

tisierungsprozess noch immer kritisch betrachtet. Zweitens steht YUDHOYONO'S Präsidentschaft eine deutliche Parlamentsmehrheit – die *koalisi kebangsaan* – entgegen, was die Effizienz notwendiger politischer Entscheidungen hemmen könnte. Da jedoch in Indonesien in der Regierungszusammensetzung verbreitet auf eine eindeutige Trennung zwischen Koalitions- und Oppositionsparteien verzichtet wird (*gotong-rojong-Prinzip*), besteht die Möglichkeit, dass sich im Laufe der Legislaturperiode die jetzt zu beobachtende parteipolitische Blocksituation aufweicht oder gar neu definiert⁷.

Auch wenn Indonesien sechs Jahre nach dem Ende der Diktatur SUHARTOS noch nicht als eine vollständig konsolidierte Demokratie angesehen werden kann – Wahlen machen schließlich nur einen Teil dessen aus, was demokratische Staatssysteme kennzeichnet – überwiegt jedoch gerade auch im Rückblick auf das Wahljahr 2004 die Hoffnung, dass dieses Ziel in Sichtweite bleibt. Die zweiten demokratischen Abstimmungen seit dem Beginn des Transformationsprozesses können als ein wichtiger Meilenstein zur Stabilisierung der indonesischen Demokratisierungsbemühungen⁸ gewertet werden.

Anmerkungen

¹ Die Indonesier konnten im Jahr 2004 an zahlreichen Wahlen teilnehmen. Am 5. April wurde über die Zusammensetzung des nationalen Parlamentes Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), der neu geschaffenen Regionalkammer Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD), der Provinz-, Distrikt- und Gemeindeparlamente abgestimmt. Am 5. Juli fand die erste Runde der direkten Präsidentenwahlen, am 20. September die zweite Runde (Stichwahl) statt.

² Nach einer Studie von Transparency International (TI) wurden in Indonesien allein im Vorfeld der ersten Runde der Präsidentenwahlen (5. Juli 2004) geschätzte 31,3 Mio. US\$ an Wahlkampfgeldern in illegaler Weise nicht der Zentralen Wahlkommission (KPU) gemeldet (Jakarta Post, 20.08.04).

³ Hierbei fällt auf, dass sämtliche Parteien sehr starken Bezug auf klassische indonesische Wertvorstellungen nehmen, beispielsweise spielt die Betonung des Stellenwertes von *kesatuan Indonesia* (die Einheit Indonesiens) eine übergeordnete Rolle. Darüber hinaus bekennen sich nahezu alle Parteien zu der Zielvorstellung, Indonesien zu *kesejahteraan* (Wohlstand) und *keadilan* (Gerechtigkeit) zu führen sowie entschieden gegen *korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme* (Korruption, Kollusion, Nepotismus oder KKN) vorzugehen. Wie diese Ansinnen jedoch im Einzelnen erreicht bzw. umgesetzt werden sollen, bleibt in vielen Fällen unklar.

⁴ Hier sein nur am Rande erwähnt, dass es sich bei einer solchen Kategorisierung um „Tendenzen“ handelt, da eine absolute trennscharfe und in ihrem Charakter

statische Unterscheidung kaum möglich ist. Für eine detaillierte Diskussion dieser Thematik, vgl.: SCHUCK, C. 2003: *Der indonesische Demokratisierungsprozess. Politischer Neubeginn und historische Kontinuität*; Nomos-Verlag, Baden-Baden, S. 47-54.

⁵ Wörtlich: „Wir kämpfen für das kleine Volk“; gemeint sind damit die unteren Bevölkerungsschichten.

⁶ Bei den Präsidentenwahlen traten zuvor festgelegte Tandems – bestehend aus einem Präsidentschafts- und einem Vizepräsidenten-kandidaten – gegeneinander an, die von den Parteien nominiert wurden. Auffällig dabei war, dass die Parteien jeweils versuchten, durch eine Kombination von eher nationalistischen mit eher islamisch orientierten Kandidaten ein möglichst breites Wählerspektrum abzudecken und damit auch der in Indonesien verbreiteten Auffassung entsprachen, gegensätzliche Komponenten mit dem Ziel zu verbinden, die Existenz einer hemmenden Opposition bereits im Ansatz zu minimieren.

⁷ So distanzierte sich bereits wenige Tage nach dem Wahlsieg von SBY die PPP von der *koalisi kebangsaan*.

⁸ Hier sei auch erwähnt, dass in der Transformationsforschung, u.a. bei KARL POPPER und SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, ein friedlicher und demokratisch adäquater Wechsel der Führungsspitze eines Staates als entscheidendes Konsolidierungskriterium gewertet wird. Unter dieser Perspektive kann also nicht nur der formale Ablauf der Wahlen, sondern auch das Ergebnis, das zu einem Wechsel des Präsidenten geführt hat, als konsolidierungsfördernd angesehen werden.

Dr. rer. soc. Christoph Schuck [christoph.schuck@sowi.uni-giessen.de] ist Dozent am Institut für Politikwissenschaft der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen und leitet die dortige „Forschungsgruppe Indonesien“.

Internationalization of the Higher Educational System in Vietnam Challenges and Problems

Michael Waibel & Jörg Gödecke

Education and Training are traditionally highly valued and respected activities in Vietnamese society. The first university of Vietnam was founded as early as the 11th century AD on the site of the famous Confucian Temple of Literature in Hanoi. Today, the Vietnamese Government is considering education and training, science and technology top priorities on its way towards becoming a tiger economy. Given tight public finances, promoting 'internationalization' seems to be a suitable way to enhance the higher educational system in Vietnam.

This paper tries to highlight the problems and the challenges of the Vietnamese higher educational system regarding the implementation of internationalization measures. Only few publications on this topic such as the ground breaking work of ST. GEORGE (2003) exist. Data collection has been mainly done in the context of empirical field work for a Masters Thesis on the internationalization of the Vietnamese education system with spe-

cial reference to the subject Geography from October-December 2003 by GÖDECKE and through observation during a short term appointment at two faculties of Geography at universities in Ho Chi Minh City and in Hanoi from March-April 2004 by WAIBEL.

Recent Developments

The introduction of the Doi Moi reforms in the late 1980s marked the beginning

of fundamental changes to Vietnamese higher education (KIEU 2002: 17). As a first consequence, tuition fees were introduced (ST. GEORGE 2003: 232). In 1990, the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) was founded, which got central responsibility for planning and directing of Vietnam's educational system as well as for various aspects of curriculum development. Further significant reforms were implemented in



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Jörg Gödecke with the Dean of the Faculty of Geography, National Pedagogic University of Hanoi

1992/93 (ST. GEORGE 2003: 13). For example, new decrees and resolutions have been approved that encouraged the private sector's expansion (KELLY 2000). A National Commission on Education was created in 1997, which should reconcile the conflicting views and responsibilities across the different ministries and the Communist Party of Vietnam (ST. GEORGE 2003: 177). In December 1998, an Education Law was officially passed which finally gave a legislative framework for the whole educational sector (KIEU 2002: 19). This incomplete listing of measures reflects the institutional restructuring process in the course of transition from a centrally planned to a market orientated economy. Until now, the higher educational system in Vietnam is in great flux.

As one of the few sectors of the state budget, the Vietnamese government has substantially increased disbursements on education and training both in absolute terms and as a percentage of overall government spending during the 1990s.

Within this decade, Vietnamese universities witnessed a rapid increase in tertiary education enrolments. From 1990 till 1999, the number of students increased from 139,000 to 1.13 Mill. (HONG 2001: 13). Parallel to this eightfold increase of students the number of teaching staff rose only comparatively slightly from 20.700 to 28.000 (HONG 2001: 13).

The rapidly growing disparity between student numbers and the number of university teachers already indicates some of the basic challenges Vietnamese universities need to meet: maintaining or even raising the quality of the tertiary education system, and maintaining sound competition between the universities.

In this context, internationalization measures like the support of student's and staff's mobility, the backing of international scientific cooperation, the introduction of internationalized curricula by the universities and the allowance of international private educational actors by the State are necessary steps to fit the educational sector to global comparative standards. In the past years, the Vietnamese government has recognized the necessity of internationalization of this sector. Despite some progress, there are still a lot of structural deficits which obstacle a far-reaching internationalization.

Lacking Language Skills

Most leading positions within the educational system of Vietnam are still in the hands of 'old cadres' who received their scientific qualification in the former socialist states like the Soviet Union. These people only got to know the Soviet Model educational system and mostly speak Russian. To take part in today's internationalization process, English language skills are mandatory. On the whole, the foreign language skills of the university staff and the students are very poor. During the short-term appointment of WAIBEL e.g., the lectures were held in English, but had to be translated into Vietnamese to be understood by the Vietnamese students. There is a minority which has learnt English abroad, but the overall number is still far too small to take account of the rising internationalization tendencies.

Low Salaries

As for mainly all positions within the state bureaucracy, the salaries for university staff are so low, that most teach-

ers have to supplement their official positions by 2nd or third jobs. A lot of teachers give evening courses or teach at other institutions. Apparently, it is not uncommon, that some of them also sell degrees and results to raise their income (ST. GEORGE 2003: 265). Given the inadequate earnings, it is not surprising, that there is often a lack of motivation to get engaged into internationalization measures, which normally derive only a financial benefit in mid-terms.

Separation of Research & Teaching

In Vietnam, higher education structures are a heritage from the era of central planning when this sector was segmented with many specialized institutions (KELLY 2000). A fundamental reorganization of the institutional basis of higher education has involved the consolidation of many rather tiny, specialized institutions into several pivotal universities with multi-disciplinary character (KELLY 2000). The aim was to enhance the links between basic research and university teaching. Despite man efforts such as the founding of so-called National Universities, higher education landscape in Vietnam is still very heterogeneous and almost impossible to overview. This separation is also visible in Hanoi in the field of geography. GÖDECKE found out that there are two 'National Centers' mainly doing research work for state-ministries and international agencies like the World Bank, whereas there also exist two Faculties of Geography at university level. Apparently, there is almost no cooperation between these institutions.

Low Transparency

According to the experience of the authors, individual contacts to foreign scientists are often valued as a precious good which is rarely shared with other colleagues. For example in the case of the short-term appointment of WAIBEL, there was never an official or informal introduction to the whole staff of the Faculty of Geography, not even to the colleagues which are specialized in the same subject. The information flows within and between different educational institutions generally seem to be improvable.

Sub-standard Equipment

By observation of the authors, the equipment of the university libraries in Vietnam is absolutely insufficient. There are usually low overall numbers of scientific up-to-date monographs and very few in-

ternational regular publications accessible. Of course, most Vietnamese libraries cannot afford to buy expensive publications from abroad. Over and above, the mentioned lack of language skills has dampened any interest in participating in the mostly English-speaking scientific community. Consequently, the quality of the scientific work is often sub-standard. This is especially the case in the field of social sciences and humanities. As a result, the number of papers from Vietnamese scientists, published in internationally recognized publications is very low.

Low autonomy of universities

The autonomy of the Vietnamese universities is still strongly restricted by the central supervision of the MoET. For example, new curricula have to be accepted by the MoET which is slowing down implementation processes. The introduction of international curricula has also the consequence that ideological elements play a less important role in the higher education. Although measures of decentralisation have been introduced recently, the central position of the MoET is still untouched.

Despite these structural weaknesses, the internationalization process in Vietnam made substantial progress in the last decade. For example, a few thousands of Vietnamese scientists have done their postgraduate studies abroad. International cooperation between educational institutions has been increased significantly, also between German and Vietnamese universities. So far, the most important foreign actor in the field of internationalization of Vietnam's educational sector has been Australia.

Case study Australia

Already very early in the course of transition, the Australian government has started with the provision of around 150 scholarships a year for Vietnamese students to study in Australia (ST. GEORGE 2003: 252). In the year 2001, 50.000 students from the three countries of Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong were studying in Australia (GROTZ 2003: 127). In this way, internationalization has become a mayor backbone of Australia's economy. The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University has



Credit: Tran Bic Phuong 2004

Michael Waibel with his class at the Faculty of Geography, University of Social Sciences & Humanities – Vietnam National University, Ho Chi Minh City.

been the first international university to open a campus in Vietnam, which is located in Ho Chi Minh City. In July 2004, another RMIT campus opened in Hanoi for 650 students. According to RMIT, the campus is offering electronic libraries and wireless network. It's not surprising, that the fees for courses run on RMIT's Vietnam campus are the same as the fees for courses run in Australia. The educational offer is concentrated on B.A. courses on Computer Sciences, English Language and Commerce. The Australians benefit from a rich experience in the international educational market and aim at people of the rapidly emerging new middle class of Vietnam, for whom an internationally recognized degree is an important status symbol and tuition fees do not play any significant role.

Conclusions

The development in Vietnam's educational sector reflects the overall societal development of the country which is characterized by internationalization, modernization and polarization. The emergence of private colleges like the RMIT underlines this. Of course, this process is socially highly selective: Students from wealthy families can now secure excellent education far easier than students from poor families.

The mentioned obstacles for internationalisation should be removed as soon as possible. In the case of the lacking English language skills, a lot of progress has already been achieved most recently.

On the whole, the process of internationalization is still at the beginning in Vietnam. This development is also offering unforeseen export possibilities and chances for the German educational sector. The Australian policy could serve as a role model. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is playing a vital role in these efforts. Most important however are dedicated university teachers on both sides willing to initiate bi-national co-operation and overcome red tape.

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Dr. Michael Waibel [mwaibel@gwdg.de] setzt sich mit dem vietnamesischen Bildungssystem seit 1996 auseinander und hat von März bis April 2004 eine vom DAAD finanzierte Kurzzeitdozentur in Ho Chi Minh City und Hanoi ausgeübt.

Jörg Gödecke [joe-goe@gmx.de] hat im Rahmen seiner Abschlussarbeit die Internationalisierung des Hochschulsystems Vietnams am Bsp. der Geographie untersucht. Er verbrachte im Jahr 2003 drei Monate zur Feldforschung in Vietnam.