ISSN 2278 – 0211 (Online)

The Major Barriers in Building the Developmental State: Researching the Case of Vietnam

Dr. Nguyen Van Quang

Lecturer, Institute of Leadership and Public Policy,
Academy of Politics Region III, Da Nang, Vietnam

Abstract:

The development and sustainable development is the target, the mainstream of every nation, is the issue that leaders, strategic planners and governments pay special attention to. It is not only a process, a political trend in contemporary society, but also an objective need of every nation today. However, in fact, there are still "paradoxes", barriers, plus sharp changes in the socio-economic life of the world as well as each nation, including Vietnam, which has directly affected the development process, requires us to be aware of the fundamental issues of the state -What role does the state play, what should the state do, what should not be done and how best to promote development? This is a problem that Viet Nam government must consider, choose, and decide.

Keywords: Developmental state, barriers, solution, Vietnam

1. Introduction

The developmental state is not a new form of governance and model in the world. There are two outstanding ways of comparative research over the long period of the Cold War, which is the way "the commanded state" was the model of the Soviet Union and socialist countries at that time (press centralized planning) and "adjusted state" as models in the UK, US and many other capitalist countries. The concept of developmental state has been recognized and popular both in academic forums and in political and economic life. With its characteristics and effectiveness for development, it is not surprising that this model has received the attention of developing countries. It creates hope for the leaders of developing countries to catch up with the "five great powers", improving the quality of the people's life and the position of the country in the international arena, including Vietnam.

However, the developmental state is still a matter of debate because there is no clear answer to whether "state-oriented" is better than "market oriented"? Or when is the "active state of creation, orientation" better than letting "market select and eliminate"? Or what level of orientation is appropriate? Because, the socialist countries, including Vietnam had a period of orientation to each item with the number and specific plans in a centralized, bureaucratic, subsidized economy and failed because not based on the signals of the people, while the market is the best channel to convey that information. This is a major theoretical issue, which can only be answered by researching specific cases (Japan, Korea, Singapore, etc., and even Vietnam).

In this article, I focus on clarifying the concept and characteristics of the developmental state, identifying main barriers and suggesting some solutions for building the developmental state in Vietnam.

2. The Concept of the Developmental State and the Questions of Researching.

The concept "the developmental state" was developed by Johnson (1982) to describe the characteristics of Japan's economic development model after World War II. Johnson defined the developmental state as a state that is focused on economic development and takes necessary policy measures to accomplish that objective (Johnson, C. 1982). Then, Amsden (1989), Wade (1990), and Evans (1995) further developed and applied to analyze miraculous economic development cases of Taiwan and South Korea. According to Johnson, Japan was basically a model of Western democracy, but there are significant differences with both the Western mainstream model and the Soviet model. In Japan, the state did not play a "passive" role like the British and American models; but the state did not play the role of marshal like in the socialist system. The Japanese state had a role to direct and focus resources on key economic sectors consistently and for a long time. He used the concept of "the developmental state" to describe this difference (Ngo Huy Duc, 2017). According to Johnson's review, East Asian leaders such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan (China) gained the trust and voluntary compliance from the people thanks to the effectiveness of the process of national governance (Johnson, C. 1982).

From Chalmers Johnson's initial terminology, there are many other authors who defined the definition of "the developmental state". In terms of organization, in a report in 2012, UNDP said: "The developmental state, in a simple sense, it is a state that plays a strong role in the national economy with the aim of promoting push economic development" (UNDP

Ethiopia, 2012). Meanwhile, Barbara Ingham said: "The developmental state is a powerful and well-organized state to achieve its development goals" (Barbara Ingham, 1993). Another view said that: "The developmental state is a state with the capacity to design and implement its development objectives in an imposing and authoritarian manner to create economic growth" (H. Schmiz, 2005).

Thereby, the views emphasize: the developmental state is a state that sets the top priority for economic development. To achieve that goal, the state actively intervenes in the market, through orientation, setting rules, coordinating, allocating resources and using other diverse policy instruments. The characteristic of this model is that the state actively participates in promoting the development of the economy instead of letting the market operate on its own. In the first stage, the state's intervention role is highly regarded by economic theorists, including developmental orientations such as industrialization, export orientation, etc.... and linking agencies of state with businesses to achieve those goals. This is considered a strong version of the developmental state. However, since Japan fell into a decade of loss from the early 1990s and especially since the Asian financial and economic crisis in 1997-1998, the state's active intervention role in the developmental state has been mitigated by economic theorists. Accordingly, the state needs to "mingle" into society to be able to understand society and improve its capacity to serve society and the economy. With the emergence of a strong globalization trend from the beginning of the 21st century, the role intervention of state in the developmental state is further mitigated, focusing on improving the capacity of the state to promote market activities through measures to ensure social order, reduce uncertainty in the economy. Unlike the adjusted state, the developmental state will be proactive, not only to overcome market's failures, but also focus on creating markets with the national vision and taking advantage of the economy and politics of the state. In particular, it focuses on the design of specific guidelines and orientations, and in addition to policies for focusing on resources, creating priority mechanisms in key areas, especially in policies about public - business. For example, Japan focused on the automobile industry in the 1970s, or Malaysia later focused on the electronics industry, India focused on the software industry, etc.

Accordingly, we can understand the general concept of the developmental state: The developmental state is a state management model, in which the state sets up development-oriented institutions, creating an environment and conditions for economic sectors and people to develop mobilizing all potentials in the competitive environment and international integration. It is contemporaneous that, the state strengthens supervision to timely detect and overcome possible imbalances in order to ensure sustainable development.

So, three research questions need to be clarified:

- What are the basic characteristics of the developmental state? How are proactive policies oriented? What did political leaders do to motivate them - in terms of organization, institution, about concentrating resources to break through ... and other specific actions?
- Should Vietnam follow the model of the developmental state? If so, what are the characteristics of Vietnam, similar to the requirements of a developing state, especially the Vietnamese political system with a single ruling party? What are the current difficulties?
- If Vietnam follows, what mechanism and factors should Vietnam improve? This is very important and it will be a consequence of the analysis of the above content.

3. Characteristics of the Developmental State

Although there is a significant difference in how to identify the signs of a developmental state, but in general, there are some of outstanding characteristics:

- Firstly, the state actively orientates the development, actively intervenes and is suitable for the market.

In his studies, Johnson analyzed the specific context of Japan and pointed out some special points in this country (Johnson, C., 1982): This is a country that is industrialized rather late, faces disadvantages because basically, the global market had been divided and dominated by countries that had carried out industrialization before. The following countries will face difficulties due to the barriers that have been set up by the previous countries. If countries conduct industrialization later than in the way that the previous countries have chosen, the chances of success will be minimal. Therefore, countries that conduct late industrialization need to choose a separate direction.

Besides, at that time, nationalism was rising in Japan. This shows that the country had a common and clear desire to promote Japan to develop in parallel, and surpass other ethnic groups. That mentality contributed to the political legitimacy of state's intervention. In theory, it seems that state's intervention in the market goes against the principles of liberalism, emphasizing the role of the market, limiting the state's intervention that was dominating in Western countries at that time. However, with Johnson's view, free markets are not really free, but it has the intervention of political factors, that is the state.

With such an understanding, the developmental state must be established before the state determines development's priorities. The state relies on development's priorities to create the state which is congruous with the view of limited state. One point to emphasize is that, according to Johnson (Johnson, C., 1982): the important thing of the development state is not only focusing on economic development policies, but more importantly, it is the ability to mobilize the sub-national resources to service for that development.

From the arguments presented above, Johnson said that a developmental state needs to meet the following specific conditions (Ngo Huy Duc, 2017):

- In terms of organization: The state administrative apparatus is compact but economical, professional and effective.
- About position and politics: The administrative apparatus is independent, capable and competent, not to be manipulated and influenced by interest groups, and has enough credibility and respect from both on state agencies as well as businesses when it coordinates resources towards breakthrough development priorities.
- About the mode of operation: the state must ensure that economic intervention is not against the fundamental principles of the market.
- Secondly, in the developmental state, political factors are dominant with the role of direction and guidance.

Adrian Leftwich, on the basis of studying many models of developmental state, especially East Asian models, emphasized the role of political factors in ensuring the effectiveness of the developmental state. According to him, in the development state, political factors occupy the leading key position. It is expressed through the following basic characteristics (Leftwich, 2008):

- The state must be under the leadership of an elite cadre, aiming at the development goal, emphasizing economic growth. That team is also capable of leading, influencing and facilitating the development of the private sector. Of course, that team must have a vision and lead the country to achieve that vision.
- It is a state with a team of professional, skilled and neutral civil servants, less affected by different political biases. They often regard politics as a profession and live on it. There is a certain distinction between a team of politicians (elected by the people) with technocrats and professional civil servants (mainly based on examinations according to professional talent).
- This state often appears and develops in a weakly developed political and civil society environment. Because the state's intervention and orientation is quite strong, if a country with a civil society develops there will certainly be conflicts with the state itself.
- In the developmental state, the state has good economic management capacity. The state is also not capable of creating harmony in the economic development process between the public and the private sector, regulating benefits between the two sectors, not standing on one side to protect the interests of only state.
- In order to consistently implement the government's policy of mobilizing resources for development, emphasizing strongly on priorities, the state will also neglect, or put light on, investing in the other fields. Therefore, it can be said that in the developmental state, the state will use its power to impose a certain level on society; and that also means that individual freedoms will not be placed in the same priorities as Western societies.

By observing and studying the actual cases of countries with developmental states in East Asia, Leftwich found that the cases of building the developmental state successfully have regimes that are not really democratic like the Western model. These countries also achieved high achievements in economic development, thus receiving the support of the people (Leftwich, 1995). Here, there seems to be a choice: between individual freedoms and economic development, people tend to choose economic development more. He also made important judgments that the economic development of a country is not entirely dependent on the political regime of that country, but it depends heavily on the nature of the state and the way Political activities go along with that state. In the context of the modern world, a country that wants to thrive, wants to escape poverty and achieve rapid growth, there is no other way to build a developmental state.

- Thirdly, the developmental state is based on a balanced developmental philosophy.

In Western countries, liberalism, people believe in the invisible hand theory, believe in the market's ability to lead by itself. In that state, the state only intervenes at a limited level, mainly to overcome market's failures. Meanwhile, in the institutional political economy, not only emphasizes on the role of state's intervention, but more importantly, the state also actively creates and directly affects the market and can card into the market at a certain level. Chang in the book with the title "Kicking away the ladder – development strategy in historical perspective "has shown paradoxes in the economic development of the world, when rich countries seek to prevent the development of poor countries. Since then, he has formed a system of perspectives aimed at strengthening the model of the developmental state, including differences with the neo-liberal ideology that, according to him, are not true for developing countries. Chang's argument system can be expressed through the following main arguments (Chang, 2002):

In order to develop the national economy, the state must be able to create and regulate economic and political relations so that they together ensure the industrialization process is sustainable - that requires a developmental state. Chang also stated the important functions that the state is capable of carrying out including (Chang, 2002):

- The state is capable of actively coordinating, as well as connecting investment plans within the country it manages.
- Having a national development vision, for long-term goals.
- The state has the ability to initiate in building institutions to promote growth and development.
- The state also plays an important role in harmoniously resolving conflicts of interest between groups and components of different interests in society.

According to him, in developing countries, the state needs to have a bigger role. In order to achieve the goal of development, because of the national vision of creation, the state needs the necessary imposition of its goals for people and society. In addition, the state must maintain the discipline to create and distribute the profits derived from its own monopoly to promote and protect the country's young industries. From an economic perspective, that state's support action is essential to help overcome market's failures (Chang, 2002):

4. The Main Barriers in Building the Developmental State in Vietnam

In Vietnam, the policy of building the developmental state is being promoted from 2016 to now, based on 4 basic contents:

- The state proactively designs a good legal system, good policies, and good institutions to nurture the development of the economic, not passively dealing with actual developments.
- The state does not replace the market, what markets can do, private businesses can do it, the State does not intervene, but it creates conditions for businesses to do. The state will only invest in areas where private enterprises cannot invest.
- The State must establish a favorable business environment, not only to be the leader in the group of ASEAN countries, but also to strive to reach the criteria of OECD countries.
- The state must say in parallel with making and tightening discipline, especially to replace officials who do not meet the work requirements immediately. Need to build e-government, e-commerce and electronic courts.

However, in the process of building the developmental state, there are a number of very large barriers, including: Firstly, Vietnam's legal system is still in the process of construction, not yet completed. The Communist Party of Vietnam has oriented to build a socialist rule-of-law state since 1991. In particular, from the XI Congress of the Party and the 2013 Constitution mentioned and gradually controlled the principle of control between three legislative, executive and judicial powers. The role of Congress is increased. However, the quality of law enactment is still low because the number of specialized National Assembly deputies is small, most of the laws are prepared and submitted by various agencies of the Government. The legal system lacks independence, so it is difficult to prevent abuse of power by state officials. This is reflected in the Rule of Law Index of World Justice Project, whereby Vietnam had a total score of 0.05 (2015), ranking 12/15 countries in the region, and 64 /102 in the world. It is noteworthy that of the eight factors used to evaluate the rule of law, Vietnam had a rather low score in the factor of restraining state power, with a score below average (0.42), in which component points on judicial restriction (0.28) and government activity check (0.38) in Asia's lowest row (World Justice Project, 2015).

Moreover, the judiciary lacks relative independence, leading to inability to control the abuse of the power of state agencies. Controlling the power between legislative, executive and judicial powers, mainly control the legislative and judicial of law enforcement. However, in Vietnam, the judiciary is still dominated by many different power relations, so it is difficult to intercept the abuse of power by state officials. In fact, although the principle of court independence has been officially recognized in the Constitution and many other legal documents, it has not been really respected by all Party and State agencies and compliance. The phenomenon of intervening in judicial and judicial activities is quite common, at many levels, in many forms, making courts and judges in many cases unable to decide the case objectively, impartially, only obeying the law. This is the reason why international independent organizations assess the level of corruption in Vietnam is quite serious and show little signs of improvement in the past 20 years (2006-2016). According to International Transparency, corruption in Vietnam has improved somewhat recently, rising from 26 points to 31 points in the period of 2006-2014, but overall, This indicator shows that the concern about corruption of the people is still great. Vietnam's PCI index has never surpassed the average and Vietnam's ranking is in the bottom of the lowest PCI countries (ranked 119/175 countries) (Dinh Tuan Minh, Pham The Anh, 2017).

- Secondly, the state administrative apparatus has not yet been professionalized and cured. Vietnam is being in the third phase of administrative reform, each period lasts 10 years, started in 1990.

The determination to reform is further strengthened after the XII Party Congress, with the new government determined to build a developmental state's apparatus, motivating individuals and businesses. However, in Vietnam, the use of people still depends heavily on degrees. Thinking about the planning of cadres in Vietnam has some hard points, not yet improved in accordance with the environment, the nature of human development goals, far away from good international practices, easy to encourage groups of benefits early, weakening the sense of commitment because of new ideas,, breakthrough ideas, and encouraging carefulness, excessive self-control ... leading to not fully promoting human potential. Having unclear standards is a basic standard to introduce, nominate, appoint responsible positions, this has not really encouraged Vietnamese people and domestic and international talents in building an administration that base on the essence and talent.

In the 2018 PAPI survey, Controlling corruption in the public sector. The score index of 'Corruption control in the public sector' in 2018 is above the average, with the provincial level ranging from 5.52 to 7.61 (on a scale of 1 to 10). Although, the people shared the view that corruption had decreased in comparing to the previous three years, each level of government has different levels of remission. Nearly 60% of respondents said that corruption at the commune / ward level had been reduced in the last three years, but only 50% of respondents said that corruption at the national level tends to be relieved (CECODES, VFF-CRT, RTA & UNDP; 2019). The PAPI survey results also show that corruption remains one of the top public concerns.

- Thirdly, the state apparatus intervenes without principles and inconsistencies in market activities (both redundant and deficient).

History has proved that the most successful market economies cannot develop spontaneously without the intervention and support of the State. In developed market economies, the State has three distinct economic functions: intervention, management and regulation of welfare. Accordingly, the free market with its meaning cannot exist, except in economic theories. Indeed, in Vietnam there is no denying the State's role in such areas as: macroeconomic stability through fiscal and monetary policies, strengthening national security and defense, and providing public goods, combating environmental pollution, developing education to increase income and improve social welfare, creating a social framework governed by law. State management of the economy has fundamentally transformed into the main management mode by

laws, mechanisms, policies, strategies, planning, plans and economic resources; to maintain macroeconomic stability, create and develop fully and synchronously elements of the market economy.

However, the legal system of Vietnam in market economy management has not been completed. The effectiveness and efficiency of state management on economy are still low, on the one hand, because the State's intervention is not suitable for the movement of the market. On the other hand, the State lacks tools and monitoring and enforcement mechanisms to ensure that participants in market relations comply with the proposed "rules of the game". Planning of the State in many areas is still inadequate, not suitable to reality. In addition, there is mistake between the state and the market. Market economy is mobilized with the participation of three main actors: producers, consumers and the State. But in managing Vietnam's economy today, there is still confusion about the position and role of these three subjects. Many things the State needs to do, but do not do or do not fully. The State still covers many functions that the market is more efficient in (capital allocation, corporate governance) while not paying adequate attention to the functions that the State must complete (building and implementing the framework). State management "administrative - legal framework", providing public goods and services, supporting the development, etc.).

Fourthly, accountability and transparency of state agencies, especially those of local authorities are still weak.

PAPI survey results in 2018 and practical observations may find some problems in implementing due diligence of local authorities in Vietnam are not high today. Specifically, according to the general survey of this issue in a total of 63 provinces, the index of the content of "Accountability to the people" in 2018 is low, with the provincial level only in the range of 4.31 to 5.6 on a scale of 1 to 10 (CECODES, VFF-CRT, RTA & UNDP, 2019). The gap in this content index is very small, showing that the provinces / cities across the country do not have much difference in implementing the due of diligence with the people. The level of interaction between people and authorities is still low. The main forms of explanation of local governments are now basically through newspapers, local stations and electronic information sites. At the grassroots level, mainly through loudspeaker system and message board. But the efficiency of using these facilities is low, the contents of explanation are not abundant and the way of operating without science does not cause attention to the people, even the commune and ward radio systems are still counterproductive. Many agencies and units are applying forms of explanation of information through their website, intranet or electronic devices, but the content is extensive, perfunctory, does not go right into the question of people. Even many explanatory documents also try to complicate with many professional and scientific terms that are difficult to access to the general public. This has led to the explanation of the form of existence, but it does not bring the desired effect of the society.

The index of content 'Publicity and transparency in provincial decision making' in 2018 was still at average level, ranging from 4.55 to 6 points (on a scale of 1-10) (CECODES, VFF-CRT, RTA & UNDP, 2019). This point also shows that there is not much difference in the level of openness and transparency between the province with the highest score and the province with the lowest score. Specifically, the content of new components on access to information is only 0.81 points (on a scale of 0.25 to 2.5), contributing at least to the total score of the content 'openness and transparency'. The content of 'access to information' also shows some issues which need to be thought about. The percentage of people in nationwide search for state's policies and laws is very low, only 14%. Among them, only 12% found the information they needed, and only 12.5% said that the information they received was useful (CECODES, VFF-CRT, RTA & UNDP, 2019).

5. Proposing Some Basic Solutions to Build the Developmental State in Vietnam Today

- Firstly, building a judicial system with specialization and more independent for increasing judicial efficiency, especially with the supremacy of the law.

In the rule of law state, all state agencies must operate within the framework of the Constitution and the law. The problem is that there is a need to check and supervise the compliance with the Constitution and laws of these agencies. In the resolution of the Communist Party of Vietnam, there was a decision on the establishment of a constitutional court to hear acts of violating the Constitution of any state organization. It is one of the manifestations of the Party and State of Vietnam in building the rule of law state. Struggling for the independence principle of the court is also a long war of many states in the world. The principle of an independent court is an important principle in the organization of the state apparatus, which should be stipulated by the Constitution into a constitutional principle. For Vietnam today, perhaps first of all need to revise the judicial concept to suit the countries of the world, then find ways to ensure the principle of independence is implemented in practice. The Procuracy needs to return the function of accusing the executive, or vice versa, if the Procuracy is still in charge of the accused function, the Procuracy must be directly under the executive. The Procuracy should not act as a judge.

Also relating to the above aspect, it is necessary to study and change many legal provisions on organizational structure, operational regulations, relations with other state agencies ... of the court system to minimize intervention, impact, both direct and indirect, by outside entities, thereby ensuring the true independence of the courts. This is a huge and difficult change, as it involves a range of issues including issues that touch the relationship between the party committees and the courts and judges. Even so, change is essential, and the extent and depth of change is directly proportional to the performance of the court system.

- Secondly, increasing the technocrats and professionalism of the state's administrative apparatus.

It is necessary to immediately separate the two functions of the executive apparatus: the function of political executive - formulating policies and designing administrative regulations; public administration functions (licensing; enforcement supervision; dispute resolution). It is necessary to strengthen the due of technocrat son making both policy and public service functions. Especially with the function of building and implementing the policies of developing economy (tax policies, subsidies, subsidies, planning or investment in national key projects). The function of making policies should be assigned to a department with predominantly constituent political officials. They are the people chosen by ministers

and can only serve that minister's term. In the advisory agencies of policy (possibly cases) including those with "payroll" (they are technically proficient people who can help ministers, make an initiative legislative, normative become a draft law or administrative regulation). Public administration functions are performed by professional administrative officials, recruited through recruitment exams and only follow regulations and procedures (absolutely no initiative).

It should be given to the person who has the right to appoint (the Prime Minister, the chairman of the committee) the right to actively select personnel (ministers, directors and judicial officials ...). The Party's committee only needs to monitor through its vote in elected bodies (ratification or non-approval). Judicial titles also instead of self-training and are only provided by internal sources also need to be selected from reputable people in society. For example, judges can be selected in the legal circles, lawyers, celebrities who are integrity and have many career achievements.

- Thirdly, reducing the State's intervention in the market economy.

Facing the shortcomings in the relationship between the State and the current market in Vietnam, the XII Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam affirmed that it is necessary to continue to address the relationship between the State and the market and only When the role of the State - market is clarified, is stipulated by law, by specific functions and tasks, then the relationship between the State and the new market is dialectical, similar and they support each other. This is also one of the main contents of the Central Resolution 5 (XIIth term) on the completion of the socialist-oriented market economy institution. The goal by 2020 "strive to basically complete synchronously the institutional system of socialist-oriented market economy according to popular standards of modern market economy and international integration".

In the socialist-oriented market economy, the State plays a role in orientation, construction and improvement of economic institutions; creating a fair, transparent and healthy competitive environment; using the State's tools, policies and resources to orient and regulate the economy, promote production and business and protect natural resources and the environment; developing cultural and social fields. The market plays a key role in mobilizing and effectively allocating resources, a key driver of liberating productive capacity; State's resources are allocated according to strategies, planning and plans in line with the market mechanism.

- Fourthly, improving the accountability of state's agencies.

To enhance accountability of the State, Vietnam Report 2035 recommends: "The state should be organized in a way that ensures real control and balance between executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The National Assembly must become a professional agency and oversee all activities of the State. Besides, the State should also provide a legal framework to promote citizenship; requiring public agencies to be transparent and create a mechanism for people to effectively interact with the State through increasing accurate and timely access to information and improving the role of mass media agencies" (World Bank, Ministry of Planning and Investment of Vietnam, 2015).

In order to improve the level of accountability of the public sector in Vietnam today, first of all, it is necessary to have regulations requiring state administrative agencies and officials to ensure accountability. That regulation includes: 1) legal framework to ensure accountability; 2) people's requests for accountability. For this, it is necessary to: Complete the law in the direction of promulgating the Law on Access to Information, the Law promulgating administrative decisions and prescribing the accountability of administrative agencies in the administrative decision-making process; revise specialized laws to ensure transparency in the operations of administrative agencies; revise the State Budget Law to clearly define central budgetary powers and local budgets; Government agencies from central and local levels should always innovate, strengthen capacity, work more effectively and transparently; providing better information and services for people, businesses and organizations, creating more favorable conditions for people to exercise democratic rights and participate in state management; Enhancing the participation of social organizations in promoting transparency and accountability; mobilizing the participation of social organizations, communities and the press in promoting public administrations to make public, transparent and accountable.

6. Conclusion

In the past decades and in recent years, it has been the collapse of Soviet imperative and commanded economies and Eastern European countries, the financial crisis of welfare states in most countries, industrial development or the "miraculous" development of the economy in East Asia and Southeast Asia, the emergence of political and social conflicts in some countries ... has led to a demand for every nation and nation, how to build a rational and efficient state, to meet the requirements of sustainable development in terms of economy, society and environment.

The concept of "Developmental state" was developed by Chalmers Johnson when he studied countries that had succeeded in fast industrialization (especially Japan, Korea, etc.) through active orientation of the state. Therefore, the developmental state is fundamentally different from the vision of the classical role of classical liberalism - the state mainly focuses on regulating functions, which we call Regulatory state.

The Vietnamese government in its current term is focusing on building a "developmental government" which is a step in the right direction and has achieved certain results in the past three years. However, with a particular political regime like Vietnam, in the context of the current socio-economic development, to succeed in building a "developmental state" as some countries which had been successful in the second half of the twentieth century, it is also a difficult problem. Therefore, it is necessary to have breakthrough solutions with great political orientation from the ruling subjects to be able to succeed as expected.

7. References

- i. Amsden, A. (1989). *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization*, Oxford University Press.
- ii. Barbara Ingham, (1993). 'The Meaning of Development: Interactions between "New" and "Old" Ideas' in *World Development*, Vol. 21, No. 11 (1993), pp.54-56
- iii. Chang, Ha-Joon (2002). *Kicking away the ladder – development strategy in historical perspective*, London: Anthem Books.
- iv. CECODES, VFF-CRT, RTA & UNDP (2019). *Vietnam Governance and Public Administration Performance Index (PAPI) 2018*, http://papi.org.vn/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/2018PAPIREPORT_VIE_FINAL.pdf
- v. Ngo Huy Duc (2017). "Developmental state - theoretical and practical basis in the world", *Proceedings of workshop on developmental state: theory and practice in the world and in Vietnam*, Faculty of Law, National University Hanoi
- vi. Evans, P. (1995). *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- vii. Johnson, C. (1982). *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- viii. Leftwich, A. (1995). "Bringing politics back in: Towards a model of the developmental state," *Journal of Development Studies*, 31(3), pp.400-427.
- ix. Leftwich, A. (2008). *Developmental states, effective states and poverty reduction: The primacy of politics*. Geneva: UNRISD Project on Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes.
- x. Dinh Tuan Minh, Pham The Anh (2017). *From the Executive State to the developmental state*, Publisher Knowledge
- xi. World Bank and Ministry of Planning and Investment of Vietnam (2015). *Vietnam 2035 overview report towards prosperity, creativity, fairness and democracy*, http://vids.mpi.gov.vn/Includes/NewsDetail/12_2016/dt_11220161029_vn2035vietnamese.pdf, truy cập ngày 1/12/2006.
- xii. H. Schmitz (2005). *State Capacity and Donor Proliferation*. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, p. 6; UNDP Eth
- xiii. UNDP Ethiopia (2012). *Democratization in a Developmental State: The Case of Ethiopia - Issues, Challenges, and Prospects*, http://www.et.undp.org/content/ethiopia/en/home/library/democratic_governance/developmentbrief_democratisationinadevelopmentalstate_democraticgovernance.html
- xiv. Wade, R. (1990). *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*, Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press.
- xv. World Justice Project (2015). *Rule of Law Index 2015*.