

COMPARISON OF VIETNAM AND CHINA DEMOCRATIZATION

(THE EFFECT OF DOI-MOI VIETNAM 1987 AND THE CHINA ECONOMIC REFORM OF 1978)

Dongyen Hua
Fudan University, China
dongyenhua@gmail.com

Abstract

Vietnam and China is a reality of two authoritarian states under Communism regime. As pesimistic view, both of them judge can not consolidating democracy. But the economic growth growing fastly as the result of Doi Moi policy by Vietnam in 1987 and China's economic reformation in 1978, are the positive signal for democracy. Communist Party (VCP and CCP) challenged to defending their legitimacy by take pragmatism way to changes their economic direction and release from the Communist orthodoxy. Economic reformation is a legitimacy transmutation based on the performance that come from ideology. The indicator of non-institutional democracy focus on the income distribution, and the legitimacy of Communist Party used as comparative tool of democracy in China and Vietnam.

Keywords : democratization, economic reformation, indicator of non-institutional democracy, income distribution, party's legitimization

A. INTRODUCTION

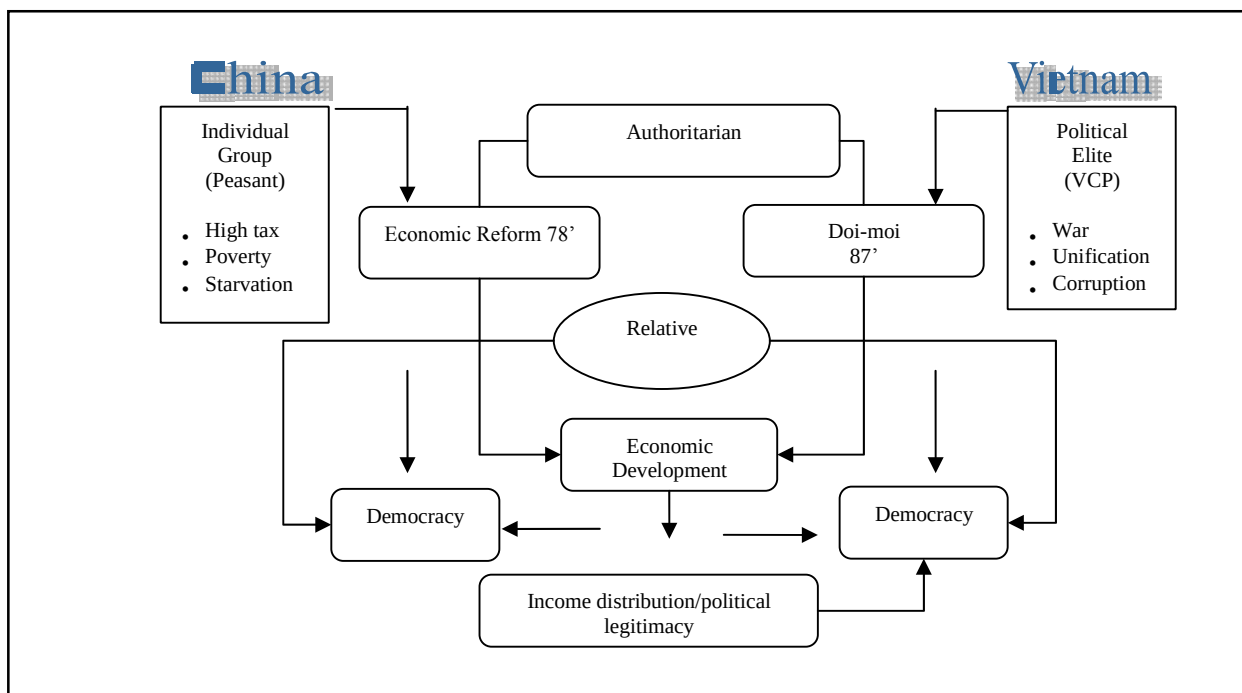
Overview Democratization of Vietnam and China In international view, Vietnam and China are considered as authoritarian countries. The equality of the two countries is not only as a country led by an authoritarian communist regime, but both of them also experienced an astonishing explosion of economic growth after going through the reform process by liberalizing its economy. Vietnam started in 1987, known as the Doi-Moi initiation, while China reformed earlier in 1978. Although Vietnam's economic growth was not as high as China's economic boom, both recorded a consistent increase in economic growth. Both Vietnam and China emerged as economically advanced communist countries.

The difference seen is in the process and technical strategies of economic policy, and the direction of policies that are increasingly democratic which is more evident in Vietnam when compared to China. The reform process that took place in Vietnam was relatively faster when compared to China. In brief, the process of economic reform can be described in the form of Big Bang versus Gradual. The Vietnamese government is relatively more responsive to economic conditions and realizes the importance of reform. Only a few months ago was initiated Doi-Moi was then applied as a new Vietnamese economic policy in 1987. While China's reforms were carried out very carefully and gradually, it began in 1978 and two years later was just ratified as a form of state economic policy under the leadership of Deng Xiao Ping in 1980. Technically, there is also a difference between initiative actors. Vietnam's Doi-moi was initiated by the political elite, VCP (Vietnam Communist Party), while the Chinese reforms were carried out by groups of farmers. Vietnam's Doi-Moi policy is a decision resulting from domestic considerations and comparison with the surrounding environment. First, domestic considerations are based on elite views of foreign policy that were previously not very effective and provide benefits to the domestic economy which is a measure of the success of the State⁶. Secondly, the domestic economic conditions compared to neighboring countries in Southeast Asia that experienced prosperity made Vietnam begin to feel left behind.

Although the party elite is unlikely to change the communist ideology, the domestic reality requires the party elite to take pragmatic actions by using a system that is deemed most suitable for the emergence of economic development innovations and and increasing public output, which is nothing but a system of capitalism. Doi moi as an economic improvement agenda succeeded in realizing its goal by showing a significant growth rate, and an even distribution of income when compared to China.

China's economic reforms in 1978 resulted in high economic growth, but the process that took place during the Chinese economic reforms was different from what happened in Vietnam. China's economic development stimulus strategy which was originally focused on developing rural areas experienced a gradual change in 1984, changes in economic development strategies very carefully directed China towards a Market-oriented economy and focused on specific urban areas. Economic reforms with a limited economic development strategy created areas of economic zones that were exclusively infested with foreign capital and technology. This then results in high economic disparity between urban and rural communities with very limited opportunities for development. The further impact is the unequal distribution of income and leads to a contrasting life gap between rural and urban communities.

In brief, how the influence of the policies initiated by Vietnam and China on economic development and further lead them to democratization is seen in the following flow:



In the context of authoritarianism, political legitimacy is a problematic issue. Claims on the legitimacy of a regime are largely determined by popular agreement. The typical popular consensus at the institutional or institutional level of the State can be found and expressed in free and fair elections. Vietnam and China do not apply free and fair elections as indicators of western-style democracy but do not have issues related to legitimacy. Therefore we need other indicators to fill this gap. The indicator

of democracy used in the authoritarian model in this paper will raise the concept of John Dewey's democracy which emphasizes non-institutionalist factors to identify democracy in a country. Democracy is defined as a political system that emphasizes institutionalist requirements in which the government as part of politics is elected through adult suffrage. But in the case of Vietnam and China, fair elections are not an absolute prerequisite for measuring democracy. The democratic process in anomalous phenomena such as China and Vietnam is more measurable by looking at non-institutionalist indicators. The concept of democracy according to John Dewey who applies several of his criteria can be used as an example. The factors in the concept of democracy are then simplified to become indicators of the distribution of income distribution and political legitimacy. In the context of authoritarianism, political legitimacy is a problematic issue. Claims on the legitimacy of a regime are largely determined by popular agreement. The typical popular consensus at the institutional or institutional level of the State can be found and expressed in free and fair elections. Vietnam and China do not apply free and fair elections as indicators of western-style democracy but do not have problems related to legitimacy. Therefore we need other indicators to fill this gap. The indicator of democracy used in the authoritarian model in this paper will raise the concept of John Dewey's democracy which emphasizes non-institutionalist factors to identify democracy in a country. Democracy is defined as a political system that emphasizes institutionalist requirements in which government as part of politics is elected through adult suffrage. But in the case of Vietnam and China, fair elections are not an absolute prerequisite for measuring democracy. The democratic process in anomalous phenomena such as China and Vietnam is more measurable by looking at non-institutionalist indicators. The concept of democracy according to John Dewey, who applies several of his criteria, can be used as an example. The factors in the concept of democracy are then simplified to become indicators of equitable distribution of income and political legitimacy.

Equitable distribution of income is one of the keys to increasing economic prosperity that guarantees the process of democratization. The link between democracy and the welfare of society through a market economy is closely interrelated. According to Amartya Sen, the development of improving people's welfare is a barometer of the ongoing process of democracy. The democratic process cannot be said to be running well if it cannot raise the level of welfare. At least for Vietnam and China the welfare of the people through economic policy is not aimed at the democratic process but rather the aim is more pragmatic to maintain and even increase the political legitimacy of the communist party. There are at least two interrelated dimensions in legitimacy, how a regime justifies its power and how the regime exercises power based on the legitimacy of its people. Legitimacy is an

acknowledgment of the right to rule of a regime. In the case of Vietnam and China the legitimacy obtained is based on performance and ideology.

For authoritarian regimes, sources of legitimacy are usually obtained from the results of policies made (performance based). When the policy products that are made can be felt equally by all the people, it is not difficult to get legitimacy. Authoritarian regimes that are able to provide things that are needed by the community such as economic growth and welfare, will automatically gain legitimacy, automatic recognition of power (no matter what model or method) that is carried out based on the results of the policy as long as the community gets prosperity then the government can easily gain political legitimacy. Increasing economic growth further strengthens the legitimacy of the authoritarian regime's position, this theoretically can be assumed to distance the two countries from democratization, but if analyzed more deeply by identifying the background of economic growth in this paper we can find the possibility of a democratization process.

Research on the relationship between political regimes and economic development has previously been carried out by Adam Pzeworski with the title Democracy And Economic Development. In the study of Democracy and Civil Society, there are at least two basic assumptions related to economic development towards democracy, developed by Adam Pzeworski:

1. economic development can lead a country to a more democratic condition (economic development does lead to democracy)
2. economic development does not lead a country to a more democratic condition (economic development does not lead to democracy)

The first assumption, economic development leads to the democracy of the implementation of economic activities allows for new roles that serve as a starting point for changing the conditions of a country towards a more modern direction. This is indicated by the increasingly Civilized society, seen from the emergence of awareness from each individual various classes in showing, representing and articulating their interests. The democratic process that appears briefly can be illustrated by the many demands that arise as new classes emerge, and more democratic procedures are needed to accommodate these demands.

The second assumption, economic development does not lead to democracy is illustrated in a situation where capitalism plays the most powerful role, until it becomes a major consideration for the state in making policy, as indicated by the term Ersatz Capitalism or pseudo capitalism, for example capitalism based on state privilege or capitalism which is stronger because it has been given more freedom by

the state. It is not impossible in the worst conditions of capitalism to be able to become a single ruler, and the negative impacts that then emerge such as monopoly, unfair competition becomes a form of deviation from democratic values.

In identifying Vietnam's position with its democratic process when compared to China, it seems relatively more democratic when using economic and political indicators in comparison. The distribution of income as well as political legitimacy is a benchmark in seeing how positively the consolidation of democracy works in the two countries. How is the process of democratic consolidation that occurred in Vietnam and China, seen from the dynamics of both domestic politics and the economy.

Doi-Moi and Vietnamese political dynamics

Pre-Doi-Moi Domestic and Political Economic Conditions of Vietnam. The Communist Party in the Vietnamese government plays a very important role. The importance of the VCP's position is reflected in the government system that implements Triumvirate, the power held by three leadership features namely the VCP general secretary, the President as head of State, and the Prime Minister. Coordination between the three powers is basically controlled by the VCP as its center.

The VCP issued a land reform policy by collecting entire land. This policy did not work successfully and had a negative impact on the legitimacy of party leadership. The problem that arises from the agricultural collectivization policy is the division of land to farmers is basically intended to meet the needs of the state rather than meeting the needs of farmers. This has an effect on the decreasing productivity of farmers, because no matter how hard they work working on agricultural land, but can not enjoy the results to the maximum because of the obligation to meet the country's needs quota. Declining productivity, stagnating the country's economic growth.

Weak economic conditions due to decreased productivity are a threat to the legitimacy of the communist party and the ideology of socialism that is carried. Governments under the Communist regime are challenged to maintain power by transforming the source of legitimacy that was originally an ideology into a source of legitimacy based on performance (economy)

Demands for economic reform

After the Vietnam war ended in 1975, the reunification of North and South Vietnam was successful. But this unification was not followed by real success in the

economic field. Deteriorating economic conditions forced the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) to make changes aimed at improving people's welfare. New generation party elites tend to think more pragmatically in viewing the international world and its impact on the domestic situation. In line with the development of this new thinking at the sixth party congress in 1986, the general secretary of the communist party Truong Chinh delivered an agenda of economic improvement which came to be known as Doi-moi.

The Doi-Moi Agenda itself is subject to debate before it is ratified as a national policy. The constellation of debates takes place within the party internally but does not produce conflict which results in divisions within the party. The party elite debate revolves around the positive and negative impacts of Doi-Moi on society related to a centralized planning system and large-scale agricultural production. The main priority to be resolved is the identification of problems caused by conservative bureaucracy, and the overly rigid orthodox model of socialism that was previously applied to the source of economic development problems which also impact on the declining level of public trust in the government, and this endangers the legitimacy of the government under the socialist regime. At the end of the debate, it was agreed that renewal was still needed as an effort to strengthen socialism in Vietnam.

Doi moi which in Vietnamese means renovation, was initiated by the communist party. This agenda then allowed foreign private corporations to participate in managing the agricultural industry which was originally under the authority of the Communist Party

Doi-Moi Transition

The Doi-Moi transition period occurred in 1986-1990, this period was considered critical because at that time the change process occurred in a number of crucial policies significantly but with technical planning related to incomplete policy mechanisms. 1986 was the beginning of the implementation of one of the focuses of decentralized planned macroeconomic policies. In 1987-1989, micro-economic changes were introduced, policy reforms were accelerated to smooth the initial macroeconomic policies and stimulate the rise of businesses managed by small communities.

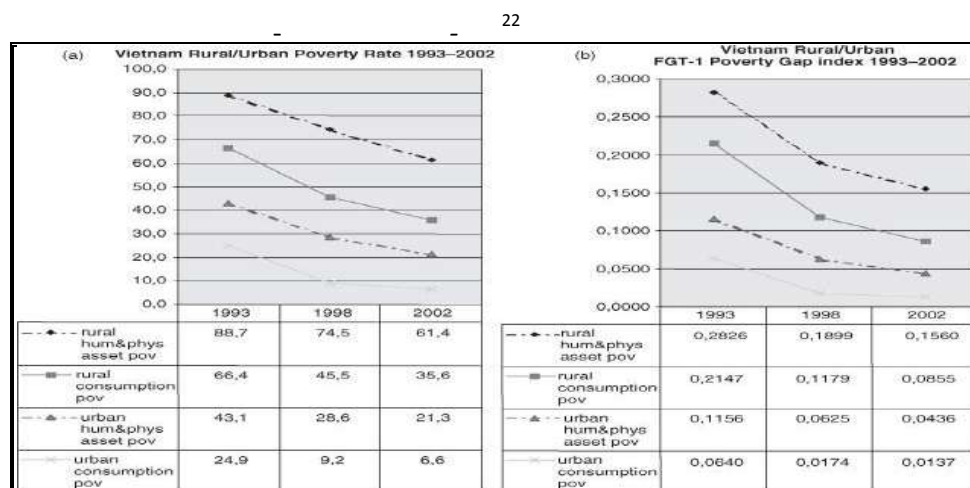
Doi-moi during the transition period is still weak, especially in its mechanism. There is no time limit in the overall planning and implementation of the Doi-Moi policy, all of which proceed without a five-year plan like the general economic plan of the country. Vietnam's policies without planning can be said to be haphazard and risky. Doi-Moi is carried out without other alternative policies if it fails in its

realization. But on the other hand these actions can also be said to be very brave in a positive sense, because the reform policy can be considered a colossal experiment for Vietnam. Although the risks faced are enormous, it is quite satisfying to see the results obtained after the reform.

Post-Doi-Moi Vietnam

The results of economic development planning are marked by increasing GDP of Vietnam. 2001 was an important year, as the initial year of the five-year plan and social development strategy 10. Based on the results of the five-year socio-economic plan, the 1995-2000 five-year strategy showed economic improvement.

Economic growth that occurs in a linear fashion with the level of people's welfare, this can be known by using the parameter Human Development Index (HDI).



the income of each region is based on the strategy of each region to manage existing economic resources. The gap problem cannot be avoided but how small the gap gap between urban and rural in a country can be minimized based on the economic policies made. Doi-moi with decentralization is able to be optimized by urban and rural areas

These positive results show how Doi-Moi, especially the decentralization policy, provided space for the community to participate in economic participation, as well as increased channels for aspirations and advocacy of public issues by increasing the number of NGOs and voluntary associations. towards democracy.

Post-doi-moi there was a significant influence on VCP. The 1992 Vietnam Constitution was amended in 2001 known as Decree 44/2001 / ND-CP (2/8/01) which

placed the VCP in a subordinate position. Amendments that reduce the role of the VCP and give more authority to the prime minister and national assembly.

The 2001 constitutional amendment that reduced the role of the communist party in government was a strategy of adjusting Vietnam's economic reforms which one of the points was to empower decentralization, therefore centralized bureaucratic institutions such as the communist party were one of the targets of change that were executed so that the objectives of the doi-moi were not impeded.

Economic Reform and Chinese Political Dynamics

Domestic economic and political picture

China in the pre-reform era put the country as the main actor in economic development²⁶. In 1949 the Chinese socialist government implemented a heavy industrial development strategy known as the Big Push strategy. Where industrialization is a top priority. The government controls a large part of the economic sector by diverting economic resources by building new industrial plants. A series of five-year development plans were issued and implemented on an ongoing basis by the government. During the initial period before the reform, the policies carried out by the government instead of bringing benefits and economic development, what happened was the economic conditions of the people who were getting worse, and famine suffered in most rural areas. Government policies such as agricultural collectivization and a great leap forward project announced in 1958, by directing communal forces (farmers) to move to cities, impacted the neglect of the agricultural sector and many villages were starving. Hunger makes the number of people migrating to the city increase. The government responded to the problem by deporting most rural migrants and applying the hukou system. applying an internal passport mechanism in the form of a family card designed to regulate the flow of migration from villages to cities. A family card that must be owned by every citizen not only functions as a travel document but also as a requirement for obtaining government logistics and subsidies.

At the end of 1960 China was trapped in an economic and humanitarian disaster and Mao Ze Dong's strategy was deemed a failure. These problems then impacted on economic performance, towards the end of the Mao era. Deng Xiaoping then took the lead, he considered all the economic difficulties caused by the wrong policies adopted by Mao

In 1961 China began to change policies that were far from the original focus on heavy industry and urbanization. Farmers' rights to own land are restored, the private

sector is reopened, greater freedom is given to the production sector, and industrial investment is reduced. This is what marked the beginning of economic reform in China.

There is debate over the process of China's economic reform related to actors and the roles and motives of the initiation of economic reform. Some sources state that the reform was initiated by the communist party under the leadership of Capitalist Roder or Revisionist (Deng Xiaoping) who did not approve of Mao's idea of directing China to the development of heavy industry, by returning the focus of development to the agricultural sector. The ideas of the party elite then led China to relatively more advanced economic growth. So that reform is considered as a result of decisions that come from the party. But some other sources see that economic reforms are the result of movements coming from below, where the market economy in China was in fact started by farmers.

Economic reform in 1978 was basically an idea that first emerged and was moved by a group of farmers in the village of Xiaogang, Anhui province, which experienced continuous hunger as well as villages in the interior of China. Collective agriculture at that time was obliged to pay the rice tax. The farmers are committed to continue paying their tax obligations, but after the obligations are fulfilled they can sell or exchange any excess agricultural produce. The results will be theirs to save.

Its influence occurs relatively quickly in a matter of months, the results achieved by these groups of farmers are able to increase domestic income, when compared with the central government's plan. The movement was later known to the central government, Deng Xiaoping then saw the benefits of the freedom of farmers to sell their crops and ultimately supported similar agreements, by calling the agreement a system of household contracts (Household Responsibility System).

In 1980 China tried to unify the reforms of the central plan with market orientation to increase productivity, living standards and the quality of technology without worsening inflation, the unemployment rate, and. Agricultural reform began with the increase in prices of agricultural products, and in the late 1980s the official government dissolved the collective policy of agricultural land and gave individuals rights to land ownership as well as other private sectors.

In addition to the economic sector, the reforms have influenced China domestic politics. The momentum of 1978 was marked by a political agenda competition. According to D.J Solinger during the reform period there were three groups of political elites in the party that emerged with different political agendas. The three groups are conservative groups who are pro-Mao's ideas and policies that focus on China-based industrial development, reformist groups³⁵ that are not in line with

Mao's policies that focus on China-based agricultural development and market orientation, and adjuster groups in the middle, who try to bridge both ideas by combining the two policy models.

The conservative group represented by prime minister Hua Guofeng who presented a draft of the ten-year development plan by refocusing on the development of heavy industry, but was not realized because it was criticized by reformist groups who saw failure based on historical experience during the Great Leap Forward initiated by the Great Leap Forward Mao. The reformist group was represented by Deng Xiaoping who showed a policy model that focused on agriculture and emphasized market-oriented modernization. The adjuster group, represented by Zhao Ziyang, the Chinese prime minister in 1981 presented proposals aimed at solving the problem of inflation, including increasing production, relying on State Enterprise (SOE), and reorienting the merger of State Enterprise with heavy industry output

37

	Speed	Light vs Heavy Industry focus	Central Planning	Time to Implement Change	Concern with Deficits and Inflation	Support Foreign Trade	Regulation of Economy
Reformers	Slow*	Light*	No	Now	No*	Yes	Economic
Adjusters	Slow*	Light*	Yes*	Later*	Yes*	No*	Administrative*
Conservers	High	Heavy	Yes	Later*	Yes & No	No*	Administrative*

*Answer lies somewhere in middle - the group leans both ways

the reform process during the third plenum, breaking ccp into three forces, was not only limited to pro or anti-Mao policies as experienced after the great leap forward but now developed into conservative, reformist and adjuster groups. The economic policies made by one group did not have the support of the other groups, because each had a different perspective on seeing the best way to lead China. From the reformists represented by Deng Xiaoping in favor of market reforms and decentralization, while the conservatives led by Hua Guafeng believe in centralization and focus on industry, and adjuster positions in the middle, trying to find a way out by taking some of the conservative and reformist ideas and combined into a new policy model. The policy that ultimately won the Chinese Communist Party's elite battle was a policy carried out by reformist groups that directed China's market-based economic sector, with a model of administrative, fiscal and industrialized decentralization.

China Post Economic Reform

After the reformation of China experienced a rapid economic improvement. But the problems that arose after the reforms were the decentralized system that was implemented as well as the setting up of special economic zones that led China to economic inequality between the coast and the interior. Decentralization weakens farmers in rural areas who are encouraged to reform. The government allowed each region to take responsibility after the reform. The results of the central government policy to encourage farmers to expand the area of economic activity in the non-agricultural sector without monitoring the transition process, impacting the failure of economic development in rural areas, so that people who want to increase their income will choose to move to urban areas that are economically advanced.

post-reform dynamics are also seen in the political arena. The communist party, which is dominated by more moderate party elites, consisting of reformers and adjusters, faces a new problem related to the issue of political reform. Political confrontation does not only occur within the communist party. From outside the party, demands for democratization and criticism of the party emerged. The confrontation peaked in 1989 when thousands of students rallied with a hunger strike on Tiananmen Square and led to the massacre carried out by the PLA (people liberation army) over the command of the communist party.

To avoid similar demands, which were considered to weaken the position of the communist party in the future, a pre-emptive attack strategy was made. The spirit of nationalism is constructed by positioning the young generation as its target. The communist party uses domestic methods of control over information access, lines of education by manipulating the nation's history and emphasizing the hard work of the communist party as a dominant factor in the nation's success. The role of the communist party was raised as a major actor in China's success. Thus the CCP's legitimacy as an authority Remains.

Comparison of Vietnamese and Chinese Democratic Processes

As explained earlier, Vietnam and China are countries under authoritarian regimes that face economic problems and then carry out reforms. Reform allows for the Openness and freedom of individuals to participate in the economy. And this opens up opportunities for access to participation in a wider domain. Vietnam and China are basically the reality of the case of Authoritarian Capitalism, where countries with authoritarian regimes apply a capitalism system based on free markets as the basis of economic policy. Capitalism which is associated with democracy emphasizes

freedom (freedom) is felt contrary to the authoritarian regime which controls all aspects of the lives of its people under absolute power.

Economic reforms that occurred in Vietnam and China led both to reform demands in other sectors such as bureaucratic reform. Demands such as freedom of association are also further demands for reform, in other words demands for democracy are the effects of economic reform.

Authoritarian regimes in this case Vietnam and China are doubtful able to co-exist with democracy for several reasons such as the unavailability of space for people to actualize political aspirations as reflected in free and fair elections. Elections that involve the community are considered as an absolute requirement to obtain democracy. as long as democracy is accepted as a concept that has international legitimacy regarding the best form of government, then non-democratic countries whose form of government is authoritarian, internationally get an agreement placed outside the category of civilized nations.

Roughly speaking, democracy and authoritarianism are classified in two different classes with antagonistic positions. But the placement of authoritarian and democratic concepts in the civilized category is very dependent on defining legitimacy, who and how legitimacy is. If the authoritarian regime gets legitimacy from its people, then basically the regime is not included in the uncivilized group or outside the civilized group, because the legitimacy obtained by the regime cannot be concluded involving the community. With the involvement of the community, the value of democracy can be reflected.

Countries under the authoritarian regime have their own way of obtaining the legitimacy of their people. Indicators of institutional democracy that emphasize general elections cannot be used as a benchmark in determining the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes such as Vietnam and China because the nature of the two countries applies a single party system in governance. The regime which rules in the case of Vietnam and China is a Communist Party that does not have competitors to challenge them

Legitimacy based on ideology in practice does not last long in the case of Vietnam and China. VCP legitimacy was weakened during the North-South reunification which was characterized by devastated domestic economic conditions, despite winning the war against the United States, economic losses created new problems that weakened the party's position such as inflation, corruption, etc. CCP legitimacy also faces challenges when famine occurs in China.

The failure of ideology as a source of legitimacy, challenges the Communist Party to create a new source of legitimacy that is the result of economic policy

(performance based). When the policy products that are made can be felt equally by all the people, it is not difficult to get legitimacy. Authoritarian regimes that are able to provide the things needed by the community such as economic growth and welfare, will automatically gain community legitimacy, automatic recognition of power (no matter what kind of model or method) that is carried out based on the results of the policy during the community. obtain welfare, the government can easily obtain political legitimacy.

The aim of maintaining legitimacy is to make the communist party step back by liberalizing the economy as a way to deal with domestic economic problems. Efforts to improve the people's welfare are carried out by the two countries by reforming the economy. The reform was carried out by opening the State's economy to a free market, which was an opportunity for capitalism to enter the authoritarian regime and produce high economic growth, but the problem lay in the equitable distribution of sources of income and access for the people to improve their welfare. Economic growth is clearly the result of reforms, but it is not necessarily able to increase the welfare of the community equally.

Equal Distribution of Income

In the case of Vietnam, the resulting economic growth although not as high as China, is relatively more evenly distributed. Issues such as economic inequality, living standards related to health and education between urban and rural areas do not attract much attention, this is not because the issue of inequality is underestimated, but the level of urban and rural disparity is not so high when compared to China. The percentage of income and the standard of living between urban and rural communities in Vietnam cannot be equalized, but the differences in the percentage of economic growth in each region do not produce serious inequalities, this is influenced by the strategies of each decentralized region.

China on the other hand showed very rapid economic growth as a result of economic reforms but the results of the success of these reforms were not felt equally. The level of economic disparity and inequality in living standards is very large between urban and rural areas. This is due to the special economic zone policy which is regulated by the government, making some areas in the coastal area as an exclusive area of development by directing the flow of foreign investment in the area. This makes other areas that are not special economic zones in the interior have little access to development.

Communist Party Legitimacy

As an authoritarian state, the Communist Party (VCP and CCP) plays a central role in politics and government and has a very large influence on social structure. Political shifts in power that subordinate the role of the Vietnamese communist party in government can basically be seen as an indication of weakening party legitimacy. Which is considered positive from the 2001 constitutional amendment, the communist party is not resistant and manipulates the situation to maintain its position to remain in power. This can be considered positive because in addition to not creating chaos in society, the declining process of the VCP's role occurs naturally without any manipulation like that done by the CCP to maintain the legitimacy of its power.

With the reduced legitimacy of the Communist Party the consolidation of democracy is seen positively. but what makes the democratic process in Vietnam look special is the demands arising from the shift in the role of the Communist Party not from society and the phenomenon of democratization is unplanned or the phenomenon of Unintended Democracy.

The issue of the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) after the reform. facing demands from the people related to popular issues such as inequality, corruption which gave birth to people's demands voiced by demonstrations. CCP's legitimacy seems unshakable due to the strategy implemented so that similar demands do not occur in the future by manipulating history, constructing information and reporting, controlling the education curriculum, etc. In other words, the role of CCP after reform is pseudo legitimate power, legitimacy obtained by manipulation. This made the consolidation of democracy unsuccessful in China.

Conceptualization of Vietnamese and Chinese Democracy

The theory of democracy and welfare emphasizes that democratization can occur when the level of welfare increases, and the level of welfare can be achieved through economic growth. For Vietnam and China, which experienced economic growth from the results of the reforms, when analyzed with this theory, they met the requirements for democratization. But practically the consolidation of democracy demands changes that are not only limited to rising levels of welfare. The logic of rising levels of prosperity will encourage increased intensity of awareness (social and political) Increased awareness will lead the public to further demands such as in the case of Vietnam political reform (bureaucracy and government) and social reform (freedom, protection of human rights) in the case of China.

The concept of economic development and democracy with its two assumptions is able to explain the phenomena of Vietnam and China. The first assumption of economic development will direct a country to the democratic process can explain the phenomenon of Vietnam. The level of economic growth resulting from Doi-Moi led Vietnam to increase equitable distribution of income. This is one indicator used to measure democracy. Weakening legitimacy of the communist party is another indicator, where economic reform requires a bureaucratic reform that aims to prevent its journey from being hampered. Although the weakening of the communist party's legitimacy due to the shift in the role of parties in the government was not planned as a form of regime transition, it was considered positive in the process of consolidation.

The second assumption, namely economic development that does not lead to democratization, can be illustrated by the phenomenon of China. Economic growth as a result of economic reform cannot be enjoyed equally and triggers demands from the community. The demands that came had no effect on meaningful changes in the role of the communist party. The legitimacy of the communist party that survived was caused by the communist party's resistance to repressive actions and a series of manipulative strategies. The persistence of the role of the communist party is a form of pseudo legitimate power, which makes democratization in China more difficult to consolidate.

Conclusion

Democratization, which is an effect of the 1987 Vietnam Doi-Moi and 1978 Chinese economic reforms, shows a different measure of success. Indicators of democracy used in the two authoritarian countries are non-institutionalist, which are not associated with elections as indicators of democracy as western approaches. Non-institutionalist indicators to measure democratization in the two countries emphasize the equitable distribution of income and the legitimacy of the ruling regime, placing Vietnam as a relatively more successful country in consolidating democracy when compared to China.

The income distribution indicator used to measure democratization shows that Doi-Moi as a product of Vietnam's economic reform policy is able to produce relatively more equitable results when compared to China. China's economic reforms, although resulting in rapid economic growth, the distribution of income is uneven and exacerbates the problem of inequality between rural and urban communities. Thus a more equitable income distribution indicator in Vietnam makes consolidation of democratization relatively more successful when compared to China

The second indicator is the legitimacy of the Communist Party with regard to achieving economic reform. The success of Doi-Moi did not necessarily increase the legitimacy of the Vietnamese communist party, where the shift in role and position of the VCP showed the weakening of the party's legitimacy as an absolute ruler. As well as a positive indication of the consolidation of democracy. On the other hand, the legitimacy of the Chinese communist party declined with the demands of the people. But in reality the demand did not cause significant changes to the role of the CCP's position in the government as an absolute ruler, thus the consolidation of democracy in China faced obstacles.

References

1. Chen Guidi, Wu Chuntao, 2007, China Undercover: The Secret Behind China's Progress, Jakarta, UFUK press
2. Cipto, Bambang, International Relations in Southeast Asia, 2007, Yogyakarta, Student Library
3. Fishman, Ted.C, 2006, China.Inc: How Chinese Empowerment Opposes America and the World, Jakarta, Elex Media Komputindo
4. Nazir, Mohammad, 1998. Research Methods, Jakarta, Ghalia Indonesia,
5. Silalah, Ulber, 2009, Social Research Methods, Bandung: Refika Adhitama
6. Suryabrata, Sumadi, 1997, Research Methodology, Jakarta: P.T. Raja Grafindo Persada,
7. Weatherley Robert, 2006, Politics in China Since 1949: Legitimizing Authoritarian Rule. New York: Routledge,
8. Weller, Robert.P, 2005, Civil Live Globalization and Political Change in Asia, New York, Routledge of Scientific Articles and Journals_____, China rural migration and plugin the rural urban gap: off news in: <http://www.offnews.info/verArticulo.php?contenidoID=8044>
9. Clarence B. Carson, The Concept of Democracy and John Dewey, in http://www.mmisi.org/ma/04_02/carson.pdf
10. Doh Chull Shin, The Third Wave in East Asia: Comparative and Dynamic Perspectives, Taiwan Journal of Democracy, Volume 4, No.2: 91-13, December 2008.in:<http://www.tfd.org.tw/docs/dj0402/091132%20Doh%20Chull%20Shin.pdf>
11. Dynamic poverty analysis in Vietnam 1993-2002, international Research and Development Center, in: http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-147050-201-1-DO_TOPIC.htm
12. Edward D. Mansfield, and Richard Sisson, Political Science and the Public Interest, 2004, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, in: <http://as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/2800/sisson.pdf/html>
13. Elias Papaioannou, and Gregorios Siourounis, Economic and social factors Driving the Third Wave of Democratization, 2008, Journal of Comparative Economics 3, in: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~elias/greg-elias_JCE.pdf
14. George Rideout, Competing Political Agendas And The Impact On China Reform:www.metalbuildinglink.com/Competing%20political%20agendas.pdf
15. Ginandjar Kartasasmita, Economic Development Strategy: Between Growth and Democracy in www.ginandjar.com/public/STIE%20Ahmad%20Dahlan_GK.pdf

16. Guillermo O'Donnell, The Perpetual Crises of Democracy, in: Journal of Democracy, 18, January 2007
17. Great Leap Forward, in: <http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/prc2.html#greatleap>
18. James A Dorm, Economic Reform In China, Cato Journal, vol.8 no.3 in: <http://www.cato.org/pubs/journal/cj8n3/cj8n3-1.pdf>
19. Joshua Kurlantzick, Perry Link, China: Resilient Sophisticated Authoritarianism, Freedom House, Undermining Democracy: 21st Authoritarianism. in: www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/83.pdf
20. Larry Diamond, Can China become a Democracy? in http://www.india-seminar.com/2007/576/576_larry_diamond.htm
21. Ma, Laurence. 'China's authoritarian capitalism: growth, elitism and legitimacy' International Planning Development Review, Volume 31, Issue 1, 2009
22. Naughton .B, The Chinese Economy: Transition and Growth, 2007 pages: 4 in: <http://irps.ucsd.edu/assets/002/5228.pdf>