

The need of changing attitude towards democracy

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According to the keynote speaker:

The very issue of concern in Vietnam today is the attitude towards democracy. There seem sufficient theories of democracy for social management, not for academic argument; The deficient, in fact, could be consulted or completed almost without any difficulty. There is no lack of lessons learnt from thousands years now, especially from the neighbor countries in the past decades.

Regarding the social rules, the democracy may temporarily cause difficulty for the authorities, and in some particular cases, may become a factor triggering social disorder. But the above mentioned effects only occurred in the political regime that is weak, distorting, or is not able to utilize the democracy. Be able to use democracy with appropriate attitude, the facts of extreme, capriciousness, demagoguery, fanaticism, excess etc. are controlled by democratic mechanism itself. And the red limit of the control is

the Constitution and laws. Be able to use democracy with appropriate attitude, the democracy is not 'a pain in the neck' of the laws, Constitution, and the laws and rules again are not the 'vendetta' or evil genius of the democracy.

It is not absolutivity, it is not a magic wand and there is also a risk, thus the question is just the attitude towards democracy.

Keywords: Democracy, the draft documents of the 12th Communist Party Congress, the Prime Minister

I. Consultation from outside review

1. Democracy in Vietnam through the eyes of external observers, of international sociopolitical organizations, and of scholars has few positive appreciations. The reflection of optimistic improvements of Vietnam's democratic status are not neglected, though. On thoroughly analyzing with inquiring mind, the external assesses can bring many useful lessons and guidelines for Vietnamese managers and democratic practice in Vietnam. One of the

examples is provided hereafter.

According to the Report of Democracy Index compiled and published annually by the Economist Intelligence Unit headquartered in the UK, the democratic trend in Vietnam has been continuously improved since 2006 now.

Globally, there's not many countries that have improvement.

This fact can speak louder than words. Of course, the democratic improvement in Vietnam is different and is hard to

Table 1: Democracy Indexes of some countries 2006-2014

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
USA	8.11	8.11	8.11	8.11	8.18	8.22	8.22
Japan	8.08	8.08	8.08	8.08	8.08	8.25	8.15
South Korea	8.06	8.06	8.13	8.06	8.11	8.01	7.88
Taiwan	7.65	7.57	7.57	7.46	7.52	7.82	7.82
The Philippines	6.77	6.41	6.30	6.12	6.12	6.12	6.48
Singapore	6.03	5.92	5.88	5.89	5.89	5.89	5.89
Thailand	5.39	6.25	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.81	5.67
Cambodia	4.78	4.60	4.96	4.87	4.87	4.87	4.77
Vietnam	3.41	3.29	2.89	2.96	2.94	2.53	2.75
Russia	3.39	3.59	3.74	3.92	4.26	4.48	5.02
China	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.14	3.14	3.04	2.97
Myanmar	3.05	2.76	2.35	1.77	1.77	1.77	1.77
Laos	2.21	2.21	2.32	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10
North Korea	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	0.86	1.03

Source: The Economist & Intelligence Unit (2015), *Democracy Index 2014. Democracy and its discontents*, http://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=Democracy0115. For more information of yearly Democracy Index, measuring method, its indicators... refer to *Social Sciences Information Review*, Vol 10 (370), 2013.

compare with the countries with high ranking state of democracy (among 167 categorized countries, 24 countries are regarded as full democracies).

2. Regarding the Democracy Index of Vietnam and of some other countries in 2014 (according to the Report of Democracy Index published by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 2015: Vietnam was in the same rank with Cameroon, and higher than Russia two ranks, than China 14 ranks, and than Laos 27 ranks; lower than Singapore 55 ranks, than Thailand 37 ranks, and than Cambodia 27 ranks (refers to Table 2).

II. Democracy in the draft documents of the 12th Communist Party Congress

In the draft political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam submitting to the 12th National Party Congress, acknowledged the positive results in many aspects of the state of democracy in the country, the Draft spends the whole chapter (Chapter XIII) in presenting the ideas towards 'Upholding socialist democracy, ensuring the implementation of the people's right of mastery' in the next time (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, 2015).

1. Regarding the weakness of the current democratic system, the Draft judged: The socialist democracy and the strength of the great national unity were not fully utilized; the social rules, the law of the land were not strict enough... The

awareness of the democracy was inadequate among some circles cadres, party's members and citizens. The state of separating or even confronting democracy from laws and rules in democracy formulation and implementation still existed in many places. The people's right of mastery was violated in many places and in many fields of life. In some cases, the implementation of democracy was limited or was formalized; there has been the state of taking advantage of democracy to drive a wedge between the internal unity, affecting the national security, social order and safety. They were the direct remarks on the weaknesses that shouldn't exist any longer if Vietnam wish to realize its aspiration for development.

The reasons for these weaknesses were indicated: The law system, the mechanism, regulation, deployment and conditions for the implementation of democracy and the people's right of mastery weren't adequate and comprehensive. Many of executive committees of Communist Party, state agencies, cadres and Party's member weren't the examples of upholding the democracy in the society.

2. The Draft pointed out the approaches to uphold the democracy and ensure the realization of the people's right of mastery as follows: Continuously upholding the socialist democracy, ensuring all the state powers belonging to the people. All the courses, guidelines of the Party, the policies, laws of the State originate from

the legitimate expectation, right and the benefit of the people with public opinion participation. The democracy should be fully and strictly implemented in all social perspectives of life.

Regarding the specific tasks, the Draft indicated: Implementing human rights, basic rights and obligations of the citizen in the light of Constitution 2013.

Upholding the democracy in the Party is ensured to be the core to dully develop democracy in the society. Properly implementing the Regulations on supervision and social criticism of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations Upholding the democracy should be along with enhancing the rule of law, heightening

Table 2: Democracy Index 2014

Democracy Index 2014	Rank (167 countries)	Overall score (0/10)	Electoral process and pluralism (0/10)	Functioning of government (0/10)	Political participation (0/10)	Political culture (0/10)	Civil liberties (0/10)
Norway	1	9.93	10.00	9.64	10.00	10.00	10.00
Sweden	2	9.73	9.58	9.64	9.44	10.00	10.00
Iceland	3	9.58	10.00	9.29	8.89	10.00	9.71
Canada	7	9.08	9.58	9.29	7.78	8.75	10.00
Australia	9	9.01	9.58	8.93	7.78	8.75	10.00
Germany	13	8.64	9.58	8.57	7.78	8.13	9.12
UK	16	8.31	9.58	7.14	6.67	8.75	9.41
US	19	8.11	9.17	7.50	7.22	8.13	8.53
Japan	20	8.08	9.17	8.21	6.11	7.50	9.41
South Korea	21	8.06	9.17	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.53
France	23	8.04	9.58	7.14	7.78	6.88	8.82
Czech Republic	25	7.94	9.58	7.14	6.67	6.88	9.41
India	27	7.92	9.58	7.14	7.22	6.25	9.41
Italy	29	7.85	9.58	6.43	7.22	7.50	8.53
South Africa	30	7.82	8.33	8.21	7.78	6.25	8.53
Taiwan	35	7.65	9.58	7.50	6.11	5.63	9.41
Singapore	75	6.03	4.33	7.50	5.00	6.25	7.06
Ukraine	92	5.42	5.83	3.93	5.56	5.00	6.76
Thailand	93	5.39	5.33	4.29	5.56	5.00	6.76
Cambodia	103	4.78	4.42	6.43	3.33	5.63	4.12
Belarus	125	3.69	1.75	3.93	3.89	6.25	2.65
Cuba	127	3.52	1.75	4.64	3.89	4.38	2.94
Vietnam =	130	3.41	0.00	3.93	3.89	6.88	2.35
Cameroon =	130	3.41	0.75	3.57	3.89	5.00	3.82
Nga	132	3.39	3.08	2.86	5.00	2.50	3.35
Myanmar	141	3.05	1.92	2.86	2.78	5.63	2.06
China	144	3.00	0.00	4.64	3.89	5.00	1.47
Laos	157	2.21	0.00	3.21	1.67	5.00	1.18
North Korea	167	1.08	0.00	2.50	1.67	1.25	0.00

Source: The Economist & Intelligence Unit (2015), *Democracy Index 2014*.

citizen's responsibility, maintaining discipline, regulation and reinforcing social morality. Criticizing the manifestations of extreme democracy or formal democracy.

We believe that the oriented ideas, the courses of upholding social democracy, the specific tasks mentioned in the Draft that the authorities should carry out are adequate. Successfully follow these guidelines, the democracy will truly play the role of effective mod of manage and regulate the development and also the macro strategy for defending Fatherland and developing the country. The crux of the matter is how do these ideas really come into life.

III. The spirit of the Prime Minister's significant ideas of democracy

Observing the strategic guidelines on social democratic realization, we found that within one year, from 2014 to early 2015, at least the Prime Minister has strongly and officially mentioned the democratic spirit for the development of the country. In *New Year Message 2014*, in the *Conference between Prime Minister and representatives of businesses* dated April 28, 2014, in the *Interview at Koerber Institute* (Berlin) dated October 15, 2014 and in the *Joint session between the Government and the Vietnam Fatherland Front* dated February 12, 2015, it's not by chance that the Prime Minister, among the tensive and fairly serious events, four times in succession has mounted the rostrum and delivered speeches on

democracy expressing the 'hot' and urgent status of the issue. Furthermore, among these speeches of the Prime Minister, only *New Year Message 2014* was in printed text, the others were direct unscripted and synchronous responded to the partners. We believed they were the expressions of indepth mediations and concerns.

1. In the very first day of 2014, the Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng delivered the *New Year Message 2014*. This message denoted major issues of the country and the ways of resolving them. The main ideas on democracy were clearly indicated and stressed in the message: 'Democracy is a inevitable trend in the development process of humankind... Democracy will help bring into full play the creativeness of individuals, remove social stigmas, and strengthen social cohesiveness and the great national unity. Democracy and law-governed state are 'twins' in a modern political institution. In a law-governed state, laws are bible. Law must safeguard justice and legitimacy. Any restrictions on freedom of citizens must be carefully considered and only for the sake of national defence and security, social safety and order and preservation of our cultural, historical and moral values' (Online Newspaper of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2014).

These ideas were positively welcomed, highly appreciated and expected by a large circle of inland citizen and cadres,

overseas Vietnamese, international friends, even those of opposite voicing recently. Notably, printed and official newspapers rarely commented, though. Meanwhile, online newspapers, websites from outside like BBC, RFA, VOA and some other websites of foreign embassies in Hanoi has commented ebulliently. The attitudes from 'social networks' were unconcealed compliments, but mainly greetings with doubt, psychological satisfactions, but concerns of 'winged wording' or demagogical ideas. Without further analysis, these attitudes and states of mind were understandable. Since economic recession began, the opposite opinion broke out, social life faced with difficulties, China stronger hindered in economy and sovereignty, Resolution of the 4th Party Central Committee has been implemented, a certain number of corruptions was brought into light, some significant cases were come up for trial... but the judgements were't strictly deterrent, thus the public belief in the leaders, the State and the Party decreased, the leaders' voices were perceived in a reserved manner with doubt other than belief. It mustn't be the bad since it reflected the democracy level of the country. This is even necessary for the development, indicating the stronger growth of social spiritual life.

2. In April 28th, 2014, in the Conference between Prime Minister and representatives of businesses (later on was called as the Forum between Prime Minister and Businesses) with the

attendance of many ministries, industries, leaders from cities and provinces, 52 domestic associations and 282 enterprises, 5 associations and 46 foreign capital enterprises, 20 state-owned enterprises, and with their complaints and criticisms especially, Prime Minister has expressed his penetration: 'I do apologize. As the Head of the Government, I do apologize to the citizen. We seriously recognized, the administrative procedures have made a long step forward, though there're still obstacles and constraints for the business community. All these are the Government's responsibility (Linh Thu, 2014). On the Conference's conclusion, regarding the macro management for this sector, Prime Minister emphasized: 'Focus on improving market economy institutions; guarantee the right of business freedom, the right of economic democracy, and enterprises freely conduct business in the lines that are not prohibited by law; implement equality, publicity and transparency in conducting business'. Later on, this conclusion was officially published in the Government's Announcement 196/TB-VPCP dated May 12th, 2014 creating significantly impulse within domestic and foreign enterprises (The Government Office, 2014).

It's necessary to note that, on launching the developmental state idea of the Prime Minister in the *New Year Message 2014*, there's a number of doubtful voices raised and in fact, to-date, the economy hasn't attained significant achievements in this track.

However, through specific movements during 2014, dozen of 'outspoken' dialogues with domestic and foreign enterprises and investors were held by the Government, ministries and industries, any suggestion and even severe criticisms on the inappropriate issues, the weaknesses of the system that need to be adjusted were welcome. In 2014, along with receiving and responding reports from functional agencies and associations, from mass media, from discussions with enterprises and the world large corporations in Vietnam and in his foreign business trips, Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng well expressed his attention and determination of resolving urgent issues in production and trade through three main successive dialogues, that were *Conference between Prime Minister and representatives of businesses* in April, 2014, *Mid-Term Vietnam Business Forum* in June, 2014 and *Annual Vietnam Business Forum* in December, 2014. Under this working lines, it can be seen that the ideas of 'The State does not replace people in fulfilling their work but concentrates on building appropriate institutional framework', 'The State creates the conditions for every person to develop their creativeness', 'The State is responsible for building business environment'... were truly implementing expectations, not the theoretically empty wording.

Though these ideas only came into life at some limited extents, we must affirm that were the very first efforts of the Vietnam Government in implementation

of new viewpoint on the function of the State - 'the developmental state'. Yet, with this model, the State's responsibility must be 'guarantee the democratic rights in economic activities'.

3. From 12th to 19th of October, 2014, Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng paid a official and working visit to European Union (EU), some European countries, Vatican and attended the 10th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Italy. A circle of important economic, diplomatic, sovereign, bilateral and multilateral cooperation issues were discussed, concluded and proceeded with agenda. The international media had a series of articles that highly appreciated fruitful outcomes. During the process of attaining to these outcomes, Vietnam's position on democracy, freedom, human rights... that drawn much attentions from EU and the West were directly and openly expressed by the Prime Minister in the interview at Koerber Foundation, Berlin in October 15th, 2014.

The Prime Minister indicated and affirmed: 'We believe that human right, freedom, democracy is an irreversible trend and is an objective demand of the humankind society. Vietnam is not an exception, is not shut out of this trend. Therefore, our constitution, laws and policies all state that democracy and human rights are both the goal and spring board for the growth and development of Vietnam. Today, Vietnam is taking vigorous steps to complete the rule of law state, complete the institution

of market economy in order to promote and protect better the rights of people's democracy and liberty in all areas in terms of politics, economics, socio-culture... Of course, democracy in anywhere must be inline with the law and order, the individual right of democracy and freedom should not violate the right of democracy and freedom of another person. This is prescribed and guaranteed under the Vietnamese law' (Chung Hoàng, H.Phúc, 2014).

4. At the beginning of 2015, in February 12th, in the Joint session between the Government and the Vietnam Fatherland Front, once again, the Prime Minister emphasized 'the promotion of people's right of democracy'. It pointed out the request for public to 'criticize policies and legislation', 'participate in building the Party, authorities and management agencies', 'promote democracy at the grassroots'. The remarkable point in the speech of the Prime Minister at the beginning of 2015 was the idea of social criticism.

Those were Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng's very words in the session: 'In my opinion, there are two main issues. The first is to constructively criticize policies and laws up to the inappropriate points, or propose initiatives. The policies bring benefit to the people so that people themselves should contribute their ideas. Secondly, the right of democracy is to participate in building the Party, authority system and management agencies. Regarding the promotion of

democracy at grassroots, we have already started the work, and during the Congress from bottom up, it should be done better. Building the Party, authority, selecting the outstanding and good personal without evidence of corruption or negative activities for leadership participation' (Thành Chung, Tiến Cường, 2015).

It's a question that the right of democracy in anywhere can't be implemented without criticism. In recent years, the social criticism has become one of the hard-to-express issues. The intellectual and social activist often avoid the matter. We believe that the Prime Minister well recognized this concern and he actively called for the most powerful institution of the country that was the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

At this point, the Prime Minister indicated that the criticizer is not only the assigned person but also the citizen, the public, the whole population. 'Policy is something that brings benefit (or in the bad case causes damage) to the people so that the public should contribute ideas'. The object of criticism was also pointed out by the Prime Minister as 'policies and laws'. The content of criticism is 'something (policies and laws) inappropriate', 'or proposing initiatives' - new initiative makes policies and laws better and more appropriate, more effective. The second major issue was indicated by the Prime Minister: the right of democracy is to

participate in building the Party, authority system. In his opinion, this is not the right of minority, but the right of the people, of the whole population. People should (have the right to) take part in building the Party, authority, selecting the outstanding and good personal without evidence of corruption or negative activities for leadership participation'. Obviously, these are hot, topical and new questions to Vietnam in the area of people's right implementation, of people's right of democracy.

5. The above mentioned ideas were highly appreciated and expected by a large circle of inland citizen and cadres, overseas Vietnamese, international friends, even those of opposite voicing repeatedly^(*). In our opinion, democracy clearly is a great topic scientifically and practically, it's also the hot issue of the country that the head of the Government himself has been concerning. However, todate, this issue nearly isn't being researched and experimented, its wide propaganda in social spiritual life is also not as adequate to its importance.

The reason, in our opinion, could be the fact that after years of world economic recession, the international and regional complicated conditions, the hard socio-economic life so the over-

careful state of mind caused obstacle of the positive researching trend of social sciences, hindered the perceiving renovation spirit from the state leaders.

6. Let's review and summarize the main ideas that the Prime Minister has stated in speaking and writing forms for over last year (refers to the textbox in the next page).

IV. To make democracy become an effective mod of development management

1. The most important achievement of humankind in the XX century, according to the social activists and international scholars affirmation, is the development of democratic regime. If in the XIX century, the question of which country has adequate conditions, whether it is 'fit' for the democracy was often raised, now the democracy becomes the best model that is applicable anywhere. The 24 countries which have the highest Democracy Index in the world are also 24 highly developed countries that have healthy society, strict legislation, harmonized culture in generally^(*).

^(*) 'Regardless of any reasons, the message denotes many vital and urgent issues of the country. The denoted issues, the most essential was pointed out as a target, as a outlet: institutional renovation, upholding the people's right of mastery' (refers to Nguyễn Trung, 2014; Quốc Phương, 2014).

^(*) Norway, Sweden, Iceland, New Zealand, Denmark, Switzerland, Canada, Finland, Australia, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Malta, UK, Uruguay, Mauritius, US, Japan, South Korea, Spain, France, Costa Rica (See: *Democracy Index Report 2014*).

Nowadays, democracy becomes a driving force for the social development; in a certain number of important documents of the Party and the State, Vietnam has recognized this fact. This achievement of human being shouldn't be a luxurious item in any country, whether it is Myanmar or Vietnam. This driving force shouldn't and mustn't be misspent at any level of development, whether GDP per capita is at 1,000 USD like Vietnam or at 10,000 USD like Korea, Singapore.

2. In Vietnam, the question is that, to-date, democracy has never been regarded as an active mod of managing and regulating the development. The lesson of being all ears for the opposite voicing from the traditional village democracy is nearly forgotten. The democratic weapon slipped out of managers' hands unintentionally and can't avoid being made corrupt use. The democracy in many cases is often understood and treated basing on the pre-conceived ideas almost as troublous, disordered factor with opposing conspiracy or hidden opponent. The opposite or reverse ideas, critical opinion, keeping the idea in status quo... are often considered with unwilling attitude and are eliminated at utmost as it can be. The patriarchal behaviour of smallholder appears in any state authority. The social criticism, social assessment, even in necessary case, are often constrained as they can be. The stability, co-agreement, common consent, unity... are often higher, better appreciated than all other

1. Democracy, human right and freedom is an objective and irreversible trend in the developing process of the humankind society. Vietnam is not an exception and Vietnam recognized this trend.
2. The Vietnam Constitution 2013, legislation policy system pointed out legal supreme justifications to secure the implementation of this trend. Vietnam regards the democracy and human right are both the goal and the spring board of the development.
3. Democracy and law-governed state are 'twins' in a modern political institution. The rule-of-law state is recognized as law abiding. Any restrictions on freedom of citizens must be carefully considered and only for the sake of national defence.
4. The right of democracy is the right of the people. People are responsible for criticizing policies and laws, or even building the Party. Democracy will help bring into full play the creativeness of individuals, remove social stigmas, and strengthen social cohesiveness.
5. *The developmental state* is responsible for guaranteeing the right of economic democracy. Vietnam has been taking vigorous steps to complete the rule of law state, focusing on improving market economy institution; guarantee the right of business freedom, the right of economic democracy. Enterprises freely conduct business in the lines that are not prohibited by law.
6. Democracy in Vietnam and in anywhere must be inline with the law and order. The individual right of democracy and freedom should not violate the right of democracy and freedom of another person. This is prescribed and guaranteed under the Vietnamese law.

orders consisting of doubtful, different factors. For the temporary benefit and maybe the sluggishness of Confucianism, many managers forget the fact that co-agreement, stability, common consent, extreme unity can annul the social dynamic.

We want to express that the Party, the State, the macro managers should grasp democratic weapon; learn to utilize democratic culture, and use democracy as social managing and regulating mod. For a long time, we have ever listened and discussed on grasping democratic weapon, but in some cases aiming at constraining and obstructing democracy. It is thought to be good, but it turns out to be bad in long term and at macro level.

In the area of policy criticism, social assessment, in fact, we still have no legal mechanism to realize this function. Regarding expertise opinion, in recent years, the Vietnam Fatherland Front and professional associations have contributed ideas in the criticizing and assessing a certain number of policies, guidelines, some socio-economic projects and some management procedures. However, these activities were mainly taken within the framework of ordering, of offering with specific nature, non-popular and non-essential... This directly limit the democratic mechanism, thus it can't avoid misspending, lossing to the society in terms of maximizing social processes or preventing mercenary motive from interest groups.

Empirically, there has hardly been an optimized or truly effective social policy

without criticism or professional assessment. Towards an ordinary Vietnamese social development, there's a lot to do in legalizing the democratic and public criticism process. Usually, by some manners or other, democracy must be voiced in such work as a policy-making or a socioeconomic project. Without 'correct cause and strong words', the democratic voicing is just less responsible or more mealy-mouthed. The experience from full-democracy countries is worth keeping in mind.

Without active utilizing democracy as a mod of social management, the tortuous manner evading the issue may make the social problem more acute or we even must pay for 'extinguishing' such problems that should have been settled easily.

3. Democracy, freedom in the present are effective, economized and unique manner for the societies to achieve advancement while hindering the mistakes, breakdowns, social disasters. Today, the lack of democracy is an ideal condition for interest groups to take control, for international animosity to ally, for depression to seduce...

Without basing on the democratic mechanism, there is no law, no morality or no means that can effectively hinder the control of interest groups, what directly affects the course of Fatherland protection and the country development. There's only manner of both humanism and sustainability that is to adapt and coexist with freedom, democracy. Of course, this is not easy but we must

implement and can't ignore. In long term, surely, this is not a dark roadmap or cul-de-sac, but the appropriate way leading to social advancement, what is called the objective trend by the Prime Minister.

4. Today, if there's no democracy, there's no development either. In more exact words, if the democracy is distorted, inadequate, unsystematic, the development shall not attain the expectation and be under the potential. Thus, it shouldn't be thought that let the socio-economy attains a certain level and the society shall 'automatically' be democratic, or let the democracy derive in line with the socioeconomic advancement. For the countries-followers with low GDP per capita and intellectual level of the people is not high like Vietnam^(*) the democracy plays a more important role and meaningful to the development. This is a very essential remark for both people and the Government, especially for intellectual circle and social activists. At this low development level, the democracy, as Przeworski indicated, has a significant impact on the society, this impact is much stronger than in a society at higher development level. It's wasteful or even foolish if democracy weapon is not

utilized to manage and regulate the development of the social life.

5. Obviously, democracy, liberty may temporarily cause difficulty in rulling power, managing or even may be a factor leading to social chaos. In spite of this fact, we can't choose the non-democratic or dictatorial methods to manage the society. Coercion, suppression or repression even with the trully proper reasons are temporary methods to treat enemy but the non-enemy object. Furthermore, if the social rules and order, the law of the land... are well awared, they'll not be a constraint for freedom, democracy.

Of course, with the characteristic of managing method, democracy has many limitations itself, this is ineluctable. However, most of the democracy's limitations are unavoidable or must be accepted in a managing method at the best level today that can be chosen by UN members. At present, together with 162 UN members, Vietnam concludes on voluntary basis and commits to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) under the International Bill of Human Rights (IBHR) including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

They're not the strict documents, but the recognition and implementing commitment are not easy to become a deceiving

^(*) It is both true and false when the intellectual level of people in Vietnam is considered to be not high. Because in the UNDP 2014 Human Development Report, the Vietnam's literacy rates were at 93.4%; the population in schooling age is very large (See: *Human Development Report 2014*).

tool in the international arena. Because, in a deep thought, the leaders of the nations all recognized the rationality of the international institutions that they had joined. It's not the constraints, in fact, the more democratic the society is, the more conditions it has for a more appropriate level, more humanitarian and sustainable development.

6. With the characteristic of managing method, democracy has to be assured and implemented under the following main principles:

- All state powers are ensured to belong to the people. The people grant powers to the state and its civil authorities to implement their powers. *There's no power out of the people's grant.* All the courses, guidelines of the Party, the policies, laws of our State must originate from the legitimate expectation, right and the benefit of the people.
- There're people's direct or indirect participation, it's not necessary to be direct participation, especially in the case of the state secrets or security.
- The democracy should be fully and strictly implemented in all social perspectives of life. There's no restricted zone in democracy's implementation. There's no perspective of life that is allowed to violate the democratic regime or the democratic spirit.

In the frame of these principles, to ensure that democracy is the trully managing and regulating method for the

development, the key items must be conducted, including but not limited to:

- Implementing human rights, basic rights and obligations of the citizen in the light of Constitution 2013. It means implementing the commits of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Upholding the democracy in the Party is ensured to be the core to dully develop democracy in the society.
- Properly implementing the Regulations on supervision and social criticism of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations.
- Upholding the democracy should be along with enhancing the rule of law, heightening citizen's responsibility, maintaining discipline, regulation and reinforcing social morality.
- Criticizing the manifestations of extreme democracy or formal democracy.

The above mentioned key principles and items are the very meaningful ideas for strategic orientation and guidelines for democratic implementation that have been developed in the draft political report of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam submitting to the 12th National Party Congress.

The strict and effective implementation of these principles and items makes democracy in Vietnam attaining a higher level. Together with it, the socio-economic development can attain more optimal level serving as firm conditions

for the national sovereignty to be stronger protected.

V. Conclusion

The very issue of concern in Vietnam today is the attitude towards democracy. There seem sufficient theories of democracy for social management, not for academic argument; The deficient, in fact, could be consulted or completed almost without any difficulty. There is no lack of lessons learnt from thousands years now, especially from the neighbor countries in the past decades. The reality of democratic issue in Vietnam has acquired full of wise recommendations through history, from history of success or unsuccess of ancient royal dynasties to the modern ruling regime.

The appropriate attitude, updated, lucid, non-extreme, non-capricious mind towards democracy mean being able to utilize democracy as an effective method for managing and regulating society can lead to potential release, dynamism triggering, liberty and creativeness promotion and civil dedication.

Be able to utilize democracy with appropriate attitude, in principle, the democratic mechanism shall be formulated and the democratic culture shall gradually getting perfected. In turn, the democratic mechanism will contribute to the social development and the democratic culture will contribute to make the society more healthier.

Again, in principle, the democratic mechanism and the democratic culture can regulate, monitor and constrain the

interests, control the responsibility implementation, even the function of the Government.

Regarding the social rules, the democracy may temporarily cause difficulty for the authorities, and in some particular cases, may become a factor triggering social disorder. But the above mentioned effects only occurred in the political regime that is weak, distorting, or is not able to utilize the democracy. Be able to use democracy with appropriate attitude, the facts of extreme, capriciousness, demagoguery, fanaticism, excess etc. are controlled by democratic mechanism itself. And the red limit of the control is the Constitution and laws.

Be able to use democracy with appropriate attitude, the democracy is not 'a pain in the neck' of the laws, Constitution, and the laws and rules again are not the 'vendetta' or evil genius of the democracy. The democratic mechanism and the democratic culture are not kinder or more humanitarian than laws or legal culture. They are the other side, the expression of the legal culture.

It's not absolutivity, it's not a magic wand and there is also a risk, thus the question is just the attitude towards democracy □

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