THE INFLUENCE OF DOI MOI ON THE INTERNAL
SECURITY OF VIETNAM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, just like other countries, functions in determined conditions which influence the way of determining and understanding the security and shaping of the security policy. There prevails a division to problems of an internal and external nature. While talking about and indicating global problems which in consequence can influence the internal security of a country, challenges and threats that countries face need to be noticed. These are ecological, demographic, political, economic and social threats. While looking at factors determining the internal security of a country, special attention needs to be paid to the state of relations and its surroundings, a state of system stability, a level of social peace, a level of public safety and a level of public order.

About the security of a country, it can be said that it is the ability of a country to protect its internal values from internal and external threats. These include: surviving (of a country, nation, saving biological existence), territorial integrity, political independence, quality of life.

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1 The present text is a translation from Polish article published in: Azjatyckie strategie bezpieczeństwa, ed. J. Marszałek-Kawa, Toruń 2013, p. 102–124. Here it is published in English in order to reach a wider range of readers.

Security analyzed with the use of subjective criteria also has an individual dimension. Security of an individual means freedom from threats against values significant for every one like life, health, freedom, inviolability of a person and possessions, freedom of beliefs and professing opinions, right to work. It can be said that security of individuals creates the security of a country, security of a country builds international security³.

This is why the internal security of a country is a state consisting in a system order, a state of relations and processes in a country guaranteeing effective and harmonious realization of a country’s and its citizens’ interests, creates at the same time a potential of abilities to a quick diagnosis and reaction in the case of appearing threats against those interests⁴.

In the most important categories creating the basis of efficient actions for guaranteeing a proper level of a country’s internal security, there is guaranteeing the system security, social peace, personal security, public security and public order⁵. Realization of these assumptions would not be possible if the external security was not guaranteed.

So the essence of security of a country is international security that is external factors and internal security that is internal factors which cause that society develops in stable conditions guaranteed by a country and its internal and external policy.

The doi moi policy, that is a renovation policy, was aimed at an economic reform of Vietnam. It occurred because of many factors: victory in the war with France and then with the United States, a change in alliances that was the withdrawal of the People’s Republic of China from supporting Vietnam. The relyance of Vietnam on the Soviet Union and countries of the Eastern Bloc who were under the USSR’s control. A conflict with Kampuchea and later with the People’s Republic of China. Especially the last two factors caused permanent pressure which lead to the country’s readiness for war with a neighbour. (which actually occurred⁶). And we perfectly

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³ Ibidem.
⁴ Ibidem, p. 18.
⁵ Ibidem.
realize that if we have a permanent state of threat, the economy is directed
to the industry of war which strongly influences the life of society and its
security.

This “wrong” policy of the authorities of the Communist Party of
Vietnam led to a worse life for its citizens. Based on cooperation and
deliveries from the USSR and countries-members of Comecon caused
that Vietnam was becoming economically incompetent.

Since 1986, Vietnam has been using in the economy a system of central
planning. Economic plans made in advance were little influenced by the
authorities of a lower hierarchy and society had to be happy with a bounty
from the country which satisfied its needs of production, consumption,
culture, social services, education, sport and other fields of life. In the 1980s,
the social-economic crisis began, it was caused by a rapid decrease of
Soviet help and with time, the crisis was beginning to be more and more
severe for the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Preventive measures and
economic mechanics used by the authorities, which were supposed to heal
the central planning economy did not bring the expected results. The only
way to get out of the crisis was transformation to the market economy.
And it succeeded.

After unification of the country in 1976, integration of two totally dif-
ferent social-economic systems became a huge challenge. The North and
the South however had a common feature, they were completely depend-
ent on foreign funds. After the unification, Vietnam had to deal with
a decreased inflow of foreign currencies which it needed so badly to
rebuild and revitalise the economy after the war. As it has already been
mentioned, continuation by the authorities of Vietnam of economic
policy based on a planned economy did not bring the expected results.

The average annual speed of growth of the gross national income in
1976–1980 was 0.4% while the speed of growth of the population reached
2.24% which meant a huge fall of the income per person. The bad eco-

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8 Ibidem, p. 75.
army. Maintenance of 1 million soldiers was too big a load for the country’s economy. The society lived in poverty and the everyday fight for surviving became the main aim of citizens. Every person received from the state every month less than 15 kilograms of rice. Consumer goods like cloths, soap, medicines and equipment and home appliances were practically unavailable because of high prices. In such a difficult situation many officials accepted bribes and appropriated public funds. As a result, people started to lose faith in the communist party and in the ability of the state’s authority to administrate the economy. Keeping a huge war machine and big expenses were a huge load for the weakened economy of the country destroyed by wars. What is more, a dogmatic “direction towards socialism” this caused a deep economic crisis. As a result Vietnam which was still an agrarian country had to import a large amount of food every year. Goods of permanent use were rare and were unavailable for the ordinary citizens of the country. All of this could cause a collapse of the system so the authorities decided to do something about it.

In 1986, the country faced the most severe phase of the economic crisis. Despite the control of prices of most goods and services, the annual rate of inflation was higher than 700%. The annual value of export was about 500 000 USD which was barely half of the value of its imports (1 221 000 USD). Private business was on a small scale and mainly on the black market. The budget of the country was strained because of the high military expenses and covering losses of state enterprises. There were almost no foreign investments, a technological gap between Vietnam and neighbouring countries was enormous.

The second half of the 1980s brought changes in the political life of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Nguyen Van Linh, known for his radical views, became the head of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Because of his initiative, the public exposing of negative phenomena in economic and social life began and the party itself was not spared. There appeared voices admitting that even the years of war with the United States did not cause

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9 Ibidem, p. 76.
10 Ta minh Tuan, Polityka zagraniczna Wietnamu w okresie „odnowy” (doi moi): Źródła i ewolucja, “Azja-Pacyfik” 2002, No 5, p. 53.
11 Ibidem, p. 78.
such economic losses like indolence and incompetence of the authorities of Vietnam did. Ruling the country with a bureaucratic-administrative centralism was criticized. Some people noticed a necessity to review over idealized, not matching to reality mottos. Not only the internal but also international situation of Vietnam got worse at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s. Particularly the policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam towards Indochina and the entering of the Vietnamese army to Cambodia in 1979 caused the consternation and objection of recent allies. China called off its specialists and withdrew its help and even in 1979, it started a short military campaign against Vietnam. Only the veto of the USSR in the United Nations Security Council saved Vietnam from the passing by the UN a resolution condemning its actions. In the 1980s, symptomatic signals began to come from Eastern Europe. There were strikes in Poland in 1980 and in the middle of the 1980s as well as a policy of renovation proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR. This whole complex situation forced a program of modernization of the social-economic system in Vietnam known as doi moi, that is a renovation. The beginning of reforms was declared by a new secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Nguyen van Linh during the 6th meeting of the party in 1986\textsuperscript{12}.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam began the doi moi policy which changed the picture of the country, changed its internal situation and its position on the international arena. It seems that the new foreign policy of the time had a crucial meaning in creating favorable conditions for development of the country in the 1990s\textsuperscript{13}. It contributed to the improvement of the internal and external situation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In Vietnam, they decided to use economic solutions introduced by China which consisted of, among others, opening the economy to the external world\textsuperscript{14}. What is interesting, Nguyen von Linh was fascinated with Gorbachev’s “new thinking”. A campaign of “new thinking” came into force

\textsuperscript{12} M. Pietrasia, Reformy oświatowe w Wietnamie. Zarys uwarunkowań, „Azja-Pacyfik” 2005, No 8, p. 54–55.
\textsuperscript{13} Ta minh Tuan, Polityka zagraniczna Wietnamu..., p. 51.
\textsuperscript{14} Nguyen Thi Thanh Thuy, Doi moi – zmiany społeczno-ekonomiczne..., p. 78.
after the 6th meeting with a motto “Look straight at the truth, assess the truth exactly and explain the truth”.

The economic reform of 1986 assumed:
1. improving the quality of life for citizens;
2. acknowledging market mechanisms as a key economic regulator in the further development of Vietnam, in frameworks of which particular markets: capital, financial, labour etc, should shape and develop;
3. introducing in Vietnam in the following years a model of multi-sector economy, making business activity real (basing prices in state enterprises on the real costs of production, limiting subsidy and prices’ control, increasing the autonomy of the leadership);
4. liberalization of the economic life (limiting restrictions towards private enterprises, increasing hiring in private enterprises up to 10, elimination of the monopoly of the country in international trade);
5. denationalization;
6. improvement of international relations by liberalization of the trade, exchange of technology, techniques and results of scientific studies with other countries;
7. opening the economy for companies with foreign capital (introduction of legal rules regulating activity of enterprises with foreign capital, building export zones);
8. devaluation of the dong, the national currency, from 425 to 4500 for 1 USD;
9. removing the agriculture collective (increasing the production possibilities of small family premises);
10. limiting financial budget expenses by printing money;
11. raising the interest rate (reaching positive real interest rates)\(^{15}\).

It is very significant that the authorities of the Communist Party of Vietnam, declared during the 6th meeting deep reforms, did not mean to avert from socialism but economic reforms introduced under the control

\(^{15}\) Ibidem, p. 79.
of the party\textsuperscript{16}. On the one hand, the free market functioned well but on the other, the Communist Party of Vietnam with its hierarchical structure still governed by itself. The influence of party and mass organization that belonged to the Vietnamese Fatherland Front, in state enterprises, army, police and security apparatus was unchanged\textsuperscript{17}. The authorities did not want to lose influence on the state’s policy and the life of citizens. The Communist Party of Vietnam did not want to lose its power but only improve a hard situation in Vietnam.

In the new foreign policy, a process of normalization of relations with neighbouring countries was considered as the most important element. The first step was stopping Vietnamese involvement in Kampuchea by withdrawing the army from this country in September 1989\textsuperscript{18}. Withdrawal of the Vietnamese army from this country contributed to warming relations with the People’s Republic of China.

The foreign policy at the turn of the 1980\textsuperscript{s} and the 1990\textsuperscript{s} served the internal policy and was its integral part\textsuperscript{19}. For Vietnam, the priorities were and good and stable relations with countries of the region, however, from the very beginning of the transformation, striving for joining processes characteristic for the global economy could be observed\textsuperscript{20}. An attempt at coming into the world economy with using its own economic possibilities was made.

It is also important that Vietnam was and is an agrarian country. In 2000, 24\% of people lived in cities and 76\% in the countryside. So reforms had to be supported particularly in the countryside. Rules were simple and they consisted a stronger independence of agrarian premises\textsuperscript{21}. It was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{16} M. Pietrasiak, \textit{System polityczny Socjalistycznej Republiki Wietnamu}, “Azja-Pacyfik” 2009, No. 12, p. 40.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Ibidem, p. 40–41.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Ta minh Tuan, \textit{Polityka zagraniczna Wietnamu…}, p. 54.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} M. Pietrasiak, \textit{Modernizacja systemu społeczno-ekonomicznego Wietnamu}, “Azja-Pacyfik” 2004, No. 7, p. 183.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Ibidem, p. 184.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} M. Pietrasiak, \textit{Modernizacja systemu…}, p. 181.
\end{itemize}
supposed to make production bigger and the quality of life in the countryside better\textsuperscript{22}.

The main method of economic development was supposed to be leaving closed, a self-sufficient economy and entering the market economy connected with the world economy\textsuperscript{23}. And Vietnam succeeded.

Introducing reforms showed big arrears in all fields and it did not unfold without conflicts. In the first period, there was still high inflation\textsuperscript{24}. The bank system was incompetent, bureaucracy was not efficient as was the whole infrastructure, particularly the bad condition of roads were a considerable break in its economic development\textsuperscript{25}.

In this time, there appeared a phenomenon which till today is a big problem and a source of conflict, that is social stratification. Stratification concerns incomes of particular regions as well as the countryside and the city. For example in 1992, malnutrition in cities reached 20% and in the countryside 80%. Among the regions, the southern region with Saigon is the richest one but also here 33% of society suffers from poverty. Mountain regions of Central and Northern Vietnam were populated by national minorities, they belong to the poorest ones and among them, the highest rate of poverty relates to the minorities H’mong and Dao. There are 7 regions of poverty distinguished, with the poorest central-northern region where the rate of poverty reached 71%. The reasons of such a situation are also an objective phenomena, for example, the climate (among others frequent typhoons) particularly hard for agriculture which is the base of the economy. In the South, the monsoon, tropical climate is better for agriculture. It needs to be remembered that the South reacted sooner to the free market and it is also a reason of the improving quality of life there\textsuperscript{26}.

The level of education left a lot to be desired. There appeared a new problem – the problem of secondary illiteracy because it turned out that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Another issue is the right to land, in Vietnam, possession of the land is quite complicated and it requires a separate description.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} M. Pietrasiak, \textit{Modernizacja systemu…}, p. 182.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Ibidem, p. 185.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Ibidem.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Ibidem, p. 185–186.
\end{itemize}
in some regions, there was a high percentage of children who in a definite period did not attend school. One of the reasons of such a situation was and still is too few schools. In about 3 thousand classes, education was organized in 3 and even 5 shifts. Expenditure for building new schools was small\textsuperscript{27}. A problem with access to education is connected with a phenomenon of poverty. Since 1989, the situation in Vietnam has been stabilizing. In a cultural-educational policy, there appeared many new elements. Private schools began to be established\textsuperscript{28}.

The process of \textit{doi moi} was initiated during a deepening economic crisis in the 1980\textsuperscript{s}. Administrative control over activity of the private sector and the internal trade was loosened. It was accompanied by a serious reform of prices and devaluation of the dong. Attempts of the authorities to guarantee a market balance with a monetary system, reforms of prices and income were however not properly coordinated and ineffective at the beginning. Huge instability of the macroeconomics was still present and the perspectives of the economy were unsure\textsuperscript{29}. The turning point in the Vietnamese economy occurred in 1989–1992 when the annual GNI rose from 4.7\% (1989) to 8.1\% (1992) and inflation fell below 20\%\textsuperscript{30}.

During the first half of the 1990\textsuperscript{s}, the Vietnamese economy went from the economic crisis to a blooming growth. This situation lasted until 1998 that means that the economic crisis in Eastern Asia also influenced Vietnam\textsuperscript{31}.

Undoubted the direct driving force of economic growth was also a growth in export. In the years 1989–1997 the value of exported Vietnamese good in USD grew seven times. This high growth of export influenced the economic situation of the country\textsuperscript{32}. Favorable development of the agrarian export was a clear result of economic processes started by \textit{doi moi}. With the beginning of the Eastern-Asian economic crisis in the second half of the 1990\textsuperscript{s}, speed of growth in Vietnam dropped and direct

\textsuperscript{27} M. Pietrasiak, \textit{Reformy oświatowe…}, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibidem, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{29} Nguyen Thi Thanh Thuy, \textit{Doi moi – zmiany społeczno-ekonomiczne…}, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibidem, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibidem, p. 88.
investments fell. However, the Vietnamese economy turned out to be very flexible facing the economic crisis in Eastern-Asia in 1997. It functioned much better than many other economies and better than most economic observers had expected. So the Vietnamese economy survived the crisis in Eastern Asia rather well\textsuperscript{33}. The Asian crisis of 1997 influenced negatively the speed of development of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It was not odd because 2/3rds of investments were from Asian countries in crisis. That is why in 1997 Vietnam introduced the next changes. They were concerning two relatively weak reformed fields of economy: state enterprises and agriculture.

System reforms in Vietnam succeeded in bringing in the 1990s high growth in almost all sectors of the economy and provinces of the country. The midyear growth of GDP was then 7% and in the years 2001–2005 – 7,5\textsuperscript{34}.

Improvement of the economic situation lead to a reduction in the rate of poverty in Vietnam. In 2005, this rate was two times smaller than in comparison to 2000 and fell from 33% to 22%. A structure of the economy changed to a plus: the industry and building sector grew from 36,7% in 2000 to 42% in 2005, the agrarian sector dropped from 24,5% in 2000 to 19% in 2005, the service sector was over 38\textsuperscript{35}.

Discussing the new phenomena of the social-economic policy of Vietnam, the state and perspectives of foreign direct investments (FDI) which from the beginning of its realization of the doi moi policy were an important element of driving economic development. Also now, foreign investments can be an important source of reserves of the development. Yet we observe a decreasing contribution of foreign capital strengthening the Vietnamese economy\textsuperscript{36}.

Vietnam tried to integrate its economy with the world markets by signing a bilateral trade agreement with the United States of America in 2001, membership of ASEAN and joining the WTO in January 2007, it confirms its commitment to opening to the outside world and to integration with

\textsuperscript{33} Ibidem, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibidem, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibidem, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{36} M. Pietrasiak, Modernizacja systemu..., p. 194.
international society as well as its will to accept international rules of the market game to strengthen Vietnam’s position in world trade and economy commonwealth and credibility towards state and foreign investors. And it is effective.

The social-economic achievements of Vietnam are connected with: acknowledging the right to business activity of people and private enterprises and with market reforms; opening to the world (showed mainly in trade contacts and foreign direct investments), integration of the state economy with the world and regional economy; keeping macroeconomic and social-political stabilization.

The process of modernization of the doi moi system covered also a sphere of creating non-governmental organizations (NGOs) cooperating with foreign centers (INGOs) and creating various foundations. They are favorable to the process of building civil society, however, it can be hardly qualified as an integral element of the political system.

A strategy of social-economic development (2000–2010) and a project of Plan of social-economic development (2006–2010) provided wriggle room for civil society in three main fields of activity: widening the autonomy, strengthening the process of decentralization and at the same time responsibility of local authorities; getting to the poor and monitoring their opinions in various social matters; keeping the role of services of which is the elimination of poverty and paying particular attention to fight against AIDS.

So one may have an impression that in conditions of social-political and economic transformations, and limited opening to the world information flow in Vietnam, a kind of civil society begins to exist. For now, it functions in a very limited form and on a local level but it focuses on the most vital social problems of contemporary Vietnam. The truth is that for good development of civil society a few factors must occur; that is it

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38 Ibidem, p. 97.
39 M. Pietrasiak, System polityczny…, p. 47.
40 Ibidem, p. 48.
41 M. Kosmala-Kozłowska, Konfucjanizm a prawa człowieka w Azji Południowo-Wschodniej na przykładzie Wietnamu, [in:] Azja wschodnia i Azja Południowa w stosunk-
should depend on political and social-economic context, a sphere of political freedom, relations, state-society etc. Yet in Vietnam, political rights are not fully realized and as a result, it is not a free country. As Małgorzata Pietrasik notices: “A free political game is not possible and the decisive vote belongs to one party. But in some fields of social life, for example in literacy, Vietnam has had many achievements. Also values preferred in society: trust towards the state, tolerance, compassion for others – show that there is a good atmosphere for building civil society.”

What is important, it is not connected only with attachment to democratic values but above all to traditions of Confucianism which shape the political culture of Vietnam.

Vietnam can derive from international economic integration and liberalization of trade. However, contemporary threats like: environment degradation, the AIDS epidemic or terrorism, can make the economic situation in Vietnam worse if its economy integrates too fast with the world and regional economy. In this case, also the social security is endangered.

In a resolution of the 9th meeting of the Communist Party of Vietnam (January 2004), speeding up economic reforms was declared. The Party – state authorities committed themselves among others to: continuing reforms in the sector of state enterprises and speeding up privatization of those enterprises, stimulating the development of private enterprises and cooperatives, improving competitiveness of state enterprises and effectiveness of investments from the state’s budget, and also the sharing of foreign investments in economic development, strengthening and at the same time developing such state production factors as: capital, the labour force and land; making changes in strategies of social-economic development and adjusting them to the economic structure of the country; establishing new workplaces and reducing poverty; changing the role of the state in the economic development of the country, administrative reforms and changes in economic legislation and strengthening democracy in manag-


42 M. Pietrasik, Środowiskowe wyznaczniki polityki zagranicznej Wietnamu w obliczu procesów integracji z gospodarką światową, Toruń 2010, p. 88.

43 Nguyen Thi Thanh Thuy, Doi moi – zmiany społeczno-ekonomiczne..., p. 98.
ing the economy\textsuperscript{44}. If all these elements are consequently realized, the internal security of Vietnam will increase and society will be systematically developing.

A big problem for the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is bribery and that is why it has decided to do something about it and pass an administrative reform. The administrative reform was supposed to consist of three elements: (1) a reform of state institutions, reorganization of ministries and their counterparts at a central level\textsuperscript{45}. (2) Reforms of administrative procedures and creating highly qualified office staff\textsuperscript{46}. (3) It was also planned to reduce office apparatus by the liquidation or reduction of various types of government agendas\textsuperscript{47}.

Very often as an argument for purposefulness of the administrative reform, there appeared the fight against bribery. For example, during the 8\textsuperscript{th} Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the general secretary of the party, Do Muoi criticized the bribed bureaucratic apparatus. He called attention to the fact that officials connected to the party behave like corrupted mandarins and postulated a reform of the party together with the administrative reform\textsuperscript{48}.

In Vietnam, the Communist Party of Vietnam renounced from direct governing authority of the government and the Prime Ministers role was extended. Progress in creating elective and parliamentary democracy is visible. The aim of the elections was supposed to be the presence in parliament of various opinions of electors and responsibility towards electors. Parliament began to have an active role in legislation and control over fulfilling and abiding by the law. A mechanism of interpellation was introduced, important laws were consulted with society, citizens have a right

\textsuperscript{44} Ibidem, p. 98–99.
\textsuperscript{45} It was assumed that as many as 40 central organs would be included in reorganization. There were only 15–20 ministries and their equivalents to be left. It was decided to modify a little the administrative division of the country and its provinces were to come back to their former shape.
\textsuperscript{46} It was necessary because according to carried researches only 40% of bureaucratic apparatus was fully qualified to the job.
\textsuperscript{47} M. Pietrasia\l{}k, System polityczny…, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibidem.
to ask on various arenas including the National Assembly, using the Internet for this is common. In 2003, Parliament was granted additional entitlements to monitor and control the executive. Discussions in Parliament are more comfortable and critical even towards the Communist Party of Vietnam. Since 2001, there has been the right to a vote of no-confidence towards members of the government. And it is another example of creating a civil society in Vietnam.

In contemporary Vietnam, conceptions of democracy usually consist of three elements. First of all, democracy means citizens having economic rights which include: (a) establishing institutions and economic enterprises and putting the economy under the control of citizens so that it could serve their legally sanctioned needs and interests; (b) setting economic mechanisms in which all employees can have the right to property and managing in various forms, for example they can purchase shares of enterprises; (c) protection and support for initiatives of employees and their participation in creating business plans and in the company’s activity; (d) promotion of the market economy to guarantee equal competitiveness and benefits to consumers. Shortly, the first element is a composition of almost all factors of the market economy, where there is private property of estate and enterprises, functions free trade and investments in state and foreign dimension. Secondly, democracy means citizens having political rights which include physical freedom, personal safety, freedom from torture, legal representation everywhere, equality before the law, freedom of thoughts and speech, freedom of assembly, religion and participation in governing. Thirdly, democracy means rules of the people in civil society and it includes a wide range of rights like: a ban on discrimination, the right to personal freedom and safety, equal protection of the law, humane treatment in case of arrest, equality in marriage, the right to work and equal conditions of work and also a right to education. All of these cause improvement for safety in Vietnam and it influences external safety, that

49 Ibidem, p. 53.
means that if the state is stable in various dimensions, it is a more attractive business partner.

Democracy in Vietnam has two different forms: representative democracy and direct democracy. Representative democracy is a form, in frameworks of which citizens execute their political rights by proxy of social-economic organizations\(^{51}\). Direct democracy is usually realized in small communities.

In Vietnam there are three levels of elective organs controlled by central government. The country is divided into 61 provinces, 598 districts, 10, 500 village communities, half-urban and urban allocated areas. On each of these levels, election committees are controlled by the party structure. The established direction of changes is strengthening the prerogative of local authorities. Decree 29 introduces four categories of co-participation of society in the decision-making process of these organs. The first one concerns information. Local officials are obliged to inform in detail about the budget, investments and projects in public meetings or in documents announced publicly. The second form is consultations. A long list of strategic plans for particular provinces, or smaller units of zoning are a part of public debate. The third stage is confirmation of zoning which takes place during meetings or in referendums. The fourth form of co-participation is a control which aims at, among others, fighting bribery\(^{52}\). As it has already been mentioned, the authorities of Vietnam try to fight against it.

However, one of the serious problems in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is respecting human rights. There are also changes in this matter. That is the authorities of Vietnam included a rule of respecting and protection of human rights in the constitution of 1992. Rules of law and protection of the right to property were introduced in Vietnam in 1992\(^{53}\).

The international basis determining rights and freedoms of a person is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed in 1948 by the United Nations. It was founded that dignity and various human rights are a basis of freedom, justice and world peace. The rights are inalienable, they

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\(^{51}\) Ibidem, p. 62.

\(^{52}\) M. Pietrasia, *System polityczny…*, p. 54.

\(^{53}\) M. Kosmala-Kozłowska, *Konfucjanizm a prawa człowieka…*, p. 185.
belong to every one regardless of age, sex, religion or ethnic, religion or culture affinity and they should be equally understood in the whole world\textsuperscript{54}.

It is important that in Vietnam, there is currently a social-political transformation going on showing itself in a gradual withdrawing of the authorities from the private lives of its citizens. And even though, religious organizations are still under the control of the authorities and the media are limited by state censorship, increasing tolerance to freedom of speech, religion or assemblies is visible in Vietnam. The state intervenes today mainly when the initiative is connected with anti-government actions directed against the rules of the party and additionally covering the area of more than one province\textsuperscript{55}.

As a result, respecting human and political rights in Vietnam is not sufficient. They are protected by proper legal procedures and institutions, and what is interesting, to a considerable degree they still depend on unclear rules used by the authorities in the name of maintaining social peace and public order. This fact is connected with a lack of law tradition in the social-political system of Vietnam. People still seem to have low expectations in the matter of legal protection of their rights and they prefer depending on a chain of personal social connections to formalize legal procedures\textsuperscript{56}. The problem concerns not only Vietnam.

This situation is criticized by institutions protecting human rights. Vietnam is negatively assessed by, for example, Amnesty International. In its rankings “Freedom House”, Vietnam is among countries which do not respect human rights. The most serious breaching of human rights concerns freedom of speech, press, assemblies and associations. Organizations protecting human rights criticize the limiting of the amount of children in families in Vietnam. The policy promoting having one or no more than two children was started in 1988. The authorities explain it with the fact that having more than two children may result in difficulties in the labour market.

\textsuperscript{54} Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe w regionie Azji i Pacyfiku. Wybrane zagadnienia, ed. B. Skulska, P. Skulski, Wroclaw 2010, p. 270.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibidem, p. 185.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibidem, p. 186.
Limits in freedom of speech and publication concern criticism of the highest authorities and one may be in trouble if the criticism is not proved well. However, journalists more and more often refer to foreign sources, debates and polemics become more open. In bookstores, they sell foreign publications of local authors which were forbidden in Vietnam and there is also a foreign press, censorship of radio and television. The Internet is available, however, the authorities control Internet cafes and they close sites publishing materials unfavorable to the authorities. Also freedom of assemblies and associations is limited. In March 2005, a ban on manifestations in front of government and party buildings and places where international conferences take place, was introduced. Nevertheless, there is also liberalization in this matter. It is most visible in Ho Chi Minh city but it is also visible in Hanoi where very often manifestations occur. In freedom of religion, integration of the authorities is a problem.

The permanent breaking of rights connected with access to basic freedoms and a lack of satisfying needs such as food, shelter and medical aid, limiting freedom of religion, speech and the media, creating a feeling of a life in danger, leads to protests and social demonstrations in the whole region of Southeastern Asia. And this causes the intervention of the authorities who repress any resistance and as a consequence, it causes the increasing aggression of various social groups. As a result, there appears a continued spiral of breaking human rights.

In opinions of various specialists, in the region of Asia and Pacific, safety will never be maintained if the authorities do not make laws and freedoms that should be at the center of their attention. Unless citizens have basic social needs satisfied and if their rights are still broken and they live in a permanent feeling of threat from their own country, no government will be able to say that it plans for security of its country or the region.

Without a doubt, the accepted and realized program of doi moi reforms in Vietnam, positively influences social and economic development of the

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58 It requires a separate description.
59 Ibidem, p. 279.
60 Ibidem, p. 279.
country and above all its elements such as: support for the multi-sector economy and diversification of forms of property, A greater openness of the economy and its joining the processes of economic integration, diversification of economic partners and improvement of the condition of public services. Nevertheless, it needs to be remembered that this process proceeds with various turns and is characterized by a lack of consequence. Problems which were defined at the beginning of the transformation remain unsolved: political changes do not keep up with economic changes, unprofitable state enterprises are still protected because of a fear of growth in unemployment, disparity between regions and particular social groups, especially between a village and a city are growing, there is still a high rate of poverty. Complicated tariffs, high export customs, licenses and quantitative limits without clear rules are applied\textsuperscript{61}.

Together with the opening of Vietnam to the outside world in 1986, powers of the market economy were released. Its influence can be felt in all spheres of life. The quality of life of its citizens improved. Gross domestic product (GDP) \textit{per capita} in nominal dimensions, grew from 80 USD in 1986 to 835 USD in 2008. The economic prosperity translates to increasing the requirements of democratic managing which also connects with better education and information to citizens. Their knowledge about politics, law regulations and their rights is also growing. They no longer accept the situation when somebody tells them what to do. People want more freedom and they want their voice and their opinions to be listened to by the authorities and the party. For some time, they have been forming various social and professional groups the aim of which is presenting their issues to decision-makers\textsuperscript{62}.

As a consequence of its integration with the outside world, Vietnam is in the face of powers of globalization and economic integration in frameworks of which democratization seems to be an inevitable process because globalization will not let Vietnam remain in isolation and it orders applying the same rules as others. For example when ASEAN passed its Charter with a regulation assuming creating a new organ, the task of which will

\textsuperscript{61} M. Pietrasiak, \textit{Modernizacja systemu...}, p. 196–197.

\textsuperscript{62} Ta Tuan Minh, \textit{Rozumienie demokracji...}, p. 67.
be control over applying norms and respecting human rights in every member country, Vietnam could not refuse fulfilling its obligation this matter\textsuperscript{63}. However, democracy in Vietnam meets some limitations. Firstly, there is still a lack of comprehensive legal frameworks which could guarantee applying the rules of democracy.

Since 1986, the \textit{doi moi} policy has undoubtedly sped up economic changes which also results in democratic transformations. We may above all indicate here a growing meaning of the National Assembly and state administration connected with introducing legal regulations and strengthening constitutional law, as well as increasing political pluralism, civil freedoms, social activities, freedoms in various fields of life, also changes in the political system towards its greater transparency and responsibility of officers for their actions. For now however, these reforms are introduced from higher up because grassroots pressure to democratic changes is very weak even if it exists. Most citizens involved mainly in business activities and the improvement of quantity of life of their families. Political interests and aspirations can appear later as it was in the case of Taiwan and South Korea. At this primary stage, internal as well as external factors play a significant role causing sometimes pressure, even though the ruling party and the authorities still exercise their power\textsuperscript{64}.

The aims of Vietnam’s economic growth for 2001–2020 are ambitious. They assume, among others, speeding up a process of industrialization and modernization of the Vietnamese economy to liquidate its economic under-development, so that Vietnam could become an industrial country in 2020. Vietnam expects high economic growth together with an effective reduction of poverty\textsuperscript{65}. It should result in the improvement of social security.

The unsolved issues are: social stratification (there are whole regions of poverty), a low percentage of people living in the city (about 25,8\% in 2004), unequal educational opportunities, difficult access to medical aid (especially pregnant women) and the necessity to create a civil society, the problem of national minorities and religion and confession.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibidem, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibidem, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{65} Nguyen Thi Thanh Thuy, \textit{Doi moi – zmiany społeczno-ekonomiczne…}, p. 98.
Vietnam in its internal security policy protects its independence and tries to protect the state and citizens from external as well as internal danger. In this matter, it does not differ from other countries. Another issue is methods and instruments used by the authorities to achieve the internal security of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Referring to the definition mentioned at the beginning of this study, we need to note that Vietnam is capable of protecting its internal values from dangers from inside and outside. All the more that it does everything to survive as a state and nation, to keep its territorial integrity, political independence and it tries to improve the quality of life for its citizens.

There is still a lot to do in Vietnam in the case of internal security however, if there were no doi moi reforms, the current state could not have been achieved, assuming continuity of rules of the Communist Party of Vietnam.