnp>)

¹ United Nations (Vietnam): <https://vietnam.un.org/vi/sdgs>

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 2. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 43

and growing more resources for national development"¹. At the 13th National Party Congress, for evaluating the achievements of 35 years of implementing renovation and 30 years of implementing the Platform for national construction in the transitional period to socialism, our Party commented: "With all humility, we can still say that: our country has never had the opportunity, potential, position and international prestige as it is today"². It can be said that these achievements are also common values, common goals and common ideals of the Vietnamese people for a prosperous and happy society; live in a modern cultural environment but also rich in national identity; love, share and care for each other,..., those achievements are the solid foundation of the great solidarity of the whole Vietnamese nation today.

2. Directions to strengthen national unity in current conditions

It can be said that, at the macro level, with political, economic, cultural and social stability, the basis for national unity in Vietnam today is relatively solid. However, in each specific field, reality still exists and there are constantly differences and contradictions because the needs and interests of each individual become more and more diverse and different. There are differences that do not affect the common interests and common values of society but there are also differences, needs and interests that can negatively affect the common interests, common goals and thereby, causing different impacts on the great national unity bloc. It may be the deterioration of ideology, morality and lifestyle of a part of party members and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 11th National Party Congress*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011, p. 92

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 1. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 25

people; the gap between rich and poor tends to increase; inequality, disparity of income and living standards among regions and professions; conflict between traditional and modern values; sabotage by hostile forces both at home and abroad, etc. All of these create effects on political stability, potentially giving rise to potential conflicts of interest between classes, regions,...

On the basis of the common goal set forth by the 13th Party Congress: "...to build a clean and strong Party and political system in an all-round way; strengthening the people's confidence in the Party, State and the socialist regime; arousing the aspiration to develop a prosperous and happy country, promoting the will and strength of national unity in combination with the strength of the times; comprehensively and synchronously promote the renovation, industrialization and modernization; firmly build and defend the Fatherland, maintain a peaceful and stable environment; striving by the middle of the twenty-first century, our country becomes a developed country with socialist orientation"¹, it will be able to propose appropriate measures to minimize the factors that adversely affect the united bloc and create factors that strengthen and further strengthen social solidarity in Vietnam. In the current conditions, in our opinion, these need to combine to perform well some basic tasks as follows:

Firstly, realizing the goal of harmoniously combining interests in society

Solidarity in society can be strengthened and maintained or not depends on the settlement of beneficial relations between members of society. Because, it is from benefits and through the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 2. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 326

realization of benefits that new individuals connect with each other, form close relationships and thus form social life. If personal interests do not conflict with social interests, the relationship between them will be resolved in a harmonious way, which will create a strong driving force promoting the development not only of individuals, but of the whole community. But in fact, due to the great attraction of benefits (especially material benefits), many people are ready to sacrifice social and community benefits, regardless of morality to get their own interests; from here, leading to conflicts, even conflicts between personal interests and social interests. Therefore, the harmonious settlement of the relationship between personal interests and social interests becomes an urgent requirement. If the settlement meets the basic needs and interests of the members, social consensus will be established, social solidarity will be strengthened and vice versa, if not resolved, conflicts will arise. society; then, society will no longer reach a state of consensus. Compared to the past, *on the one hand*, times change, material conditions change, the needs and interests of each person become more and more diverse, each individual has more goals and values to choose, and *on the other hand*, the market economy with different opportunities also makes each person's life different in terms of income, living standard, ability to access social services; Therefore, the potential for conflicts of interest to arise is increasing. The dialectical relationship between interests can only be properly realized when the relationship of individual interests and social interests are resolved in a harmonious way. Therefore, a harmonious combination of interests is essential, that is, a process where one individual interest does not infringe upon the interests of other individuals and the whole society, that is, each individual, each community, each organization is properly aware of its role in

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society as well as the role of society towards itself; solidarity, tolerance, acceptance of differences.

Second, strengthen the promotion of socialist democracy

In order to consolidate and promote the great unity bloc of the whole people, social democracy is indispensable. Along with the development of society, democracy is developing more and more, and through democracy, people will become the true owners of all social activities, because talking about democracy is talking about the right to participate in social activities of each person and thus, will mobilize resources to actively participate in social activities and build the country. All lines and policies of the Party and the State's laws must be consistent with the interests of the country and the working people, and all people have the responsibility to participate in commenting, building and implementing policies and guidelines of the Party, policies and laws of the State. As President Ho Chi Minh affirmed: *the people have the right to be the master but at the same time, have the obligations of the owner so the people, through their responsibilities towards the country and to themselves, express their ownership*. When people actively participate in social activities, it means that they agree and support the direction of social development, creating a network of links. The higher the association, the greater the social consensus. Without democracy, there would be no stable development because development is the result of the contributions of individuals in society. Commenting on this relationship, there is research that says: "Democracy is the basis, condition and premise of social solidarity and consensus. Only when democracy is substantive (and not formal, pseudo, demagogue which these manifestations often appear in daily life, is it associated with the violation of democracy, in

opposition to democracy), only then will there be real solidarity, in fact, will strengthen consensus"¹.

To do this, it is necessary to attach importance to the ideology of taking the people as the root, building a socialist rule of law state where everyone is equal before the law, increasing transparency and publicity. The concept of "people is the root" has been deeply grasped by our Party and seriously implemented. In the beginning of the process of comprehensive renewal of the country, in the Resolution of the 6th National Party Congress, it was clearly stated: "In all activities, the Party must grasp the ideology of "taking the people as the root", building and promote the mastery of the working people"². This starting ideology of our Party is the basic foundation for the continuous renewal and implementation of democracy in a far-reaching way in all fields and in all aspects of the social life of the country. It has achieved some very proud achievements. In that spirit, in the National Development Orientation for the 2021-2030 period, the 13th National Party Congress also affirmed: "Practicing and widely promoting socialist democracy, the right to mastery and the subject role of the people; promoting the great unity of the whole nation; consolidating and raising people's trust, strengthening social consensus; continuing to renovate the organization, content and mode of operation of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-

¹ Hoang Chi Bao: *Democracy, solidarity and social consensus in sustainable development*, in the Book: Pham Van Duc (ed). *Social justice, social responsibility and social solidarity*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 2008, p. 442

² Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 6th National Party Congress*, Truth Publisher. 1987, p. 29

political organizations”¹. The implementation and development of democracy has been identified by our Party as a contributing factor to ensure a thorough resolution of pressing problems taking place in society, create social solidarity, and contribute to the creation of a peaceful and stable social environment, becoming a direct impetus for the harmonious, healthy and sustainable social development of the country.

Third, implement an open social dialogue

The purpose of social dialogue is to promote consensus and voluntary democratic participation of the people, through cooperation and understanding to solve problems based on the establishment of common concerns. More specifically, social dialogue promotes mutual understanding between different social groups, between communities and groups with different interests involved in decision-making, or policy-making about a certain issues. From there, it is easier to share benefits in necessary cases, for common goals. Through social dialogue, it is possible to help resolve conflicts, prevent conflicts because they may not understand each other... on the contrary, without social dialogue, it will easily lead to contradictions and conflicts. Accordingly, in order to build solidarity and unanimity, it is necessary to strengthen grassroots democracy so that everyone can freely express their opinions and views; raising the people's intellectual level, the people's right to information must be respected; expanding forums and dialogue channels, do well the mass mobilization work in the direction of being close to the people, firmly grasping the situation, thoughts, aspirations and legitimate

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam. *The Documents of 13th National Party Congress*, Vol. 2. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 332

interests of the people; promoting the role of the people in supervising state agencies and authorities at all levels; strengthening the close relationship between the people, the Party and the State. Practice has shown that the good implementation of mass mobilization and social dialogue will create social solidarity - the foundation of the great national unity bloc which is one of the fundamental factors contributing to social stability and sustainable development of the country.

Conclusion

In the current conditions, although there are many favorable bases and conditions for promoting the value of solidarity, consolidating and strengthening the great solidarity bloc, besides that, there are still potential factors that can cause negative influence on this issue. Therefore, in order to maintain and further strengthen the great national unity, it is necessary to ensure and create conditions for the harmonious combination of interests of the members of society, and to strengthen the promotion of social democracy and expanding social dialogue. These solutions can only be possible when there is a combination and agreement with each other, and it is necessary to have the combined impact of many factors with the comprehensive strength of the entire Party and people. That is also the basis for sustainable social development in Vietnam in accordance with the orientation that the Communist Party of Vietnam has set out in the Resolution of the 13th National Party Congress.

EDUCATION REFORM TO PROMOTE THE VALUES OF SOCIALISM IN NEW CONDITIONS IN VIETNAM TODAY

*Dr. Nguyen Thi Phuong Mai**

The world is moving and changing at a tremendous pace due to the contribution of the application of scientific and technological achievements to the life of society. This has furthered the investigation, discovery, and investigation of new knowledge and the creation of more new scientific achievements. In this context, socialist values such as justice, equality, human rights, and morality are being challenged. In order to continue to promote socialist values and achieve comprehensive human development, the issue of education is seen as an important contribution to the development not only of individuals but also of societies and nations.

The formation, movement and development of society depends entirely on the factors and qualities of human development. In social life, this quality is determined by the material factors, material and spiritual life of people. The movement and development of society is reflected in the criteria of evaluation of social justice, and the differences between countries are partly reflected in the political and economic systems.

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Although the common denominator is human development, there are certain differences in the enjoyment of the fruits of social development in different countries.

Vietnam has set the goal that "the Vietnamese people will strive to build a socialist society in which the people are rich, the country is strong, democratic, just and civilized; owned by the people; with a highly developed economy based on modern productive forces and appropriately progressive production relations; with an advanced culture full of national characteristics; with people living in wealth, freedom, happiness and conditions for all-round development conditions; equality, solidarity, mutual respect, and mutual help for the development of all ethnic groups in Vietnamese society; a socialist rule of law state of, by, and for the people under the leadership of the Communist Party; and friendly and cooperative relations with all countries of the world"¹. This is based on the elements of equality and fairness in human development and social construction; where the human being is the center of development. Economic, political, ethical, and cultural factors all point to human development. At the same time, this goal of social development is to guide other social activities to better define their goals and paths and contribute to the overall development of Vietnamese society.

In the context of today's globalization, with increasingly modern development conditions, promoting socialist values for the people of the society is to maintain balance and development. With the goal of developing the people of socialist

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong (2022), Some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam, National Political – Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 24.

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Vietnam, the values that are thoroughly grasped in building the foundations of culture are: a good personality, a good way of life, people with the basic characteristics of patriotism, benevolence, affection, honesty, solidarity, hard work, and innovation. However, the duality of applying the results of science to a life to which people are not yet adapted can have a counterproductive effect on human behavior in a psychological sense. To limit this, educational activities are essential for change, because through this activity people will be equipped with tools to adapt and develop in a rapidly changing and unpredictable environment. Therefore, Vietnam has been undergoing educational reforms for many years.

Looking back at the history of education in Vietnam, when changes occurred in various periods of social history, the educational activities of the country also changed to a certain extent. Before the August Revolution (1945), there were at least two major educational reforms. In 1906, Vietnamese education was merged with the co-existence of French-Vietnamese Confucianism, and between 1917 and 1929, Confucianism was gradually abolished and Vietnamese education established and consolidated the nature of French-Vietnamese education. From the August Revolution to the present, educational activities have changed a lot due to historical characteristics and the national liberation struggle. Changes in the duration and time division of training at each level/grade, from the 12-year Franco-Vietnamese education system in 1950 to the 9-year system to the transition to the 10-year general education system in 1976 (1956-1976) - In 1981, the 12-year system and the 10-year system in the North coexisted in the Republic of Vietnam until 1993 when the 12-year general education system was unified nationwide. At the same time, there were some additions and deletions in the content of education

based on the French-Vietnamese education. In particular, the educational program of the Socialist State Group 1956-1976 was well accepted and used. The fundamental change in the content of general education textbooks began in 2000 and was completed in the 2008-2009 academic year. However, the content of the general education textbooks is constantly updated with the rapid changes in social life. Currently, several sets of textbooks have been developed for use in the general education system based on the basic content prescribed by the Ministry of Education and Training.

The change of time and textbooks will not affect the national education goals of Vietnam. This is because Article 15 of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1946) clearly states that "Primary education shall be compulsory and free of tuition. In local elementary school, ethnic minorities have the right to study in their own language. Poor students are assisted by the government. Article 39 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2013) states that "Every citizen has the right and duty to study. This has been stipulated in Article 13 of the Law on Education (2019).

"The first. Education is a right and a duty of citizens. All citizens are equal in learning opportunities regardless of race, religion, faith, gender, personal characteristics, family origin, social status, or economic status.

2. The State implements social equity in education, creates a safe educational environment, ensures inclusive education, and creates conditions for learners to realize their potential and talents.

3. The State gives priority to and creates conditions for children in special circumstances as defined in the Children's Law, students with disabilities as defined in the Law on Persons with

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Disabilities, students from poor families, and students with disabilities... Poor households exercise the right and duty to study".

Therefore, all citizens have the right to enjoy the value and improve their understanding from the state educational activity, as well as to fulfill their obligation to try to make themselves more knowledgeable in order to contribute to the improvement of their knowledge. To raise the intellectual level of people, thus, building "socialist people", improving the quality of labor resources and creating social development.

It is evident through the historical milestones of the national education system that whenever there are signs of instability, danger or even crisis in society, educational reform activities are mentioned and unfolded in social practice. From there, it helps to limit the negative impact on people's lives and social life. With the development of current socio-economic conditions, improving the quality of education and equipping people with knowledge will also be an effective motivation and measure for Vietnam to develop in accordance with its goals.

"Educational reform" should be considered as a way, a way to achieve better goals and results in educational activities for the betterment of people and society. Adaptation to the changes in social life is a requirement of social practice. Educational reform is fundamental, systematic and in-depth in its national scope, and must have a clear and specific planning and process. Accordingly, it should be understood that "educational reform is the process of creating a new stage in the qualitative development of education. It is a fundamental, profound and comprehensive change in the mode of educational development, including changes in goals, operating principles, system structure, curriculum content, teaching methods

and approaches, etc. Learning, how to train, develop, hire and treat teachers, how to organize and manage schools,¹".

At the same time, the dominant ideology that governs and influences the direction of educational reform changes from one historical period to another in accordance with the conditions and trends of social movements and development and depends on the socially determined direction of development of each country. "The dominant ideology of the wave of educational reforms in the world at the end of the 20 th century was the transformation of the old system of education and training, created to meet the requirements of the classical industrial age, into a new one. Adaptation to the requirements of the new information and knowledge age of education and training"².

Based on the lessons of history and the provisions embodied in the Vietnamese Constitution and laws, one of the socialist values pursued in Vietnam is the creation of fairness and equality in society. Educational activities are carried out for the people. Such activities ensure not only the interests of individuals, but also the interests of families and society as a whole. In the operation of the state, this long-term investment cannot be calculated as "profit" in terms of material value, but rather the development of the Vietnamese people, the development of Vietnamese society.

In today's international context, many lifestyles and many personal views are created, which have an impact on the

¹ Nguyen Thi Binh (2010), "Reform for an honest education", Tuoi Tre Online, <https://tuoitre.vn/cai-cach-de-co-mot-nen-Giao-duc-trung-thuc-401326.htm>

² Vo Nguyen Giap (2007), "Revolutionary innovation in education and training of the country", <https://tuoitre.vn/doi-moi-co-tinh-cach-mang-nen-Giao-duc-va-khite-to-do-your-own-country-219356.htm>

development of society as a whole and on the goals of education. Not only that, but in individual life the changes in perception are influenced by living conditions and environment, so it is not enough to stop educational activities just by sitting in school. Therefore, to further promote socialist values, it is necessary to be oriented not only to the efficiency of social activities, but also to the value of individual human development. Therefore, in the new situation in Vietnam today, the educational reform activities oriented to the affirmation and promotion of socialist values focus on the following specific goals.

+ Educational reform for building a learning society

The purpose of educational reform is defined as the affirmation of human values and the creation of optimal conditions for human development in the conditions of the knowledge society. The human learning process is not limited by any factors, but in a limited state of conditions, maximizing the ability and understanding of existing conditions for the learning process and equipping knowledge skills, creating a way to live together in all conditions, promoting social development, expanding the target and goals of educational reform is necessary.

The goal of educational activities for every citizen of the country continues to be recognized. However, educational activities should not be reduced to traditional feelings and ways of thinking, such as national education with a formal school system, a structured training program, and specific levels of education. With the development of science and technology, the successful application of information technology and educational activities needs to be understood and defined in a broader range of training subjects. Thus, educational reform activities are directed not only at the national education system, but also at the learning society.

This reflects the trend towards educational equity, not only in relation to educational inputs by geography and age, but also in relation to the fact that educational inputs continue to meet the intellectual, moral and cultural needs of the system beyond the formal classroom, having completed the learning program of the school president.

The need to learn and satisfy the need for knowledge, the need to be educated so as not to lag behind the movement of society is a legitimate requirement and should be encouraged in social life. At the same time, educational activities are understood as from education in the family to education in schools and society - important environments that contribute to the formation of personality and demonstrate educational values for social life. However, in today's modern society, educational activities are not only within the scope of national education, but it requires more expansion, be it the provision of knowledge through the media, technology system,... How to get justice to all people in these forms of expansion?

The goal at all levels of education is to create equal opportunities for all children, including tuition support, but as they move on to higher education, that support diminishes. This is part of the reason why many children drop out early. However, when individuals enter the labor market, educational activities aimed at equipping and disseminating new knowledge remain limited due to different industry requirements. At the same time, cultural education and forms of community moral education are not given sufficient attention. As a result, the phenomenon of being influenced by foreign cultural factors that are not in line with good customs and traditions, or anti-cultural and anti-ethical behavior is ringing alarm bells.

Compulsory national education activities at a specific educational level create the intellectual basis and basic scientific knowledge for young people to live confidently, to know and integrate into social life as a source of labor for society. However, it is the movement of people's social life, creativity, curiosity, discoveries and findings that drives the movement and expansion of knowledge. Adults will have to find out and equip themselves with this knowledge. This is the desire, but not everyone knows and can equip themselves with the new knowledge. In addition, educational activities for people with disabilities have limitations. Therefore, educational reform activities also need to target this cynical target in society.

Accordingly, educational equity needs to be extended to social life. It is no longer bound to the national education, but gradually moves towards the formation of a learning society that meets the needs of each individual to learn and recognize new knowledge in the life of society through investment. Thus, it increases equal educational opportunities in all subjects. The results of each person should be respected and properly assessed, regardless of age, geography, industry,...

Therefore, equity based on social values is reflected in the identification of the target group of education through effective educational reforms - which should be expanded to all, regardless of age, region, industry,; Defining forms of education - -not only to be compatible with the national form of education in the formal school system, but also to expand the form of education without a degree, towards the construction of a social learning environment that promotes the need to apply knowledge in an appropriate way and the application of competencies and critical thinking. This dictates that investment in education should serve

as a goal for human development and a driving force for social development. At the same time, education policies must be closely integrated with other social policies to promote the educational needs of people of all ages.

- Social cohesion education reform

Article 2 of the Law on Education (2019) states that "the goal of education is the comprehensive development of Vietnamese morality, knowledge, culture, health, aesthetics and profession; citizenship, competence and awareness; patriotism, national spirit, loyalty to national independence and socialist ideals; promotion of the potential and creativity of each individual; improvement of human intellectual capacity, development of human resources, and cultivate talents to meet the needs of nation-building and defense and integration into the international arena. Accordingly, education is not a commodity that the state can "buy" at its expense and cannot be priced and dictated by the market. Moreover, education is not a machine that shapes or molds people to produce material things to meet the needs of society according to available models, or to meet the needs of a few. For individuals, they want to be themselves, with their own personality and ability to think and to adapt to their own lives. To do this, in today's world of massive amounts of information and knowledge, access to knowledge is not too difficult thanks to technological advances, but not everyone can afford it. Being able to identify the right sources of knowledge. This can also be understood as creating equal opportunities for learning.

In addition, there is a new understanding of the issue of academic degrees in the new situation, and the situation of "more teachers and less workers" is gradually being overcome, but this distinction still exists in the minds of some people. Therefore, how

to realize the contribution of each individual to the society, and how to express oneself, manifest oneself, and contribute one's own value to the development of the society, is the important thing in life and the goal of life pursuit.

Equipping tools and methods, self-learning, self-reading paths and creating demand and meeting knowledge needs as the goals of educational reform. As the view of GS. Hoang Tuy, "the motto of education is no longer to provide treasures and instill as much knowledge as possible, but to quickly train thinking skills, adaptability, training the mind and personality so that anyone caught in any situation can manage and rise, assert themselves, and move society forward", education "should focus on both knowledge and The education "should focus on both knowledge and training the mind" and "image, as the basis for creative thinking¹". Once knowledge is available, how to "digest" it also needs to be focused. Confucius also said, "To learn without knowing is to fail; to know without learning is to be dangerous. If you don't learn, you won't be able to understand the essence of that content properly, and you won't know how to apply that content to your life, so it's easy to " One false step leads to another".

Not only that, but a person cannot learn all the professions and master the entire treasure trove of knowledge, nor do they know how to make full use of the amount of information available to them and transform it into their own knowledge. Because each person has his or her own abilities, needs for knowledge to be satisfied, and different needs for education, there is a need to

¹ Hoang Tuy (2011), Education: Let me be frank, Knowledge Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 57, 59.

create an environment that is a source of knowledge acquisition, so that individuals can play and use their best abilities to contribute to society.

Thus, coordination and cooperation in the process of "digesting" knowledge and applying it creates other social values that encourage human connection. While the value and benefits of this activity are often overestimated, the sharing and community spirit in teaching ethical values and cultural traditions will serve as a counterbalance, creating balance in these relationships and creating human values in society.

On the national side, education reform activities achieve the goal of social cohesion with intersectoral coordination. Education is not the sole task of the education sector, but a commitment of all people and all sectors to achieve common goals. However, the role of the people is paramount to achieve the goals of educational reform. They are the practitioners and the beneficiaries of socialist values. In a difficult economic situation, the policy of "socialization of education" is a way for the people and the state to reform education.

In recent years, this activity has not fully realized its value and contribution. This is because the new understanding of "socialization of education" is to attract financial contributions in accordance with the established implementation program. The current reality shows that educational issues in particular and other social issues in general receive more attention than the media. The issues raised are rich in content, but out of concern and concern for social and cultural stability, many people become social critics in analyzing and pointing out the causes of the problems. Thus, "socialization of education" needs to be understood as a process of participation in the discussion, enactment, and implementation of educational decisions.

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Therefore, in order to enhance socialist values in the new conditions of today's Vietnam, educational reform should aim at building a learning society and laying the foundation for greater cohesion and cooperation. Individual responsibility that contributes to the maintenance of cultural and social stability and a safe living environment for human development. Human development as a measure of social development. Human relations with people in society are maintained by humanistic, intellectual and ethical values and community values are enhanced.

“SOCIALISATION” OF EDUCATION FOR THE GOAL OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD TO SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM

*Dr. Nguyen Thi Luyen**

Introduction

In the transition to socialism in Vietnam, almost all spheres were strongly influenced by the multi-constituent economy. However, education is a particular sector that needs long-term investments aimed at human and social development, where the government plays the key role. In developed countries, the first priority with a significant proportion of the national budget is given strategically to educational development. Vietnam has set its goals in human development, such as: “the all-round development of Vietnamese people with good health, good abilities, qualifications, awareness and high responsibilities towards themselves, their families, the society, and the nation”; “people must be educated and trained so that they will have a sense of morality, good discipline, and social accountability; they will have good living and working skills as well as competences in foreign languages, information technology, digital technology, creative thinking, and international integration (as global citizens)”

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(Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021). To achieve the above-mentioned goals, some requirements must be fulfilled as follows: “To make a fundamental and drastic change in the quality and effectiveness of the educational and training system; To do research aimed to improve and stabilise textbooks and patterns of examination at all grades; To attach special importance to the teacher-training so as to meet the ultimate requirements of the comprehensive educational and training reform; To shift the educational model from the equipment of knowledge to the comprehensive development of virtue and ability; on-class learning should be combined with other forms of learning such as online learning and teaching, the teaching on television or via the internet, social activities, extracurricular and research activities; education at school must be combined with education at home and society; vocational education must be innovated flexibly to improve the quality in accordance with the guideline on the fundamental and comprehensive reform of education and training” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021).

For the concerted goals, the State plays a key role in providing investment resources for education. At least 20% of the national budget is planned to be provided for education and training (Law on Education, 2019). In reality, however, the annual budget provided for education and training is lower than this figure. According to Prof. Lê Anh Vinh, Director of the Vietnam National Institute of Educational Sciences, the investment in education increased steadily over the period from 2011 to 2020. It ranged averagely from 17% to 18% of the national budget. In some years, the figure reached almost 19%. This figure is not low, compared with that in the United States (13%), Indonesia (17.5%), Singapore (19.9%) and some other

countries. Regarding the proportion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the spending on education accounts for 4.9% of GDP, which is only lower than that in Malaysia (5%) but higher than that in many other ASEAN countries such as Cambodia (1.9%), Singapore (2.9%), and Laos (3.3%) (as cited in Thanh Hằng – Duy Phương, 2022). In 2020, the income per capita in Vietnam was 2,785 USD, ranked 6th in ASEAN and 100th in the world, while the corresponding figures in the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia were 3,193 USD, 7,900 USD, and 10,402 USD respectively; i.e. 2 or 3 times higher than that in Vietnam. Comparing the spending on education with the income per capita, we can see obviously that the spending on education in Vietnam was quite high (Thanh Hằng – Duy Phương, 2022).

Besides providing the main resource for education so as to enhance the people's right to education and development, the Party and the Government has accelerated "socialisation" of education in the current context of Vietnam. In this paper, we would like to outline the regulations on the "socialisation" of education that have been promulgated since the beginning of *Đổi Mới* (Renovation) and summarise the changes in Vietnam's education over the period.

1. Socialising education in form of "sharing costs and responsibilities of educational provision between the State and the people" with the aim of obtaining educational development and ensuring the people's right to education and development

1.1. Several concepts

Education is an activity directed at transmitting and acquiring knowledge and experience from one generation to the next, aimed to make preparations for participation in production and social

activities. In a broad sense, education is a purposeful and planned activity aimed to build and develop comprehensively human personalities. In a narrow sense, education is a purposeful and planned activity aimed to organise and instruct learners to form and improve the quality of their personalities (Trần Thị Hương, Nguyễn Đức Danh, Hồ Văn Liên, and Ngô Đình Qua, 2017). Thus, education is an indispensable need in society, which guarantees the existence and development of human beings and societies. Education is always regulated by specific political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions and orientations. None of societies can be maintained without education and, vice versa, all educational activities are focused on serving social progress.

There are different approaches to “socialisation” of education. In essence, “socialisation” is understood as a process of increasing social features in the sectors, mobilising the participation of individuals and organisations in social activities, performing the tasks that are not necessarily done by the State, and contributing part to the social maintenance and reproduction. The key point of “socialisation” is the interaction, the relations and the inherent attributes of people and communities, which are created in response to society and influenced by society.

“Socialisation” of education in Vietnam was initiated and specified by the Party and the State in the legal documents on education and training. “Socialisation of education is to mobilise resources from the entire society for education, encouraging people from all social strata to contribute part to the development of public education under the State administration” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1993). “Socialisation of educational, medical and cultural activities is to mobilise and organise the participation of all the people and society in the development of those sectors,

aimed to improve step by step the people's enjoyment of educational, medical and cultural services as well as the physical and mental development" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1997).

Thus, "socialisation" of education is seen as a process aimed to enhance the State's role in orientation, direction, administration and investment in educational development. Although the State and the people together share costs and responsibilities of educational provision, the State plays a key role in mobilising resources, including mental, human, material and financial resources, in society for educational development (Phạm Văn Thanh, 2010). The State encourages and makes it favourable for individuals and organisations to contribute investments and mental, manpower, financial, and material resources to education; the financial investments in education include the revenues received from educational services and supporting activities (Hải Bình, 2019).

1.2. Overseas experience in educational development

The United States, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore are the countries where education is developed. About two decades ago, the children going to primary and secondary school in those countries accounted for 90% of all school-aged population; the proportion of children going to high school was over 45% (amounting to 90.1% in South Korea); and, the proportions of undergraduate and postgraduate students were very high. With the stable and high-quality educational systems, those countries try to ensure best the educational justice. In addition to giving priority to education and training with a large proportion of the national budget (around 4% of GDP or more), those countries have specific educational development strategies for each socio-economic development period; they have established open education with high articulation; at the same time, the roles are

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specified clearly between the government and the people in educational development (Vietnam National Institute of Educational Sciences, 2020). The governments take control over the entire process, while social forces take part in educational provision, sharing the educational costs with the government. Specifically:

The United States government takes control over general issues of the educational system and some overall programmes for the purpose of ensuring equality and justice in the Federal educational system. The State governments are responsible for providing financial resources for the compulsory education and a part of the public education. After finishing the compulsory education, learners have to cover a fairly large expense. The governments have supporting programmes aimed to help those who have difficulty to access high-quality education. Individuals are encouraged to make investments in education in form of donations (funding for organising and carrying out activities at private universities) so as to get profits.

The Japanese government allows individuals to make investments in educational establishments with the State financial, legal, and professional support. The State may provide aid for private colleges or universities in form of loans or subsidies for experimental costs, teaching expenses of spearhead training establishments (science-technology, preschool...), and regular activities for the sake of helping those colleges and universities avoid downgrading.

The government of Singapore plays a key role in setting up strategies for educational development. The State provides educational orientations, financial and material resources for educational programmes, giving specific quotas for each training

sectors and establishment, supervising and evaluating the performance of those establishments. Recently, the government of Singapore has made it favourable for educational and training establishments to have their own training programmes and admission mechanisms and allowed them to seek for resources to expand their training size. It is, however, necessary to follow the fundamental orientations of the educational strategy.

In South Korea, the State spending on education was quite low (around 4% of GDP); investments on development of private education were neither encouraged nor restricted. Korean people are prepared to pay more so that their children can get higher educational attainments. Owing to such a great resource, South Korea has achieved success in educational and economic development, catching up with advanced countries (Vietnam National Institute of Educational Sciences, 2020).

**Table 1. Proportion of spending on education
by the State and the private**

Nation	General education		Higher education	
	State	Private	State	Private
USA	91.9%	8.1%	42.8%	57.2%
Japan	91.3%	8.7%	39.7%	60.3%
South Korea	80.2%	19.8%	23.9%	76.1%
Vietnam	95.7%	4.3%	77.1%	22.9%(*)

** from "socialisation" of education*

Source: Based on data of the world educational development index in 2006 by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UNESCO/UIS), the World Education Indicators (WEI), and the statistical data of Vietnam's Ministry of Education and Training in 2007.

In the transition to socialism, the sector of education and training is given the top priority, according to which the State plays a major role in providing resources for education, while “socialisation” is launched to mobilise more resources for education in the new development period of the country.

2. Vietnam’s regulations on “socialisation” of education in the period of Renovation

In the 6th National Congress of the Communist Party (1986), in addition to the strategy for economic reforms, “social issues and life of the people” was defined to be one of the six focal points in socio-economic development over the period from 1986 to 1990. It was first mentioned that educational investment should be innovated by sharing costs and responsibilities of educational provision between the State and the people. That was a completely new viewpoint, as all the human, financial resources, facilities, and equipment in the educational sector had been fully subsidized by the State until then. In the period, therefore, it was necessary to have specific regulations about “the contributions made by economic collectives and people to facilities in the educational sector in form of sharing costs and responsibilities between the State and the people so as to mobilise reasonably resources and, at the same time, avoid all types of abuse” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1986). The principle for incentivising “socialisation” and mobilising investments in education was stipulated clearly at Article 4, Term 6 (Resolution No. 69/2008/NĐ-CP), according to which “socialised” educational establishments may enter into joint ventures or partnerships with appropriate domestic and overseas individuals and organisations to raise capital, attract human resources and technologies and improve service quality; they are allowed to mobilise capital from their own employees in form of shares and contributions and other

legal financial sources such as domestic or overseas businesses, economic organisations, and individuals in form of cooperation for the purpose of making investments in educational facilities. Eventually, the mechanism on “sharing costs and responsibilities of educational provision” was implemented in practice. As a result, semi-public schools, financially autonomous schools, and non-public schools (private) were established, in addition to public schools (of which 100% of funding is allocated by the State). Non-public schools may compete freely with others in service provision, tuition, admission, and recruitment of teachers..., but the educational content, programmes and some other criteria for organising activities of those schools must comply with the regulations issued by the Ministry of Education and Training; public schools, especially semi-public and financially autonomous schools get a more flexible mechanism for raising the budget (partly autonomous), recruiting and using human resources, and organizing educational activities.

Over the past two decades, initial achievements in educational size and investment have been gained, owing to the above-mentioned policy. However, there have been shortcomings relating to educational quality, school culture and teachers’ code of ethics. Due to the practical requirement of a fundamental and comprehensive educational reform, “socialisation” of education was stressed again in the Resolution of the 8th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (2013) as follows: “It is necessary to encourage “socialisation” of education for the purpose of making more investment and build high-quality schools at all levels of education and training, increasing the proportion of non-public schools in vocational and higher education, and establishing educational establishments on the basis of community investment” (Communist Party of

Vietnam, 2013). To carry out “socialisation” of education successfully, it is necessary to improve financial policies and mechanisms to mobilise resources from the entire society and enhance the effectiveness of investments for educational development. The State should play a key role in providing funding for education and the spending on education and training must account for at least 20% of the total State budget expenditure, aimed to guarantee the funding for professional activities of the public educational and training establishments (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2013). The guideline on “socialisation” of education varies by level of education. For preschool and general education, the State gives priority to development of public schools so as to accomplish the target of compulsory education. Non-public schools are encouraged to be founded to meet demands for high-quality education in urban areas. For vocational and higher education, “socialisation” should be accelerated. There must be policies promoting fair competition in education and training, while it is necessary to ensure the rights of learners, employers, and educational and training establishments (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2013). To mobilise the people’s resources for education and develop international cooperation in “socialisation” of education, the Law on Education in 2019 allows the public private partnership, joint venture, and association in education.

In the current context, with the aim of promoting an open educational system, lifelong learning, learning society, and providing training in accordance with the demand in the labour market, the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party emphasized: “It is necessary to restructure the system of schools, develop harmoniously public and non-public education, diversify forms of training, complete the policy on development of non-public educational establishments, implement the financial

autonomy at higher education, following the common trend in the world, convert ineffective public universities to the public private partnership, implement the financial autonomy for some schools in big cities, where conditions are appropriate, and carry out the pilot leasing of available educational establishments on the basis of guaranteeing the schooling of all children”.

3. Results of the performance of “socialisation” of education in the period of Renovation in Vietnam

(1) According to the general assessment of public and non-public education in the period, the quantity of school pupils, university students, and postgraduate students increased rapidly, especially at higher education and vocational training; both quality and quantity of teachers and educational officials improved and the structure became increasingly reasonable (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2013). The quantity of teachers (at schools) increased from 492.7 thousand (Academic Year 1995-1996) to 780.5 thousand (Academic Year 2005-2006) and 861.3 thousand (Academic Year 2015-2016). The quantity of lecturers (at colleges/universities) increased from 23.5 thousand (1996) to 53.4 thousand (2006) and 72.8 thousand (2016) (General Statistics Office of Vietnam, 2019). Besides the rise in quantity, professional qualifications have also improved not only in the non-public sector but also the public one. The proportion of university lecturers who have a PhD or Master’s degree has been growing. In the Academic Year 2013-2014, there were 9,653 PhD and 34,152 Masters, but the corresponding figures in the Academic Year 2018-2019 are 21,106 PhD and 44,705 Masters. Meanwhile, the proportion of school teachers who have standard qualifications increased from 98.96% to 99.56% (Ministry of Education and Training, 2020).

Table 2. Quantity of Learners

General education	1995-1996	2005-2006	2015-2016	2018-2019
Pupils (<i>Unit: thousand person</i>)	15,561.0	16,650.6	15,353.8	16,525.868
Average ratio of pupils to teachers	31.6	21.3	17.9	19.9
College and Universities	1996	2006	2016*	2018-2019
Students (<i>Unit: thousand person</i>)	509.3	1,666.2	1,767.9	1,526.111
Postgraduate education	2000	2015	2017*	2018-2019
Postgraduate students (<i>Unit: person</i>)	12,656	67,497	65,460	108,134

(*) 2016, 2017, 2018-2019: College students are excluded

Source: Based on data of the General Statistics Office of Vietnam (2020)

Looking at the above-mentioned figures, we can see that over two decades, from 1995-1996 to 2018-2019, the quantity of school pupils did not vary much, while the quantity of university students and postgraduates increased rapidly. At the same time, the ratio of school pupils to teachers decreased significantly (from 31.6 to 17.9 – Table 2). This shows a positive change in education. Besides making investments in educational facilities and teaching and learning conditions, the teaching force has been more and more stabilised in terms of both quantity and quality. Learners have more opportunities to study and acquire knowledge and the educational effectiveness has been consequently improved. Apart from some criteria such as the rate of literacy, the school age, and

qualifications of educational levels, the educational effectiveness is also reflected by students' learning achievements. Obviously, the understanding and knowledge of part of students have been better; students at high schools for the gifted have a high level of competence, compared with others in the region and the world. According to the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2015 carried out by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), measuring the scholastic performance of over half million 15-year-old school pupils, who were representatives for 28 millions 15-year-old pupils in 72 countries and economies, Vietnam was ranked 19th among the top 20 performers in the world (including: Singapore, Japan, Estonia, Taiwan, Finland, Ma Cau, Hong Kong, South Korea, New Zealand, Mainland China, Slovenia, Australia, UK, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, Ireland, Belgium, Vietnam, and Canada) (Xuân Vũ, 2018). At the International Olympiads in the Academic Year 2018 - 2019, all 23 Vietnamese students won medals (Ministry of Education and Training, 2020).

Higher education at universities/colleges and postgraduate education have been also adjusted, attaching more credits to the learning programmes to enhance the training quality. The training of "talented bachelors" or "talented engineers" has gained remarkable results (the quality has reached the international standards; the students have become top students, after being sent abroad for study); most of university/college graduates have an ambition of getting success in career and life (Vietnam National Institute of Educational Sciences, 2010). In practice, Vietnamese pupils and students have a good ability for international integration; Vietnamese labourers, who are products of the "socialisation" of education, can satisfy high requirements in the domestic and international labour markets. This is a very achievement of the current education in Vietnam.

(2) The development of non-public education is shown by the increasingly higher investment shared by the State and the people in “socialisation” of education. Social forces have been taking part actively in encouraging children to go schooling, building school facilities, and contributing funding to educational activities. In 2006, the financial contribution made by people to the children’s schooling in public and non-public schools made up around 25% of the total educational budget. In addition, other contributions were made by businesses, socio-political organisations, and foreign investors (Vietnam National Institute of Educational Sciences, 2010).

In the Academic Year 2018-2019, the proportions of schools, teachers/lecturers, university students/school pupils/preschool children at higher education, general education, and preschool education in the non-public sector are: 27.4% - 2.2% - 19.5%; 22.3% - 2.3 - 24.2 %; and, 17.3% - 2.2% - 19.2% respectively (Table 3). Those figures demonstrate that in the non-public sector, preschool education and higher education have been more developed with a higher proportion of investment than general education.

Table 3. Schools, Teachers/lecturers, University students/school pupils/preschool children at Higher education, General education, and Preschool education in the non-public sector in the Academic Year 2018-2019

		Total	Public	%	Non-public	%
Higher education	Schools	237	172	72.6	65	27.4
	Lecturers (person)	73,312	56,985	77.7	16,327	22.3
	Students	1,526,111	1,261,529	82.7	264,582	17.3

	(person)					
General education	Schools	27,723	27,117	97.8	606	2.2
	Teachers (person)	826,704	807,485	97.7	19,219	2.3
	Pupils (person)	16,525,868	16,154,376	97.8	371,492	2.2
Preschool	Schools	15,470	12,450	80.5	3,021	19.5
	Teachers	326,332	247,262	75.8	79,070	24.2
	Children (person)	5,173,192	4,230,884	80.8	942,308	19.2

Source: Based on statistical data of the Ministry of Education and Training (until 28 April 2020)

Apart from investments made by individuals, organisations, and businesses in building and establishing schools, the people's contributions to the funding for educational activities of their children have increased. Specifically, 1) at public schools, the number of learning hours and extracurricular activities increased together with the corresponding tuitions); 2) one can choose "the full educational service" or study abroad. This is seen as a drastic change resulting from the "socialisation" of education in the period. As there are various forms of education with different amounts of tuitions, people can select the most appropriate option so as to ensure the children's right to education. Apart from public schools, one can send children to non-public schools, and international schools located in Vietnam or abroad.

Conclusion

To guarantee the people's right to education and development in the transition to socialism in Vietnam, the Party

and the Government drew up the guideline on “socialisation” of education to mobilise resources in society for educational development, in addition to the funding coming mainly from the State budget. “Socialisation” of education was implemented in practice, contributing significant part to positive changes in education in Vietnam. The “socialisation” of education has caused important impacts on not only financial resources but also educational governance and other social development processes. It has created a comprehensive power for educational development, when the national educational budget still remains limited (Ministry of Education and Training, 2019). The “socialisation” of education helps to increase investments in facilities, improve teaching and learning conditions, expand the educational size, diversify educational forms, enhance the educational management capacity and effectiveness, when Vietnam is still a poor country and the average income per capita is low.

Compared with education in developed countries, Vietnamese education is far worse in terms of investment and governance. At the same time, there are still many inadequacies and shortcomings. The “socialisation” of education has also resulted in obstacles (relating to interest and competition etc.). “However, it has brought clearly visible values; for example, it has contributed to development of comprehensive learning movements in the entire society; educational activities and schools have been attached closely to society; Educational and training quality has been improved, creating favourable conditions for organisation of educational activities. Furthermore, the “socialisation” of education has contributed part to the performance of social justice, which is first shown by the justice in benefiting from education. It is a way to democratize education, making it become a common

task of the entire society. To promote the superiority of “socialisation” of education in the current context of Vietnam and the world, the Central and local governments should have appropriate policies to incentivize resources for education, ensuring more and more citizens’ right to education and development and performing social justice.

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SOME BASIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS REFORM IN VIETNAM

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Introduction

In 1986, Vietnam officially entered the period of comprehensive national renewal (Doi moi) in the spirit of the 6th National Congress of the Party (December 1986). Up to now, after 35 years of conducting Doi moi, Vietnam has achieved many important achievements in the fields such as economic development, political system reform, building a socialist rule of law state, cultural development, enhancement of democracy, social justice, and social progress,... Among them, the field of ensuring human rights, freedom of belief and religion also achieved many important achievements. There is a view that the achievements in religious reform in Vietnam are as impressive as those in economic reform. The reason for such a view is because the religious life in Vietnam since the renovation until now has had a “night and day” change compared to before. If before Doi moi, religions in Vietnam operated relatively quietly, the number of followers did not increase, worship facilities were rarely restored or built; religions did not have many activities to participate in social life, etc, then after renovation, the situation

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was different. Religions have recovered amazingly, worship facilities have been restored and newly built, followers have increased rapidly, religious activities have been very active, The right to freedom of belief and religion is better and better guaranteed.

Regarding the concept of “religious renewal” in this article, it is understood as the innovation in the Party and State’s viewpoints, perceptions, and behavior,... towards religion, religious organizations, and religious activities. The renewal of religion itself is not included in the concept of “religious renewal”. The content of religious renewal includes many different issues such as renewing awareness of religion, religious values, position and role of religion, right to freedom of religion, and religious work. Religious renewal is a part, an integral part of the Party's general renovation cause, then religious renewal is inseparable from national renewal in general and national renewal is a condition and premise for religious renewal; The results of religious renewal reflect the results of the renovation cause. However, religious renewal is not a “passive” result of the renovation cause in general but a purposeful, policy-oriented and strategic activity of the Party to overcome the limitations and weakness in awareness and dealing with religion in the pre-renovation period, and at the same time promoting the role and values of religion in the cause of national construction and development.

We believe that the achievements of religious renewal in Vietnam are reflected in many aspects, typically in terms of awareness, in terms of formulating and perfecting policies and laws, and in terms of ensuring everyone's right to freedom of belief and religion. In addition, the positive transformation of

religious life in Vietnam is the clearest manifestation of the religious renewal process in Vietnam.

1. Achievements of religious reform in terms of awareness

Religious awareness before Doi Moi

Religious renewal from the perspective of awareness is the change in approach, perspective, orientation, attitude, etc when considering and evaluating religion. Before Doi moi, the Party's perception of religion had certain prejudices, sometimes religion is even associated with superstition. As a result, many places of worship of religions and beliefs were destroyed, many religious activities were not organized, a part of believers, religious practitioners, and religious monks were equated as "trading gods and selling saints". It can be said that, before the renovation, social awareness in general towards religion, monks and religious followers also had prejudices, which were one-sided. The Party's views on religion before the renovation can be generalized into the following contents:

Firstly, recognizing religion is heavy on ideology and politics with the perspective of discriminating thinking: atheism - theism; materialism - idealism; enemies - we, etc., have not yet recognized religion from the perspective of human spiritual needs. To be more specific, the Party's views in this period emphasized much on the political aspect of religion, on the negative influence of religious thought and spirit to the revolutionary cause. Therefore, the view of the Party at this stage considered religion as an "oppression" to the spirit of the masses, and one of the tasks of the revolution was to liberate people from that oppression. Resolution No.40-NQ/TW dated October 1, 1981 has following writing: "The party of the working class is responsible for liberating the working

masses from all social and spiritual oppression, including the liberation of the masses from religious oppression”¹.

Secondly, recognizing religion as an anti-scientific phenomenon, a force hindering the revolutionary cause, easily being exploited by the enemy without paying attention to the values and contributions of religion to society. Because of such awareness, before Doi moi, we had the view that religion would perish when the conditions for its existence no longer exist.

The Party's religious awareness after Doi Moi

The mark of reforming the Party's awareness of religion since Doi Moi is fully reflected, most clearly in the Resolution No.24-NQ/TW dated October 16, 1990 of the Politburo on strengthening the work of religion in the new situation. The content of the Resolution with the Party's groundbreaking views on religion has so far been highly appreciated. Next, the Party issued many documents, directives, and resolutions affirming the transparent and consistent point of view in renovating religious awareness such as Directive 37-CT/TW dated July 2, 1998; Resolution 25-NQ/TW, dated 12/3/2003; Directive No.18-CT/TW dated January 10, 2018 of the Politburo on continuing to implement Resolution 25-NQ/TW; Documents of the 13th National Party Congress. The Party's views and perceptions on religion in the post-renovation period can be summarized as follows:

First, instead of seeing religion from the perspective of politics, ideology, enemy-our side vision, materialism-idealism,..., the Party recognizes religion *as a spiritual need of a part of the people*

¹ Quote from Nguyen Hong Duong (editors, 2014), *Continuing to renew the policy on religion in Vietnam today: basic theoretical issues*, Publishing House of Culture - Information and Institute of Culture, Hanoi, p. 50

(Resolution 24-NQ/TW). This can be seen as an awareness “starting from reality” and then “returning to serve reality”. The practice here is the practice of religion itself, the reality of the needs of a part of the people. If we compare it with the views of the Party before Doi Moi, specifically the Resolution No.40-NQ/TW dated October 1, 1981 mentioned above, we can clearly see the change and breakthrough in the perception of views of the Party.

Second, instead of seeing religion as a force that hinders society and oppresses the masses, the Party's view has recognized that “religious ethics has many relevant things for the construction of new society” (Resolution 24-NQ/TW). Not only that, the Party affirms that religion has good cultural and ethical values that need to be promoted (Directive 37-CT/TW). In other words, the Party is aware of the value of religion, its role and contribution to society.

Third, not only recognizing the value and role of religions, the Party also affirms that religious resources contribute to social development. This is the perception made in Directive 18-CT/TW and the Documents of the 13th Party Congress. This shows that the Party's position not only recognizes that religion has spiritual values but also has material values.

From the above analysis, it has been shown that the Party's view of religion has changed from seeing religion as a spiritual force and thinking in the pre-renovation period, to seeing religion as a “social entity”; from a view of religion from a class and materialistic stance to a view of religion from an objective and scientific perspective; from a view of religion from a prejudiced attitude to a view of religion from practice,... With these changes, the nature of religion changed in the Party's perception in the post-renovation period. Therefore, it can be said that the Party's view

on religion in the post-renovation period is a turning point and breakthrough compared to the previous period. That is the key to the transformation of religious life in Vietnam in the post-Doi Moi period.

2. Achievements of religious reform in terms of policy and law

In order to see the achievements of religious renewal in terms of formulating policies and laws in the field of religion, we need to compare it with the period before Doi moi. Before Doi moi, we had legal documents with the main content related to religion as follows:

1. *Ordinance No.35 (September 20, 1945):*
2. *Ordinance No.65/SL (November 23, 1945)- Ordinance on Monument Conservation*
3. *Ordinance No.22/SL (December 18, 1946)*
4. *Constitution 1946, 1959, 1980*
5. *Ordinance No.49/SL dated June 18, 1949: Regulations on Direct Tax Law*
6. *Decree No.315-TTg dated October 4, 1953*
7. *Ordinance 234/SL dated June 14, 1955 on religious matters*
8. *Resolution No.297-CP dated 11-11-1977 (replacing Ordinance 234/SL)*
9. *Resolution No 40-NQ/TW dated October 1, 1981*

Among the above-mentioned legal documents, there are only 2 documents with specialized content on religion, namely Decree No.234/SL and Resolution No.40-NQ/TW, the remaining documents are general documents, including content related to religion. The content of policies and laws on religion in the pre-

renovation period mentioned in the above documents can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, affirming respect and guaranteeing the right to freedom of belief and religion. This is a basic human right, an inalienable right (this is a consistent, throughout point of view). The documents all refer to this content from different aspects, especially Ordinance 234/SL which devotes a whole chapter to ensuring the right to freedom of religious belief. Meanwhile, in *Ordinance No.35 (September 20, 1945)* and *Ordinance No.65/SL (November 23, 1945)* on conservation of monuments, *Ordinance No.22/SL (December 18, 1946)*, etc., there are regulations that must not be violated, must be preserved on religious and belief land and properties, regulations on not collecting taxes on religious land and property, etc..

Secondly, the above documents have made provisions on the policy of religious solidarity, against taking advantage of religion

Thirdly, the above documents have outlined policies to take care of the material and spiritual life, and to raise the political and cultural level for religious people.

Fourthly, regulations on international relations of religion

Fifthly, there are regulations on charity, social, medical and educational activities of religions

Sixthly, the issue of recognition of religious organizations, for example, the Catholic Church of Vietnam (North), Evangelical Church of Vietnam (North, 1957), Unified Buddhist Association of Vietnam (1958, signed by Deputy Prime Minister Phan Ke Toai to recognize the organization), the Vietnam Buddhist Sangha in 1981,...

It can be seen that the legal documents and policies on religion in the pre-renovation period were mainly decrees and resolutions

without any normative documents such as the Law or other documents. The promulgation of Decrees and Resolutions related to religious content shows the conformity with the national context in the period of struggle for national reunification and independence. In this context, religion is considered as an issue in the category of “internal affairs” (Do Quang Hung) so the adjustment of religious activities is carried out by directives, resolutions, etc. under the leadership of the Party.

In the post-renovation period, the development and completion of policies and laws on religion have been paid great attention by the Party and State. On March 21, 1991, the Council of Ministers issued Decree 69/HDBT on regulations on religious activities; on April 19, 1999, the government issued *Decree No.26/1999/ND-CP on religious activities*; Then, in 2004, *the Ordinance on Belief and Religion was promulgated by the National Assembly*. In 2016, *the Law on Belief and Religion was born (effective from January 2018)*. In addition, a legal system related to religion has also been developed, which is synchronous with the Law on Belief and Religion such as the 2013 Land Law¹, the 2010 Non-agricultural Land Use Tax Law (effective from January 1, 2012)², Law on Protection, Care and Education of Children in 2004³, Law on Election of People's Council deputies in 2011⁴, Law on

¹ Luật Đất đai năm 2013 và văn bản hướng dẫn thi hành, Nxb. Chính trị Quốc gia, Hà Nội, 2015.

² Luật Thuế sử dụng đất phi nông nghiệp năm 2010 và văn bản hướng dẫn thi hành, Nxb. Chính trị Quốc gia, Hà Nội

³ Luật Bảo vệ, chăm sóc và giáo dục trẻ em, Nxb. Từ điển Bách khoa, Hà Nội.

⁴ Luật Bầu cử Đại biểu Hội đồng nhân dân, Nxb. Khoa học Xã hội, Hà Nội.

Education in 2005, Law on Construction in 2015¹, Residence Law, Civil Code, etc.

The achievements of the construction of religious policies and laws in the post-renovation period are not only reflected in a relatively complete and synchronous legal system as mentioned above but also in changes in the nature of religious policies and laws. If in the past, religion was considered a matter of the category of “internal affairs”, now it is considered a matter of public policy. If before, it was heavy on policies or general regulations and orientations, now it is concretized by legal regulations and a synchronous system of legal documents (Decree, circular, etc.). If in the past, policies and laws were set out on the basis of the requirements of the revolutionary cause, the situation and the context of the country, etc., now, policies and laws are formulated according to a strict legislative process and are widely consulted by the people, especially the opinions of religious organizations, dignitaries, officials, monks, and followers of religions. If before the renovation, there were separate documents, policies and regulations for each religion, now there is only the Law on Belief and Religion that regulates all activities of all religions. Previously, policies and laws on religion were not compatible with international law, but now Vietnam's religious law has similarities with international law such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, etc.

¹ Quốc hội nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, Luật Xây dựng, Luật số 50/2014/QH13, ngày 18/6/2014. Nguồn: <http://vlar.gov.vn/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/luat-xay-dung-2014.pdf>

In other words, the change in policies and laws on religion in the post-renovation period was built and perfected in the direction of a socialist rule of law state, all religious activities are regulated according to the law. All acts of violating the law on religion will be handled according to the law whether they are religious dignitaries, religious organizations, or organizations and individuals in the religious work apparatus of the political system.

3. Achievements of religious reform in terms of ensuring the right to freedom of belief and religion

In terms of ensuring the right to freedom of belief and religion, the renovation cause has achieved achievements in terms of awareness, policy, law and practice. In terms of awareness, the Party's viewpoint has undergone a fundamental change when determining that the right to freedom of belief and religion is the right of everyone, not the right of citizens as before. In terms of policy, the human rights law is provided for in a separate chapter (Chapter II) of the Law on Belief and Religion (2016). In particular, it clearly stipulates the right to freedom of religious belief of all people (individuals), including foreigners living, studying and working in Vietnam, and rights of religious organizations.

In terms of practical aspects of ensuring the right to freedom of belief and religion, Vietnam has achieved many achievements over the past time. From the right to freedom of belief and religion of organizations and individuals, right to religious activities, etc. were restricted in the pre-renovation period, after the renovation, these rights has been respected and guaranteed better and better. Up to now, those who have been deprived of their citizenship - those who are being held, detained, etc., are also guaranteed the right to freedom of belief and religion. The guarantee of freedom of belief and religion in Vietnam is also remarkable in that it

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ensures freedom of belief for believers who are ethnic minorities, people living in remote, border areas, and islands.

The guarantee of freedom of belief and religion for religious organizations and individuals is also reflected in the fact that organizations and individuals can fully participate in all fields of social life. Dignities and religious followers are allowed to join the National Assembly, People's Councils at all levels, participate in political and social organizations such as the Fatherland Front at all levels, etc. The Party encourages followers of all religions to strive to become a member of the Communist Party¹. At the same time, the Party also has regulations on Party members who are religious followers to participate in religious activities to ensure freedom of belief and religion. Not only that, dignitaries, followers, and religious organizations are also allowed to give opinions on guidelines, policies and laws related to religion as well as other issues.

Because of these reasons, from the fact that there are still limitations in ensuring human rights in general, the right to freedom of religion and belief in particular, until now, Vietnam has been elected as a member of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations for the 2014-2016 term and the 2023-2025 term. This is the recognition and appreciation of the international community for its impressive achievements in ensuring human rights in general, the liberty to religious beliefs in particular of Vietnam in recent years.

¹ According to unofficial data from the State management agencies in the field of religion in Vietnam, Catholicism is currently the religion with the largest number of adherents who are Communist Party members, followed by Buddhism and Protestantism.

4. The positive change of religious life in Vietnam today: The picture of religious diversity

Religious renewal in Vietnam has completely changed the face of religion in Vietnam with a qualitative difference. Along with many other factors such as the development of economic and social life; the international context, the process of integration, international exchange,... religious renewal has a strong impact on the religious life of Vietnam. From a rather gloomy religious picture, until now, religious life in Vietnam is diverse and colorful. Vietnam is considered as the country with the highest level of religious diversity in the world. What makes the world even more surprising is that a socialist country is led by the Communist Party but religious life in Vietnam is rich and lively. And recently, Vietnam is being a chosen place to hold international religious events. Vietnam is also likened to a religious museum with a full range of world religions, regional and endogenous religions, and hundreds of types of folk beliefs and new religious phenomena¹. The number of religious followers of Vietnam currently accounts for about 27% of the total population of the country. In Vietnam, it is worth mentioning that most of the people have religious beliefs even though it is not stated in their CV or citizenship identity that they are religious followers. However, most Vietnamese people worship their ancestors - a type of traditional folk belief in Vietnam as well as many other types of folk beliefs. It can be said that there has never been a period when religious activities have attracted the number of participants up to hundreds of thousands of people like today. Many religious festivals have influenced the

¹ Hiện nay, Việt Nam có 16 tôn giáo và 43 tổ chức tôn giáo được Nhà nước công nhận. Ngoài ra, Việt Nam còn có nhiều hiện tượng tôn giáo mới và nhiều loại hình tín ngưỡng dân gian truyền thống.

whole society becoming a cultural feature in social life such as Christmas Festival (Noel), Vu Lan Festival, Dieu Tri Kim Mau Festival (Cao Dai religion), etc. Religions organize not only many purely religious activities but also many outward-facing activities such as charity activities, social security, educational activities, health care, environmental protection, rural construction, etc.

In addition to positive changes, religious life in Vietnam also appears negative, deviant and objectionable expressions and trends such as superstition, simony, abuse of beliefs and religions for personal gain, commercializing religion, etc. In addition, hostile forces always seek to cause conflicts and instability in the religious life of Vietnam to serve political intrigues.

5. Conclusion

As mentioned above, the typical achievements of religious renewal are reflected in the following contents/aspects: *first*, the transformation from perception which is *somewhat* subjective, one-sided, wilful even on the left to shift to an objective and scientific perception of religion; in other words, from perceiving religion as a form of social consciousness, reflecting the illusion of real life, the Party has moved to perceive religion as a “social entity”; *second*, the shift from the Party's guiding and leadership in policies and laws to the construction of a rule of law state in the field of religion; It can be said that this is a landmark change in the Party's leadership method towards religion. If before Doi Moi, religion was led and managed by resolutions, directives and decrees of imperative nature, now the Party and State lead religion and religious activities by the Constitution and laws; *third*, the shift from respecting and ensuring the freedom of belief and religion of citizens to guaranteeing everyone's right to freedom of belief and religion.

Along with the achievements of the country's renewal, the religious renewal process in Vietnam has also achieved impressive results, and the practice of religious life in Vietnam is a vivid proof of these fruits. The impressive thing is that, even though there are many religions in Vietnam, religions are always united, stick together with the nation, there is no religious conflict,... Recognition and evaluation of the results of religious reform in Vietnam, we believe that these results manifest the following meanings:

Firstly, religious renewal is part of the national renewal process, aiming to ensure the right to freedom of belief and religion of all people and religious organizations in Vietnam. Religious renewal is not a product of national renewal but a process with goals, a roadmap, a policy, and a consistent and transparent orientation.

Secondly, the results of religious reform in Vietnam have shown that the Party and State are very interested in religion, considering religious compatriots as an important part of the great national unity bloc. The State recognizes the role and contribution of religions to the cause of national construction and defense. Socialism does not conflict with religion, on the contrary, the successful construction of socialism will better ensure human rights, freedom of belief and religion.

Thirdly, the achievements in religious renewal in Vietnam have confirmed that the secular state model in Vietnam has been shaped and is increasingly being perfected. That is the model established by Ho Chi Minh and our Party in the early days of its establishment and increasingly shows its relevance to the Vietnamese situation. It is a state that respects and guarantees freedom of religion; religions are equal to each other and equal

before the law; religions do not participate in politics; The state does not interfere in the internal affairs of religions. Religions are free to operate within the framework of the constitution and law. In other words, the achievements in religious renewal as well as the reality of religious life in Vietnam have shown that the policies and laws of the Party and State are correct, contributing to building national unity and religious ties, contributing to social stability and development for the sake of wealthy people, a strong country, democracy, justice and civilization.

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES ON RELIGION IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND PROTECTION OF THE SOCIALIST VIETNAMESE FATHERLAND

*Dr. Mai Dieu Anh**

True religion always directs people to Truthfulness-Compassion-Beauty, towards the best values for people. Following in the footsteps of Buddha, God, and Saints all make people more beautiful, kinder, more valuable and humane. President Ho Chi Minh once emphasized the noble values from religions "The noble purpose of Shakyamuni Buddha and Jesus are the same: Shakyamuni and Jesus both want everyone to have food, clothing, and equality, freedom and the universal world"¹, and that: "Jesus taught: Morality is charity. Shakyamuni Buddha taught: Morality is compassion. Confucius taught: Morality is benevolence"².

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¹ Ho Chi Minh (1996), *On the issue of religion and belief*, Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, p194

² Ho Chi Minh (1995), *Complete volume*, volume 6, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p225

Each religion in Vietnam offers its own direction, suitable for the construction and defense of the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland. The Charter of the Vietnam Buddhist Sangha sets out the operating motto "Dharma - Nationalism - Socialism". The Catholic Bishops' Conference of Vietnam affirms that the Catholic motto is "Living the gospel in the hearts of the nation to serve the happiness of the compatriots". Protestantism has the direction of "Living the gospel, serving God, serving the Fatherland and the nation". The endogenous religions also clearly show patriotism, ready to accompany the nation with the principles of "Virtuous Country, light path" (Caodai) and "Reviving the religion, sticking to the nation, in accordance with the principles of religion and culture." consistent with the State's policies and laws, contributing to the construction and defense of the Fatherland" (Hoa Hao Buddhism)...

In recent years, social life has undergone many transformations, so religions have many changes to suit reality. The trend of entering the world is happening strongly around the world, including Vietnam. Deeply recognizing the role of religion in Vietnam in many areas of social life, our Party and State have promulgated many guidelines and policies to ensure the people's right to freedom of religion and belief. at the same time, creating favorable conditions for religious organizations to participate in social life services, such as education, health care, vocational training, patronage, etc.

1. Perspectives and policies of the Party and State on religion in the construction and defense of the Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland

As a multi-religious country, throughout the process of leading the country, the Party and State of Vietnam have always

consistently adhered to the policy of respecting and protecting the right to freedom, belief and religion. Inheriting the views of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought on religion and religious freedom, Vietnam builds lines and policies of the Party and State suitable to each historical period of the country.

Immediately after the successful August Revolution in 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born. With fully aware of the role of religion in the people's life, the importance of followers and non-followers in building great unity of the whole people in order to fight, protect and build the Fatherland, our State has promptly issued policies towards religion. At the first meeting of the Provisional Government, President Ho Chi Minh made a call: "The French colonialists and feudalists seek to divide the religious and wage compatriots to rule, I propose to our Government proclaim freedom of religion, unity of religion"¹.

The 1946 Constitution was the first Constitution of the new Vietnamese State that affirmed the right to freedom of religion as one of the five basic rights of citizens. Article 70, chapter V of the 1992 Constitution on basic rights and obligations of citizens affirms that "citizens have the right to freedom of belief and religion, to follow or not to follow a religion. All religious are equal in front of the law. Places of worship of faiths and religions are protected by law. No one has the right to infringe on freedom of belief or religion or to take advantage of belief or religion to contravene the laws and policies of the State".

¹ Ho Chi Minh (1995), *Complete volume*, volume 4, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p. 9

During the period of entering comprehensive Vietnamese renovation in economic, cultural and social aspects, Resolution No. 24-NQ/TW dated October 16, 1990 of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party on increasing strengthen religious work in the new situation was promulgated. In addition, many major undertakings and policies on religion have been promulgated by the Party and State such as Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW dated March 12, 2003 of the 7th Central Conference, IX term on the work. religion; Directive No. 37-CT/TW dated July 2, 1998 of the Politburo on religious work in the new situation; Directive No. 18-CT/TW dated January 10, 2018 of the IX Central Committee on Religious Work in the New Situation; Resolution No. 03-NQ/TW, dated July 16, 1998 of the 5th Central Conference of the VIII term "On building and developing an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity"...

The Law on Beliefs and Religions, which was passed on November 18, 2016, and took effect on January 1, 2018 details a number of articles and measures to implement the Law on Belief and Religion, which has institutionalized guidelines The Party's policies and views by the State's policies and laws creating a legal corridor for religions to operate and providing a tool for the State to manage.

The document of the 13th Party Congress emphasized: "Mobilizing, uniting and gathering religious organizations, dignitaries and believers to live a "good life" and make positive contributions to the construction and conservation defend the Fatherland. To ensure that religious organizations operate in accordance with the law and with their charters and charters recognized by the State. Promoting cultural values, good ethics and resources of religions for the cause of national development.

Resolutely fight and strictly handle those who take advantage of religion to destroy the Party, State and the socialist regime; divide, destroy religious unity and great national unity bloc"¹.

The Party and State's viewpoints and policies on religion in the construction and defense of the Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland strictly adhere to the following principles:

Solidarity and attachment to people who follow and do not follow religion in the great unity block of the whole people

The cultural values, good ethics and resources of religions are respected and encouraged to promote. Religious activities for the benefit of the country and the people, in accordance with the legitimate and legitimate aspirations and interests of believers must be guaranteed. All individuals and organizations engaged in religious activities must comply with the Constitution and laws, have the obligation to protect the interests of the Fatherland, and preserve national independence and national sovereignty.

Actively prevent and fight against acts of taking advantage of religion. Strictly handle according to law acts that take advantage of religion to destroy the great national unity bloc, cause social disorder and damage the people's moral values, lifestyle and ethnic culture, prevent believers and religious dignitaries from performing their civic duties...

2. Achievements in implementing policies on religion in the construction and defense of the Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland

Vietnam is a country with a diversity of beliefs and religions with more than 95% of the population following beliefs and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Documents of the 13th National Congress of Deputies*, Volume I, National Political Publishing House - Truth, Hanoi, p.171.

religions. According to the Government Committee for Religion, as of December 2021, our State has recognized and granted operation registration to 43 organizations belonging to 16 religions with more than 26.5 million followers (accounting for more than 27% of the total population of the country); in which, there are more than 54,000 dignitaries, 135,500 positions, more than 29,600 religious worship establishments and about more than 50,000 belief establishments. Recently, the religious situation in Vietnam has been basically stable, people of all religions have made many positive contributions to the construction and defense of the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland during the renovation period. The implementation of policies on religion in our country in recent years has achieved many achievements.

Implementing policies on religion contributes to promoting good moral and cultural values in the process of building socialism in Vietnam.

Religion is an important part of shaping the culture of each country and nation. Ethical and cultural values of religion are expressed in beliefs, practices, ethical principles and values, tangible and intangible heritage. Each religion has a different worldview and outlook on life, but they all direct people to a happy life and an ideal society. The process of developing philosophies, doctrines, canons, and principles of religions affects and permeates perception, thought, psychology, lifestyle and many aspects of society. Buddhism with more than 2000 years of introduction and development in Vietnam carries many profound human values, such as the spirit of compassion, equanimity, the law of cause and effect, karma, the six republics, and always admonishing people to practise the "Five Precepts", the "Eight Right Path" and be responsible for the community, society and

themselves. Catholics and Protestants teach believers with 10 commandments with two basic contents: Loving God and loving Humanity. Cao Dai and Hoa Hao Buddhism set the motto "study Buddha, cultivate humanity", "For the Dharma, for the nation". Tu An Hieu Nghia Buddhism set the direction of "Tu An Action - Live Hieu Nghia - For great national unity".

Ethical and cultural values of religion are an important component of Vietnam's cultural value system, a spiritual support for believers to live a healthy, socially responsible life, making an important contribution to in the cause of national construction and defense. Vietnamese people follow religion but do not focus on doctrine, not devotion, but focus on developing better and better human-to-human behavior according to religious doctrine.

Although each religion has its own direction and motto, but all have the same orientation to live "good life, beautiful religion"; always attaching and accompanying with the development of the nation. Through teachings doctrine, religions advise people to live in a good, altruistic, and charitable way with profound ethical and cultural values. The Communist Party of Vietnam has made an innovation in religious policy to meet the process of building a new society. Resolution No. 03-NQ/TW, dated July 16, 1998 of the 5th Central Conference of the VIII term "On building and developing an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity" stated: promote the ideas of justice, charity, goodwill... in religion..."¹.

¹ Party Central Committee (1998), *Document of the Fifth Conference of the Central Committee*, term VIII, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 67

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The Party, State and religious organizations always consciously encourage dignitaries and believers to preserve and promote the nation's good moral and cultural values. Preserving religious cultural heritages by the artistic heritage of religious architecture associated with each religion is very unique: architecture of pagodas and towers, architecture of cathedrals, architecture of temples.... Sculpture has reached a sophisticated and sophisticated level. Music in religion is very rich, in harmony with national music with "Buddhist music", "Christian music", "Cao Dai music" is very typical. Religious places of worship are allowed by the State to be restored and repaired and built more and more beautifully and spaciouly. Religious activities at worship facilities are organized in the form of festivals and spiritual culture, attracting a large number of religious and non-religious people to participate, becoming common cultural activities of the community.

Implement religious policies, promote the spirit of mutual affection, actively participate in activities to ensure social security of dignitaries, officials and fellow believers.

The Party and State of Vietnam advocate the socialization of education, health care, social security and humanitarian activities, in identification of which religious organizations, dignitaries, positions and fellow believers is is an important resource contributing to the good implementation of this policy.

In the process of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland, tens of thousands of dignitaries, officials, and followers of religions actively participate in mass organizations and social organizations, making many important contributions to social charity activities, ensuring social security, making an important contribution to the career of national construction and defense.

Under the direction from the viewpoints and policies of the Party and State of Vietnam, dignitaries and religious positions are exemplary, taking the lead as a bridge between the will of the Party and the people; abide by the guidelines and lines of the Party and the policies and laws of the State, followers of religions actively respond and participate effectively in patriotic emulation movements; perform well the roles, obligations and responsibilities of citizens. Authorities and religious officials actively guide and create conditions for religions to participate in socialization in social security activities, bringing practical and quick benefits to the people, contributing to building of the great national unity block.

Dignits and followers of religions actively participate in patriotic emulation movements, health, education, vocational training, social security, hunger eradication and poverty reduction, contributing to socio-economic development local association; promote resources and strengths of religious organizations and individuals in national construction and development. Thereby they contribute to diversify the mobilization of social resources, effectively sharing the burden with local authorities, the State and society.

According to the report of the Government Committee for Religious Affairs, the country currently has about 300 preschools, 2,000 preschool educational institutions, 12 vocational training institutions belonging to religious organizations, including: 01 college, 01 school secondary schools and 10 vocational education centers. In the medical field, there are currently more than 500 medical facilities, charity clinics established by religious organizations in various forms. Organizational funds are contributed by religious organizations and individuals to carry out

these activities each year amount to tens of billions of dongs; Mobile medical examination and treatment groups have been established and free medicines are distributed to the poor every year. In addition, the whole country has 113 social assistance establishments belonging to Buddhist, Catholic and Cao Dai organizations licensed to operate, taking care of and nurturing 11,800 subjects of social protection¹. Religious organizations have spent thousands of billions of dongs on activities of educational institutions, medical facilities, social protection establishments and charity and humanitarian activities; At the same time, actively participate with local authorities in the prevention and control of natural disasters and epidemics, especially during the recent Covid-19 pandemic.

Implement religious policies to contribute to ensuring security, public order and safety

Inheriting the Resolution No. 24-NQ/TW dated October 16, 1990 of the Politburo on strengthening religious work in the new situation, our Party has made great strides in awareness to make the best role of religion in social life, limiting the negative impacts of religion and activities that take advantage of religion to infringe on national security. As a result, the state management of religion is well implemented, the religious situation is stable, the majority of dignitaries, positions and religious compatriots feel secure and trust in the leadership and management of the Party and State, contributing to the struggle

¹ See: Hong Luu (2022), *The role of religious organizations in national construction and development*, <https://sonv.ninhthuan.gov.vn/portal/Pages/2022-8-31/Vai-tro-cua-cac-to-chuc-ton-giao-trong-cong-cuoc-xnхjuv.aspx>, updated on August 31, 2022

and rejection of slanderous and slanderous claims against the government in violation of human rights and religious freedom. Many areas where a large number of religious people are concentrated have become bright spots for crime prevention, drug prevention and other social evils. The authorities at all levels have focused on directing and coordinating with departments, agencies, mass organizations, and societies to build, deploy and mobilize all classes of people to effectively implement the national target program on crime prevention and control; new rural construction; actively participate in the campaign "All people unite to build cultural life in residential areas"; improving the material and spiritual life of the people, strengthening the faith of people of all religions in the Party and State... as a foundation for launching the movement of all people to protect national security in the regions of ethnic minorities. The model of self-defense and self-management in ensuring security and order in residential areas with a large number of religious people is highly appreciated by Party committees and authorities at all levels.

In recent years, religion has been a field that hostile and reactionary forces often take advantage to oppose the socialist regime in Vietnam. FULRO organizations in exile in the US such as the Montagnard Foundation (MFI), Montagnard Human Rights Organization (MHRO), United Montagnards People (UMP), etc., tried to propagate and oppose the Party and State of Vietnam. They propagate, entice and incite ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands to demand secession and self-rule, and establish the so-called "Dega State". They coordinate with extremists of other ethnic groups both at home and abroad (Cham, Khmer, Hmong) to provide documents to international human rights organizations

to misrepresent and slander oppression of ethnic minorities and repression of religion in Vietnam. Capturing the plots and tricks of hostile forces and reactionaries, religious cadres, village elders, village heads, ethnic minority intellectuals and religious dignitaries guide and effectively propagate to compatriots of all religions resolutely struggle and refute misrepresentations about the religious situation and religious policies in Vietnam by hostile forces. At the same time, they proactively detect and take timely and effective measures to prevent illegal propaganda, taking advantage of beliefs and religions to affect political security in each locality.

Implementing policies on religion contributes to the implementation of strong international integration activities, enhancing Vietnam's international position.

Vietnam is implementing a foreign independent, self-reliant, multilateralisational and diversificational policy, being a good friend, reliable partner and responsible member of the international community, making efforts to contribute to maintain peaceful and stable environment, for the prosperous development of the region and the world. The innovation process is associated with the task of building an independent and self-reliant economy; proactively and actively integrate deeply and effectively into the international community. Contributing to the implementation of the open foreign policy of the Party and State of Vietnam, religions increasingly participate in international and regional exchanges such as successfully hosting and organizing the annual Vesak Festival in 2008, 2014 and 2019, the Catholic Conference of the Catholic Bishops' Conferences of Asian countries in 2012, the Catholic La Vang Congress, the annual Cao Dai Taoist Palace Festival, etc.,

participated in regional and international conferences, seminars and forums such as the Asia-European Summit Meeting (ASEM), the Asia-Pacific Interfaith Dialogue, etc. Vietnam actively propagates foreign affairs and strengthens communication information on policies, laws and innovation achievements in Vietnam in all aspects, including state management of religion; put the content of democracy, human rights, religion and ethnicity into the working contents of our country's senior leaders when visiting other countries or welcoming foreign leaders to visit Vietnam.

3. Promoting the effectiveness of viewpoints and policies on religion in building and defending the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland

In order to effectively promote views and policies on religion in the construction and defense of the Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland, in the coming time, it is necessary to perform a number of basic tasks as follows:

Firstly, continue to renew awareness about religion and religious work for the political system and society as a whole, and clarify the theory of religion and the nature of religion. Especially in the context of international integration, religion is increasingly actively participating in the construction and defense of the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland, the main approach is to study and promote its functions and social value that religion brings. It's necessary to focus on educating patriotism, the sense of protecting the independence and unity of the Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland, fully institutionalize the Party's views on religion and religious work, promote its advisory role with the Party and State in the work of building and perfecting policies and laws on religion.

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Secondly, to step up the patriotic emulation movement and the movement to build a new cultural life among religious people. Governments at all levels need to implement well the example of good people and good deeds among people of all religions to become a model and a positive source of motivation, promoting a large number of religious masses to study and follow, thereby enhancing their pride. of religious compatriots on the way to socialism in our country, motivating them to act "good life, good religion".

Thirdly, governments at all levels need to create a mechanism for religion to make useful contributions to the country's development in the period of international integration. Currently, studies and practices have proven that religions have many resources that need to be exploited and promoted. Moreover, religions have outstanding advantages in social activities, health care, education and humanitarian charity. Meanwhile, these are the areas where the state's mechanisms and policies still face many difficulties and inadequacies, so it is necessary to thoroughly exploit this strength of religion, contributing to promoting the intergration trend of religions, helping believers to live a good and religious life.

Forthly, it's proactive and active to contact, mobilize and enlist dignitaries, positions, monks, and followers of religious organizations. Government at all levels step up patriotic emulation movements, to build a civilized urban area, to build a new countryside, to implement guidelines, policies and laws in the locality, especially in religious areas. It's necessary to develop party members who are religious, create conditions for religious party members to perform well the work of the people with the masses of believers. It's regular to celebrate meeting and

coordinating with dignitaries, officials, monks and reputable people in religious organizations, creating social consensus in propagating and educating followers to follow the guidelines, guidelines, policies and laws.

Fifthly, it's time to strengthen religious diplomacy, promote cooperation with countries in the region and the world on religion. The authorities need to mobilize the mass of believers to participate in international and regional religious forums; proactively prepare carefully the contents and presentations on human rights and religious freedom, thereby propagating and building a good image of religious activities in Vietnam. It's necessary to mobilize Vietnamese dignitaries and religious followers abroad to pay attention, share, and build the country. The authorities also need to assist and guide religious organizations in conducting international relations activities in accordance with the provisions of law and in line with the foreign policy of the Party and State of Vietnam. They need to resolutely fight and oppose wrong and hostile views on the religious situation and religious work of the State of Vietnam; clearly distinguish religious compatriots with genuine religious needs from those who take advantage of religion to oppose, for reactionary political purposes to divide the great national unity bloc.

After nearly 40 years of renovation, the people's right to freedom of belief and religion has been basically guaranteed, so that dignitaries and religious believers are encouraged and motivated to accompany the nation and the development of the country. In the new context, in the face of changes due to the process of international integration, the guidelines, policies and laws of the Party and State of Vietnam need to continue to be

improved to better meet the requirements of reality. Since then, religious compatriots have increasingly believed in the Party's leadership with the cause of national renewal, more deeply aware of the right to freedom of religious belief and responsibility to contribute to the country and society and themselves.

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APPLICATION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY VALUES IN THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE IN HO CHI MINH CITY

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*MA. Phuong Thanh Thuy***

1. President Ho Chi Minh's view on democracy

When discussing democracy, President Ho Chi Minh gave a concise, typical concept that contained the essence of the democratic form. Ho Chi Minh expressed democracy through the clause: “the people are the masters” and “the people’s master”. People are masters: referring to the position of the people, people's sovereignty refers to the capacity and responsibility of the people. He said: “Our country is a democracy, that is, a state owned by the people”; “Our regime is a democracy. That is, the people are masters”; “Our country is a democratic country, the highest position is the people, for the people is the master”¹. The concept of democracy in Ho Chi Minh's thought is expressed in three areas: political, economic and socio-cultural in which the political

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¹ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. Book 5. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2000, p. 698

field is the most important and obvious expression and is expressed in all activities of the state.

In the political field: Inheriting and developing the progressive views on democracy of mankind, especially Marxism-Leninism, democratic thought in the political field is expressed in the assertion of power of the people in the constitution and law, ensuring the building and organization of the democratic state, which is a state of the people, by the people, for the people.

Affirming that the people are the masters in the Constitution and laws is the first demonstration of democracy in the political field. This is clearly shown in the important documents of the country that Ho Chi Minh drafted such as the Declaration of Independence on September 2, 1945, giving birth to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. democratic values which are associated with "independence, freedom, happiness". This was followed by two constitutions that President Ho Chi Minh led and presided over to draft during his 24 years acted as the President – the 1946 Constitution and the 1959 Constitution. Just one day after reading the Declaration of Independence, Ho Chi Minh began to draft the Constitution, he said: "Before we were ruled by the monarchy, then the colonial empire was no less tyrannical, so our country did not have a Constitution, our people are not entitled to freedom and democracy. We must have a democratic Constitution. I request the Government to organize as soon as possible a general election with universal suffrage"¹. Ho Chi Minh believes that: "The general election is an opportunity for the entire nation to freely choose virtuous and talented people to shoulder the country's

¹ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 2011. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi. Book 4, p. 7

work”¹. In the General Election, anyone who wants to take care of the country's affairs has the right to stand for election; Every citizen has the right to vote. Regardless of gender, rich or poor, religion, race, class or party, every citizen of Vietnam has those two rights. Article 1 of the 1946 Constitution states: “Vietnam is a Democratic Republic country. All power in the country belongs to the entire Vietnamese people, regardless of race, male or female, rich or poor, class or religion”². Adhering to the principle of “guaranteeing freedom and democratic rights”, Article 10 of the Constitution stipulates that “Vietnamese citizens have the right to freedom of speech, freedom to publish, freedom to organize and assemble, freedom to threshold, freedom of residence and movement in the country and abroad”. Like the 1946 Constitution, the 1959 Constitution devoted a whole chapter III to stipulating the basic rights and obligations of citizens, including 21 articles from articles 22 to 42. Both the 1946, 1959 and 243 Constitutions Decrees related to the state apparatus signed and promulgated by Ho Chi Minh show the unity of Ho Chi Minh's thought: the people are the subject of state power.

The viewpoint of the State of the people is expressed in the work ‘Duong Kach menh’ from 1927, Ho Chi Minh wrote: “The new democratic Vietnamese state is a state of the people, by the people and for the people. The social basis of that state is the entire Vietnamese nation, based on the alliance between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam”. And: “The revolutionary

¹ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 2000. National Political Publishing House, Hanoi. Book 4, p. 133

² http://vanbanphapluat.tinphapluat.com/hien-phap-viet-nam-1946/hien-phap-nam-1946-chuong-i-chinh-the_t12-c022-a66-m10.html.

government of the new democratic country belongs not to any particular class but to the common property of the entire nation, except for the henchmen of the French and Japanese imperialists and the traitors..., and whoever is a citizen living on the land of Vietnam, all are partly involved in maintaining the government, must have a part in the task of preserving and protecting that government". It can be said that Ho Chi Minh's viewpoint is to establish that all state power belongs to the people. In that spirit, the Vietnamese people enjoy all democratic rights. At the same time, by democratic institutions, the state must have the responsibility to ensure the people's mastery, and let the people exercise their mastery.

Ho Chi Minh's viewpoint of the state by the people is that the state is founded by the people, supported by the people, and ruled by the people. It is because the state is built by the people and the people are the ones that establish the state apparatus through elections and candidacy. Therefore, the people have the right to inspect and supervise the state apparatus they have established, and have the right to dismiss unsuitable representatives. "All state agencies must rely on the people, stay in close contact with the people, listen to their opinions, and be controlled by the people"¹ so "Whenever a government is harmful to the people, The people must destroy that Government, and create another Government."

The view of the state for the people according to Ho Chi Minh is that the state is the people's tool, the form to gather the strength of the whole nation into the common cause. He wrote: "All power belongs to the people, the government from the commune to the

¹ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 1996. Book 9. National Political Publishing House, p. 579-597

central government are elected by the people”¹. On that same basis, he strongly condemns those who only act as government officials for the sake of dividing power, benefits and perks of the people. The State for the people according to him is a state that takes the legitimate interests of the people as a goal, all for the sake of the people, and does not have any other interests. It is a clean state, without any privileges. Ho Chi Minh emphasized that “all lines and policies are only aimed at bringing benefits to the people, whatever is beneficial for the people, no matter how small, try to do, and whatever is harmful to the people, no matter how small, try to avoid”². Therefore, the task of the state is to provide food, clothing, shelter and education for the people. The state for the people is a state apparatus that, from the president to ordinary civil servants, must all work as servants of the people, not as a revolutionary civil servant to crush the people's neck like in the colonial empire. He wrote, “We must understand that government agencies, from the whole country to the villages, are all public servants of the people, that is, to shoulder the common work of the people, not to crush the people as in the colonial period. under the domination of France and Japan. Whatever benefits the people, we must do our best. Anything that harms our people must be avoided. We must love the people, respect the people, then the people will love and respect us.”³

¹ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 1996. Book 5. National Political Publishing House, p. 698

² Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 1996. Book 4. National Political Publishing House, p. 56-58

³ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 1996. Book 4. National Political Publishing House, p. 56-58

In short, talking about democracy Ho Chi Minh affirmed that democracy is the most precious thing in the life of the people and that practicing democracy widely is the universal key to solving all difficulties. Ho Chi Minh affirmed that social life includes four aspects and must be built simultaneously with four aspects: politics, economy, culture and society. On that basis, Ho Chi Minh built a democratic state through the combination of many forms of democracy: representative democracy with the election of the National Assembly; direct democracy with many forms such as the whole people's review, self-criticism review and acceptance of criticism before the people for grassroots government officials; semi-direct democracy in the organization and operation of judicial organs in the electoral system of People's Councils at all levels... Ho Chi Minh's thought on democracy is comprehensively reflected in all areas of life from the political to the economic, cultural and social aspects.

2. New points in our Party's view on socialist democracy

On the basis of the viewpoint "taking the people as the root" and the motto "people know, people discuss, people do, people check" of the 6th Congress, the 8th Party Congress continued to affirm: "Building the people's democracy". Socialism is the basic content of reforming the political system in our country. There must be a specific mechanism and way to implement the motto "people know, people discuss, people do, people inspect" for major undertakings and policies of the Party and State".

In the Platform for national construction in the transitional period to socialism (supplemented and developed in 2011), many new theoretical points were expressed, reflecting a new step forward in theoretical thinking of the Party, the development of capacity and theoretical level of the Party through the practice of

25 years of renovation. One of the new highlights is the Party's theoretical awareness on democracy and building a socialist democracy in our country. The Platform emphasized democracy in the target value system of Doi Moi, placing it at the forefront of values to recognize the general characteristics of Vietnamese socialism. The socialist society that our people build is a society of rich people, strong country, democracy, justice, civilization... building a democratic society to exercise democracy and constantly promote the right to master of the people.

Not only in the characteristics of socialist society but also in the direction of socialist construction, the Party's Platform emphasizes the socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people. It is also emphasizing democracy from the perspective of a power institution in which the people are the original subject of that power. The people in the position of owners and owners have authorized the State; and at the same time supervise and inspect the State in the implementation of its authorization. That democratic institution must necessarily be associated with the legal system and the rule of law in order to create a political-legal motivation to strongly develop the market economy, bringing benefits to the people and the social community. at the same time protect the basic rights of people and citizens, associate rights with obligations, interests with responsibility, associate human rights with rights and interests of the nation, the country and the people's right to mastery¹.

Democracy as a whole includes the rights, institutions and political mechanisms which is guaranteed by the law.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Document of the 11th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011.

As citizenship right, democracy is also a civic duty. Citizens enjoy the right of ownership and in return must exercise that right as an obligation; democratic rights must go hand in hand with civic responsibility to the country; does not accept the use of democracy to disrupt order, discipline and law, harm national security and interests of the people.

As political institutions and mechanisms, democracy is expressed in the operation of the political system, in the relationship between the Party's leadership, the State's management, and the people's mastery. Our Party's view is: "The people exercise their right to mastery through the activities of the State, the whole political system and other forms of direct democracy and representative democracy"¹.

As the way of people's mastery, since 1998 the Party and State have issued a number of important documents such as Directive 30-CT/TW of the VIII Politburo, Decree 29/1998/ND-CP of the Government. The Government promulgates and guides the implementation of the Regulation on democracy at the grassroots level, bringing democracy into practice to each citizen's areas, especially in rural areas. In which, people implement democracy not only in indirect form but also in direct form. It shows that, at the same time as the form of indirect democracy is formed, the form of direct democracy can also be applied more widely, at a higher level, not only at the grassroots level, but also at the national level. Affirming this, in the development perspective of the Socio-Economic Development Strategy 2011-2020, the Party proposed the policy: "Improving capacity and creating a

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Document of the 11th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011. p. 85

mechanism for the people to fully exercise their mastery, especially direct democracy to strongly promote all creative abilities and ensure a high consensus in society, creating a driving force for the development of the country"¹. In the relationship between democracy and the political system, since the 7th National Congress (1991), our Party has determined that renewing the political system is towards building a socialist democracy and further developing the democracy of the political system.

The State serves the people, closely attaches to the people, fully exercises the people's democratic rights, respects and listens to the people's opinions and is subject to the people's supervision; have mechanisms and measures to control, prevent and punish bureaucracy, corruption, wastefulness, irresponsibility, abuse of power, infringing upon citizens' democratic rights; strictly maintain social discipline, strictly punish all actions that infringe upon the interests of the Fatherland and the people.

The organization and operation of the state apparatus follow the principle of democratic centralism, with assignment and decentralization, and at the same time ensure the unified direction of the Central Government².

Thus, in order to demonstrate democracy, the State must legally perfect the operating mechanism of the state apparatus itself. That is the assignment, coordination, inspection and mutual supervision between agencies and state institutions such as the National Assembly, the Government, the Court, and the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Document of the 11th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011. p. 100

² Communist Party of Vietnam: Document of the 11th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011. p. 85-86

Procuracy. The Platform used the concept of 'control' among agencies in the exercise of legislative, executive and judicial powers in order to ensure democracy in the operating mechanism of the state apparatus. This is a remarkable new point in our Party's thinking about state organization.

Socialist democracy in Vietnam for many decades has been inseparable from the role of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and mass organizations. Besides the social function, such organizations also have a political function, which is the institutions of democracy. In the condition of a leading party, the role of the Front is even more important. The Platform affirms: "The Vietnam Fatherland Front and people's organizations play a very important role in the cause of great national unity to build and defend the Fatherland; represent and protect the people's legitimate rights and interests, take care of the interests of union members and members; implement democracy and build a healthy society; participate in the construction of the Party and State; educate revolutionary ideals and morals, citizenship rights and obligations, strengthen the relationship between the people and the Party and State... The Party and State have mechanisms and policies to create conditions for the Front. and mass organizations operate effectively, performing the role of social supervision and criticism"¹.

From the perspective of political power, the term democracy² itself implies the primacy of a political regime where the people are the subject of power.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Document of the 11th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2011. p. 86

² Etymology from Greek demokratia (δημοκρατία, where δῆμος – kemos is the people, κράτος – krátos is power, meaning "the power of the people").

From the perspective of democratic values, together with justice, equality, and freedom... are political ideals of many peoples and nations. The struggle for democracy created one of the heroic pages of human history.

However, in order for these values not to be diluted or abused, the need to re-evaluate and regulate social behavior in accordance with democratic goals becomes an inexhaustible need. In this case, the question of “democratization” is raised again.

3. From democracy to democratization of social life

In the usual sense, democratization is the process of applying democratic principles to the political system, culture, way of life and other areas of social life. Democratization is a process with many different manifestations, covering many fields and areas of human activities, from the bottom up or from the top down, penetrating into economic, cultural, and political activities. rule, creating a chain effect in society. In order for the democratization process to be effective, it is necessary to first realize and organize democracy.

From a practical perspective, democratization has a positive impact on social development.

First, the impact of democratization on the transformation of social norms and values such as freedom, justice, and equality. These changes do not happen naturally, but under the influence of economic, political, social and cultural changes. Such changes require regulation of the power apparatus, refinement of the relationship between the government and people of all classes, and promotion of democracy and social security.

Second, the impact of democratization on the market economy and culture. At first glance, these two contents are not linked or

even opposed to each other. However, in fact, the development of the market economy affects culture in many ways, especially cultural creation, enjoyment and management. On the one hand, the 'expansion' of the needs cannot but be associated with the openness of the market mechanism and the law of supply and demand. On the other hand, it is the market mechanism that has broken down the obstacles in the government's decisions, thereby forming new evaluation systems, newer democratic and freer regulations. Once the principles of democracy are guaranteed, they themselves will act as both a stimulus for creativity and a social filter that prevents anti-cultural factors as well as negative manifestations of market.

Third, democratization has a positive impact on promoting the power of mass political organizations and the self-expression of citizens, on which associations and mass organizations are voluntarily formed, contributing to a healthy and dynamic social environment. Political organizations of the masses are not only 'allies' of the government system, but also an important channel of criticism, preventing law violations, and facilitating the promotion of the interests of groups. Different societies, protect their fundamental rights, including proposing individual legal initiatives. Mass organizations, associations, and mass organizations "soften" social conflicts and harmonize human-to-human relations, which is the way to implement democracy in all fields of social life.

The term "democratization" has long been used in two senses: first, changing the political regime from less democratic to more democratic; second, reforms within a democratic society, overcoming the situation of 'unfulfilled' democracy in some areas, making the basic principles of democracy fully and entirely implemented.

We discuss the concept of democratization in Vietnam in the second sense, because, in essence, “our country is a democratic country”¹, and the socialist rule of law is the method of implementation. democracy. The rule of law is a universal value, an expression of a democratic development level. In this sense, the rule of law state is seen as a way of organizing democracy, a way of organizing the state and society on a democratic basis. This means that the rule of law is associated with a democracy. A state governed by the rule of law (Rechtsstaat) is a state whose entire operations are subject to the norms and principles of the rule of law².

President Ho Chi Minh once mentioned very early on the idea of “divine law”. Experiencing many changes in history, at the 7th National Congress of Delegates of the 7th term (1994) of the Communist Party of Vietnam, for the first time, the concept of “a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people, for the people” is included in the document.

With this approach, we can assess the current state of awareness and implementation of democracy in Vietnam, thereby suggesting the possibility of further promoting democratic values in social life associated with the principles of the socialist rule of law state. Articles 2 and 3 of the 2013 Constitution emphasize: “The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a socialist rule of law state of the People, by the People and for the People”; “The State ensures and promotes the people's right to mastery; recognize, respect, protect and guarantee human and citizen rights”. However, in reality, as the Resolution of

¹ Ho Chi Minh: All Books. 1996. Book 6. National Political Publishing House, p. 515

² М. Н. Марченко: Правовое государство. Энциклопедия юриста, Москва, 2005.

the 12th National Congress clearly shows, the awareness of democracy in society is still limited, the dialectic between “the people are the masters” and “the people’s master” has not achieved high results, rights the people’s mastery in many places and fields is still violated; The formality and abuse of democracy remains serious¹. It is a clear fact that in the political life of the country is taking place a situation of “openness above and close below”, meaning that the lines and policies of the Party and State are not fully grasped, or skewed at all levels, especially in the grassroots political system, causing frustration among the people.

The people should be empowered to supervise the activities of the elected bodies and those who represent the will of the people in the performance of their assigned tasks. It sounds simple, but in fact this is the most pressing thing in political life today. Will the people be given real supervisory authority, or only formal supervision, because they are afraid to collide, afraid of being persecuted if they dare to openly comment on the mistakes and shortcomings of officials? Once the people do not fully implement the principle of “people know, people discuss, people do, people check”, it is difficult to say about the effectiveness of the supervision system for the government. In order to promote the people’s mastery in supervising state power, the training and education of the state civil servants itself needs to be changed, in order to form a real force of “public servants of the people”, knowing how to listen to the people and correct their mistakes, not just being good at shouting slogans but being far away from the people.

Thus, it can be affirmed that the relationship between democracy expansion and democratization is the relationship of

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 12th National Congress of Deputies; Office of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 2016, p. 168.

impact in the same process with different degrees, expanding the space for democracy means creating favorable conditions for democracy. The implementation mechanism to make democracy really, not so formal will make the democratization process go into every field of social life, ultimately making the people to exercise their mastery in economic, political, cultural and ideological life.

4. Applying democracy in political democratization in Ho Chi Minh City

Ho Chi Minh City is the largest city in Vietnam, the economic locomotive of the country, one of the important cultural and educational centers of the country, along with Hanoi as a special urban area. In that capacity, the city is proposing the regulation of special zones in economic development, in order to further promote its leading role, in line with the line of reforming the growth model and restructuring the economy, emphasized by the 11th and 12th Party Congresses, as well as the 9th and Xth Party Congresses. With the population of Ho Chi Minh City as of April 1, 2019 is 8,993,082 million people¹. After January 1, 2021², the city has 312 administrative units below the district/city level, including 249 wards, 5 towns and 58 communes.

Theoretically, the promotion of democracy and the democratization of all areas of social life are two sides of a unified process, making democracy permeate to all classes of people. It is

¹ <http://tongdieutradanso.vn/tphcm-cong-bo-ket-qua-so-bo-tong-dieu-tradanso-va-nha-o-nam-2019.html>.

² According to Resolution 1111/NQ-UBTVQH14 of the National Assembly Standing Committee, on January 1, 2021, Thu Duc City was officially established. Thu Duc city was newly merged from District 2, District 9 and Thu Duc District. Before January 1, 2021, the City had 24 districts/districts, after January 1, 2021, there were 22 districts and the City.

not possible to promote democracy synchronously if there are still manifestations of democracy that are half with or in violation of democracy in social life. During the Doi Moi years, democracy in politics has made remarkable progress. We have reformed the organization and mode of operation of the political system, through which socialist democracy has been increasingly promoted. The Party has been renovating and reorganizing the Party, renewing the Party's leadership method, so that democracy in the Party is increasing day by day. Conduct elections with balance, promulgate regulations on questioning within the Party. The regulation of the activities of the leadership bodies at all levels has brought the leadership of the Party into a better order and democracy. The participation of grassroots party organizations and party members in the planning and implementation of the Party's guidelines and policies is increasingly widespread and effective. Democratic activities within the Party have made remarkable progress. Those steps have had a strong impact on the promotion of democracy in society.

The complexity of social life in the transitional period was emphasized by our Party in the 2011 Platform: "This is a profound and radical revolutionary process, complex struggle between the old and the new in order to create the qualitative change in all areas of social life, it must necessarily go through a long transitional period with many development steps and interwoven forms of economic and social organization".¹

The complex nature of the city's social structure and population requires awareness and application of democratic principles right

¹ The program on building the country in the transitional period to socialism – supplemented and developed in 2011; Section II: Transition to socialism in our country, point 4.

from the grassroots level, from wards, communes, and neighborhoods, to overcome the situation of "open above and close below", promoting the power and effectiveness of the government's management by means of leverage, making all classes of people properly and sufficiently aware of democracy, thereby realizing "the people are the masters" and "the people's master".

Promoting democracy in association with democratization is one of the conditions for social consensus, political stability and ideological unity among all classes of people. Theoretically, the two issues mentioned above aim at two goals: *people join hands to build a community with order, discipline and healthy culture; at the same time, the people themselves also contribute to preventing the manifestations of anti-democracy, or half-democracy, and contrive to the government in implementing democracy in specific areas.*

The impact of democratization, theoretically, on other fields, especially the economy, culture, and education, is becoming more and more obvious. Only by ensuring a truly democratic environment can the fields of economy, culture and education develop effectively; otherwise, the development process will be hindered or distorted. In order to be worthy of being an economic, political and cultural center, playing the role of an economic locomotive, Ho Chi Minh City needs to consider the promotion of democracy and democratization of social life as both urgent and regular needs.

The practical basis for the implementation of political democratization in Ho Chi Minh City has been based on the following:

First, based on the general policy of the Party from the general political system to the grassroots political system, in which the implementation of the Grassroots Democracy Regulation has

gradually democratized in political life of people. Strengthening the people's ability to supervise, the disclosure of information, projects and administrative procedures to the people at the grassroots has shown a change in political and people's perception. must be the center of political power, not the other way around. *"...For example, for a construction violation, after issuing the procedures, send it back to the neighborhood, send the information back to do the first step which is to encourage self-dismantling, in case self-dismantling is not implemented, the second step is to issue the coercive procedure to notify the coercion, and then notify the neighborhood again. The purpose is to let the neighborhood and surrounding people monitor whether or not it is re-established, which is an example of a project. That is to show the role of state management in combination with the people to implement democracy, publicity and transparency in the handling of a number of construction works/projects..."* (Excerpt from PVMS 03).

Second, Ho Chi Minh City is a special city of our country, the economic and cultural center of the country, so the integration of domestic and international exchanges here are very strong. This has a great impact on people's awareness. This is an advantage for improving the positivity in the political life of the people, but at the same time, it is also a challenge in implementing the Resolution to the National Assembly into livelihood towards stability and development.

Third, the cadres in the grassroots political system in Ho Chi Minh City are rejuvenated and basically trained, which is a strong point in cadre work in Ho Chi Minh City, especially training, attracting talents who are valedictorians from universities, as the city has a policy on training young cadres to bring back to the grassroots. This is the root that creates new vitality for the

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apparatus of the grassroots political system that we could not do before the Doi Moi.

Fourth, the city's implementation of e-government to serve the people is a way to be open, transparent and effective at work.

From a development viewpoint, the City is the first locality to overcome the barriers of the old mechanism, giving businesses the right to autonomy; In other words, this is a locality that is at the forefront of the democratization process, first of all from the economy. However, in political life, the basic rights of the people, which are enshrined in the Constitution, in one place or another, are violated to varying degrees. Democratization in the grassroots political system is, first of all, ensuring the basic rights of the people, realizing their rights in a transparent manner, and overcoming the situation where the people know, the people discuss, and the people do, but the people don't enjoy the current achievements of democracy, there are still issues that have not been resolved by the City in recent years, making people not really satisfied and trust the government.

In order to overcome the limitations and continue to better implement the Regulation on grassroots democracy in the city, the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City has directed departments, branches, People's Committees of districts continues to strengthen and renew the work of thoroughly grasping, disseminating and propagating the Party's views as well as Ordinance No. 34/2007/UBTVQH dated April 20, 2007 of the National Assembly Standing Committee on the implementation of democracy in communes, wards and towns; Decree No. 71/1998/ND-CP dated September 8, 1998 of the Government promulgating the Regulation on implementing democracy in the agency's activities; direction of the City Party Committee on the Regulation on grassroots democracy.

Continuing to effectively implement Decree No. 71/1998/ND-CP, linking the implementation of grassroots democracy with administrative procedure reform; well perform the publicity and transparency of finance, regimes, policies and personnel work. Regularly review regulations on organization, operation, working regulations, other relevant regulations and regulations to promulgate, amend and supplement. At the same time, well implement the contents and forms of publicizing regimes and policies related to vehicles, working conditions, and the Party's and State's treatment regime for cadres, civil servants and public employees to People's participation in comments and supervision through the activities of the People's Inspection Committee or the unit assigned to inspect at agencies, units and organizations.

The People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City also requested the People's Committees of districts to direct the People's Committees of the wards, communes and towns to continue implementing the Ordinance No. 34/2007/PL-UBTVQH dated June 6th. April 2007 of the National Assembly Standing Committee on the implementation of democracy in communes, wards and towns, focusing on monitoring the implementation of democracy at the grassroots level, the contents of the government must be disclosed to the people according to regulations such as: policy, plan for compensation, support for site clearance, resettlement, infrastructure construction, plan for adjustment, planning of residential areas, funds to mobilize people's contributions; well perform the work of receiving citizens, promptly and effectively solving the legitimate grievances of the people; strengthen dialogue and direct contact with people in residential quarters, hamlets, etc.

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The problems raised in the current democratization process: synchronicity; consistency; breakthrough; dialectic "the people are the masters" (perception) and "the people's masters" (implementation); inheritance (it is necessary to boldly absorb external models. Adoption of models is necessary because of the low starting point, but it is necessary to be sober; democratize and fight against corruption and group interests.

Currently, Ho Chi Minh City is focusing on overcoming and correcting limitations and weaknesses; severely punish indifferent, emotionless and corrupt cadres and civil servants when handling legitimate work at the request of the people. Making the City more and more developed, the city's social environment is more and more open, creating conditions for people to increasingly participate in the process of supervision over the government in order to move towards a modern, democratic and civilized society.

There are Party Committees of wards, communes and towns that have focused on leading closely to grasp the ideological situation of cadres, party members and people to correct and promptly handle ideological moods and press issues that arise, stabilize the situation right from the grassroots; strengthen the implementation of grassroots democracy regulations, stick with the party and the people, create a high consensus between the Party organization and the people; renovate and improve the effectiveness of the mobilization of mass government and the people; strengthen inspection and supervision; there are places to fully implement the weekly, monthly and quarterly briefing regime to directly listen to the feedbacks of secretaries, neighborhood leaders, and village leaders on socio-economic and cultural development, local security and order, thoughts, aspirations, proposals and recommendations related to regimes,

policies and social security issues, people's needs.... Accordingly, helping to The grassroots Party committees promptly learn from experience in directing and have practical and appropriate operational plans *"...that means, we will hold a people's conference twice a year to inform the operation of the government. In the first 6 months of the year as well as at the end of the year, and then the operation of the Executive Board of the residential group, in the process of implementation, if there are any content that people have opinions, we will accept as well as adjust from it. In addition, the Party committee as well as the local political system administration also organize a conversation with the people, which is a one-time discussion every quarter, through which they can inform the local situation on the development situation. How are the socio-economic conditions, the care of social security, the work of national security and defense in the locality, through which the people grasp and acknowledge the local security and safety on social welfare, on the environment, on business activities on security and order, from which to govern and lead the pressing aspirations of the people, that is the formal implementation"* (Excerpt from PVMS 04).

The conduction and implementation of administrative reform and one-stop mechanism have reduced inconveniences and harassment to the people, improved the sense of responsibility and capacity of civil servants. The pressing issues among the people are resolved in a timelier manner; more fully implemented social policies. Thus, strengthening people's confidence more.

5. Conclusion

The basis for democratizing social life originates from the renewal of the political system in general and the grassroots political system in particular, that is, innovating the content and mode of operation; as well as the relationship between legitimate

political organizations in the political system; but not to change the goal and path of socialism, not to accept "political pluralism, multi-party opposition", causing social disorder.

In Ho Chi Minh City, the promotion of strengthening the grassroots political organization has been carried out synchronously, and mass organizations in wards, communes and towns have had a positive change since the adoption of the Central Resolution No.5 (Session IX) on innovation and quality improvement of the political system at grassroots level. Accordingly, the level of cadres was raised, the Party organization and its members gradually promoted their core role.

However, the political system at the grassroots still has many limitations, especially the work of mass mobilization, the work of capturing public opinion, thoughts and aspirations of the masses. Mr. Lam Dinh Chien - Secretary of the District Party Committee of District 10 - said that *at the grassroots level, people complained a lot, but the Party Committee of the ward and mass organizations did not understand the situation. It is very pressing, in the past two years, the district Party Committee has had to organize many working groups down to residential areas, in direct contact with the people to capture the opinions and suggestions of the people to direct the settlement*¹.

Democratization in the grassroots political system in Ho Chi Minh City. Ho Chi Minh City is not a simple problem, because compared to the whole country, the population composition of the city is quite complicated. Convergence and pervasiveness associated with the development needs of a large city requires an approach to democratization on the common ground of thorough understanding and application of democratic principles, without

¹ <http://www.quan10.hochiminhcity.gov.vn/>.

being ‘harmonized’, ‘mixed’ with other localities, especially in terms of areas and regions. First of all, the level of people's intellectual level is something to take into account in the process of democratization at the grassroots, where different segments of the population live. As a dynamic city, always receiving multi-dimensional information sources, where the intellectual quintessence of the Southern region converges, the City is always at the forefront of awareness and implementation of democratization of social life.

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ENSURING SOCIAL SECURITY - AN IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIALISM IN THE RENEWAL PERIOD OF VIETNAM

*Dr. Nguyen Mai Phuong**

Introduction

Over 35 years of national renewal, Vietnam has accomplished many great achievements in several fields, including social security, the poverty rate has decreased significantly each year, poor households have been granted free insurance cards, many underprivileged people have been supported in time, and the general population have access to basic social services such as health care, education, clean water, information security, etc. Therefore, the material and spiritual life of people have been increasingly upgraded, especially those in disadvantaged areas. These great achievements were accomplished due to many factors, however, the most important and decisive factor is the accurate and timely leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) and the State of Vietnam across sectors of the country, including social security. What are the guidelines and policies of the CPV and the State of Vietnam on social security, and what are the achievements? These are also the research questions that this paper poses with the desire to explain and clarify.

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This paper uses the following methods: analysis and synthesis, logic and history, statistics, information, and data collection, comparison, systematization, etc., based on linking theory with practice to analyze, and clarify the policy of the CPV and the State of Vietnam on social security along with the results achieved through implementing social security in such fields as poverty reduction, social insurance, health insurance, social assistance, and social incentives.

1. Policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the State of Vietnam on social security

Social security is a social safety net with many different layers and levels to protect and assist members of society against life risks, and socio-economic shocks that make them lose their livelihoods and fall into a state of poverty, impoverishment, etc,... The assistance is provided through policies under the social security system such as poverty reduction, social insurance, health insurance, social assistance, and social incentives.

Well aware of the position and role of social security in the stability and development of the country, at the 9th National Party Congress of the CPV, the term social security was mentioned for the first time, expressing the policy as "Step by step expand firmly the system of social insurance and social security. Head to apply the insurance regime for all workers and all classes of people. Combine the assistance of the State of Vietnam with the development of charity funds, social funds, and gratitude funds to effectively help the beneficiaries of social policies, victims of war, natural disasters, children in extremely difficult circumstances, the disabled and the elderly without support"¹. The above policy was

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2001, Documents of the 9th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 212-213.

a step forward in the thinking of the CPV, demonstrating the timely concern of the CPV and the State of Vietnam to their people. Social security with its pillar being social insurance together with other policies such as poverty reduction, health insurance, social assistance, and social incentives would definitely form a safety net for members of society to avoid falling into poverty under the impacts of social risks.

At the 10th Congress, the issue of social security was mentioned more and more clearly with new components and development scale, which was: "Build a diversified social security system; strongly develop the system of social insurance and health insurance, moving towards universal health insurance. Diversify forms of social relief, create jobs, ... Continue to innovate salary policy, income distribution policy"¹. "Build a diversified social security system" is the expression of a diverse and flexible social security policy, creating conditions for all classes of people in society to access social security. Indeed, for each target group of social security, it is necessary to have different support policies for social security to bring practical effects.

From in-depth studying the actual situation to make the policies on social security more specific and in line with reality, the 6th Conference of the Party Central Committee of cohort X set out: "Step by step expand and improve the social security system to better meet the diverse needs of all strata of society, especially the policy beneficiaries and the poor"². This policy showed that social security is a policy with wide coverage to all classes and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2006, Documents of the 10th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 102.

² Communist Party of Vietnam, Resolutions of the 6th Conference of the Party Central Committee of cohort X, pp. 2.

subjects in society, yet the policy's target group and the poor need more attention.

Subsequently, the 11th Congress of the CPV (2011) took place in the context of Vietnam economy facing many difficulties due to the impact of the global economic crisis in late 2007 and early 2008. Thus, social security became an urgent need for the disadvantaged group and the term social security was also mentioned more in the documents of the 11th Congress of the CPV than in the documents of the previous Congresses.

In the Platform for national construction in the transition period to socialism (supplemented and developed in 2011), the CPV had set out several new and important points to ensure better social security, which were: "Create an environment and conditions for all workers to have better jobs and incomes. Have salary and remuneration policies to create motivation for development; reasonably regulate income in society. Encourage legal enrichment going hand in hand with sustainable poverty eradication; gradually reduce the gap between rich and poor between regions, and classes of the population. Perfect the social security system. Well-implement policies towards people and families with meritorious services to the country. Focus on improving the living, working, and learning conditions of young people and adolescents, educating and protecting children. Take care of the lives of the elderly, the lonely, the disabled, the lost working capacity, and the orphans"¹. Hence, the CPV had clearly defined certain policies to ensure social security which were poverty reduction, job creation, income improvement, and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2011, Documents of the 11th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 79-80.

incentives for people with meritorious services, ... The above policies were combined to form a complete social security system.

Notably, the issue of linking economic growth with social progress and social equality, and ensuring social security was summarized by the 11th Congress as one of the lessons learned in national construction, that was: "It is important to combine economic growth with implementing social progress and social equality; to ensure social security, take care of the material and spiritual life of the people, especially the poor, people in remote and isolated areas, especially in the difficult and declining economic situation"¹.

At the 12th Congress of the CPV (2016), Vietnam economy had overcome many difficulties and challenges under the impact of the world economic crisis. Social security continued to receive more attention, and people's lives were increasingly improved. The Congress determined the overall goal for the upcoming development path of the country to be: "Well-manage social development; ensure social security, improve social welfare; well implement policies towards people with meritorious services; improve the quality of general health services, the quality of the population, the quality of people's lives; well apply labor policy, job policy, and income policy"².

To achieve those mentioned goals, one of the most important missions of the 12th Congress of the CPV was to take care of the

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2011, Documents of the 11th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 181.

² Communist Party of Vietnam, 2016, Documents of the 12th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 78.

material and spiritual life of people associated with ensuring social security, with regard to the following policy: “Improve people’s material and spiritual lives, well solve pressing problems; strengthen social development management, ensure social security and human security; improve social welfare and sustainable poverty reduction”¹. This indicated that ensuring social security not only means the fulfilment of material requirements for human existence and development, but also needs to be associated with security assurance so that people can have a safe and stable life.

Next, the 13th Congress of the CPV (2021) took place in the context of the world being heavily affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. The global production chain was broken, many world’s major economic centers fell into negative growth, and the number of people killed by the Covid-19 pandemic increased in many countries around the world. Against this background, the policy of the CPV on social security continued to be emphasized, with the content: "Develop a comprehensive social security system, move towards universal coverage with policies to prevent, minimize and overcome risks for people, ensure support for disadvantaged groups. Reform the multi-tiered social insurance system based on the principle of contribution - benefit, sharing – sustaining. Implement synchronously multi-dimensional and sustainable poverty reduction solutions, ensure a minimum standard of living and basic services”². This was a flexible and timely adjustment of the Party's leadership thinking on social security issues to suit the new situation.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam, 2016, Documents of the 12th Party Congress, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 78.

² Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021, Documents of the 13th Party Congress, Episode 1, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, pp. 150.

Thus, it can be said that the Party's policy on social security has been increasingly supplemented, perfected, and developed to suit the current situation of Vietnam and changes coming from the world. This is clearly shown in the Documents of the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Congresses of the CPV. As a result, social security has achieved many great accomplishments in the renewal period of Vietnam.

2. Achievements in implementing social security of Vietnam in the renewal period

2.1. Achievements in poverty reduction

Poverty reduction is an important content contributing to ensuring social security. In recent years, with the attention of the Party and State together with people's efforts to get out of poverty, the poverty reduction work in Vietnam has achieved encouraging results. According to data from the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs, the poverty rate declined from 9.88% in 2015 (first year) to 2.75% in 2020 (last year), the average decrease in 5 years was 1.43%/year; the percentage of poor ethnic minority households decreased by an average of 04%/year; the percentage of poor households in poor districts reduced by an average of 5.4%/year. Not only does the quantity of poor households reduce, but the quality of poverty reduction is increasingly focused on by Vietnam, through the application of a multi-dimensional poverty line. Vietnam has 8 times promulgated the national poverty line according to the poverty reduction pyramid model, meeting the needs of the poor from low to high, suitable to the country's socio-economic development conditions in each period. At the same time, Vietnam is one of the first 30 countries in the world and one of the first countries in Asia to apply a multi-dimensional poverty line, ensuring a minimum standard of living associated with the

Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). People's material and spiritual lives have been improved, especially those living in poor areas and areas with special difficulties. More than 13,000 projects have supported production development, livelihood diversification, and effective poverty reduction model replication with over 2.2 million beneficiaries; 5,500 laborers from poor households, near-poor households, and ethnic minority households have been supported to work abroad¹.

Along with that, essential socio-economic infrastructure and regional linkages are prioritized for synchronous investment, creating favorable conditions for many localities to develop socio-economically to get out of poverty and out of particularly difficult situations. By the end of 2020, 100% of communes had car roads to the center; 99% of commune centers and 80% of villages had electricity; 65% of communes had small irrigation systems to meet production and living requirements; 80% of villages had roads for motor vehicles; over 50% of communes had standard medical stations; 100% of the poor and ethnic minorities were supported to buy free health insurance; more than 32 districts, over 650 communes, 1,200 villages got out of a particularly difficult situation².

Especially, in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic, the poor and disadvantaged people have always been paid great attention by the Party, the State, the authorities of all levels, and the Vietnam Fatherland Front. In the first 9 months of 2021, the 4-level Vietnamese Fatherland Front had mobilized the Fund "For

¹ Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs, 2020, Report on the results of poverty reduction.

² Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs, 2020, Report on the results of poverty reduction.

the Poor" and for social security, receiving over 2,570 billion VND, of which the Fund "For the Poor" accounted for over 619 billion VND, and social security for over 1,951 billion VND; supported the construction and repair of 13,250 Great Solidarity houses¹ and provided millions of free medical examination and treatment opportunities for the poor and people in extremely difficult circumstances.

2.2. Achievements in social insurance and health insurance

In the process of building a socialist-oriented market economy, social insurance has become one of the most indispensable policies for laborers to ensure material and spiritual conditions and to compensate for a part of income when employees reduce or lose their working capacity. Because of such importance, the number of social insurance beneficiaries is increasing. In 2001, the whole country had more than 4.7 million people participating in social insurance, and by 2010, the number of participants reached nearly 9.47 million people, it was 10.5 million people in 2013, 11.56 million people in 2014,—and by 2018, the number increased to 14.724 million people, accounting for about 30.4% of the labor force, of which 271,000 people participated in voluntary social insurance, increasing 7% compared to the proposal number set out by the Prime Minister. By December 31, 2021, the total number of social insurance participants was over 16.5 million people (accounting for 33.75% of the labor force)². The social insurance regimes such as retirement regime, occupational accident regime, occupational disease regime, maternity regime, sickness regime,

¹ [Http://mattran.org.vn](http://mattran.org.vn)

² Vietnam Social Insurance, 2021, Report on the implementation of social insurance and health insurance.

and death benefit regime have been promulgated and amended to have a positive impact on stabilizing the life of workers during work and retirement.

Along with social insurance, the health insurance policy also brings good results, contributing to alleviating difficulties in medical expenses when people cope with diseases, especially the poor. The number of people participating in health insurance increases year by year, mainly in certain groups supported by the state budget such as the poor, war veterans, social protection beneficiaries, commune, ward, and town officials. According to the data of Vietnam Social Insurance, in 2013, the whole country had 61.67 million people participating in health insurance, reaching a coverage rate of nearly 69% of the population, the number increased rapidly to 83.515 million people in 2018, equivalent to 88.5%, and by December 31, 2021, this number was 88.837 million people, accounting for 91.01% of the population¹. Therefore, it can be said that thanks to health insurance, tens of millions of poor people, people with meritorious services to the country, and tens of thousands of people suffering from serious diseases have enough money for expensive medical treatment that individuals and families cannot afford, helping them to get rid of difficulties and illness to stabilize their lives.

2.3. Achievements in social assistance

Social assistance is a social policy that shows the attention and support of the State and the community to help disadvantaged people to have a stable life. Therefore, social assistance work is always concerned by the Party and the State of Vietnam. By 2021,

¹ Vietnam Social Insurance, 2021, Report on the implementation of social insurance and health insurance.

the whole country was providing monthly social allowances for 3,149,226 people with a total budget of more than 18,050 trillion VND including monthly social allowance and purchase of health insurance cards. Social support policies for the elderly, people with disabilities, and children with special circumstances have been paid attention to. In 2021, the State's budget has been appropriately allocated, ensuring that 95% of the elderly had health insurance cards, a monthly social allowance for more than 1.8 million elderly people, and that more than 1.57 million elderly people had health tracking records. Social assistance centers have also been established to assist disadvantaged people. By 2020, the whole country had established 425 social assistance centers (191 public and 234 non-public ones). In addition, there are also hundreds of general care and function rehabilitation facilities for the elderly and disabled with a capacity of about 20,000 patients. A network of social assistance facilities provides health care, function rehabilitation, labor and vocational training services, sports and cultural activities, caring and nurturing them¹.

2.4. Achievements in social incentives

The system of social incentive policies, taking care of people with meritorious services has been promulgated and implemented quite comprehensively, covering most of the policy beneficiaries. The level of allowance for meritorious people has also been continuously raised. From 2008 to 2017, the Government had repeatedly adjusted the standard incentive allowance for people with meritorious services, from 470,000 VND/month (in 2007) to 1,515,000 VND/month (in 2017), which was higher than the

¹ Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs, Department of Social Assistance, 2021, Report on the social assistance work.

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minimum wage (1,390,000 VND/month), and by 2021, the allowance increased to 1,624,000 VND¹. The level of allowance is calculated based on the average expense level of the whole society and implemented according to the Government's regulations. The standard incentive allowance for people with meritorious services to the revolution is determined and adjusted in correspondence with the average expense level of the whole society while taking into account the price slippage index, and the rate (%) of economic growth along with the reform roadmap and salary adjustment. In addition, the CPV and the State of Vietnam have always taken care of people with meritorious services with specific incentive policies, such as health care, prioritizing the allocation of production land, and supporting the improvement of housing, residential land, offering vocational training programs, and creating jobs; implementing policies on education and training; expanding the system of service centers and services for war invalids; enhancing the search and collection martyrs' remains; building and repairing, embellishing thousands of martyrs' cemeteries, creating favorable conditions for martyrs' families to visit martyrs' graves at cemeteries, etc.

“Gratitude” campaigns are organized regularly, highly socialized with rich and diverse forms, and suitable for every tribe, locality, group, and socio-political organization. Therefore, they have received the support of many individuals and businesses, contributing to improving, stabilizing, and enhancing the material and spiritual life of war invalids, sick soldiers, martyrs’ relatives, and families of people with meritorious services, with specific activities such as building gratitude houses, setting up gratitude

¹ <https://vnexpress.net/phap-luat/chinh-phu-tang-muc-tro-cap-hang-thang-voi-nguoi-co-cong-3778660.html>

funds, giving gratitude saving accounts, taking care of Vietnamese Heroic Mothers, stabilizing the lives of wounded and seriously ill soldiers, and taking care lonely martyrs' parents, martyrs' children, etc.

Conclusion

In summary, the achievements in implementing social security in Vietnam during the renewal period have shown that social security is a pivotal factor in contributing to ensuring the safety of human life individually and on a community scale, creating premises and conditions for human and social development. To better implement social security in the upcoming time, here are some recommendations: (1) Promote propaganda and raise awareness of the whole society about the position, role, and importance of social security to the sustainable development of the country;(2) Strengthen the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the management of the State of Vietnam, especially that of the political system at the grassroots level, the work of ensuring social security; (3) Build a multi-level, flexible, and mutually supportive system of social security policies; (4) Maintain encouraging and supporting for workers to participate in social insurance, health insurance, and unemployment insurance; (5) Strongly promote the social work of implementing social security.

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SOME ISSUES IMPROVING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ETHNIC POLICIES FOR THE SOUTHWEST KHMER PEOPLE IN THE TIME OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRAL

*MA. Le Van Dien**

During the process of leading the revolution, the Party and President Ho Chi Minh always attached great importance to the implementation of the policy of equality, solidarity and assistance among ethnic groups for mutual development. Especially, in the period of renovation and international economic integration, our Party and State paid great attention to the implementation of ethnic policies and achieved certain achievements: People's living standards were improved. The great national unity bloc was consolidated, the Party-People relationship was strengthened, creating a new position and force for the Vietnamese revolution. Ethnic policy among ethnic minorities is of particular interest to the Party and State, considering it a strategic policy.

The Khmer people in the southwestern provinces have about 1.2 million people, interspersed with the Kinh and the Chinese and live in large concentrations in the provinces of Tra Vinh, Vinh Long, Hau Giang, Soc Trang, and An Giang, Kien Giang, Bac Lieu,

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Ca Mau and Can Tho city. In the national history, the Khmer people have made great and very important contributions in the struggle against the French colonialists and the American imperialists, building the country and homeland to become richer and stronger. In recent years, the implementation of ethnic policy in general and the implementation of ethnic policy towards Khmer people in the Southwest region in particular have made positive changes in many aspects: The living standards of the people have been gradually improved, always believe in and well implement the Party's guidelines and guidelines, the State's policies and laws; actively restructure the economy, build a new countryside, and preserve and promote the traditional culture of the people; people are more and more aware of their mastery. In addition to the achievements, the implementation of ethnic policies towards Khmer people in the Southwest region inevitably has certain limitations: The life of the people is still difficult, the rate of poor households among the people is still high. Economic restructuring has taken place slowly, and the application of scientific and technological achievements to production has not been effective. The level of political enlightenment is not high: A large number of Khmer people still have little interest in the political life of the country, a part do not really believe in the leadership of the Party and the government's management rights, officials and party members; a small number of compatriots have not strictly followed the lines and guidelines of the Party, policies and laws of the State, including monks, dignitaries... Regarding culture - society, people's intellectual level Khmer people have not had any clear changes; social evils, negativity, backward customs and superstitions still exist in many places; The land disputes and lawsuits against many people are still complicated and sometimes fierce... Therefore, the implementation of ethnic policies towards

the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region is now highly effective. Attention should be paid to the following issues:

Firstly, the issue of ensuring social security, eradicating hunger and reducing poverty, and improving the lives of Khmer ethnic people in the Southwest region in the period of international economic integration

Entering the period of accelerating industrialization - modernization, opening up for international economic integration, the Party and State have adopted many policies to take care of the lives of ethnic minorities in general and the Khmer people in particular; reality shows that the life of Khmer ethnic people has improved compared to before; People are entitled to social security programs, hunger eradication and poverty alleviation, specifically: support for housing, production land, plant and animal varieties, loans, etc. gradually raised, the gap between rich and poor among ethnic groups in the region is shortened. However, most of the people have been lifted out of poverty but it is not sustainable. The rate of poor, near-poor and re-poor households among the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest is still high compared to the total number of poor households in the region.

The living land of Khmer ethnic people in the Southwest region is often flooded with alum and coastal areas; in remote, border and mountainous areas, far from major traffic routes, production and living conditions are difficult. On the other hand, the active support from the policies of the State, scientists, international organizations; ethnic minorities have access to new production methods, applying scientific and technical advances and mechanization to production and conversion of plant and animal varieties.... However, the ethnic minorities have not yet adapted to it in time. With new arising problems, difficulties in the

economic development process. Due to the lack of dynamism and creativity in production and business, most Khmer ethnic people do not dare to borrow money from policy banks to invest in business. There are cases of borrowing money, but not to invest in production and business to improve life, but mainly to serve immediate living needs, so borrowing money but still being poor.

The majority of Khmer ethnic people follow Theravada Buddhism, often living in close quarters with relatives, solidarity, friendliness, generosity, and diligence. The outstanding feature of the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region is that they live inwardly, calmly and often do good deeds. The cultural life of the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region is very rich and unique compared to other ethnic groups in the region. Every year, Khmer ethnic people have many festivals and have to organize rituals, so it costs a lot of human energy, resources and time. According to the concept of the people, making offerings to the temple is to bring blessings, is an "investment for the future", is a job that every family and caregiver should do. However, there are cases where compatriots invest in the "temple" to the best of their ability, beyond their economic capacity to the point that they no longer have capital for production.

In the process of international economic integration, the competition is increasingly fierce; a number of foreign consumer goods products entering Vietnam are of good quality and cheap; therefore, making the products of the Khmer ethnic people in rural areas more difficult to consume. In addition, mechanisms and policies to support agricultural production and business are not really effective and have not brought practical benefits to the people. In addition, the negative impact of external factors, such as global economic recession, natural disasters, epidemics,

population growth, price and market fluctuations; the opportunities of the poor in employment are becoming more and more difficult due to the increasing demand for technological innovation and uneven economic development among regions; The faster and deeper the differentiation, the weaker and more vulnerable the disadvantaged social groups become due to the language barriers, geographical distance, etc., so many Khmer households fail in production. Production and business have to pledge and sell land, leading to empty-handed switching to hired jobs, seasonal jobs, and at the end of the season, they move to large industrial parks in Ho Chi Minh City, Binh Duong, Dong Nai job search tends to increase. This is a problem for the authorities at all levels to further strengthen the implementation of policies for the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region to ensure a sustainable life and escape from poverty.

Secondly, the issue of preserving and promoting cultural values, raising the people's knowledge of the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region in the context of international economic integration

In the process of labor and production, Khmer ethnic people in the Southwest region have created a rich and unique culture. Together with the Chinese, Cham, and Kinh communities in the Southwest region, they have created cultural exchanges and acculturation, creating diversity and richness in this land. The cultural and spiritual life of the Khmer ethnic group is reflected in: language and writing, literature, art, dance, music, festivals and religion.

However, international integration has affected the spiritual and cultural life of the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region, some traditional cultures are facing the danger of

extinction. The preservation and preservation of Khmer script faces many difficulties due to the lack of synchronization in the conservation and teaching, and the lack of textbooks. Some festivals are deformed; Some traditional cultural nuances have not been restored or restored inadequately, only focusing on form but not promoting educational values.... Besides, performing arts have not been popularized. widespread in the ethnic community, there are not enough artists, artisans and musical instruments to preserve and promote....

The Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region in general, especially the young generation, have not yet had the sense of preserving and promoting their national cultural heritage; the restoration of traditional festivals, culinary culture, costumes, performing arts, etc. have not been given due attention; In some places, there are negative manifestations, commercialization in the organization of festival activities. There is no policy of honoring and treating artisans who hold and have merit in disseminating traditional art; encourage them to preserve and pass on the profession to the next generations. Besides, it is also necessary to have policies to create conditions for organizations and individuals to research, collect, preserve and introduce the intangible culture of the Khmer people. It can be said that in order for the Khmer ethnic people in the Southwest region to understand, preserve and consciously promote their traditional culture, it means that they will contribute to the cause of protecting and enriching their culture common cultural values of the Vietnamese people.

Besides the problems posed in the field of culture, the issue of education in the Khmer ethnic minority in the Southwest region has received special attention, investment and development by the Party and State; with the goal of raising the intellectual level of the

Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region, soon catching up with other ethnic groups in the region. It can be said that, with the preferential policies on education in the past time, the education level of Khmer ethnic people has improved, the number of illiterate people has decreased significantly, the percentage of children of Khmer ethnic group has been greatly improved at the higher education levels. In particular, the policy of prioritizing recruitment has trained and supplemented young ethnic cadres for branches and levels, contributing to the development of the Southwest region. However, the educational level of the Khmer ethnic group is still low compared to the general level of the region, compared with the requirements of the period of opening up, integration, industrialization and modernization of agriculture and rural areas. The low educational level makes the people suffer many disadvantages in life, affecting the acquisition and application of science and technology in production and business, unscientific way of doing business, limiting their benefits cultural values...

Therefore, raising the intellectual level of the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region in the coming time is a strategic issue. Changing the thinking of Khmer ethnic people on education is not an easy thing, but a long and complicated thing that requires the participation of all levels, branches, the whole society and important. is the self-awareness and rise of the people themselves. Each locality in the Southwestern region must consider promoting the development of education and improving the quality of human resources of the Khmer ethnic group as one of the important and urgent issues; how to continue to expand the scale, gradually improve the quality of training, to meet the requirements of human resource development in the integration period and accelerate the industrialization and modernization of the region; fostering and supplementing the contingent of Khmer

teachers, improving the quality of education in ethnic boarding schools and vocational training schools; teaching Khmer characters; well implement the recruitment and selection regime and rationally assign students to graduate, well implement the policy of supporting ethnic minority students with difficult circumstances to attend universities and colleges that focus on training raise the qualifications for ethnic minority teachers to meet development requirements.

Third, ethnic and religious issues among the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region under the influence of "peaceful evolution" of hostile forces

Ethnicity and religion among the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest are two sensitive areas that are easily exploited by hostile forces, pulling and inciting followers to oppose the Party's renovation policy and guidelines. and government; at the same time, taking advantage of shortcomings in the implementation of guidelines and policies of the Party and State on ethnicity and religion in some places of the Khmer ethnic group to propagate and distort. It is interesting that the majority of Khmer Theravada Buddhist followers in the Southwest region currently live in remote areas, work as farmers, have low educational attainment, etc., so they are vulnerable to hostile forces. Vietnamese exiles abroad seek to provoke and manipulate.

Taking advantage of the neighborly, co-literary, co-ethnic and co-religious relationship between the Khmer in the Southwest region and the Cambodians, hostile forces found all kinds of ways to divide the great national unity bloc. In particular, the pagoda is the place where the hostile forces gather to fight the most fiercely. Because it is the place where crowded cultural activities of the Khmer ethnic group are concentrated; At the same time, it is a

place for "disguised" monks to operate safely, avoiding the inspection and supervision of functional forces. In addition, the majority of Theravada Buddhist temples in the Southwest region have relations with foreign countries in many different directions. There are temples that have relations with foreign countries through sending monks to study abroad; Through humanitarian activities, some pagodas also have relationships with foreign individuals and organizations and through overseas Vietnamese individuals in other countries to contribute funds for the construction, restoration and repair of pagodas...

In the process of industrialization and modernization of the country today, ethnic and religious issues among the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region have been undergoing great changes, with both positive and negative manifestations. The positive changes in the religious activities of the people are to reduce the forms of worshipping heavily colored superstitious; cumbersome and inappropriate festivals cost the people time, effort and money. In the process of opening up, economic integration and exchange and acculturation in the world, especially in the current industry 4.0 era, in addition to the remarkable achievements brought, there have been many negative impacts on the environment. ethnicity and religion among the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region; existing good emotional relationships are in danger of being lost; Accordingly, a part of the people have a pragmatic lifestyle, running after money. The national cultural identity is no longer "bold"; In some places, temples were taken advantage of and bought off. Worryingly, a few Khmer Theravada monks strengthen their ties to the outside, wanting to go abroad to study or visit relatives, a few have ties to bad guys or reactionary organizations. overseas to try to entice and incite to

adversely affect the ethnic and Theravada communities in the region with the aim of dividing the great unity bloc.

In addition, from the geographical position of the Southwest region adjacent to Thailand, Laos and especially Cambodia, monks and Khmer people in the region have quite close relationships with monks and people. In Cambodia, cultural exchanges, acculturation and mutual religious influence cannot be avoided. The phenomenon of statues worshipping at the main hall in many temples in the area was brought back from Cambodia, Thailand, etc. From the geographical position of the region and the relationship with neighboring countries, people's Theravada Buddhism Khmer is changing day by day, especially in the field of culture. A rather prominent problem today, many Khmer ethnic people in the Southwest region have abandoned Theravada Buddhism - considered the original religion of the Khmer - to join other religions such as: Catholic, Protestant, ... The above are issues that require all levels of Party committees and authorities to strengthen propaganda, advocacy and persuasion.

In short, in the current period of renovation and opening up for international integration, Vietnam is ready to be both a friend and a reliable partner, a responsible member of countries in the international community, and strives to fulfill goals: for peace, independence and development. In particular, Vietnam is developing a socialist-oriented market economy in association with building a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people and for the people under the leadership of the Party. Since then, Vietnam's position has been continuously improved in the international arena. The position and power of our country is much stronger than in previous years, which is a good opportunity for our country to develop quickly and sustainably. In

addition, human resources, scientific and technical capacity, economic potential and national defense and security have been enhanced,... The great and important achievements over the past 35 years of renovation of the country in general and of the ethnic minority areas in particular have affirmed our Party's guidelines and policies towards ethnic minorities. correct and trusted by the majority of people. Party committees at all levels, Party organizations and members increasingly understand the strategically important position of ethnic minority areas and our Party's ethnic policy is to cover all fields. Therefore, it is necessary to be aware of the problems posed in the new period to more effectively implement the ethnic policies of the Party and State towards the Khmer ethnic group in the Southwest region.

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SOCIALIST - ORIENTED MARKET ECONOMY IN VIETNAM, A CONTRIBUTION TO THE VALUE OF THE WORLD MARKET ECONOMIC MODEL

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Introduction

Value and value system are terms widely used in the social sciences and humanities. However, those are also very complex concepts, difficult to quantify and cover and depend on many different perspectives. Determining the concept content of the value and value system, therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to both the universal characteristics and the characteristics associated with the specialization and specific research purposes. The socialism that Vietnam is building is a very humane social regime, expressing the human society's aspiration for a highly developed society, based on a large, modern production, ensuring the satisfaction of more and more customers better than the needs of every member of society; the distribution is carried out according to labor; human beings are developed freely and

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comprehensively, without unjust oppression; there is no longer the opposite between the countryside and the city, have an advanced culture imbued with national identity; Ethnic groups in the Vietnamese community are equal, unite, respect and help each other for progress; there is a socialist rule of law; having a cooperative friendship with all countries; democracy, justice, civilization. Those are the core values of humanity, both widespread and specific to Vietnam. This is a very extensive content. The article only delves into the study of Vietnam's socialist-oriented market economy model, as a contribution to the value of the world market economy model.

1. Some general theoretical issues about value and value system

1.1. Value

The term 'value' means to value, evaluate goods, value, numeric value. Initially, it was used mainly in the economic field in the exchange-value sense that political economist Adam Smith spoke of in his famous work, "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations", published in 1776. Not until the end of the nineteenth century, the term "value" became a scientific concept and until the middle of the twentieth century that it was widely used in the humanities and social sciences such as psychology, sociology, ethics, aesthetics, culturomics... At the same time, it has become the central category of value (Axiology or Theory of value) as a science.¹

¹ Nguyen Thi Thuong, *"The concept of value and the change of the value system - points of reference in the teaching process of some social sciences and humanities."*, journal of science of hnu doi: Educational Sci., 2015, Vol. 60, No. 1, pp. 12-19.

Values are the subject of research in many different scientific disciplines, and within each discipline as well as among disciplines there are very different views on value.¹ Depending on the approach of the sciences, the concept of value has different meanings. There are concepts of ethical value, economic value, cultural value, social value, legal value, etc... There are core values, universal values, common human values, Nation-state values, ethnic community values, individual values, and human values. social values, there are person values, etc. In each type of values, there are many different sub-values. Each value itself, depending on specific conditions, and circumstances, is a variable, has an eternal value, although the position on the ladder may be unstable, the value is only a value in a certain historical period. The change of position and ladder in the value table makes the views, concepts, and understandings of values even more distinctive².

The concept of value in economics is also related to the group level, with tools that allow the assessment of social values to propound guidance for collective choice. The choice is considered the most appropriate when it brings the most benefits to many people (maximizing the group's benefits). It is worth noting that economics has many attempts to measure value, through cost-benefit analysis. If it is possible to analyse all outcomes of all actions and estimate the benefits of those outcomes, then can choose to bring in the most benefits, taking into account the costs. However, to measure social benefits through the synthetic of

¹ Tran Minh Hoang, *"Access to the theory of value"*, Institute for Policies and Development, January 25, 2016.

² Luong Dinh Hai, *"Building a value system of Vietnamese culture and people"*, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, April 21, 2015.

individual interests, there must be a measure of personal benefit in the form of specific numbers, not hierarchies.

Some dictionaries domestically and abroad interpreted "value" as a measure of good or bad qualities, big or small effects of things or people; is what makes things useful, valuable, positive or negative meaning of an object to people, reflected in ethical principles and standards, ideals, attitudes, goals. For example, according to the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia: value is a concept widely used in philosophical and sociological document to refer to human, society and culture of certain actual phenomena.

The conception of value among authors and works is still very different, here, we choose an interdisciplinary approach, considering value as a term of the social sciences and humanities, with extensive connotation. "Values are things, phenomena, processes or everything that is considered by humans to have a certain meaning for the existence, movement and development of people and society. It contains both the subjective and objective aspects which are inextricably linked and inseparable. Value is the product of the cognitive process of the subjects, associated with the existence and social development and changes with the existence and development of society. For each society, particular person, the value system usually connotes a core shared value system, and eigenvalue system, part, and specific, attached to conditions, space - time and definite subjects."

Thus, values can be viewed from the perspective of social values or personal values. Values are notions of shared meaning within a social community. Values are standards that are recognized and pursued by the community.

1.2. Value System

Values exist as a system and are often referred to as value systems. The value system includes core elements, which are considered essential and enduring principles of an organization; is a set of detailed guiding rules that profoundly influence the thoughts and actions of members of the organization, serving as the foundation for the organization, social management and behavior modification.

Every ethnicity has a value system consisting of different, standard values formed during the historical development of that ethnic. Therefore, studying the cultural identity of a nation, most researchers were interested in the core value system as the basis of the formation of that nation's cultural identity. The value system or table of values of a community is formed through a long historical process, filtered, rejected, added, transformed and developed depending on many different factors. Although the value system has changed frequently and consecutively, it also has a lag compared to the changes of specific conditions and historical circumstances, has relative stability, sustainability, invariance, “permanence” to certain degrees and scopes. The value system is kept and propagated from generation to generation, becoming the property and luggage of generations to carry throughout life. It became a measure of the behavior and activities of each person, community in society, and of each specific historical period¹.

¹ Tran Ngoc Them, Vietnamese cultural identity is on the threshold of the new millennium. – Printed in: *“Vietnamese Culture - Features and Approaches”* (collected and introduced by Le Ngoc Tra). Education Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 292-301.

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The value system of a community is formed and filter through a long historical process, so it is often stable and quite sustainable. However, the values are not "invariable". As a human evaluation of the meaning of phenomena, natural processes, society and thoughts, values reflect human needs in period of certain history and social context. Thus, values also change social change.

The conversion from an administrative and bureaucratic economy to a market economy along with the enforcement of the deeper and deeper integration policy into the international life of Vietnam has changed many traditional notions and values, incurring new concepts and values. Historically, Vietnamese people have tended to dignify sentimental value over material value, a good name is better than riches in the style of "A clean fast is better than a dirty breakfast." Nowadays, in the market economy mechanism, the bias towards sentimental values is gradually being shifted to give priority to economic values. The actual recognition of the existence of the individual economy, of many types of ownership, of legitimate enrichment moves people towards a kind of value that is serving as a motivating force for people to act, which is to enrich themselves and thereby contribute to the country. From considering having a stable job in the state payroll as a dream, a real value, the first criterion to determine a person's position in society, now youth is turning towards high-paying jobs, regardless of on or off the state payroll. Egalitarianism as a value standard that has existed for a long time during the subsidy period has been broken by market rules and replaced by the principle of always striving for superiority, which actually reached to justice, equality: All enjoyments and treatments are based on talents and dedications. To a certain extent, it can be seen that the changing of the ladder of value standards is gradually transferring to prioritize to

material values, activities that bring about specific socio-economic effects. In addition, it is also necessary to affirm that fundamental sentimental values such as patriotism, family unity, community, solidarity, peace-loving and freedom... have been long-standing in national history that are still respected, preserved, inherited and enhanced.

2. The socialist-oriented market economy model in Vietnam, the value is both popularity and specific

The market economy is a common value, a huge development step in the productive forces, representing a development ladder leading human society towards civilization and modernity. Karl Marx once affirmed: The market economy was an unavoidable development phase of history that any economy must undergo in order to reach a higher development ladder. The presence or recognition of the market economy in countries around the world has showed that the market economy has a great vitality and is a natural growth, regularity in the history of mankind.

The market economy is pertained to the development of commodity production and can be built in countries with different socio-political regimes, specific and diverse models of the market economy attached to the social economic form and the socio-political regime of each country. Each country in the world has different political, social, and historical conditions so there is no and it is impossible that the market economy of one country is a copy of another country's market economy. The market economy does not only develop according to the "only option", nor does it follow a "single model". The practicality of developing the market economy in the world has confirmed that the options and models for the development of the market economy are extremely different and specific. Each model has its own value to contribute to the general theory of the world market economy.

The socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam is the result of Vietnam's inquiry, experiment and creativity after more than 35 years of innovation. This is a modern market economy with international integration, fully and synchronously operating that obey the rules of the market economy, under the management of the Socialist rule of law led by the Communist Party of Vietnam; ensuring the socialist orientation, aiming at "Wealthy people, strong country, just, democratic and civilized society"¹. It is a new type of market economy in the development history of the market economy; a type of economic organization that both obeys the laws of the market economy and is based on foundation, guided and governed by the principles and nature of socialism, demonstrated in all three aspects: ownership, management organization and distribution. This is neither a capitalist market economy nor a full socialist market economy, since our country is still in a transitional period. It is the "creation of our Party", because the market economy is a common value of mankind, not the eigenvalue value of the bourgeoisie and socialism inherits human values for more development is suitable to the objective law².

In the socialist-oriented market economy, there are many forms of ownership and many economic sectors. These economic sectors activate to the law, are an important component part of the economy, equal before the law, cooperate and compete with each other, develop healthily together. In which the state

¹ The Communist Party of Vietnam, *"Document of the XIII National Congratulation"*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 237 - 238.

² Nguyen Phu Trong, *"Some theoretical and practical issues about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam"*, National Political Publishing House, p. 15.

economy plays a decisive role, the collective economy and the cooperative economy are constantly being consolidated and developed, the private economy becomes an important driving force of the economy, the foreign invested economy is encouraged to develop in accordance with the socio-economic development strategy.

The socialist-oriented market economy of our country implements many forms of income distribution, including the principle of labor distribution, according to socio-economic efficiency, capital contribution and distribution through the social security system as a basis. Associating economic development with society, unifying economic policies with social policies are fundamental attributes of the socialist-oriented market economy of our country. Economic growth accompanies social progress and justice in every step, every policy and throughout the development process. That means: do not wait until the economy develops to a high level to realize social progress and justice, much less "sacrifice" progress in social justice to pursue purely economic growth¹. The State manages the economy by laws, strategies, plans, projects, policies and material forces to orient, regulate and promote socio-economic development.

The nature of socialist society that Vietnam built is a society of harmonious, progressive and equitable development for people. In capitalist countries, situations of "bad development" often take place, "anti-development" paradoxes, from the economic-financial segment, have spilled over into the social field, causing social conflicts to explode... In our country, we regularly promote

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong, *"Some theoretical and practical issues about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam"*, National Political Publishing House, p. 19.

sustained poverty reduction, improve the quality of health care, education and other public services, and further enhance the cultural life for the people.

The really basic difference between the social nature of the socialist regime in Vietnam and capitalism is: we do not follow merely and at all costs economics but always link to harmony with social factors, ensuring the genuine interests of the working people. Sustainable and harmonious development with nature to ensure a healthy living environment for current and future generations, not to exploit and appropriate resources, unbounded consume material and destroy the environmental. Vietnam is not yet a wealthy country, in the early phases of building socialism, but the gap between rich and poor is more and more narrowing, equality and social justice are increasingly being strengthened. The phenomenon of unfair competition, "The great fish eats the small" for the selfish benefit of a few individuals and groups are strictly handled according to the law. Our country's economic economy appreciates great importance to sustainable and harmonious development with nature to ensure a healthy environment for posterity, not to exploit and usurp resources, consume material boundlessly and environmental damage¹. The Vietnamese state is a state of the people, for the people, by the people, not just by a wealthy minority. Each economic policy of the Party is associated with social policy, respecting and promoting the good values of the nation, for a compassionate, united, mutual assistance society, towards advanced, humane values and for encouraging the people to enrich.

¹ Nguyen Phu Trong, *"Some theoretical and practical issues about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam"*, National Political Publishing House, November 2021, p. 17.

3. Achievements of the development of the socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam in recent years

It's a proven fact that the superior nature of the socialist society which Vietnam built. The development of the socialist-oriented market economy has really brought significant and great changes to the country over the past 35 years in all fields of social life. In particular: In terms of economy, before the renovation (1986), Vietnam, which was a poor country, was severely damaged by war, leaving extremely huge consequences both in terms of people, property and ecological environment. After the war, the US and Western countries imposed an economic embargo on Vietnam for nearly 20 years... By implementing the renovation policy, the economy started to develop and grow continuously at a relatively high rate during the past 35 years with an average annual growth rate of 7% per year. The scale of GDP was constantly broadening, reaching 342.7 billion USD in 2020, becoming the fourth largest economy in ASEAN. It is predicted to increase to 571.1 billion USD in 2025, ranking the third in ASEAN. Per capita income increases about 17 times, to 3,743 USD in 2021; Vietnam has been out of the group of low-income countries since 2008¹.

From a country suffering from interminable food shortage, Vietnam has not only ensured food security but also become the world leader in exporter of rice and other agricultural products. Industry has developed quite rapidly, the proportion of industry and services have continuously increased and accounts for about

¹ Luu Ngoc Khai, *"Discussing the nature of socialism through the article of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong"*, Communist Party of Vietnam Online newspaper, August 26, 2021.

85% of GDP now. Total export-import turnover increased sharply, reached over 540 billion USD in 2020, including export turnover reached over 280 billion USD. Foreign exchange reserves increased dramatically, reaching 100 billion USD in 2020. Foreign exchange reserves rose quickly, reached nearly 395 billion USD by the end of 2020. Regarding the economic structure in terms of ownership aspect, Vietnam's gross domestic product currently consists of about 27% from the state economy, 4% from the collective economy, 30% from the household economy, 10% from the domestic individual economy and 20% from the foreign-invested sector.

Regarding society, the population of Vietnam is more than 97 million people, including 54 ethnic groups, more than 60% of the population living in rural areas. Economic development has helped the country escape from the socio-economic crisis in the 1980s and significantly improved the people's living standards. The average poverty rate per year has decreased by about 1.5%; reduced from 58% in 1993 to 5.8% in 2016 according to the poverty threshold of the government and below than 3% in 2020 according to the multidimensional poverty line (higher criteria than before).

Until now, more than 60% of communes have met new rural standards; most rural communes have highways to the center, national electricity grid, primary and secondary schools, health stations and telephones. While there were no conditions to guarantee free education for everyone at all levels, Vietnam focused on completing illiteracy eradication, universal primary education by 2000, and universal secondary education by 2010; The number of universities and college students increased nearly 17 times in the past 35 years. Currently, 95% of adults in

Vietnam can read and write. While it has not performed to guarantee the provision of free medical services to the entire population, Vietnam has focused on strengthening preventive medicine, disease prevention and control, and supporting those in difficult circumstances. Many previously common diseases have been successfully controlled. The poor, children under 6 years old and the elderly are provided with free health insurance. Child malnutrition and infant mortality rates have decreased by nearly 3 times. The average life expectancy of the population increased from 62 years old in 1990 to 73.7 years old in 2020. Thanks to the economic development, we have had conditions to better take care of people with meritorious people, the Vietnamese Heroic Mothers, the graves of martyrs who dedicated to the Fatherland. Cultural life has been also considerably improved; cultural activities have developed richly and diversely.

At present, Vietnam has about 70% of the population using the Internet, is one of the countries with the highest speed of information technology development in the world. The United Nations has recognized Vietnam as one of the leading countries in realizing the Millennium Development Goals. In 2019, Vietnam's Human Development Index (HDI) reached 0.704, belonging to the group of countries with high HDI in the world, especially compared to other countries with the same development level.

The special results and achievements accomplished by Vietnam in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the global economic recession starting from the beginning of 2020 have been recognized and appreciated by the people and international friends, showed the superiority of the socialist

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regime in our country. Therefore, it can be said that the implementation of the renovation policy has brought in clear, profound and positive changes in Vietnam: the economy has developed, the production force has been enhanced; poverty reduction rapidly and continuously; people's life is improved, many social problems are solved; politics social stability, defense and security are ensured; foreign affairs and international integration are increasingly expanded; the position and power of the nation is improved; People's faith in the Party's leadership is consolidated ¹. The achievement of building socialism shows the good nature of the socialists in Vietnam. That is the basis for convincingly and incisively refuting false and hostile allegations; consolidating the People's faith in Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thought, the Party's leadership role towards national independence goal associated with socialism; steadfastly with socialist-oriented innovation. The Communist Party of Vietnam has enough competency and prestige to continue to successfully lead the construction and defense of the fatherland of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. It has proven that our Party's leadership is correct, there is no political force that can replace the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Currently, our country is innovating the growth patterns, restructuring the economy, paying more attention to quality and strengthening sustainability with the breakthrough stages: Perfecting synchronously the socialist-oriented market economy institution, developing the socialist-oriented market economy,

¹ Nguyen Minh Phong, *"Correct perception of the socialist-oriented market economy"*, People's Army Newspaper, May 21, 2021.

developing human resources, first of all, high-quality human resources, building synchronous and modern infrastructure in both economy and society¹. Socially, we are promoting sustained poverty reduction, improving medical, educational and other public services quality, urging digital transformation, and improving people's cultural life. We believe that, with intelligence, steady political bravery, the accurate and creative innovation leadership line of the Party; the aspiration to develop a prosperous and powerful Vietnam tends to the socialist orientation, for the happiness of the People will become reality².

Conclusion

The market economy is an economic model currently chosen by many countries to promote economic development. Vietnam is no exception. Although still containing the characteristics of the market economy in general, the market economy in Vietnam has its own particularity, being a socialist-oriented market economy, which is different in essence from the capitalist market economy. The socialist-oriented market economy model is not a subjective suggestion between the market economy and socialism, but rather the grasping and application of the objective movement trend of the market economy in today's era. The practice has shown that different options and models for developing the market economy are specific, depending on the specific conditions and development circumstances of the nation-state. The following country does not need to apply

¹ The Communist Party of Vietnam, *"Document of the XIII National Congratulation"*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2021, p. 237-238.

² Nguyen Viet Thong, *"Developing a socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam"*, Electric information Central Theoretical Council, Publication Date: May 22, 2021.

rigidly theoretical principles; It is also not necessary to conform to the existing models of the market economy, even if it is an effective model, to solve development problems with its own characteristics. However, it is necessary to be aware of the process of building and perfecting the socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam is not simple, it is a long - term process and goes through many stages, constantly exploring and developing in the theoretical awareness process, being flexible and creative in practice, responding well to numerous difficulties and challenges, requiring the determination and consensus of the whole nation as well as of each person in the country.

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VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS THE COUNTRY TO SOCIALISM

*Dr. Nguyen Thi Thanh Thuong**

Introduction

From the 40s of the 18th century, Karl Marx predicted that communism would replace the capitalism when studying the contradictions arising in capitalist countries. Socialism is the first stage of the communism with characteristics that are qualitatively different from those of capitalism. It was a new society model superior to contemporary society, where labourers would be able to implement their mastery. After nearly 80 years, K. Marx's genius predictions came true. The successful Russian October Revolution marked the birth of a real socialism on a world scale, actualizing the mastery of the working class and labourers.

In the process of finding a way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh came across the Russian October Revolution and realized that this was a revolution in accordance with his and our people's wishes. Ho Chi Minh affirmed that Vietnam would follow the path of the proletarian revolution, leading to socialism. Ho Chi Minh prepared the basic steps to establish Communist Party in Vietnam to pave the path of national salvation and socialist construction.

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Inheriting Ho Chi Minh's ideology, the Communist Party of Vietnam determined that the goal of the Vietnamese revolution was national independence associated with socialism. With the right direction, creativity, independence and self-reliance, our Party led its people to successfully carry out the August 1945 revolution, creating great turning point in the nation's history – taking back the country ownership. Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born then. In 1954, the North of Vietnam was completely liberated. Our Party carried out two revolutionary tasks simultaneously: building socialism in the North and doing revolution against American imperialism in the South. Since then, our Party has led the country to socialism and has achieved more and more great achievements. This confirmed the fact that the path that Ho Chi Minh and our Party had chosen is right and appropriate, which is believed and supported by the masses of the people.

1. The view of Vietnam Communist Party on socialism and the process of leading the country in the pre-renovation period

While finding a way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh realized that the Russian October Revolution was the revolution in line with of Vietnamese people's wishes and aspirations. After liberating our country, socialism would be Vietnam's choice in order to ensure people's mastery, bring a prosperous, free and happy life for the people. Ho Chi Minh affirmed socialism was a preeminent and suitable regime for Vietnam. "In short, in a simple way, socialism is first of all to release people escape from poverty, to provide everyone with jobs and food, and live a happy life"¹;

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Full episode, Episode 12*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, p. 415.

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"Socialism is to make the people rich and the country strong"¹. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, the Communist Party of Vietnam was established in 1930 and led our people to carry out the national liberation and socialist revolution. "National independence – socialism" has become the goal of the Vietnam Communist Party. In 1945, after the success of the August Revolution, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established, but due to war conditions, the construction of socialism had not been carried out right then.

At the Second National Congress of the Party, our Party affirmed its persistence in choosing the path of socialism. The first task of Vietnam Labor Party is to complete national liberation, develop people's democracy, and move towards socialism. Our Party has inherited Ho Chi Minh's view on the transition to socialism with specific contents to be implemented in each political, economic, cultural and social field; thoroughly grasp the principle of taking Marxism - Leninism and Ho Chi Minh ideology as a guideline in perception and practices.

At the 3rd National Congress of the Party in 1960, our Party determined the main task was to build socialism in the North and fight against the US in the South, towards the common goal of peace and unification of the country. At the congress, Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "Since the North was peaceful, socialist revolution was carried out. It was a significant change of the Vietnamese revolution. Under the leadership of the Party, the land reform was successfully completed, the labourers were liberated, and the slogan "the plowman has the field" was implemented ... The great

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Full episode, Episode 10*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, p. 390.

victories of the past nine years had proved that the chosen way was right, and our Party's leadership was stable. It was the victory of Marxism-Leninism in a country that was once oppressed and exploited by the imperialists. Our Party deserved the trust of our people from North to South"¹.

The political report of the Central Committee reviewed the leadership process of the Party from the 2nd to the 3rd congress, pointing out the results that our Party had achieved in fulfilling its role of leading its people. We carried out the socialist revolution in the North, the people's democratic national revolution in the South. The task of the socialist revolution in the North was the most decisive task for the development of the entire national revolution. At the third congress, our Party determined the general line during the transition to socialism in the North: "unite the whole people, promote the passionate patriotism and the tradition of heroic struggle, and at the same time, strengthen solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries of the Soviet Union. This would promote the North move to socialism quickly, strongly and firmly, build a prosperous and happy life in the North, and consolidate the North into a strong base for the struggle to unify the country, contribute to strengthening the socialist camp, protect peace in Southeast Asia and the world"². Along with the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the Labor Party of Vietnam, the entire Party and all our people form a block of solidarity to build socialism.

¹ Ho Chi Minh (2011), *Full episode, Episode 12*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Ha Noi, p. 671, 672.

² Vietnam Communist Party, *All Congress: the 3rd National Congress of the Party*, <https://daihoi13.dangcongsan.vn/cac-ky-dai-hoi/tu-dai-hoi-den-dai-hoi/dai-hoi-dai-bieu-toan-quoc-lan-thu-iii-175>

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The 4th National Congress of the Party was held in 1976 when the South was liberated, the country was unified, and the whole country jointly entered the stage of building socialism. The report of the Congress pointed out the major characteristics of the country when entering the cause of building socialism, thereby determining the general line of the socialist revolution in our country as: “Mastering the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting the collective mastery of the workpeople, and carrying out three revolutions simultaneously: the revolution in production relations, the scientific-technical revolution, and the cultural revolution, in which the scientific and technical revolution is the key; promoting socialist industrialization is the central task of the whole period of transition to socialism...”¹. The Party had outlined specific guidelines in the fields of economy, politics, culture and society. At the same time, our Party also set out the direction and tasks of the economic and cultural development plan for the period 1976 - 1980, aiming at the basic and urgent goal of ensuring the people's living needs and accumulating to build a material and technical basis for socialism.

The 4th National Congress of the Party in 1982 highlighted the successes that our Party and its people had won in the cause of national construction and defense since 1975. The Congress also pointed out country's difficulties and weaknesses in the development process, especially the mistakes and shortcomings of the Party and State in leadership and management, which had resulted in social crisis. Reality had raised urgent issues that

¹ Vietnam Communist Party, *All Congress: the 4th National Congress of the Party*, <https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang/dai-hoi-dang/lan-thu-iv/dai-hoi-dai-bieu-toan-quoc-lan-thu-iv-cua-dang-22>, updated 14/6/2018

require a review of the guidelines, a correct assessment of achievements and limitations in the process of leading the country. Our Party had to set guidelines and policies more suitable to the situation of the country, in order to determinately lead Vietnam to the chosen path of building socialism. The given duty of the Party building was considered specially important in order to create a team of leaders who are ethical with professional theories, and capacity of practical activities. They must be "both good and smart" to take the tasks.

2. The leading of the Vietnam Communist Party to socialism since 1986

Having faced with long-standing mistakes that caused serious consequences for the country's development, the Sixth National Congress of the Party in 1986 seriously pointed out the shortcomings and limitations of idealism. Our Party also proposed a comprehensive reform policy. It defined a reform policy in economic, political, cultural and social management. In particular, our Party affirmed that comprehensive innovation in the process of socialism reform and construction must thoroughly grasp the following principles: firstly, it must obey the rule of conformity between production relations and the level of production forces to determine the steps and forms suitable to our country; secondly, it must be derived from the country's reality, considering the multi-sector economy as a characteristic of the transition period; thirdly, socialist reform must build new production relations on all three fields: building a system of public ownership of the means of production, a socialist management and distribution system. The Resolution of the Congress confirmed ten innovative tasks to stabilize the socio-economic situation in all aspects, continue to build the

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necessary preconditions for the promotion of socialist industrialization in the next stage.

At the VII Congress, on the basis of frank criticism and summary of the achievements and limitations of the process of building socialism in our country, the Platform for national construction in the transitional period affirmed its mastery of national independence and socialism. Our Party had outlined five lessons from experience summarizing the Vietnamese revolution from 1930 to 1991, as well as seven directions for national construction in the transitional period. The Congress also approved the strategy of social stability and development until 2000, approved the report on building the Party and amending the Party's Charter. The Congress affirmed the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the country. "The Party leads the political system, which is, at the same time, a part of that system. The Party has close relations with the people, is subject to the people's supervision, operates within the framework of the Constitution and laws... The purpose of the Vietnam Communist Party is to lead the people to build a rich and democratic Vietnam. We strongly follow the socialist path and finally implement the communist ideal"¹.

After ten years of renovation, Vietnam had achieved many important achievements, getting rid of the socio-economic crisis, improving people's living standards, maintaining national security and defense. Our country also had to face the challenges of economic and social development. In that context, the 8th National

¹ Vietnam Communist Party, *All Congress: the 7th National Congress of the Party*, <https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang/dai-hoi-dang/lan-thu-vii/dai-hoi-dai-bieu-toan-quoc-17>, updated 14/6/2018

Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1996 summed up the practice, pointed out the achievements and limitations in the ten years' time of renovation, and mentioned the overall goal: "continue to master the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the Fatherland, accelerating industrialization and modernization and building our country into an industrialized country with modern technical foundations, reasonable economic structure, production relations suitable to the development level of the productive forces, high material and spiritual life, solid national defense and security. Our country's aims are wealthy, strong, democratic, fair and civilized"¹. In order to perform well the leadership role, our Party must continue to self-renoate, self-correct, improve its combat strength and leadership capacity, and overcome its shortcomings. At the National Congress VIII, specific goals in all aspects of social life in the process of building socialism in our country were clearly stated by the Party. The 8th National Congress of the Party is of special significance, marking a new development milestone in the development process of our country's revolution, affirming the unique leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam with the cause of building socialism.

The National Congress IX of the Party in 2001 took place in the context of globalization becoming a strong trend, having a profound influence on our country. On the basis of summarizing five years of implementing the Resolution of the National Congress VIII, fifteen years of renovation with achievements and limitations, the Party had drawn lessons from experience, perfected development guidelines

¹ Vietnam Communist Party, *All Congress: the 8th National Congress of the Party*, <https://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang/dai-hoi-dang/lan-thu-vii/dai-hoi-dai-bieu-toan-quoc-1an-thu-vii-cua-dang-17>, updated 14/6/2018

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and strategy development in the new era. The 9th Congress continued to affirm that the goal of national independence and socialism must be maintained on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's ideology in the renovation process; The correct line of the Party is the decisive factor for the success of the renovation. The 9th National Congress introduced the general economic model of our country during the transition to socialism as a socialist-oriented market economy; the policy of developing education and training, science and technology, building an advanced culture imbued with national identity... The guidelines our Party set forth in the 9th Congress had very important meanings, helping our country get closer to the goal of a rich, strong, equitable, democratic and civilized society.

The 10th National Congress of the Party in 2006 had pointed out general goals and directions for the period 2006 - 2010: "Improve the Party's leadership and combat strength, raise the strength of the whole people, comprehensively promote the renovation work, mobilize and make good use of all resources for the industrialization and modernization of the country; develop culture; implement social progress and justice; strengthen national defense and security, expand foreign relations; proactively and actively integrate into the international economy; maintaining socio-political stability; soon bring our country out of underdevelopment; create the foundation for our country to basically become a modern industrialized country by 2020"¹.

The path to socialism in our country has been increasingly defined in both theory and practice. With the successes of

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2006), *Document of the 10th National Congress of the Party*, National Political Publisher, Hanoi, p. 23.

implementing a socialist-oriented market economy, the Party lead our people to perfect the institution of a socialist-oriented market economy, to accelerate industrialization, modernization associated with the development of knowledge economy; handle social, cultural, educational, and technological issues; strengthen national defense and security; expand foreign relations; actively integrate into the international economy; promote democracy and great national unity; perfect the socialist rule of law state; reform and reorganize the Party; improve the Party's capacity and combat power. The Party lead our people to steadfastly follow the socialist path, attached great importance to Party building in order to avoid rightist deviationism and leftist deviationism; and to fulfill its roles and missions well.

The Platform for National Construction in the Transitional Period to Socialism (Additional and Development in 2011) approved by our Party at the 11th National Congress had further clarified the road to national construction. On the basis of practical summaries and lessons learned, our Party had pointed out that our country has transitioned to socialism in the context of the new situation with many great changes, opportunities and challenges. Moving towards socialism has been a legal step. The whole Party and people are steadfast in the goal of national independence and socialism, "advancing to socialism is the aspiration of our people, the right choice of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam - Ho Chi Minh, in line with the development trend of history"¹.

The Platform also affirmed the characteristics of the socialist society that our country built, the general goals of the transition

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2011), *Document of the 11th National Congress of the Party*, National Political Publisher, Hanoi, p. 70.

period and the basic directions to achieve those goals. Our Party also suggested major orientations for economic, cultural, social, national defense, security and foreign affairs development and strengthened the Party's role in leading the people to successfully implement our aims. The XI Congress also issued the 2011-2020 Socio-Economic Development Strategy, which raised the country's development perspectives, strategic goals and breakthroughs in all areas of life. The Congress affirmed the need to strengthen and consolidate the leadership role of the Party and the State in the implementation of the Strategy.

At the 12th National Congress in 2016, our Party summarized the achievements after 30 years of renovation, evaluated the results of the implementation of the tasks of socio-economic development in 2011-2015 and directions and tasks for socio-economic development in 2016-2020. "Thirty years of renovation are an important historical period in the cause of national construction and defense, marking the maturity of the Party, the State and our people. Doi Moi has revolutionary stature and significance, is a profound, comprehensive and radical transformation process, and is a great revolutionary cause of the entire Party, people for the sake of the strong country, democracy, justice, civilization"; "The great achievements of historical significance over the past 30 years of renovation affirm that our Party's renovation policy is correct and creative; Our country's path to socialism is consistent with Vietnam's reality and historical development trends. Achievements and experiences and lessons learned from practice create an important premise and foundation for our country to continue to innovate and develop strongly in the coming years"¹.

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2016), *Document of the 12th National Congress of the Party*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 16, 17.

Our Party pointed out the general goals of the country in the new period, important strategies, and tasks to take advantage of opportunities and overcome challenges: "to improve leadership capacity and strength of the Party; improve effectiveness and efficiency of State management; prove the strength of the whole nation and socialist democracy; comprehensively and synchronously promote the renovation; develop the country quickly and sustainably; successfully carry out the noble goal of "rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization", firmly stepping up to socialism"¹.

At the 13th National Congress, our Party continued to affirm: "Stand firmly on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thought, and at the same time constantly supplement and development in line with Vietnamese practice; steadfast in the goal of national independence and socialism; firmly adhere to the renovation policy and strictly observe the Party's principles of organization and operation"². This view was the inheritance of the achievements of the previous congresses on determining the path to socialism, the path of renovation in our country in all aspects of social life.

Evaluating 30 years of implementing the program for national construction in the transitional period, 10 years of implementing the Platform (additional and development) and 35 years of renovation, our Party affirmed that it has made important strides in the process of national development. The Party has led the country to socialism both in terms of theoretical awareness and

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2016), *Document of the 12th National Congress of the Party*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 220.

² Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Document of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 40, 41.

implementation organization. In terms of theoretical awareness, "specific goals, basic directions and major normative relations in the process of building socialism and defending the country continue to be supplemented and concretized"¹, namely the perceptions of the socialist-oriented market economy, the relationship between economic growth and social progress and justice, about the promoting the human factor, promoting the role of culture as the spiritual foundation of society, the foreign policy of independence and self-reliance... In practice, the achievements our country has achieved in the cause of building socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam has been recognized in Vietnam and in the world.

Conclusion

Over 90 years since its founding, the Communist Party of Vietnam has led our people to carry out two great revolutions: the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution. Each revolutionary task in different historical periods has posed many opportunities and challenges for the Party in formulating its lines, strategies, tactics and undertakings. In the process of leading the country to socialism from 1954 until now, through each congress, our Party has become more and more aware of the path to socialism in our country. Also, the Party has strictly carefully evaluated the achievements and limitations in leadership in order to better grasp the views and principles of Marxism - Leninism into the practical conditions of our country. Under its leadership, Vietnam has achieved greater achievements, better living standards, higher national position. Party building is increasingly

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2021), *Document of the 13th National Congress of the Party*, Truth National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 99.

valued, and socialist democracy is increasingly promoted, which are the factors contributing to the country's victories in the renovation process under the leadership of the Party.

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RESOLUTELY FIGHT, PROTECT THE RENOVATION OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

*MA. Nguyen Thi Thanh Thu**

Denying the achievements of the revolution and distracting the renovative process are tricks that hostile forces try to promote to deny the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Before and after the 13th Party Congress, hostile forces continued to distort, smear, degrade, and deny the revolutionary achievements - the great works of the Party and People, which our Party and People have worked so hard to build over 35 years of reforming the country. Therefore, resolutely fighting against wrong and hostile views, protecting the innovation is extremely necessary and urgent, maintaining the Party's prestige and leadership role, and firmly on the process of innovation and successfully open the door to socialism.

1. Identifying the conspiracy against vandalism of hostile forces to disrupt the renovation of the Party and the People

In the context of the current era of information boom and anti-conspiracy plots of hostile forces, we need to be very wise, brave enough to identify and be determined to respond to

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misrepresentations. Within the limits of the article, the author focuses on the economic and political fields during the country's innovation process.

Firstly, in the economic field

Economy is the core field, plays a decisive role in the survival of the nation, so hostile forces invest their efforts to misrepresent and distort the path of economic development in Vietnam, especially focusing on difficult times in the country to shake our people's confidence in the Party's line. They attack directly ideological issues, such as the law of production relations in accordance with the level of development of the productive forces. They denied this law, "loudly" saying that capitalist countries do not recognize this law but still develop, or that this law was true only in the days of Marx - Lenin, when science and technology had not yet been established and developed; Today, workers are attached to capital, have shares in capitalist enterprises, are not exploited as in the past, are interested in interests, capitalism has had many adjustments, so it is not As for the antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie, this law is no longer valid for the times.

The issue of public ownership in two forms, state ownership and collective ownership, is still one of the contents that forces distort and oppose. The hostile forces make the argument that the State ownership plays a dominant role, leading to the State economy taking the leading role, which is not in line with the development trend. Their argument is that economic sectors are equal before the law, but in fact, non-state economic sectors are still discriminated against, unfairly in the business environment, in accessing resources. The benefit sharing mechanism is not clear even in state-owned enterprises, in fulfilling the obligation to contribute to society of all economic sectors. Although considering the private economy as the most important driving force, the

private sector is still discriminated against and has not been transparent in its policies. Therefore, maintaining the leading role of the State economic sector will lead to many injustices and conflicts in the economic field, and at the same time, the country's resources will be wasted and will not fight corruption, waste, the economy continues to slow down. Advocating for their arguments, they cited corruption, degradation of morality and lifestyle of a part of cadres and party members; The situation of some state-owned enterprises inefficiently doing business, property loss, and the situation of many people's lawsuits are still complicated related to land... They have argued that Vietnam's economic development is only due to the Party., the State of Vietnam "draws itself", "praising itself", but in fact is "not real"; the country is still in poverty, lagging behind, People's life is still very difficult, poor people are not able to enjoy...

Besides, they also deliberately said that Vietnam has chosen to develop market economy, the nature is not socialist, the market economy is only associated with capitalism... causing skepticism, fluctuate, greatly affect the goal of country building of our People.

Secondly, in the political field

This is an issue that the hostile forces regularly oppose. In Vietnam, the opposition of hostile forces inside and outside the country still focuses on criticizing the one-party regime. The Party is above the law, the political organizations, established by the Party are inefficient and do not have the role of representing the masses, making the apparatus cumbersome and costing taxpayers money. It is said to build a rule-of-law State, but in reality, the law is not respected, many cases are carried out under the direction of the Party, "the Party appoints the People to elect", "the red army", "the decision to abolish the law". From the above misrepresentation, they condemn Vietnam for only economic reform but not political

innovation, maintaining the autocratic leadership apparatus of the Communist Party; Then, innovation has run out of momentum, so since the 13th National Congress, there is no innovation, or if there is innovation, it is only a change in political regime, it is to give up socialism... All these allegations are essentially aimed at denying and demanding the removal of the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam, distorting the country's situation, and distorting the reform line.

The above are very dangerous and reactionary arguments of hostile forces who want to change Vietnam's reform direction to another path. And we have enough arguments to identify and fight against that false allegation.

2. Fighting to protect the innovation of the Party and People

Firstly, in the economic field

First, for the argument that distorts the ideological issue, such as the law of production relations in accordance with the development level of the productive forces. Looking back at the historical reality of our country, when the country was unified, the lesson of the subsidy period in our country in the past shows that it is not possible to substitute good wishes for objective reality but must come from the present objective reality. Before 1986, in the perception and application of this rule in Vietnam, there were deviations, mistakes, and subjectivity. Advocates for the early construction of a socialist economy, accelerating production relations ahead of the level of productive forces with two forms of ownership, namely state ownership and collective ownership, while the level of force is limited. Low production and unequal development is a hasty, subjective, will-only policy. It is not the creative application of the law - as we sometimes mistakenly believe - but the violation of the law, the violation of the objective law. Subjective mistakes have pushed the economy into a state of

stagnation and crisis. Being aware of that, entering the innovation period, since 1986 our Party has advocated the transition from a socialist homogeneous economy to a socialist-oriented multi-sector economy. The policy of developing a multi-sector economy in our country is the creative and correct application of the law of production relations in accordance with the development level of the productive forces. The VI Congress (1986) marked a turning point in the cause of building socialism in our country, creating a major and comprehensive breakthrough, bringing new vitality in society, and turning the country situation, move the country forward. Proper application of the rule on the conformity of production relations with the level of the productive forces, contributing to the liberation of social production power; developing multi-sector economy, exploiting the potential of all resources into production... That has had a great impact on the formulation of socio-economic development guidelines and policies, especially building and developing a socialist-oriented market economy, meeting the requirements of reality, creating the basis for great and historically significant successes in the cause of country renovation and development since 1986 to present.

Second, for the misrepresentation of the leading role of the State economy. Looking back at the reality of the country, Vietnam is in a transitional period to socialism, so there is still existence of ownership relations, which inevitably lead to a multi-sector economy, because Vietnam choose to move to socialism, our Party advocates to promote the state economic sector, the State economic sector plays a leading role, as leverage for other economic sectors to follow the social orientation.

The XIII Party Congress also emphasized: in all economic sectors, the State economy plays the leading role; the collective economy and the cooperative economy are constantly

consolidated and developed; the private sector is an important motivation; Foreign-invested economies are encouraged to develop in accordance with socio-economic development strategies, master plans. The State economy must play a leading role in some key areas - a principled condition that ensures the socialist orientation. That is the difference in the nature of the socialist-oriented market economic paradigm compared to other market economic ones.

From a country with a low starting point, devastated after the war, after 35 years of conducting the innovation, actually a new, profound and comprehensive revolution, including economic reform, under the leadership of the State economic sector, Vietnam's economy is constantly developing. Vietnam's achievements in many fields are recognized in the world, the country has "never had a fortune like today". Till now, in Vietnam, no any political organization can replace the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam. In the complex context of the international situation from the end of the twentieth century to the present, the renovation work of our people has still achieved great achievements in all aspects. From the underdevelopment, our country has become a developing country. The economy has continuously grown quite well for many years. The work of hunger eradication and poverty reduction has achieved spectacular results, becoming one of the leading countries in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. As a result, the People's material and spiritual life has been significantly improved.

Third, before the misrepresentation of Vietnam, choosing a market economy means following capitalism and abandoning socialism. Therefore, it is important to be clear here: the market economy is not always associated with capitalism. The market economy is actually a type of economic model, formed and

developed due to the objective requirements for the development of the productive forces, so it is the result of human civilization and development. It is an inevitable path that countries must follow in order to develop. The socialist-oriented market economy in Vietnam is a mixed economy, including many forms of ownership, many economic sectors coexisting in a unified whole, in which, public ownership become a solid foundation.

History shows that there have been different paradigms of market economic development with specific characteristics (not only in capitalism), depending on certain conditions and specific development circumstances of each country, such as: China's socialist market economy. Therefore, Vietnam is in the transitional period to socialism, the choice of a socialist-oriented market economic model is extremely important, completely in accordance with the rule of objectivity.

Secondly, in the political field

Faced with distorting claims about the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam, demanding pluralism and multi-partyism. An important and vital task at this time is to maintain faith, belief in the Party and the People, consistently in the path of national independence associated with socialism, and to consist in the Party's innovation policy. Political reformation in Vietnam is not the change of one political regime to another, but a change in political thinking, thinking about socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam. Affirming that innovation but definitely does not change the goal, innovation does not change color. In fact, political reform in Vietnam has achieved many important achievements. The theoretical system of the road to socialism in Vietnam is getting clearer and clearer, the ideological foundation of the Party continues to be consolidated,

supplemented and developed, which is an important basis for policy planning, the Party's policy correctly. The organizational system of the political system continues to be streamlined, operating more effectively and efficiently; the Party's leadership method continues to be reformed and perfected: "The organizational apparatus of the Party, State, Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations continues to be rearranged and perfected according to on-demand new tasks. The functions, tasks, and working relationships of organizations in the political system are delineated and adjusted more appropriately"¹, and "The Party's leadership method for the political system continues to be renewed. Many regulations, regulations, and working processes have been promulgated to implement and maintain the Party's leadership role, while promoting the role, initiative, creativity and responsibility of organizations in the political system"²; "The National Assembly has many innovations, improving the quality and efficiency of operations. The legal system continues to be perfected"³; "The government and ministries focus more on macro management and administration, and dynamically deal with big and important issues. Administrative reform continued to be focused and initially achieved positive results"⁴. Those positive results created many great changes in social life, socialist democracy

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 12th National Congress of Deputies, Central Office, H, 2016, page 187

² Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 12th National Congress of Deputies, Central Office, H, 2016, page 190

³ Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 12th National Congress of Deputies, Central Office, H, 2016, page 172

⁴ Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 12th National Congress of Deputies, Central Office, H, 2016, page 172

was promoted and expanded, People were informed and supervised the activities of Party and State agencies, political organizations: "The People's right to mastery in all areas of social life by direct democracy and representative democracy, especially in the economic and political fields, is better promoted"¹. Thanks to that, Vietnam has achieved many great achievements, recognized in the world and supported by the People. The political system and the great national unity block have been consolidated and strengthened, socio-political stability, national defense and security maintained, our country is considered to be one of the safest countries in the world, an attractive address for tourists and foreign investors.

Thirdly, the achievements of the renovation in Vietnam affirm the correctness of the renovation policy

The 13th Party Congress summed it up: "After 35 years of conducting the renovation work, 30 years of implementing the platform for national construction in the transitional period to socialism, the theory of the renovation line and the subject Socialism and the road to socialism in our country are increasingly being perfected and gradually realized. We have achieved great achievements of historical significance, stronger and more comprehensive development compared to the previous years of renovation."². Looking back at the historical progress in Vietnam since the renovation, Vietnam has continuously risen strongly, increasingly asserting its position in the international arena. Entering the renovation process,

¹ Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 12th National Congress of Deputies, Central Office, H, 2016, page 167

² Communist Party of Vietnam: Documents of the 13th National Congress of Deputies, National Political Publishing House, H.2021, t1, page 109

Vietnam quickly overcome the crisis (1986); beyond underdevelopment (2010); average growth rate of 6.65%/year; GDP in 2021 will reach 345 billion USD (increasing 12 times compared to 1985); per capita income will reach 3,521 USD in 2021 compared to 230 USD in 1985; In 1986 the poverty rate was over 60%, in 2021 it will be less than 3%. People's life is stable, developing, economic, political, cultural - social is constantly rising. In particular, in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic having a strong impact on the world, in 2020 the world economy is in recession, with negative growth of nearly 4%, the Vietnamese economy will still maintain growth at an increasing rate. GDP reached 2.91% among the highest in the world...

The map and position of the country today is an eloquent proof, a solid basis for affirming that Vietnam's economic and political reforms are in the right direction; limitations, shortcomings, and shortcomings do not change the nature, correctness and superiority of the political regime, the ideological foundation and the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam on the path to socialism.

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