foreign currency inflows to banking system, and then commercial banks will sell foreign currency to enterprises to meet their demand of importing materials and goods. In fact, however, it's quite different thus affecting the development of this market.

- 4) The foreign exchange inspection in non-bank institutions has not been seriously implemented so far, resulting in the disregard of law and regulations, somewhat affecting other sectors.
- 2. Descriptions of financial and enterprise sector reforms in the period of 2000-2005 in Viet Nam
- (1) Financial system reforms: Financial system reforms are aiming at exploiting internal as well as external resources in order to implement the objectives of socio-economic development in the new period of the 5-year plan from 2001 to 2005. It is important to improve the market oriented financial system under the state management, especially to establish and develop financial intermediations so as to effectively mobilize capital for the development of productions and businesses in the economy, thereby improving the national fiscal policies. Here are some of the main ideas of financial system reforms:
 - 1) Enhancing the legal framework on the issuance of companies' stocks and bonds to pave the way for the development of Viet Nam financial market and to mobilize long-term capital for investment in the economy. At the same time, it is important to launch other long-term capital mobilizing instruments to balance the capital sources such as government bonds, project bonds, ... Viet Nam stock markets, i.e. Hochiminh City and Hanoi Stock Trading Centers, are going to be upgraded by the end of the year 2000. In the initial period of operations, however, the markets are still in primary scale, low trading volumes. In additions, primary securities issued by companies are very modest and underdeveloped; people have not yet totally believed in the stocks and bonds issued by these companies; there are only several companies planning to issue these kinds of instruments.
 - 2) Continuing to develop financial intermediation system such as insurance companies, leasing companies, commercial bank system, and financial companies, thus giving the markets competitiveness and effectiveness in exploiting resources for the socio-economic development, and facilitating the objectives of macro-economic stability, economic growth, and industrialization and modernization in the economy.
 - 3) Strengthening the state management in financial mechanism towards every forms and sectors in the economy, especially creating comprehensive and equally competitive legal environment for financial management in state-owned enterprises, general corporations, and private sectors in compliance with their operational characters.

(2) Banking system reforms:

+ Reforms on the State Bank system: the State Bank system will continue to carry out their functions of

a central bank such as setting up management mechanism and policies, managing, inspecting and supervising the business activities of commercial banks. Bellows are the stages to be taken:

- Going on promulgating the guidance document for the implementation of the 2 laws (Law on State Bank, and Law on Credit Institutions); setting up monetary-credit-interest rate policies; improving the effectiveness of monetary policy by developing monetary policy instruments in order to gain the monetary stability, inflation constrain, and to build up a legal environment for mobilizing and lending activities in the economy of the commercial banks; summing up the operations of banking system, establishing other forms of commercial banks in conformity with the Law on Credit Institutions to effectively use the capital resources for lending purposes.
- Renovating and enhancing the roles of monetary policy instruments such as required reserves, rediscount, exchange rate, interest rate policies, especially the open market operations. In the coming time, the open market operations will be a very important channel to realize 50 to 70% money supply into the economy.
- Consolidating and completing the organization and operations of commercial banks, supplementing credit and interest rate mechanism, creating a comprehensive legal environment for commercial banks' operations; concentrating on the inspection and supervision activities because in this period, commercial bank system are growing up rapidly, with estimated annual average credit growth of 18%, capital resources increase 25%, contributing to the economic stability (estimated GDP at 7.5 per year).
- Consolidating the commercial bank system, people credit fund system, and setting up regulations on paid-in capital as follows:

State-owned commercial banks : 2000bil - 3000bil dong

Urban joint-stock commercial banks : 100bil - 200bil dong

Rural joint-stock banks: : 15-50 billion dong

Joint-venture banks, foreign banks' branches : 20-30 million USD

Local people credit funds : 300 million dong

- Broadening the banking operations in accordance with the integration and development tendency of regional and international developed commercial banks.
- Modernizing and widening the payment system to ensure a rapid and efficient capital movements;
 extending the sphere of banking operations to outlying and remote areas as well as to regional and international markets.
- + Reforms on state-owned commercial bank system: State-owned commercial bank system will continue to be enhanced under the project approved by the Government. The reforming process will be taken in the following basic stages:
 - Establishing resources to cover the overdue debts and to ensure the solvency of state-owned commercial banks; extending credit to effective projects, especially rural agricultural credits; enhancing

the capital mobilization and lending in the economy.

- Restructuring state-owned commercial banks; focusing on recovering bad debts, liquidating collateral properties through the Property Disposal Company; emphasizing the internal inspection throughout the state-owned commercial banks' operations; raising capital, contributing to economic investment and development.
- Differentiating the policy-loans and commercial loans by setting up policy banks with main functions of: granting preferential credit to the poor, extending credit to students and other state sponsored projects to support mountainous and islandish areas, Khome and to overcome consequences of serious natural storms, floods....
- Widening banking operations, strengthening the trend of development and integration into modern regional and international banking system; promoting the development of payment system to ensure of efficient and rapid capital circulation, making banking services accessible in remote and outlying areas in the country as well as modern regional and international markets.
- + Reforms on joint-stock commercial bank system: Keeping on consolidating the operations of joint-stock commercial banks in order to ensure the safety in banking operations. Paid-in capital should be accumulated in a larger scale, credit quality should be improved to obtain reputation and make use of new technology to be capable of fair competition to meet the requirements of economic development in the coming years.
 - Consolidating, reorganizing and restructuring joint-stock commercial banks; improving operational
 quality:
 - Preventing potential collapse of weak banks, avoiding turmoil, reducing the number of inefficient banks with bad financial situation as stipulated in relevant legal document.
 - Strengthening inspection and off-site supervision towards every operations of banks, especially paying attention to stock possession, capital security in joint-stock commercial banks.
- (3) Reforms on foreign exchange market: Foreign exchange markets have been step by step improved and developed. Legal framework is initiated by the Government Decree on foreign exchange control towards banks, institutions and individuals in the economy, ensuring the principles of using only VND in every transactions as lending, payment, and other transactions in the territory; services supplied to foreign partners are allowed to be executed in foreign currencies; foreign currency inflows of individuals and institutions may be sold to banks at exchange rates of the markets. In additions, commercial banks as well as State Bank actively sold and bought foreign currencies in the interbank market, carried out SWAP, time deposit transactions and other investment in some international financial institutions.

The reform process will be taken as follows:

Emphasizing economic solutions in dealing with foreign exchange controls, minimizing inefficient

administrative solutions.

- Trying to make VND convertible, restricting foreign currency circulation in the territory, and finally giving up the use of foreign currency in the territory.
- Completing and developing the regular operations of foreign exchange interbank market in terms of trading volumes, scale, and number of participants,...
- Formulating and conducting exchange rate policies in a more flexible manner, giving close reflection
 of supply-and-demand relations; determining official exchange rates based on the combinations of
 currency basket, supply-and-demand in the foreign exchange markets, and foreign exchange fluctuations
 in the international markets.
- (4) Reforms on state-owned enterprises (SOE): the objectives of the reforms: Keeping on the reorganization, renovation and development of SOE in the period of 2000-2005 to raise the socio-economic efficiency and competitiveness of SOEs so as to prove the their leading economic roles in the economy; contributing to macro-economic stabilization, ensuring main balances of the economy, playing a core role in speeding up the economic growth and developing the material producing industry, high-technology industry to carry out the modernization and industrialization cause in the economy; giving strength to SOEs, and in co-ordination with other factors of state economic sector, to show their key roles in the socialism oriented multi-sectors economy; continuing the possessive structure renovations to motivate the management and capital mobilization in the society, reasonably adjusting SOEs' structure; step by step developing fair competition environment between economic sectors and defining the state possession representatives in SOEs based on differentiation between the rights of possessors and these of institutions, individuals using state properties to do their business; eliminating administrative intervention in SOEs in the fields of doing business; accelerating the SOEs privatization process to reach the projected target of only 2000 SOEs available in the year of 2005, while implementing the program of enterprise hire..... on the basis of
 - 1) Scale and schedule of SOE reforms in 2000-2002 period:

Implementing solutions focusing on organization and financial problems, formulating appropriate policies to facilitate the reorganization of SOE and provide them with latitude in doing business. Based on the restructure of inefficient SOEs and principles, requirements for establishment of new SOEs, this reform stage is scheduled to restructure about 2000 existing SOEs. This reform is tended to raise average paid in capital level from 18 bil to 30 bil VND in a SOE. In the period of 2003-2005, the government shall promulgate legal regulations on the master plan for SOE restructure which results in efficient SOE system capable of facing competition in domestic, regional and international markets. Large and medium corporations shall be reorganized to be capable of competing domestically and internationally, facilitating capital centralization and accumulation of these corporations in the modernization and industrialization

period, aiming at:

- ensuring the key role of SOE in the national economy;
- making SOE system to be effective tool for the government to regulate the economy along with socialism orientation;
- ensuring the real power of SOE system in social policy and the political and social stability;
- building up a great portion of SOEs' contribution to the external economic activities (importexport);
- developing SOEs' key role in contributing to the Government revenues.

Schedule of SOEs reforms:

No.	Items	year 2000	year 2003
1. SOEs refor	m schedule	5,280	3,000
2. Number of	reorganized SOE		2,280
o/w:	- equitized, sold, hired, contracted out	1,498	
•	- merged		380
	- dissolved		368
e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	- shifted to administrative enterprises		43
3. Number of	employees working in reorganized enterprises		429,095
4. Total outsta	anding loans of SOEs to be reorganized	21,165 bil dong	•
5. Projected e	nterprise scale	18 bil dong	27 bil dong

Sources: SOE Renovation Committee

- 2) Employees of the SOE are entitled to take 50% of the value of assets and profits derived from the total assets of these enterprises that have already paid up all the banks' loans.
- 3) State general corporations are entitled to decide investment for B-group projects, monopolistic enterprises have a right to decide investment for C-group projects and also take full responsibility for the projects' efficiency.
- 4) SOEs are allowed to recruit, dismiss and pay wages to employees; SOEs that have suffered from losses for 2 years due to their subjective reasons must face the reshuffle in their board of management; their financial situation must be annually audited.

The above-mentioned reforms are very important during the process of SOE reforms. It's also an essential factor and can help SOEs meet necessary requirements of running the business activities in competitive markets, bring the existing strength of SOEs into full effect and provide requisites for reforms implemented in other sectors.

- (5) Reforms on private enterprise sector: The government has a policy to encourage all economic sectors to invest in production and trading to promote socio-economic development and job creation in the following forms:
 - Establishing legal framework to regulate operations of private enterprises such as Law on Enterprises
 promulgated in 1999 or other legal document in order to create comprehensive business environment for
 this economic sector, protecting their legitimate interests in doing business;
 - 2) Properly conducting and thoroughly materializing tax policies, corporate finance management policies, credit policies, and state management to encourage and to help this economic sector to do their business legally and efficiently, significantly contributing to annual budget revenues.

However, there still remains some problems such as issuance of legal document providing guidance for law implementation is often behind schedule, and not synchronous; many enterprises are in inefficiency, even losses or fraud.

These problems have gradually been solved by the government issuance of Law on Enterprises replacing the former out-of-dated laws, as details:

- building up favorable legal environment, especially private enterprise financial management mechanism, to encourage the self-control of enterprises, to develop internal capability, and to exploit resources for production and business.
- adjusting this economic sector's business operations in compliance with laws and state's policies
 on finance, credit, taxes that are equally applied to other economic sectors.
- Assessment on risks related to projects of reforming financial sector and enterprise sector in the 2000-2005 period
- (1) Small banks may find difficulties in investment, capital balances, risk elimination as well as capital demand fulfillment during dong their business due to severe competition in the markets, especially when they integrate into regional and international markets. It's suggested that small commercial banks should merge in so as to increase their scale by accumulating paid-in capital, thus strengthening their competitiveness to firmly and stably exist in the markets. However, recent forecast has shown that a number of joint-stock commercial banks are likely to face difficulties in implementing this strategy because it is really tough for most of the joint-stock commercial banks whose paid-in capital are smaller than 200 bil dong or even below 5bil dong (in some rural joint-stock commercial banks) to increase their paid-in capital. On the other hand, having suffered from overdue debts at above 10% of the total credit outstanding, rural joint-stock commercial banks may find difficulties in financial balancing and even fall in bankruptcy.

To deal with these problems, State Bank of Viet Nam plan to keep on restructuring joint-stock commercial banks by merging, taking over in order to ensure the safety of businesses and competition in the markets, regulating the increases in paid-in capital of joint-stock commercial banks.

- (2) Risks in investment activities: along with the financial and banking system reforms as well as monetary market renovation, it's impossible for foreign exchange markets and enterprise reforms to avoid risks such as: facing fierce competition or being unable to compete in the markets, losses. Besides, international integration tendency also results in competitive disadvantages. Losses due to incomplete markets and inefficient business in the economy may heavily affect financial institutions as well as enterprises in the national economy and international markets.
- (3) Abundance of labor force in the enterprise restructure process: the fact has proven that SOEs restructure process has brought unemployment to a portion of employees (number of people working in SOEs accounted for 5% of the total national labor force as the most updated data). A survey conducted by the Ministry of Labor, Invalid and Social Affairs showed that there may be some 450 thousand of employees being out-of-work, details as follows:
 - About 100 thousand people de jure registered in the employee list of SOEs but de facto out-of-work have to find jobs outside their enterprises.
 - 75 thousand employees of 357 SOEs planned to be dissolved in the 2000-2002 period will be outof-work.
 - About 200 thousand employees of the total 2000 full State's capital enterprises may be remained after restructuring. However, they are still facing the potential of being cut off with a view to facilitating efficiency and high productivity in these enterprises, especially in the case of applying new technology to improve their competitiveness in the markets.
 - To solve this problem, Government have the guidance to the Ministry of Labor, Invalid and Social Affairs of the following solutions:
 - Training under-40-year-old people with appropriate careers to provide them with job finding chances.
 - Allocating a proper portion of budget, which estimated to be 5000 bil dong, to subsidize for sack employees, pensions...
 - Encouraging investing to labor intensive projects by tax reduction and exemption, preferred interest rates, post-investment subsidy...
- (4) It is important to take into consideration potentially bankrupt enterprises during the process of banking and financial sector reforms because these enterprises with their huge unpaid debts and low paid-in capital may cause great burden on banking system and the economy.
- (5) Financial market may face losses and turmoil if the government and related competent authorities do not

regularly and strictly manage and supervise the market. In additions, the feasibility and implementation of state policies are likely to be spoilt by sophisticated corruption resulting in unstable general socio-economic reforms in the national economy.

To deal with these problems, the government decides to enhance the management mechanism by promulgating legal document on fines imposed upon administrative violations in the fields of accounting and statistics, banking operations, supervisions, taxation, customs...

(6) Risks in credit activities and inadequate mechanism on allocating and using risk provision funds amplify the credit outstanding of enterprises as well as burden of bad debts on commercial banks. Data show that SOE reforming process will have to deal with 21000 bil dong credit outstanding of 2280 SOEs of which banking credit outstanding is about 7300 bil dong, accounting for 34 percent.

Coordination of the Reforms of the Financial System and the Business Sector

(In Particular, State-Owned Enterprises)

Le Quoc Ly

Ministry of Planning and Investment

- Evaluation of how the reform steps in different sectors of the financial system (including State Bank of Viet Nam, state commercial banks, joint-stock commercial banks, state-owned enterprises, private enterprises, securities market, foreign exchange market), influence (and are influenced by) the progress of reforms of other sectors.
- 1.1 It is extremely difficult to analyse and evaluate reform steps on the basis of providing persuading procures on reciprocal effects between different reforms of the financial system and the business sector (including: state banks, state commercial banks, joint-stock commercial banks, state-owned enterprises, private enterprises, securities market, foreign exchange market) influence (and are influenced by) the progrss of reforms of other sectors. Thus, the report will highlight general information on the fundamental renovations and mutual influences between the reforms.

In the years 90s, the economy of Viet nam has faced fierce difficulties and big challenges which seemed to be unable to overcome. Therefore, many business entities have took their efforts and have played an active role in finding out solutions; the Party and the State have undertaken all measures in renovating policy-related decision-making process and management mechanism in order to get out of this crisis. Many initiatives arised from the grass-root level, for instance, the product-based contract mechanism of agricultural production in rural northern areas were accepted and institutionalised into concrete policies and they were pioneer in local renovation steps. It was the kick-off for further reforms in the fields of finances, banking, enterprises and social polices.

1.2 In September 1985, the second stage of the innovation program was approved in the sixth plenary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Session 5), and was further developed in the sixth Congress in 1986. The main strategy is aimed to escape from the constraints of the central planning system. During this period, the renovation focused on new policies of "Price - Salary - Monetary". The Government has tried to erase the subsidized system by applying "salary adjustment policies which based on price was subsidized

in salary" which was aimed to avoid a significant reduction of the real income. The price reform, which aimed to erase the dual price system, was undertaken. Along with price - salary reforms, measures, which aimed to innovate monetary policy, were launched. In addition, some solutions, which streamlined to reduce the direct intervention of the State towards in the economic activities and to minimise the power of central planning and of subsidized system, had been taken initial steps. With the reforms, the initial steps of self-accounting and self-financing mechanism of enterprises have been applyed together with removement of the system of "quota-ticket for commodities". Furthermore, through out replacing the centrally planed mechanism by the oriented plans, the State has kicked off the development of economic components, by which, the economy had been raising.

- 1.3 Measures of reforms for the period 1985 1987 included policies and mechanism for erasing the "budgetsubsidy system" by "compensation for price in salary" ("salary adjustment based on price index in salary"); Wiping out the "dual-price system"; monetary reform; circulation of new paper money... money exchange was conducted on the principle of "10 units for a new one" in conformity with a limitation, and that, the excess money kept in the State Bank for a long time. A part of the monetary reform was aimed at separating commercial banking from the State Bank and empowering the State Bank to function as a Central Bank. Accordingly, monetary and credit activities had been initially changed, and the two tier banking system were established to separate the business function of commercial banks from the state management of State Bank. Those initial innovations had changed the way in definition of the developed orientation for the economy, and had been the foundation for taking shape of monetary market and capital market. If there was not changed from the one-tier banking system toward the two - tier banking system, the interbank monetary market (foreign exchange market and domestic monetary market) and joint-stock commercial banks, joint-venture banks, foreign banks could not be set up. Through activities, the State Bank of Viet Nam has summed up a lot of experiences in circulation of currency, readjustment of interest rates determined in the market, foreign exchange controls, establishment of a legal foreign exchange market, building up liquidation instruments satisfying the demands of state governed-market economy. In monetary businessis function, Commercial banks have been greatly progressed. For over 10 years of renovation, 6 state commercial banks, 60 joint-stock commercial banks, 5 financial companies, 19 representative offices of foreign banks, hundred of rural credit funds and co-operatives, ... have been established in Viet Nam. The the banks and credit organisations, which were established, have satisfied capital demand of different economic sectors for investment of development not only in cities and towns, but also in rural areas. And, the establishment of the two-tier banking system and the capital market has created essential conditions for than the barrier and the state of the district reforming enterprises, especially, state-owned enterprises.
- 1.4 Thanks to development of the banking system, which has pushed up the opening of monetary markets

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(interbank foreign exchange market and domestic monetary market), and constructed a new environment and an important channel for mobilising capital for economic development. On the basis of strong development of the banking system and the monetary market, all liquidation instruments, which satisfying international standards, have made considerated contributions in building up the stock market. In July 2000, a centre for stock exchange was opened in Ho Chi Minh City. This was the beginning of a new channel for mobilising capital, and was the initial for financial liberalisation and integration into the world economy. Establishment of the stock market was considered as one of factors to speed up the process of equitization of state-owned enterprises, and also defined new demands required to the banking system which have to continuously reform in order to supply financial services better. On the contrary, because of the enterprise renovation, especially the equitization of state-owned enterprises, preconditions and securities for establishment and operation of stock market have been taken shape. Flowingly, for selling dividends in public to raise capital for development of production, whic was necessary to require the enterprises to reform themselves and to enhance efficiency of their business continuously.

- 1.5 Accompanying with the reform of the financial system, there was the innovation of enterprises. Policies for development of a multi-sectoral economy have brought forward to establishment of private enterprises, enterprises with foreign owned capital, limited liabilities companies, State owned enterprises,... and speeded up the institution of joint-stock commercial banks, foreign banks, joint-venture banks, and financial companies. Those organisations have been operated in accordance with not only laws on credit organisations, but also the Law on Enterprises. Though out reorganisation of enterprises following the Decision 315/HDBT, the Decree 388/HDBT, and the Order 500/TTg, approximate 3000 enterprises ... and other enterprises in sectors of technology and market had been merged; And 3500 other enterprises had been dissoluted. Thus, there have been only 5800 State owned enterprises since June 1998.
- 1.6 In the process of reforming state-owned enterprises, it have been facing with a lot of serious difficulties such as lacks of capital, and backward technology. In 5800 state-owned enterprises above mentioned, there are 3997 enterprises under locality authorities. Most of them are small-sized enterprises with weak financial ability, of which the borrowed capital amounted to 85% 90%. In many enterprises, the borrowed capitals are usually fourfold or tenfold compared with their owned capital, and, efficiency and benefit rate are low. About 30% of enterprises are suffered losses in capital. Due to the renovation of the banking system, many enterprises have just raised necessary capital for development of the business. For state-owned enterprises, which had total debts borrowing from banks (including guaranteed debt) and from other investors and exceeded the amount of capital granted by the State, the density of borrowed capitals in total debts to the banking system was about 53%. The total capitals of state-owned enterprises up to 31 December 1997 were 103,000 billions Dong, and up to 1998 were 108,000 billions Dong. And, the capitals were mainly

concentrated in National business corporations (about 70%), of which approximate 80% of the capital were in fix properties, but most of them were worn and backward, thus, the efficiency of capital were very low. About 50% of the fix capital were frozen because of losses, non-performing loans and missing property. Total mature debts and loans of State owned enterprises were too high. Up to 31 December 1997, total overdue debts of state-owned enterprises amounted to 128% of total owned capital, of which the short-term debts occupied 64%, the medium and long term debts occupied 29%; foreign debts occupied 12% (short-term debts: 1.3%). Total mature loans were about 50% of total owned capital, in which the non-performing loan was 2.5% of total mature loans.

- 1.7 Together with reform and development of the economy, the capital resourses, which were not longer concentrated in state-owned enterprises, were released. The amount of capital investment have been raised. As a natural result, a requirement for exchange of capital resourses in the market economy was appeared. And, together with the banking system' prompt-integration into the market economy, the financial monetary market have been also taken shape. The financial monetary market has been improving and developing with reform of the banking system. For recent years, the reform has been conducted in conformity with integration into the international financial market, and with ensuring a stable development of monetary system in order to mobilise maximum of available capital investment with a view of economic growth, and macro-economic stability. Conducting the reform of economic polices, Viet Nam has mobilised different capital resources for building national material and technical, social and economic infrastructure of the country. Capital resources have been gradually diversified, from which, the capital raised from banks occupied about 29 30% of total capital investment in the whole country.
- 1.8 The Reforms in the different sectors also had reciprocal impacts and the reform of one sector has been the foundation for others, and so on. Since removing the budget-subsidies system, and building up the multi-sectoral market economy with a system of autonomy in "cost-accounting", "self-financing", and "self-responsible" in business, as a result, the banking system had been also reformed, and which was came a precondition for establishment of commercial banks, credit organisations, financial companies, and monetary market. The financial liberalisation and liquidation of state-owned enterprises have built up a basement of establishment of stock market. In addition, the banking system reform, financial liberalisation and stock market establishment would have pushed the innovation of enterprises, especially state-owned enterprises.
- 1.9 Reform stages of different components of the financial system (including: state banks, state commercial banks, joint-stock commercial banks, state-owned enterprises, private enterprises, stock market, foreign exchange market) not only contributed substantially to the process of economic renovation, but also played

a key role in speeding up the reform in social policies, also awareness and living standards peoples. It was obvious that, social-thriving and civilisation have been gradually built up. And, the continuously socialeconomic reform and development have been given a push to the financial system and enterprises. Although the banking system reform has strongly impacted to the development of State owned enterprises, but those effects to non-state enterprises reform were only a little and not shaped. Including only 6000 state-owned enterprises in total of over 55000 enterprises (about 11%) and 1.6 millions household businesses, but the percentage of loans borrowed from the banking system amounted to 53% of total debts. The rate of bad loan shows that amount of capitals, which were borrowed by non-state enterprises from banks are not too high. Otherwise, many state and non-state enterprises which had not been able for paying their debts, has negatively affected to the banking system. Overdue debts have been blocking upon banking activities, coursing rotation to capital resources, and obstructing an objective to enlarge credit activities of commercial banks and the credit target of the State Bank of Viet Nam. Event, in 1990, due to extreme amount of overdue debts, the system of joint-stock commercial banks and credit co-operatives had been in crisis and macroeconomy was in unstability and which made unbelieving environment of people to the banking system for the decade 90. In the last half of the Decade of 90, thanhks to applying several necessary solutions, there were not any bad debts, which could been able to bring about a banking-crisis, and a macroeconomic unstability as happened in 1990. The bad debts above discribed, especially the "frozendebts" of state-owned enterprises have reduced the success of the banking system reform. After the debt Crisis in 1990, the proportion of bad debts borrowed from the banking system has been continuously growing up in the process of renovation (1991 and 1992: 19.7% and 13.7%). The ratio of total credit debts only touched the minimum in 1994, but it was back increased in 1995. Especially, the percentage of bad debts of state-owned enterprises were always higher than the private sector' one. This proved that, the business and financial states of state-owned enterprises were strongly serious. For settlement of nonperforming debts, the Government of Viet Nam had undertaken solutions such as "frozen-debts", "erazed debt". In the second step of debt settlement, total overdue debts of enterprises before 1995, which borrowed from state-owned banks, accepted as frozen-debts by the Government, were 2233.2 billions Dong, including 1606 billions belonging to foreign banks, 472 billions belonging to industrial-trade banks, 117 billions belonging to investment and development banks, and 38.2 billions belonging to agriculture and rural development banks. During the step, the State Bank estimated the debts for elimination amounted to 1116.7 billions Dong, occupied half of total bad debts above mentioned.

Many joint-stock commercial banks and non-state-owned enterprises conducting business inefficiently, and being in loses, in crisis or bankruptcy, had been damaging a lot of their capital and property, losing people' hearts, and negatively affected to economic reform process and banking system renovation in particular. Those consequences had negatively acted upon the economic reform steps. In joint-stock commercial banks, the rate of overdue debts in total credit debts were extremely at a high level. Especially,

it amounted to 98.21% in several banks. A number of enterprises, which conducting business on the way of snatching opportunities, breaking laws, for example, companies such as Tamexco, Epco, Minhphung, who damaged thousands of billions Dong of State.

2. Description of alternative scenarios of reforming the financial sector and business sector

2.1 Up to January 1st 2000, about 5.500 state-owned enterprises were reorganised, including 732 public state-owned enterprises, from which 1,802 enterprises established by Central authorities, and 3698 enterprises under local authorities (provinces and cities). Thus, a number of state-owned enterprises was 50% less than before. Accompanying the reorganisation of state-owned enterprises were the equitation of them, up to now, the number of state-owned enterprises for equitization, sale, contracting out, and leasing have been 450 enterprises (2/3 of the total are local enterprises; 1/3 of them are central enterprises), including 47 transportation enterprises, 176 trade and tourist enterprises, 209 construction - industrial enterprises, and 23 agriculture - forestry - fishery produced enterprises. This was an important achievement of the renovation, through which, many enterprises have grown up and substantially contributed to development of the Economy. However, it is necessary to put up the reform toward fewer of number of enterprises, but which have an ability to play a leading role in all economic fields such as financial potential, efficiency, productionscale, commodities... In general, the reorganisation of state-owned enterprises was not only focused on administrative formalities, but also fully concentrated in efficiency and abitlity of integration into the world economy. The professional schemes of enterprises have not yet reached to the their aiming; also, the structure of branches was irrational; in addition, with numerous state-owned enterprises, but they have been in distributed and overlapped situations in many branches and localities. There have been more than 25% of enterprises having the capital less than 1 billion Dong, and 60% of them having their capital valued less than 5 billions Dong. Some indicators on enhancing the efficiency, labour productivity.... have not been satisfied the requirements. Therefore, most of enterprises, including National business corporations established following the Decisions 90/TTg and 91/TTg, have a weakly competitive ability, which only conduct business internally, and have not yet had necessary financial potential and managed capability for external businesses. In fact, the organisations of "National Business Corporation" according to the Decision No 90 /TTg and No 91 /TTg were only a result of movement of "administrative management board" from ministries to corporations, they were not reflected the natural capital concentration. The present organisation of "National Business Corporation" should be renovated following the tendency of establishment of "National Business Corporation" on "volunteer". In addition, there are many remains necessary for removement during enterprise's equitization, for example, in equitization of a part of an enterprise, the state capital was handed over to individuals, it inflicts damages of state property, but not raising the economic efficiency.

The sale, contracting out, and leasing of state-owned enterprises have been reflected a sound tendency. Among 450 enterprises being equitized, sold, contracted out, and leased since 1992, there have been 250 enterprises being done for 1999.

- 2.2 By way of dissolution, merger and re-registrar applying to state-owned enterprises (following the Decree No 388/HDBT on establishment, re-registrar, and dissolution of state-owned enterprises; The Order No 500/TTg of the Pri minister on continuing the reorganisation of state-owned enterprises; The Decree No 28/CP on transformation of state-owned enterprises into a joint-stock company; The Decree No 44/1998/ ND-CP on equitization), up to now, the number of state-owned enterprises has been reduced by more than 50%, from 12000 enterprises to 5000 enterprises, and there have been about 700 thousands redundancies to get settled through paying approximate 300 billions Dong, included 55% of the total sponsored by state budget and the remains (45%) from enterprise' capital accounted for their business cost. The two categories of "National Business Corporation" of 90 and 91 had been established on the basis of reorganisation of 250 state-owned enterprises (companies, manufactures, connected enterprises), including 17 "National Business Corporation" of 90, and 74 "National Business Corporation" of 91; Furthermore, issuing the Law on Enterprises has initially defined the relations between state bodies and non-state enterprises. However, it is continuously needed to remove entanglements of present administrative formalities, first and foremost are entanglements on the factors of land, credit, and tax to create convenient environmental for more development of non-state enterprises. In fact, many legal documents, which is overlapped, or negative to each other, have coursed difficulties to non-state enterprises in businesses. However, by establishment of about 500 thousands non-state enterprises, and reducing a lot of state-owned enterprises, it has marked a great achievement in the economic reform and enterprise renovation in particular.
- 2.3 It costed the State over 100 billions Dong for equitization and reorganisation of 450 state-owned enterprises. And the total expenditure for equitization and diversification in the process of renovation has amounted to 500-600 billions Dong, not including capital for redundancy-payment for the period 1992-1995. The State has decided to conduct the reorganisation, equitization, assigning, sale, contracting out and leasing of more than 2600 state-owned enterprises for the stage of 2001-2005, of that, 1300 enterprises for equitization, 300 enterprises for sale, 200 enterprises for contracting out, merger, and leasing, 500 enterprises for consolidation, and 300 enterprises for dissolution, bankruptcy or transformation into other categories. Thus, it will cost 3000 to 4000 billions Dong, excluding 1200-1500 billions Dong for creating new jobs for redundancies from state-owned enterprise, which are not reorganised in the period of 2001-2005. Those are great expenses that require to cut down other expenditures for attain the target above mentioned.

- 2.4 Accompanying with the renovation of state-owned enterprises, there is a financial system reform and timely establishment of commercial banks, financial companies and credit organisations. Up to now, through out the financial system reform, the banking system has been improved in all sectors. In which, state banks and commercial banks (including 6 state commercial banks, 60 joint-stock commercial banks, 5 financial companies, hundreds of rural credit co-operatives and funds, 19 foreign banks, 4 foreign joint venture banks, and 40 representative offices of foreign banks...) have better satisfied the capital requirements for all economic sectors. In addition, many branches of commercial banks have been rapidly developed. At present, there are 4 state commercial banks (Foreign-Commercial Bank of Viet Nam, Industrial-Commercial Bank of Viet Nam, Investment and Development Bank of Viet Nam, Agriculture and Rural Development Bank of Viet Nam), and 236 representative offices and branches of them in provinces and cities (not including hundred of bodies under the branches). With only 4 state commercial banks, more than 40000 labourers and hundred of thousands of billions Dong were mobilised. The state commercial banks have played a decisive role in monetary sector, of which, the capital being mobilised for loaning amounted as to more than 80% of the total capital undertaken through the banking system. From business on skilled sector, the banks have diversified their business on credit and monetary sectors.
- 2.5 In addition to the rapid establishment and development of the commercial banks after 1990, many weak points have been remained, and they alarmed a bankruptcy danger of joint stock banks. In this situation, to the demands of the market economy, it is needed to renovate the banking system, including joint venture banks. This functions have decided in the Government'action programs, and has been carrying out by the Governor of State Bank of Viet Nam. First of all are restrictions of licensing new joint-stock banks, and issuing legal regulations to create legal framework for operation and self-renovation of credit organisations. In 1998, escorted the Governmental project (approved by the standing committee of the Politburo) of reorganisation of joint-stock banks in Ho Chi Minh city was issuing the Decree No 22/1998/ND-CP dated on October 3, 1998 regulated the legal capitals of credit organisations. The State Bank of Viet Nam has ordered commercial banks to increase their chartered capital because they were so low that the banks would not be able to enlarge their business in other professional sectors and other localities. Furthermore, the settlement of overdue debts through economic and administrative solutions, even criminal sanctions have been applied to avoid damages to the banks. The State has required that joint-stock commercial banks, which have to establish a fund of "preventive measures for risk", have to maintain a percentage at a safe level and to conduct services of ensuring bank deposites according to regulations of State Bank of Viet Nam (the banking system's fund of preventive measures for risk valued 600 billions Dong)

3. Evaluation of the risks associated with alternative scenarios of reforms

- 3.1 In fact, the commercial banks, including joint-stock commercial banks, have the same characteristics such as: owned capital is small; competitive ability is weak, which is not satisfied severely natural law of the market economy; A large part of the capital is not for banking business. (Usually, the capitals are mobilised from other professional sectors or temporarily borrowed from shareholders); Estimated benefits of banks are not stability and which have not contained economic growth and development; High risky position would have led to danger of bankruptcy; Total debts are not in conformity with the law in force; Doing businesses on the way of snatching opportunities based on falling off ethics, included cheating in capital mobilisation and in guarantee for debts; The liquidation power is too low, many banks have only occupied real estates (most of them are land) immovable into money. Thus, the former establishments of joint-stock commercial banks have coursed danger of doing business inefficiently and bankruptcy of the banks.
- 3.2 The innovation of enterprises has brought a lot of significant results, and built up an enterprise's system which is gradually satisfied with requirement of market mechanism, and made noticeable contribution to the economy. However, in the renovation process, many enterprises have loosen of their capital, and bearing high value of debts, especially, the debts to banking system. Also, for the non-state enterprise sector, there were many enterprises such as Epco, Minh Phung, Tamexco... conducting business on the way of snatching opportunities, Thus, they had brought about serious consequences. For recent years, a rate of bad debts in total capital of state-owned enterprises is increasing at a high level. At the end of 1997, the rate of bad debts in total credit debt amounted to 12.3%, and to 13.1% in the end of 1998, and to 13.7% at the end of 1999. Because of the bad financial situation of enterprises, a proportion of the bad debts was at a greatly high level, and directly impacted to the financial position of the banking system.
- 3.3 In fact, if it could collect 50% of total bad debts, a missing property of commercial banks would still be at a high level. In the mean time, financial situation of state banks were more serious. In 1997, a proportion of bad debts occupied to 12.3% (13.3% according to the State Bank' report) of total debts and 128.5% of total capital. If 50% of bad debts could be collected, so about 65% of total capital of the banking system would be losen. For the whole Decade 90, total bad debt was always higher than total capital in state-owned enterprises. It was such an anxiety financial position, which was because of non-performing debts of enterprises, especially of the economic crisis which is so hard for recovering. In private sector, a proportion of debts in capitals was lower, but this rate of debts in total credits allowed for borrowing was above alarm level (13.5% in 1997). Debt-structure is toward worse, because a proportion of short-term debts and foreign-currency debts growed up. In 1997, in the overdue debts, the short-term debts occupied to 51.8%,

foreign-currency debts occupied to 40.7%, meanwhile, only 6.5% were the long-term debts.

- 3.4 According to formal reports, the financial state of the banking system in June 1999 was at a relative low level compared with estimations of economic specialists. Especially, several international auditing companies had confirmed that total loans at an interest rate of 0% would was higher than the value published by the State. Up to June 30, 1998, a proportion of overdue debts in total credit debts of state banks was only at 9.4%, meanwhile, the propotion in joint- stock commercial banks reached up to 16.6%. Bad-debt situations of joint-stock banks and joint-venture banks have caused the most considerable nail-biting. In contrary, the loan safety in branches of foreign banks proved that the branches had been automatically operated following market mechanism, which are not impacted from economic, political, and social organisations, and only foreign companies and joint- venture enterprises have the right to borrow their capital for the reason of safety.
- 3.5 To considerate the rate of bad debts in total overdue debts, we founded out a bad situation above mentioned: about 58% of total overdue debts of the banking system had been considered as bad debts, even as non-performing debts, which amouted to 5620 billions Dong. Especially, this density in state-owned banks was worse than it happen in join-venture banks. Although, an amount of credit loans was low in joint-venture banks, but there had been 93% of overdue debts being non-performing. For other considerable point, a proportion of overdue, and non-performing debts in the banks which were supplying services in agriculture and rural areas were much lower than other banks providing services in foreign economic relations (foreign commercial bank), or services for industrial services enterprises (industrial commercial bank). Therefore, the presentation above discribed indirectly show that the financial state in agriculture and rural areas were better than urban areas. The ability of the banking system Viet Nam have been in bad position, and easy to be shaken in difficulties. Capitals mobilised through the 4 state-commercial banks amounted to 80% of total capital mobilised through the banking system, but, in the beginning of 1998, the density of capital in their property and in credit debts were 5.3% and 8.9%.
- 3.6 During the establishment and renovation of public credit funds, several weak points arised as similar as they happened in the joint-stock commercial bank reform. The safety for credit activities continued to cause anxiety, althought, in different periods, it was not in the same serious situation. In the beginning of 1990, there were 470 public credit funds, who had been mobilising total capitals equal to 21.7 amounts of their owned capital, of which, 90% were short-term capital with the high benefit rate, and 93.8% of total capitals for borrowing, thus, 73% of the loans were not collected in time. Consequently, since the middle of 1990 to the end, 100% capital for borrowing had become overdue loans. As a natural result, most of the public credit funds had been in bankruptcy, and this was such reason, from which, many joint-stock banks

- 3.7 In the decade of 90, the reorganisation process of public credit funds had been cautiously carrying out together with issuing laws and regulations for their operation and state management. Up to February 1999, there were 975 credit funds operating in 53/61 provinces and cities of the country. Although, the danger of crisis was low, but for the period 1996 2000, many negative facts have appeared and harmed to the financial state. Up to February 1999, in public credit funds, the overdue debts had occupied 4.2% of total debts. Gap between income and expenditure was higher, about 30% of the credit funds had their income less than their expenditure. Operation of central and regional credit funds were better, but in many areas, the overdue debt had reached at a high level.
- 3.8 For the period 1999 2000, the State Bank of Viet Nam had applied solutions for reorganisation of public credit funds in accordance with the Law on Credit Organisations, and strengthening their supersition, direction and dealing with in order to minimize frozen-debts and avoid new crisis. Up to March of 2000, the rate of overdue debts in the total credit debts of the credit funds had been 2.1% in the northern mountain and midland areas, 4.2% in the Red River detail, 1.5% in the former area No 4, 2.8% in the North Central coast area, 3.0% in western highland, 2.0% in Southeast area, and 5.7% in Cuulong Delta area. The density of overdue debts in total debts had been reduced to 3.88%
- 3.9 During the enterprise and financial organisation renovation, many risks arised that was because of the overdue debts were at a highest level in the end of 1999. The Banking system' financial state were slowly improven in 2000, in the main, it was based on the economic rehabilitation and new initiatives of the Government. The economy has been rehabilitated since 2000, due to foreign demands has been increasing, also, the state budget revenues were increased by growing up of the price of oil in 2000; and due to the Government'policy on "stimulating the demands of investment and comsumtion", and the increasing of citizen' income, thus led to increasing domestic demands. Because of increase of the demands, sale runs very smoothly, thus enterprises could accumulate capital for not only reproduction, but also payment for their debts. For settlement debts, particularly frozen debts, the Government have undertaken initiatives such as wiping off a debt, and transformation of debts in to dividends. So that, rate of those debts in total debts has been continuously reduced for the last two years. By applying solutions, up to the end of 2000, Viet Nam has nearly remove two weak points of the banking system, the first of one was a characteristic of easy being affected by domestic and foreign crisis, and the other was the fragile ability in mobilising savings for investment in efficient projects.

In summary, the financial system and enterprise reforms have brought a lot of achievements that have been a pace of development and foundation for other reforms. In which, they had reciprocal affects and made each other developed. Enterprise's reform could not be successfully without renovation of the banking system. Incontrary, without innovation of enterprises, it is difficult to get successful in the banking system reform. Otherwise, without renovation of enterprises and the banking system, there is not establishment of the stock market. Incontrary, without establishment of the stock market, it is difficult for enterprises to mobilise capitals and to be achived in their equitization. However, during the reform, several risks and failures have also arisen, but, in the main, achievement has been attained. So that, the renovation of the banking system, financial organisations, and enterprises should have been continuously undertaking.

ヴィエトナムの経済発展の特徴と金融改革の課題

渡辺 愼一

ヴィエトナムにおける経済発展は、市場経済制度への移行、世界経済との統合、近代的工業社会への転換、といういくつもの制度的変化が同時に作用しあう複合的過程である。

集権的計画経済制度から市場経済制度への移行は、本質的に世界市場と結びついた開放経済への転換であり、国民経済を地域経済、世界経済と統合するためのさまざまな制度的変化と不可分である。これは、貿易財の市場が本来国境をもたず、世界的な広がりをもつためである。したがって、市場経済制度への移行のプロセスは、同時に、国際分業のなかにおける国民経済の再編成と役割の模索という側面を強くもち、移行のプロセスは、移行と統合という2つのモーメントが相互に影響を与え合いながら同時に進行する歴史的過程になる。

それに加えて、ヴィエトナムの場合には、さらにもうひとつのモーメントが加わってくる。小 農に基礎をおく伝統的農村社会から、工業に基礎をおいた近代的な経済社会への転換という開発 のモーメントである。小農経済と結びついた伝統的な市場は、重層するいくつもの相対的に閉じ た経済圏からなっており、規模の経済と外国貿易によって世界市場と結びついた近代的な市場と は、その編成原理と、したがって、市場の働きを支える制度的・組織的な基礎が全く異なってい る。海外市場との統合が国内経済の発展と結びつくためには、伝統的な市場を支える制度的組織 的な原理に、競争と国際分業に基づく近代的な市場原理がとって代わらなければならない。21世 紀への転換点という歴史的状況のなかで、その代替が、どのような仕組みで、どのような過程を 経て進んでいくのか。これがヴィエトナムにおける開発の問題である。

こうした複合的な特徴をもつヴィエトナム経済の発展過程を、他の低所得国、中国などと比較 し、それによってヴィエトナム経済の発展過程がもっている特徴をできるだけ正確に把握するこ と、これが本稿の主要な目的である。そこから、経済改革、特に、金融改革の課題を導出する。

第1節 フローのマクロ経済指標による比較

1. 消費・貯蓄パランス

表1は、支出面から見たGDPの構成比率が、1990年から1998年にかけてどのように変化したかを示している。2つの大きな変化が観察できる。ひとつは、民間消費/GDP比率が89.6%から71.1%に18.5%減少し、国内投資/GDP比率が14.4%から28.7%に14.3%増大したという事実である。1998年のヴィエトナムの構成比率は、表2に示された民間消費/GDP比率

70%、国内投資/GDP比率24%という(中国・インドを除く)低所得国の平均的な比率に近い。これは、ヴィエトナム経済が、民間消費/GDP比率が90%近くになるという危機的状況を短期間のうちに脱却し、90年代後半には、より多くの資源を資本の蓄積に振り向け、平均的な低所得国における消費と投資の構成比率をもつ成長経路に復帰することができたことを示している。ちなみに、この構成比率の変化は、中国のそれとも、また表3に示した移行経済のそれとも、全く異なっており、ヴィエトナムにおける経済政策の課題が、中国や他の移行経済の抱えている課題と、大きく異なっていることを示唆している。

表1 支出面から見たGDPの構成比率の変化: ヴィエトナム

	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998
民間消費/GDP比率	89. 6	79. 3	74. 7	74.4	71. 1
政府消費/GDP比率	7. 5	6. 9	8. 3	8. 4	7. 5
国内投資/GDP比率	14. 4	17. 6	25. 5	28. 1	28. 7
純輪出/GDP比率	-9. 2	-4. 1	-9. 4	-11.0	-7. 3
輸出/GDP	26. 4	34. 7	34. 0	40. 9	42. 0
輸入/GDP	35. 7	38. 8	43. 5	51.8	49. 3
統計上の誤差	-2. 2	0. 2	1. 1	0. 1	0. 0
国内貯蓄/GDP比率	5. 2	13. 5	16. 1	17. 1	21.4

出所: IMF (July 1999), Vietnam: Statistical Appendix, p. 3.

(国内貯蓄/GDP比率=国内投資/GDP比率+純輸出/GDP比率、筆者計算)

表2 支出面から見たGDPの構成比率の変化:低所得国(中国・インドを除く)

	中国・インドを除	中国	中国		
	1980	1998	1980	1998	
民間消費/GDP比率	65	70	51	44	
政府消費/GDP比率	11	. 9	15	13	
国内投資/GDP比率	22	24	35	39	
純輸出/GDP比率	2	-3	0	5	
輸出/GDP	25	27	6	22	
輸入/GDP	23	30	6	17	
国内貯蓄/GDP比率	24	20	35	43	

出所:WB (1999) Entering the 21st Century, World Development Report 1999/2000, pp. 254-255 (国内貯蓄/GDP比率=国内投資/GDP比率+純輸出/GDP比率、筆者計算)

表3 移行経済国における消費/GDP比率と投資/GDP比率の変化

	消費/GDP比率		投資/G	DP比率
	1980	1998	1980	1998
アルバニア	56	103	35	12
ブルガリア	- 55	70	34	12
ハンガリー	61	63	31	27
モンゴリア	44	60	63	23
ポーランド	67	65	26	24
ルーマニア	60	77	40	20

出所: WB (1999), Entering the 21st Century, World Development Report 1999/2000, pp. 254-255

2. 世界市場との統合

表1から見てとれるもうひとつの大きな変化は、1990年から1998年にかけて、輸出/GDPが26.4%から42.0%へ、輸入/GDP比率が35.7%から49.3%へと、ともに大きく増加したことである。1998年におけるヴィエトナムの値は、表2に示された低所得国の1998年の平均値(輸出/GDP比率27%、輸入/GDP比率30%)に較べて、輸出/GDP比率では15%、輸入/GDP比率では19%も大きい。ヴィエトナムでは、平均的な低所得国に較べて、1990年代に世界市場との統合の度合いがより大きく進んだことがわかる。

さらに、表1の数字を、表2の平均値と較べると、いくつかの興味深い事実がわかる。まず、ヴィエトナムの国内投資/GDP比率は低所得国平均よりも4.7%高いが、これはヴィエトナムの純輸出/GDP比率が平均よりも4.3%だけ低いことにほぼ対応している。1998年におけるヴィエトナムの国内貯蓄/GDP比率はほぼ低所得国の平均値に近く、平均よりも高い投資/GDP比率は、海外からの資本流入(海外貯蓄)によって支えられている。すなわち、平均的な低所得国に較べて、ヴィエトナムはより多くの海外資本を吸収し、それによって国内投資をまかなっている¹。

3. 成長率

表1は、また、1990年代を通して、ヴィエトナムの国内貯蓄/GDP比率が継続して増加したことを示している。この継続的な国内貯蓄率の増加は、定常的な資本の蓄積経路を上方にシフトさせ、成長率を高める効果を持つ。実際、表4は、1990年代のヴィエトナムの実質GDPの平均成長率(8.6%)が、低所得国の平均(3.6%)よりも5%も高かったことを示している。しかしながら、資本の限界生産性が資本蓄積によって低下する可能性を考慮すると、国内貯蓄率の増加による成長率の押し上げ効果は、一時的な効果にすぎない可能性がある。その場合、

^{1 1997}年の純民間資本流入額は19億9400万ドルであった。このうち、直接投資は、18億ドルであった。低所得国に対する直接投資は、440億2360万ドルと中国が飛びぬけて高く、次がインドで20億7900万ドル、その次がヴィエトナムであった。1997年に、インド・中国を除く低所得国のなかで、直接投資が10億ドルを超えたのは、ナイジェリアだけであった。

国内貯蓄率が現在の水準で安定すると、実質GDPの成長率も低所得国の平均なみに低下する可能性がある。

表4 実質GDPの成長率

	1980-90	1990-98
ヴィエトナム	4. 6	8. 6
低所得国平均(中国・インドを除く)	4. 1	3. 6
中国	10. 2	11. 1

出所: WB (1999), Entering the 21st Century, World Development Report 1999/2000, pp. 250-251

4. まとめ

これらの観察事実から、マクロ変数によって見たヴィエトナムにおける1990年代の経済発展は、次のような特徴をもっていることがわかる。まず、国内消費と国内貯蓄という関係では、ヴィエトナム経済は低所得国の平均的な姿に近く、中国とは大きく異なっている²。したがって、低所得国の平均成長率が3.6%であることを考えると、フローの国内貯蓄から見たヴィエトナムの潜在的な成長率は、およそ3.6%程度と推測できる。しかし、ヴィエトナムは、平均的な低所得国に較べて目立って貿易依存度が高く、また、平均的な低所得国に較べて海外からの資本流入の規模が大きい。これらの事実は、貿易や直接投資を通した技術伝播によって、1990年代にヴィエトナムにおいて、平均的な低所得国よりも技術進歩が急速に進んだ可能性があることを示している。国内貯蓄率の上昇が経済成長率に一時的な効果しかもたない可能性があるのに較べ、貿易や直接投資を通じた技術移転とそれによる技術進歩は、ヴィエトナムの人的資本を増大させることによって、ヴィエトナムの経済成長率を長期間、持続的に引き上げる効果をもつ可能性がある。

第2節 工業化と産業構造の変化

表5は、ヴィエトナムにおける産業構造が、付加価値比率で見て1990年代にどのように変化したかを示している。1990年から98年の10年足らずの間に、農業部門の比率は40.8%から26.0%に14.8%も低下した。その間、工業・建設部門の比率は22.8%から32.7%に9.9%上昇し、サービス部門の比率は36.4%から41.3%に4.9%増加した。表5は、この急速な変化によって、1998年のヴィエトナムの産業構造が、低所得国の平均的な産業構造とほぼ同じ産業構造を持つようになっ

² 1998年における、ヴィエトナムの1人あたりGNPは、世銀のアトラス法では、330ドルで、210カ国中180 位、PPP法では、1690ドルで、164位であった。中国・インドを除く低所得国の平均値は、アトラス法では380ドル、PPP法では1400ドルであった。したがって、ヴィエトナムの1人あたりGNPは、アトラス法では、低所得国の平均よりもやや低いが、PPP法ではやや高くなっている。1人あたりGNPでも、ヴィエトナムは、ちょうど、低所得国の平均的水準にあると判断してよいと思われる。

たことを示している。これは、支出面から見たヴィエトナムの経済構造が、低所得国の平均的な 姿に近いことに対応している。また、支出面でそうであったように、ヴィエトナムの産業構造は、 中国のそれとは大きく異なっている。

表 5 産業構造の変化

	ヴィエトナム		低所得国平均		t‡1	国	
	1990	1998	1980	1998	1980	1998	
農業部門/GDP比率	40.8	26. 0	29	25	30	18	
工業・建設部門/GDP比率	22. 8	32. 7	32	33	49	49	
サービス部門/GDP比率	36. 4	41. 3	39	42	21	33	

出所:ヴィエトナムは、IMF (July 1999). Vietnam: Statistical Appendix. p. 4. その他のデータは、WB (1999). Entering the 21st Century. World Development Report 1999/2000. p. 252.

第3節 人的資本による比較

フローのマクロ経済指標を使って比較した場合、現在のヴィエトナム経済は、平均的な低所得 経済の姿とほぼ一致し、中国や移行国とは大きく異なっていることがわかった。それでは、ストッ クのマクロ経済指標で比較した場合はどうだろうか。本節では、人的資本に関する指標を比較す る。

人的資本という側面から比較した場合、ヴィエトナムは、平均的な低所得国とは著しく異なっている。表6は、平均寿命、文盲率、就学率など、人的資本の蓄積水準を表す変数の値について、ヴィエトナムを低所得国平均、中国、中所得国平均と比較したものである³。ヴィエトナムの文盲率は男5%、女11%であり、中国・インドを除く低所得国平均の値である男30%、女47%とは比較にならないほど低い。就学率に関しても、比較時点は1980年とやや古いが、ヴィエトナムの中等教育の就学率は男44%、女40%であり、低所得国平均の値である男25%、女14%と較べると、約2倍から3倍近く高い。児童(10-14歳)労働力比率については、1998年時点での比較が可能であるが、ヴィエトナムの値は8%と、低所得国平均24%の3分の1しかなく、これはヴィエトナムにおける中等教育への就学率が高いことを反映していると思われる⁴。表6にあげた人的資本の蓄積水準に関連する変数のうち、中等教育の就学率に関してはやや見劣りがするものの、それ

³ 就学率に関するWorld Development Reportの表は、1997年度版以前と1998/1999年度版以降で大きく異なっており、最近の版では、表6のような比較ができなくなっている。

^{*} 表6は、ヴィエトナムの都市人口比率(20%)が低所得国平均(31%)より低いことを示している。一般に、都市地域の就学率の方が農村地域より高いが、それにもかかわらず、ヴィエトナムの就学率は、低所得国平均よりもはるかに高い。これは、ヴィエトナムの農村地域の就学率が低所得国平均よりも著しく高いことを示しており、低所得国平均に較べて、ヴィエトナムでは農村部に人的資本が大量に蓄積されていることを示している。

以外のすべての変数について、ヴィエトナムの値は、低所得国平均よりも、中国あるいは中所得国平均の値に近い。

表 6 人的資本の比較

	ヴィエトナム		低所得国平均		中国		中所得国平均	
	男	女	男	女	男	女	男.	女
平均寿命(1997)	66	71	55	58	68	71	66	72
文盲率(1997)	5	11	30	47	9	25	10	16
初等教育就学率(1980)	111	106	85	64	121	104	106	99
中等教育就学率(1980)	44	40	25	14	54	37	53	48
						* *		
	1980	1997	1980	1997	1980	1997	1980	1997
1000 人あたり幼児 (5 歳未満) 死亡数	105	40	151	97	65	39	NA	42
:					: *			
	1980	1998	1980	1998	1980	1998	1980	1998
児童(10-14 歳)労働力比率	22	8	29	24	30	10	10	6
都市人口比率	19	20	21	31	20	33	55	66

出所:WB (1999), Entering the 21st Century, World Development Report 1999/2000, p. 252. 低所得国平均は、中国・インドを除いたもの。就学率のデータは、WB (1997), The State in a changing world, World Development Report 1997, p. 225.

すなわち、人的資本という側面から見ると、ヴィエトナム経済は、低所得国の平均的な姿とは 大きく異なり、むしろ中国や中所得国のそれに強く近似している。この事実は、10年20年という 長期的な観点からヴィエトナム経済の潜在的な成長の可能性を見た場合、ヴィエトナム経済が中 所得国の所得水準に「追いつくこと」が決して非現実的な可能性ではないこと、その点で、ヴィ エトナムが直面している政策課題は平均的な低所得国とは異なっていることを示唆している。

第4節 近代的市場のための制度と組織の創出

近代的な市場経済が機能するためには、そのための制度的インフラが整備・強化される必要がある。本節では、企業活動の組織形態と金融制度に注目して、その現状を評価する。

1. 企業の組織形態の変化

表7は、国営部門によって生産された付加価値の対GDP比率を、経済全体および産業部門毎に示したものである。意外なのは、経済全体でみた国営部門の比重が、1990年の22.7%から1998年の36.9%へと、14.2%も増加していることである。これは、民間セクターの比重が低下していることを意味し、市場経済制度への移行国のなかでは、例外的である。WB(1996、p.15)によれば、ほぼ30の移行国のうち、1990年から95年にかけて、民間セクターの比重が低

下したのは、ヴィエトナム一国だけであった。ただし、既に1990年時点で、ヴィエトナムにおける民間セクターの比重は69.8%あり、これは他の移行国に較べて著しく高い。民間セクターの比重が40%を超えているのは中国だけであり、他の移行国における比率はすべて30%以下であった。

表7 国営セクターによって生産された付加価値/GDP比率の変化

	1990	1998
経済全体	22. 7	36. 9
農業部門	1. 6	1. 2
工業・建設部門	10. 3	15. 6
サービス部門	10. 7	20. 1

出所:ヴィエトナムは、IMF (July 1999)、Vietnam: Statistical Appendix, p. 4.

本節1. および2. の観察事実を併せて考えると、民間セクター(そのほとんどは農業部門である)が、1990年時点で、既に69.8%にも達していたという事実は、ヴィエトナムにおける移行という現象を、集権的中央計画経済制度から市場経済制度への移行という枠組みのなかで把握することが、必ずしも適当でないことを示唆している。

マクロ指標から判断する限り、ヴィエトナムにおける移行の本質的側面は、むしろ、危機的な経済状況にあった農村経済が、低所得国の平均的な成長経路と産業構造をもった経済にまで復帰してきた過程として捉えた方がよいように思われる。そのように考えるならば、国営企業部門が工業化の担い手になったという事実は、特に不思議ではない。膨大な数の零細自営企業が存在したとしても、それらの企業がそのままでは、規模の経済を活用した工業化の中心的な担い手になりえないのは、明らかであり、国営企業部門がその付加価値比率を増大させたということは十分にありえることである。

2. 銀行与信残高による比較

表8は、ヴィエトナムの銀行信用残高/GDP比率の値を、低所得国平均、中国、中所得国 平均のそれと比較したものである。1990年から95年にかけて、ヴィエトナムの銀行信用残高/ GDP比率は、15.9%から22.6%へと上昇したものの、中所得国平均の値52.9%は言うに及ば ず、低所得国平均の値37.4%に較べても、著しく低い。この事実は、ヴィエトナムにおける銀 行部門が、低所得国の平均的な姿に較べても、未発達であり、前節で見た「潜在的な高度成長」 を支持できるような組織的能力を持っていないことを示している。

^{5 1990}年代半ば以降、ヴィエトナムは、中国とインドを除くどの低所得国よりも多くの直接投資を受け入れたが、その多くは、国営企業と提携して、合弁企業を設立するという方法をとった。この合弁企業が、分類上は国営企業に数えられているために、国営企業部門の比重が増大した可能性が高い。すなわち、民間セクターの付加価値比率の低下という現象は、国営企業と外国企業との合弁企業を国営部門に算入しているための「統計上の事実」にすぎず、実体としての市場経済化は、生産組織レベルでも進んでいると思われる。

表8 銀行信用残高の比較

ヴィエトナム 低所得国平均 中所得国平均 ш \mathbb{T} 1990 1998 1990 1998 1990 1998 1990 1998 22.6 15. 9 38. 1 37. 4 90.0 120.057.9 52. 9

銀行信用残高/GDP比率

出所: WB (1999), Entering the 21st Century, World Development Report 1999/2000, p. 252. 低所得国平均は、中国・インドを除いたもの。

第5節 経済政策への含意

以上のようなヴィエトナム経済の発展過程の特徴は、今後の経済改革のあり方、特に金融改革のあり方に対して、どのような課題を提示しているだろうか。

- (1) フローの国内貯蓄から見たヴィエトナム経済の特徴は、他の移行経済や中国とは著しく異なっており、平均的な低所得国の姿に近い。その類推で考えると、ヴィエトナム経済のもっている成長能力は、低所得国の平均3.6%にすぎない。しかしながら、1990年代に、ヴィエトナム経済は、輸出、輸入両面で、平均的な低所得国に較べて、対外開放が非常に速く進み、また、海外からの直接投資も、中国・インドを除く低所得国の中では、例外的に大きかった。これは、2重の意味で、ヴィエトナム経済の成長率を高める効果を持ったと思われる。まず、国内投資/GDP比率を高めた。次に、貿易や直接投資を通じた技術移転や国内資源の有効利用によって、技術進歩率を高めた。こうした事実は、積極的な対外開放政策が1990年代のヴィエトナムの高度成長を支えてきたことを示唆しており、今後も、開放政策の堅持が重要である。
- (ii) ストック面では、人的資本の蓄積水準を示すいくつもの指標が、ヴィエトナムでは非常に高い値を示しており、人的資本の側面からは、中国や中所得国の水準に近い。これは、ヴィエトナムが低所得国の平均よりも速く成長し、中、長期的に、中所得国グループに到達する大きな可能性が存在することを示している。高水準の人的資本をどのようにしたら企業や市場の活動に活かし、それによって経済の高度成長を実現するか、それが大きな政策課題になる。
- (iii) 企業の資本蓄積を支える銀行信用の大きさを、銀行信用残高/GDP比率で見ると、ヴィエトナムの金融システムは、低所得国平均と較べても、著しく未発達である。フローとしての貯蓄率は回復しつつあるが、ストックとしての金融資産の蓄積水準は低く、金融システムが、企業部門の物的資本の蓄積を支持するという安定したメカニズムができていない。この面からの政策課題は、一般的なレベルでは、ほぼ自明である。安定で、効率的

⁶ この後者の「事実」は単なる推測にすぎない。しかしながら、長期的には、技術進歩率を高める効果の方が 重要になると思われる。

な金融制度と金融市場を構築しなければならない。それができないと、金融深化が進まず、潜在的な成長の可能性は現実のものにならない。

第6節 結語

マクロ的な成長過程だけに注目した場合でも、その成長過程を構成するひとつひとつの過程は、固有の初期条件と固有の時間軸に従って変化していくために、発展過程には必然的に跛行性が伴う。本稿では、ヴィエトナムにおける発展過程を低所得国平均、中国などのそれと比較し、それによって、ヴィエトナムにおける発展過程の特徴の把握を試みた。その結果、ヴィエトナムにおける発展過程が、低所得国平均に近い国内貯蓄と産業構造、中所得国なみの人的資本、低所得国平均に遠く及ばない金融システム、というきわめて跛行性の強い特徴をもつことが明らかになった。

問題は、この跛行性が今後の経済の発展過程と経済改革のあり方に対してもつ含意である。低所得国平均にすら届かない未発達な金融制度と金融市場が障害になって、潜在的な成長力が現実のものにならず、人的資本の指標すら低所得国なみに後退してしまう可能性はないだろうか。 どのような条件があれば、金融システムの改革はより急速に進展するだろうか。この問題は、もうひとつの論文で取り上げて検討する。

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アドホックな措置と構造改革の複合効果の分析

渡辺 慎 一 国際大学

はじめに

渡辺[第2章-1 F-3] は、1998年時点におけるヴィエトナム経済の到達点の特徴を次の3 点に要約している。

- (i)消費・貯蓄バランスから見たヴィエトナム経済の特徴は、東欧や旧ソ連邦などの移行経済とも、また、中国とも著しく異なっており、平均的な低所得国の姿に近い。したがって、経済のもっている基本的な成長の可能性を消費・貯蓄バランスを基礎にして考えると、ヴィエトナム経済のもっている基本的な成長能力は、低所得国の平均(1990年代で言えば3.6%)になる。同じことが、産業構造にも当てはまり、ヴィエトナムの部門別産業構造は低所得国の平均とほぼ等しい。しかしながら、ヴィエトナム経済は、輸出、輸入両面で、平均的な低所得国に較べて海外経済との統合水準がきわめて高く、また、海外からの直接投資も、中国・インドを除く低所得国の中では、例外的に大きい。こうした海外経済との密接な関連は、2重の意味で、ヴィエトナム経済の潜在的な成長率を高めている。まず、貿易や直接投資を通じた技術移転や国内資源の有効利用によって、平均的な低所得国よりも、技術進歩率が高くなる。次に、低所得国の中では例外的に大きな直接投資は、国内貯蓄率を超えた国内投資/GDP比率の実現を可能にする。こうした事実は、ヴィエトナム経済が、平均的な低所得国よりも高い潜在的な成長率を持っていることを示唆している。
- (ii) さらに、一般的な人的資本の蓄積水準を示すいくつもの指標が、ヴィエトナムでは非常に高い値を示しており、一般的な人的資本の側面からは、低所得国の平均よりも中国や中所得国の水準に近い。これは、もし高水準の一般的な人的資本がもっている可能性を企業や市場の活動と結びつけることに成功するならば、学習効果によって、ヴィエトナム経済は低所得国の平均よりも速く成長し、中長期的に、中所得国グループに到達する大きな可能性が存在することを示している。
- (iii) しかしながら、市場経済の働きを支える制度インフラの整備という点では、ヴィエトナムは未だに非常に立ち遅れている。銀行信用の大きさを、銀行信用残高/GDP比率で見ると、ヴィエトナムの金融システムは、低所得国平均と較べても、著しく未発達であり、

企業部門の物的資本の蓄積を支持することのできる安定した金融システムができていない。近代的な市場経済に適合した経営制度をもつ民間企業部門も育っていない。

すなわち、1990年代末におけるヴィエトナム経済は、低所得国平均と比較したとき、それと類似した消費・貯蓄バランスおよび産業構造、それよりも著しく高い海外経済との統合度合いと一般的な人的資本の水準、それに遠く及ばない金融システム、というきわめてアンバランスな特徴をもっている。

「低所得国平均に遠く及ばない金融システム」というヴィエトナム経済の特徴は、1980年代のハイパーインフレと1990年に全国規模で起きた信用組合の全面的な崩壊を反映している。実際、1990年におけるヴィエトナムの銀行信用残高/GDP比率は15.9%と低所得国平均の38.1%の半分にも満たなかった。しかしながら、多くの経済発展の指標が1990年から98年の間にきわめて大きな変化を示したのに較べ、銀行信用残高/GDP比率は1998年時点において未だに22.6%という低水準に止まっている。この事実は、銀行部門の発展あるいは金融深化一般に対して政府がきわめて「無関心」であったという事実と無関係ではない。渡辺 [1999] は、金利規制が銀行部門全体を不安定化し、それによって成長過程そのものを頓挫させてしまう可能性について政策当局が十分な注意を払ってこなかったこと、また、金利規制を中心とした金融規制が、銀行部門が発展段階の初期にあり、銀行部門の経営基盤を強化するためには多額の投資が必要であるという事実を十分に考慮してこなかったことの2点を指摘している。

このような銀行部門の発展あるいは金融深化一般に対する政府の「無関心」とも言うべき状況が生み出された一因は、銀行部門を中心とする金融システムに投資調整を委ねることに対する不安と抵抗が、政府内部に集権的計画制度からの遺制としてまだ存在しているためである。しかし、同時に、「金融市場が機能するためには、投資資金の配分に関する政府機関の権限を廃止するだけでは十分でなく、企業と金融機関と家計を結びつける情報と信頼のインフラが必要であり、その建設のためには投資も時間も必要である」」という事実が十分に認識されてこなかったということも、「無関心」の大きな理由であった。

しかしながら、アジア危機の影響による不良債権問題の深刻化によって、政府は銀行部門の安定性に対してこのような「無関心」を続けることができなくなっている。アジア危機は、不安定な銀行部門を抱えたまま海外市場との統合を進めても、それが持続的な成長にはつながらないことを誰の目にも明らかにした。銀行部門の整備の遅れという事実が今後のヴィエトナム経済の発展にとって重大な制約要因になる可能性が高まっている。低所得国平均にすら届かない未発達な金融制度と金融市場は、その発展の初期段階で既に不良債権問題という難しい問題を抱えてしまった。どのようにすれば、このような状態から抜け出し、より速く、より着実に金融システムの整備を進めることができるだろうか。本稿が取り上げて検討するのは、この問題である。

この節の詳細な議論は渡辺(1999)参照。

第1節 不良債権問題とアドホックな措置

1. 不良債権問題

1997年に始まったアジア危機に伴う外部経済環境の変化によって、順調に推移するかに見えたヴィエトナム経済の地域経済、世界経済との統合過程は、大きな困難に直面することになった。確かに、きわめて深刻な金融的、経済的、政治的危機に直面した多くのアセアン諸国に比べると、アジア危機がヴィエトナム経済の成長経路に与えた影響は、中国と並んで、軽微とすら言ってよい。しかしながら、これは、影響そのものの大きさが軽微であったという意味ではない。ヴィエトナム経済にとっては、きわめて大きな打撃であった。実質GDPの成長率は、危機以前の1996年9.3%から、97年8.2%、98年5.8%、99年4.8%へとほぼ半分に落ち込んでしまった。ドルベースで測った輸出、輸入それぞれの成長率も、輸出が1996年41.1%から、97年24.6%、98年2.4%へ、輸入が96年25.5%から97年-0.2%、98年-1.1%へと大きく低下した。直接投資の実行額は、1996年19億6000万ドル、97年20億7400万ドルと、97年になっても高水準を持続していたが、98年になって8億ドルと、半分以下に低下した2。

こうしたマクロ経済環境の大きな変化は、それまで順調に進んできたかに見えた制度革新のプロセスが、実はさまざまな限界と問題を抱えていたことを浮き彫りにした。企業部門の財務状態が悪化し、それが銀行部門の資産内容を悪化させ、不良債権問題が緊急の問題になった3。1998年夏に、中央銀行は民間株式銀行の財務状態に関する一斉検査を実施したが、その結果、1998年6月末時点において、民間株式銀行52行中、その延滞債権比率が20%を超えるものが10行、50%を超えるものが4行、90%を超えるものが2行あるという、やや信じがたい状況が存在することがわかった4。これらの数値は、いくつもの株式銀行が1998年半ばに、既に、著しい債務超過の状態にあったことを示している。

民間株式銀行に較べると国営商業銀行の財務状態はかなり「まし」であった。延滞債権比率の所有形態による内訳は、国営商業銀行8.2%、民間株式銀行15%、外国銀行および合弁銀行2.3%であり、国営商業銀行の延滞債権比率は民間株式銀行の半分近い値である。しかしながら、IMF (1999) によれば、8.2%という国営商業銀行の延滞債権比率は、国営商業銀行の財務状態を正確に反映していない。国際標準の会計に従えば、1997年末時点で既に、国営商業銀

² IMF (1999) . Table 27 (p. 29) . Table 31 (p. 33) .

³ 貸出債権は担保の有無、支払期日のきた元利金の延滞期間に応じて分類されており、担保付の債権に関しては、正常債権(支払期日がきていない債権)、短期延滞債権(延滞期間180日未満)、長期延滞債権(延滞期間180日以上360日未満)、「不良債権」(360日以上)の4種類に分類されている。延滞債権は、短期長期の延滞債権および「不良債権」の合計額であり、回収不能あるいは困難な債権という本来の意味での不良債権の物差しとして使われている。

^{4 1998}年6月30日時点の延滞債権比率は、Incombank17.59%、Vietcombank12.78%、BIDV1.77%、VBARD3.57%であった。延滞債権比率が10%を超えた株式銀行は以下のとおり。Tu Giac Long Xuyen 98%、Nam Do 94%、Hai Phong 62%、VP Bank 54%、Gia Dinh 47%、De Nhat 39%、Viet Hoa 29%、Saigon Bank 28%、Phu Tam 26%、Dai Nam 21%、Habubank 18%、Eximbank 17%、Mekong Bank 16%。

行の延滞債権比率は全体で30%から35%にも達しており、特に、農業銀行(VBARD)と投資開発銀行(BIDV)の延滞債権比率が17%から25%であったのに対し、工商銀行(IncomBank)と外国貿易銀行(VietcomBank)は40%から45%にも達している、とIMFは主張している。

2. アドホックな措置と「3体問題」

このような状況に直面して、国営企業と国営銀行の窮状を救うために、政府は矢継ぎ早にさまざまなアドホックな措置を実施した⁵。それらの措置は、どれも、国営企業の債務返済の負担を軽減しようとしたものであった。しかも、アドホックな措置の日付の遅いものほど、債務の返済を繰り延べるための条件が一般的で曖昧なものになってきており、最終的には、財務難に陥った国営企業には、実質的に、ほぼ無条件で元本や利子の支払いの繰り延べを認めるといった内容に近いものになった。これらの事実が示しているのは、銀行部門の改革・強化という課題が、国営企業部門の改革抜きには達成できないという事実である。アドホックな措置は、「銀行部門の改革と国営企業部門の改革は双対問題である」という良く知られた事実を、再び確認することになった。

しかし、アドホックな措置を詳しく読むと、銀行部門の改革、国営企業部門の改革という課題が、実は、もうひとつの課題、行政改革と密接に結びついており、銀行部門の改革は、国営企業部門の改革、行政部門の改革と結びついた3つの改革の一部であること、いわば「3体問題」であることが分かる6。ここでは1998年10月3日付の中央銀行総裁指示第8号「貸付債権の質を向上させ、それによって経済成長を促進し、銀行部門の安全性と効率性を高めるための中央銀行総裁指示」をとりあげ、その内容をやや詳しく検討してみよう。この中央銀行総裁指示は、銀行部門の改革、国営企業部門の改革、行政改革の3者を切り離すことができないことを明瞭に示している。

「延滞期間が1年以上になる「不良債権」に関しては、経営が悪化し元利の支払いが本当に困難な企業の場合には、債務の返済条件を借り手企業の支払い能力に応じたものに変更する。 元本分だけの返済が可能な企業の場合には、利子相当分の支払いは延期する。また、延滞による超過金利を除けば元利の返済が可能な場合には、延滞による超過金利は免除する。

延滞期間が1年以下の債権に関しても、企業経営が赤字であったり、「生産過程が完了していない」場合には、延滞債権全体の15%を超えない範囲で返済期間を延長することができる。 支払い能力があるにもかかわらず延滞を続けている企業の場合には、企業の監督機関(省庁、

[。] アドホックな措置の詳細については、渡辺愼一、レー・クォック・リー(1999、pp. 3 - 23)を参照。

^{6 「3}体問題」というのは3つの天体がニュートンの運動法則に従って運動するとき、その一般解を解析的に 求めることができないという事実を指す。銀行部門、国営企業部門、行政部門の3部門の改革が、相互に関 連して複雑な様相を呈するという事実を表すのに適しているように思われる。

省や地区の人民委員会など)に積極的に協力を依頼して資金の回収をはかる。返済期間を延長 したにもかかわらず、延長した返済期間が過ぎてもなお支払いが行われない場合には、経済裁 判所(そこで受理されなかった場合には人民裁判所)に提訴し、銀行が必要と判断する場合に は、訴訟経過について一般市民に新聞で知らせる。

また、銀行は自己の責任で貸出を決定する権限と責任をもち、次のようなガイドラインに従って意思決定を行う。まず、通常のローンの場合には、ローンの申込書が法律上必要な条件を満たしていなかったり、プロジェクトの成功の見込みが薄かったり、プロジェクトで採用される技術が陳腐であったり、借り手の返済能力に問題がある場合には、銀行はローンの供与を拒否する権限を持つ。しかし拒否する場合には、拒否の理由をローンを申し込んだ企業およびその監督機関に通知しなければならない。

借り手のプロジェクトが国の投資計画に組み込まれていて優遇金利が適用される場合にも、 銀行は通常のローンと同じようにプロジェクトの評価を行い、問題があると判断した場合には ローンの供与を拒否する権利をもつ。拒否した場合には、ローンを申し込んだ企業、計画投資 省、中央銀行、監督機関のすべてにその理由を通知しなければならない。

首相決定に基づくプロジェクトの場合には、銀行はその決定に従ってローンを提供しなければならない。しかし問題を発見した場合には中央銀行総裁に直ちに報告しなければならない。」

これらが中央銀行総裁指示第8号の主要な内容である。字面だけでは指示が何を意味しているのかわかりにくい。しかし、借り手と貸し手の間の自発的な信用取引という市場原則とは全く異質なロジックが強力に働いていることはたやすく見て取ることができる。信用を供与するかどうかを決定する時点でも、延滞債権の回収時点でも、銀行の意思決定に行政機関が干渉する余地がきわめて大きい。また、指示は、借り手のモラル・ハザードの問題がまん延していることを示唆しているだけでなく、それを解決するために、監督機関の協力を得るように指示している。しかし、監督機関と国営企業の癒着とも言うべき状況が、モラル・ハザードの問題の背後にある以上、モラル・ハザードの問題を行政的な解決に委ねることには自明とも言うべき限界があろう。これらの事実は、銀行改革、行政改革、国営企業改革の3者を、その相互関連において、「3体問題」の一部として考える必要を示している。

3. アドホックな措置の長期的な効果

確かに、アドホックな措置によって、短期的には、国営企業の財務難が経営破綻につながるといった事態は避けることができた。しかし、それは、長期的には、借り手としての国営企業の財務規律を弱め、財務体質の抜本的な強化という基本的な問題を先送りし、貸し手である銀行部門の信用リスクを高め、その安定性を損なう、という重大な副作用を生んでいる可能性がある。一時的に外的なショックを緩和できたとしても、アドホックな措置がいくつも積み重ねられて行くことで、制度改革の大きな流れが停滞し、長期的な成長経路が非効率で不安定なも

のになってしまう可能性が存在する。この懸念は、アドホックな措置のしわ寄せが集中しやすい金融部門については、特にあてはまる⁷。効率的で安定した金融システムを作り、それによって国民経済全体の安定した成長を支持する、という長期的な金融改革の流れを、国営企業や国営銀行を救うためのアドホックな措置が押し止めてしまう可能性はないだろうか。銀行部門が抱える信用リスクを正確に評価することは不可能であるが、国営銀行が保有する資産から貸倒れリスクの引当金を差引いた場合、いくつかの国営銀行は既に債務超過に陥っているとも言われている。また、アドホックな措置によって現在は債務超過に陥っていない場合でも、国営企業の経営リスクが国営銀行の財務状態にそのまま伝播してしまう潜在的な危険はかえって大きくなっている。

しかしながら、国営企業に替わる新しい借り手の開拓は、さらに遅れている。国営企業に対する資金の流れを確保するためのアドホックな措置は、銀行部門に対する健全性規制の強化とあいまって、民間企業に対する厳しい信用制限を生み出す一因になっている。また、民間企業に対する貸し倒れリスクが、国営企業に対するそれよりもかなり高いという事実も、民間企業に対する資金フローを著しく細くする重要な要因になっている。これには、銀行が既に多額の不良債権を抱えている状況で、アドホックな措置と同時にプルーデンス規制が強化されているという事実も密接に関連している。

一方で、長期的な視野にたった金融改革の努力が続けられ、金融取引を支えるための法制度の整備が進んでいる。これらの金融制度の長期的な構造改革が送り出しているのは、「個々の経済主体が、政府の保護に頼らず、自己責任に基づく自律的な経営主体に転換しなければならない」というシグナルである。しかし、国営企業の債務の返済負担を軽減するために次々と採られたアドホックな措置は、それとは、正反対のシグナルを銀行や企業に送っている。すなわち、「ソフトな予算制約」は廃止されないというシグナルである。このような2つの相反するシグナルは、銀行や企業の経営者の間に、ヴィエトナムがどこに向かっているのかについてさまざまに異なった期待を生み出し、市場経済制度への移行過程を不確実なものにしている。債務の返済を緩和するアドホック措置が一時的な措置にすぎず、将来は明瞭な市場規律が適用される(債務の支払いができない企業は倒産法によって処理される)と信じる銀行や国営企業の経営者は、アドホックな措置によって得られる時間と資金を、経営改革や民営化を推進するために使うだろう。しかし、アドホックな措置が財務難に陥った国営企業を救うために将来も繰

⁷ 問題債権や不良債権などへの、金融機関が抱える債権の分類は、客観的な基準が存在せず、政府や中央銀行が規定する制度の詳細に依存するため、金融機関の保有する分類債権の構成と借手の返済能力の間には、必然的に恣意的、政策的な要因が入り込まざるを得ない。また、金融仲介という産業特性をもち、かつ、銀行の場合には中央銀行信用も利用可能であるため、金融機関は他の産業部門の企業に較べて資金の取入れが容易である。これらの事情があるために、非金融企業の財務難が金融機関の保有する債権の質を低下させる場合でも、それが債権の質の低下として認識され処分されるまでにはかなりの時間的な遅れが生ずる。逆に、借り手企業の財務難が一時的なものである場合には、それを債権の質の低下として認識し処分する必要が生じない。アドホックな措置のしわ寄せが金融部門に集中しやすいのは、金融部門がこのような柔軟性をもっているためである。

り返されると信じる銀行や国営企業の経営者は、痛みを伴うような改革はできるだけ先送りしようとしているだろう。ヴィエトナムではどちらの傾向が支配的だろうか。アドホックな措置は長期的な改革を挫折させてしまうだろうか。それとも、当面の危機的状況が去った後で、再び、長期的な改革の方向がハッキリと見えてくるだろうか。

このような問題を分析するためには、ミクロな個人や組織のレベルにまで下がって、問題を再構成してみることが必要である。次節で、それを試みる。

第2節 改革の持続と停滞

ミクロな個人や組織のレベルで制度変化への誘因がどのようにして生まれてくるかという問題を考える上で、North [1990] の議論は多くの示唆を与えてくれる。ノースは、制度変化のプロセスが「制度に関する規模の経済」と市場の不完全性の2つの要因によって形成されると主張している。新しい制度(ゲームのルール)を作りだすためには多くの初期投資が必要である。また、新しい制度のもとで新しく生まれてくる経済的機会を捉え、それを個々の経済主体の利益に結びつけるためには、それに必要な技能や技術を学習しなければならない。そのため、制度変化による利益が十分に大きくなって、制度変化に必要な固定費用を大きく上回るようにならないと制度変化は生まれない8。また、市場が不完全であると、市場の働き方に関して多くの相互に矛盾する見方やイデオロギーが共存することができ、どのような制度変化が必要かに関して共通の理解を形成しにくい。そのために制度変化のプロセスは、必ずしもより効率的な制度へと変化せず、かえって効率性がより劣るような制度へと収束していく可能性もある。

本節では、このようなノースの議論を手がかりにして、ミクロなレベルでの銀行改革への誘因を一般化したモデルを構築し、ヴィエトナムにおける金融改革の可能性を検討する。モデル自体は制度改革に関する渡辺 [2000] のモデルを修正したものである。以下の分析で明らかになるように、モデルから出てくる制度改革の経路は、効率的な市場経済制度へ収束する場合も、非効率な中央計画制度に収束する場合もありうる。2つの条件がこのような複数の可能性を得る上で鍵になる。ひとつは、経済全体としての制度改革の経路がミクロなレベルにおける制度改革への誘因と整合的でなければならないという条件、もうひとつは、ミクロなレベルでの制度改革への誘因の強さはその主要な取引相手が国営企業であるか民間企業であるかによって左右されるという条件である。

⁸ Northの議論は、規模の経済をもった技術の変化に関するArthur [1988] の議論を、制度変化に応用したものである。典型的な規模の経済をもった技術は、(1) 大規模な初期投資または固定費用、(2) 大きな学習効果、(3) 同じ技術を採用した他の経済主体との間で得られる協同効果、(4) その技術がさらに多くの経済主体によって採用されるであろうという期待効果、などの性質を持ち、その結果、経済は一般に、(1) 複数均衡、(2) 非効率な技術の残存、(3) ロック・イン効果、(4) 経路依存性、といった特徴を持つようになる。

1. モデル

ひとつの変数 I の値によって複雑な制度の全体を表すことができるものと仮定する。 I は最も広義の意味における制度を表し、政府や銀行など資金配分の決定に関連する組織や個人の意思決定を制約するあらゆる規則やルーティーンを含むものとする。国家所有に基づく集権的中央計画経済制度はI=0、私的所有に基づく市場経済制度はI=1、現実の経済制度 I は集権的中央計画経済制度に近いか市場経済制度に近いかによって区間 I の値をとるものとする。したがって、純粋な市場経済制度に近くなるほど制度変数 I の値は大きくなって1に近づくI 。

企業部門は国営企業部門とその他の非国営企業部門(民間企業、自営業、農家などを含む)に分かれるものとし、変数Xは非国営企業部門へ配分された資金の割合を表すものとする。Xは [0, 1] の間の値をとり、その値が1に近いほど非国営企業部門への資金配分の割合が大きい。

国営企業部門に投下された資本1単位あたりの生産性をRs(I)、非国営企業部門に投下された資本1単位あたりの生産性をRn(I)で表す。ここで注目しているのは企業の組織形態(sかnか)とその制度(Iの値)の適合性であり、資本投入量の増加が生産性に与える負の効果(資本の限界生産性の低下)は無視する。集権的中央計画経済制度の下では、国営企業という組織形態は他のどの組織形態よりも国家計画の実行に適した企業の組織形態であり、計画経済という制度の下では他のどの組織形態よりも生産性が高いものとする。他方、非国営企業部門は市場経済制度の下で最も生産性が高く、集権的計画経済制度のもとではさまざまな規制によって生産性が低いものとする。形式的には次の3つの条件を仮定する。

- (A1) 国営企業部門の資本1単位あたりの生産性Rs(I)は制度変数 I が増加するにつれて減少する。すなわち、制度が市場経済制度に近づくにつれてその生産性が減少する。
- (A2) 非国営企業部門の資本1単位あたりの生産性Rn(I)は制度変数 I が増加するにつれて増加する。すなわち、制度が市場経済制度に近づくにつれてその生産性が増加する。
- (A3) Rs(0) > Rn(0)。集権的中央計画経済制度の下では資本1単位あたりの生産性は国営企業の方が非国営企業よりも高い。
- (A4) Rs(1) 〈Rn(1)。市場経済制度の下では資本1単位あたりの生産性は非国営企業の方が 国営企業よりも高い。

[。] 議論を簡単にするために、本章では省略するが、制度の全体がマクロな制度 I_c とミクロな制度 I_c ($i=1,2,\ldots,k$) の組み合わせ、(I_c , I_1 , I_2 , I_3 , …, I_k) で表わされたとき、I はそれらの過重平均、 $I=a_0I_c+a_1I_1+a_2I_2+a_3I_3+\cdots+a_kI_k$ である。ここで、 I_c は法律のように社会全体で決められる制度、 I_i ($i=1,2,3,\cdots,k$) は貸出に関する銀行内規のような i 番目の主体がその意思決定のために選ぶことのできる制度、k は意思決定の主体の数、 a_0 , a_1 , …, a_k はその和が 1 になるような正の数。本節の議論では、マクロな制度 I_c の変化は無視し、ミクロな制度 I_l の変化の和として制度 I_l の変化を考える。

¹⁰ 集権的計画経済における国営企業部門の生産性が、モラルハザードと逆選択の問題が存在するために、低下する傾向をもつということは現在では良く知られている。いわゆるソフトな予算制約の問題である。その仕組みについては、例えば、渡辺 [1993] 参照。

(A5) Rs(0) 〈Rn(1)。集権的中央計画経済における国営企業の生産性よりも、市場経済における民間企業の生産性のほうが高い10。

図1は仮定(A1) - (A5)の下で成立する資本の生産性と制度変数 I の関係を図示している。国営企業部門の生産性Rs (I) と非国営企業部門の生産性Rn (I) は必ず交点を持つ。両者がちょうど等しくなるような制度が I *であるI"。

最後に、資本の配分Xと制度環境 I の変化の仕方に関する仮定を設ける。 t 時点における資本の配分X(t) は、 1 時点前の資本の配分X(t-1)、 t 時点初頭の制度 I(t)、 長期的な将来時点で予想される制度 I が与えられたとき、次のようなダイナミックな関係によって規定されるものとする。

(式1) $X(t) = X(t-1) + G(Rn(I(t)) - Rs(I(t)), Rn(I^c) - Rs(I^c))$

(式1)は、t時点における部門間の資本の配分が、t-l時点における資本の配分と、t時点および長期的な将来の部門間の生産性の差に依存して決まってくるという仮定を表している。ここで

(A 5) $\delta G/\delta (Rn (I (t)) - RS (I (t))) \ge 0$, $\delta G/\delta (Rn (I^c) - RS (I^c)) \ge 0$, G (0, 0) = 0

制度変数 I の変化の仕方を描写するために、現時点および長期的な将来の資本の配分 (X(t), Xe) が与えられたとき、時点 t でその配分を最も効率良く支持するような望ましい制度H(X(t), Xe) という概念を導入する。望ましい制度Hと実際の制度 I のギャップが、制度変化の誘因を作り出すことになる。ここで、

^{11 1*}は、いわゆるレベル・プレーイング・フィールドに対応している。

¹² 注15との関連で言えば、経済全体の資本配分Xは、個々の金融機関による資本配分Xiの過重平均である。

とする。この仮定は現在の資本配分および将来時点で予想される資本配分が望ましい制度に与える影響を表している。現時点で、あるいは将来、非国営企業部門により多くの資本が配分される(Xが大きくなる)場合には、銀行など資金配分に従事する経済主体にとって市場型の評価基準や意思決定のルールを採用するほうがより効率的な結果が得られ、逆に、国営企業部門により多くの資本が配分される場合には、経済計画に見合った意思決定のルールやプロセスの方が効率的な結果が得られるという仮定である。

さて、制度 I は時点 t の終わりに変化するものとし、変化の仕方は望ましい制度II(t) と現存の制度I(t) の差に依存するものとする。すなわち、

(式2) $I(t+1) = I(t) + F(H(X(t), X^c) - I(t))$

とする。関数Fは制度変化の調整コストに依存する関数で、

 $(A 8) \quad 0 \le F' 1, F(0) = 0.$

を満たすものとする。最初の条件は、現在および長期的に見た将来時点での資本の配分が与えられたとき、望ましい制度Hと現実の制度Iの差が大きいほど制度環境の変化も大きくなるという仮定である。2番目の仮定は、望ましい制度Hと実際の制度Iが等しい時、制度はそのまま変化しないという条件である。資本配分X の長期的な期待値が与えられた時、(式2)において I(t+1)=I(t) となるのは、I(t)=H(X(t),X) の関係を満たすときである。I(t) $\langle H(X(t),X)$ の時は、I(t) が増加し、逆に、I(t) $\langle H(X(t),X)$ の時は、I(t) が適かする。また、X の値が大きくなると、所与のX(t) に対して制度が変化しないようなI(t) の値は増加する。すなわち、X(t) が同じでも、I(t) が増加する可能性が増大する。

実際の制度 I 、生産性格差Rn (I) -Rs (I) 、資本配分X 、望ましい制度Hの関係を図2 に簡単化して示した。

図3は(式1)と(式2)で表された(X, I)の位相図である。横軸は資本の配分X、縦軸は制度 I を表している。(X(t), I(t))の変化を示す矢印は、X(t)、I(t)の変化に関する上述の議論をまとめたものである。直線I(t) =I(I) よりも上の領域ではX(t)が増加し、下の領域ではX(t)が減少する。曲線I(t) =I(X(t), X0 よりも上の領域では、I(t)が減少し、下の領域ではX(t)が増加する。図3では、定常点が3つ存在し、定常点(1, 1)および(0, 0)が安定、残りのひとつが不安定である。

2. 2つの経路

図4の経路1と経路2は、初期時点 t₀における制度I(l₀)がI(Ie)よりも小さいとき、本節で描写した経済には2つの可能性が存在することを示している。経路1は定常点(1, 1)に収束する経路であり、金融システムは市場経済型へ転換するのに成功し、かつ非国営企業部門が生産の全体を担うようになる。初期時点における制度I(t₀)は計画経済の遺制によってI(Ie)より小さく、そのために当初は非国営企業部門への資本の配分は減少する。しかし、制度改革が進みIがI(Ie)を超えると、非国営企業部門への資本の配分は増加し始め、それに見合って制度改革も同時に進む。そのため、制度改革と非国営部門の拡大の両者が影響しあい、累積的な改革プロセスが現出する。これに対し経路2は定常点(0,0)へ収束する経路であり、市場経済型への転換に失敗し集権的な計画経済制度へ戻ってしまう場合である。この場合には、非国営企業部門は結局育つことができず、国営企業部門が生産の全体を担うことになる。図1で仮定したように、市場経済制度の下における非国営企業部門の生産性Rn(I)の方が集権的中央計画経済制度の下における国営企業の生産性Rs(0)よりも大きい場合には、経済は非効率な罠にはまったまま脱け出せなくなってしまう。

3. アドホックな措置と構造改革の複合効果

市場経済制度へ移行するための長期的な構造改革は、長期的な期待値(X^c , I^c)を増加させる。これは、直線I(t)= $I(I^c)$ を下にシフトさせ、曲線I(t)= $I(X(t), X^c)$ を上にシフトさせる。これらのシフトが図5で示されているように十分に大きいと、(1, 1)だけが定常点になり、すべての経路が効率的な定常点に収束する。

他方、アドホックな措置は、それが国営企業部門の資本の生産性と民間企業部門の資本の生産性に差別的な影響を与えることを通して、移行過程のダイナミックスに関係してくる。図6は、アジア危機のような負のショックによって資本の生産性が一般的に低下したとき、アドホックな救済措置によって国営企業部門の生産性の低下が民間企業部門のそれよりも小さくてすむ場合を示している。所与のIの値に対して、Rn(I)の低下の方がRs(I)の低下よりも大きいため、Rn(I)-Rs(I)が減少する。したがって、(式 1)で、I $^{\circ}$ が与えられた時、X(t)=X(t-1) となるようなI(t)の値は増加する。すなわち、直線I(t)=I(I $^{\circ}$ </sub>)は上にシフトする。その結果生ずる位相図の変化が図7に示してある。長期的な期待値(X° , I°)が変化しなくても、アドホックな措置は、資本の配分を支配する直線I(I°)を上にシフトさせ、民間企業部門への資本配分X(t)が減少する領域を広げる。その結果、アドホックな措置は、長期的にみて非効率な定常点(0、0)に収束する領域を広げる効果を持つ。

以上の議論は、長期的な構造改革とアドホックな措置が、資本の配分を支配するI(I^{e)}をめぐってちょうど逆の効果を及ぼしあっていることを示している。どちらの効果が強いかによって、国営企業部門と民間企業部門に対する資本配分の仕方が変わってくると同時に、制度変化のプロセスがどの定常点に収束するかが左右される。

4. ヴィエトナムの現状と展望

それでは、ヴィエトナムの現状はどの図で最も良く近似できるだろうか。ここでは、ヴィエトナムの現状が図5で示されるほど楽観的でも、図7で示されるほど悲観的でもなく、その中間の図4で近似できたと仮定する。その場合、ヴィエトナムは2つの経路のどちらに乗っていると考えることができるだろうか。マクロに見た制度改革は進んでいるが、第1節でみたように、マクロな制度改革がしばしばミクロな制度改革に裏付けられておらず、全体として制度改革が前進していると考えてよいかどうかは明らかでない。したがって、2つの経路のどちらに乗っているかを判断するのは資本の配分の方がやり易い。制度Iは恐らくI(I)より小さいから、どちらの経路に乗っている場合でもXは減少していなければならない。しかしながら、経路1の方ではXの減少が止まるのに対し、経路2の方ではXは減少し続ける。表1は1990年代のヴィエトナムにおける資本の配分の変化を示している。それによれば1990年には41.5%あった民間部門に対する資本の配分は傾向として減少を続けたが、1997年から1999年にかけておよそ20%程度のレベルで減少傾向が止まり、増加に転じている。これはヴィエトナムが経路1に乗っている可能性を示唆している。また、Xの減少が下げ止まったということはIがI(I)に近くなっていることを示している。

おわりに

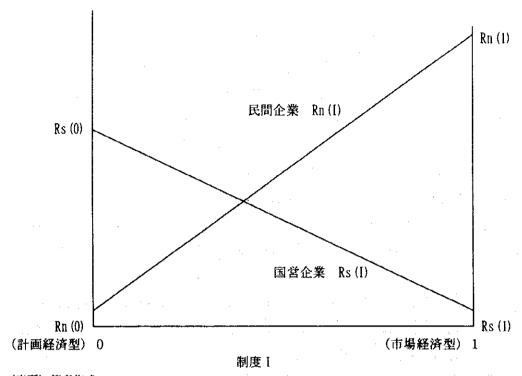
ヴィエトナムにおけるアドホックな措置の効果を長期的な構造改革との関連で評価すること、これが本章の課題であった。そのために制度変化と資本配分の関係をモデル化し、ヴィエトナムにおける移行過程が、非効率な計画経済に逆戻りしてしまう可能性を調べた。非常に限られた証拠ではあるが、ヴィエトナムにおける資本配分のデータは、ヴィエトナムにおける制度改革が、今後、民間企業部門への資本配分の増加と結びついて、互いに加速しあいながら市場経済制度に収束していく可能性を示唆している。このような展望がもし正しいとすれば、アドホックな措置は長期的な制度改革を押しとどめるほどの効果は持たなかったことになる。

本章の分析は、構造改革に水を差すようなアドホックな措置がいくつも実施されたにもかかわらず、金融仲介機関の現場で信用リスクや市場リスクを評価するための制度作りが進行していることを示唆している。それが確認できるならば、大きな不安定要因を抱えながらも、ヴィエトナムの金融システムはより効率的で安定したシステムへと変わりつつあると信ずるより信頼性の高い証拠を得たことになろう。

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図1 企業の資本の生産性と制度の関係



(出所) 筆者作成。

図2 モデルの構造

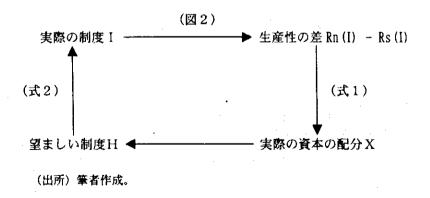
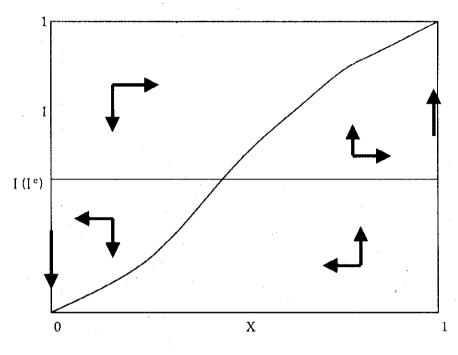


図3 資本の配分Xと制度 I のフェーズダイアグラム

Xは横軸;Iは縦軸



(出所) 筆者作成。

図4 2つの経路

経路1: (1, 1) に収束する経路 経路2: (0, 0) に収束する経路

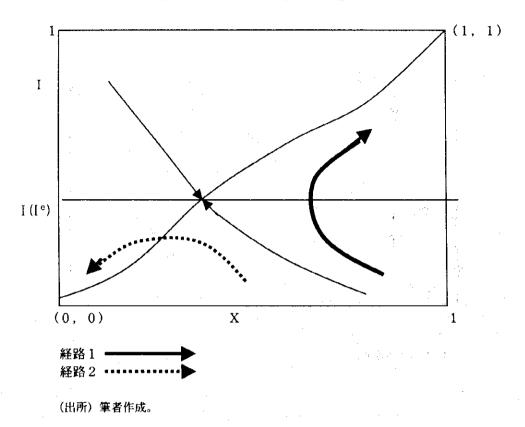


図5 長期的な期待の変化の効果

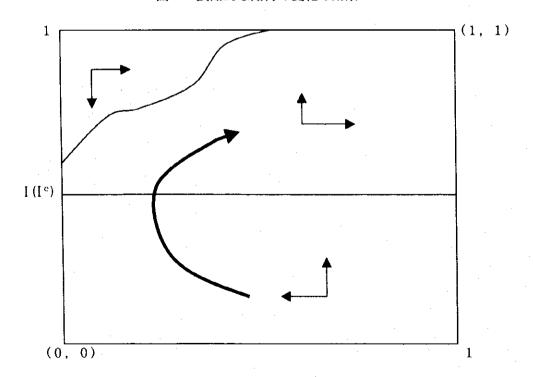
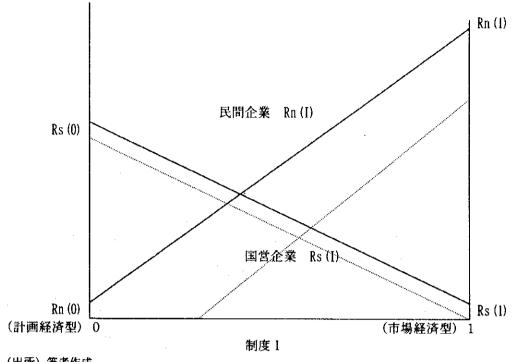
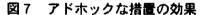


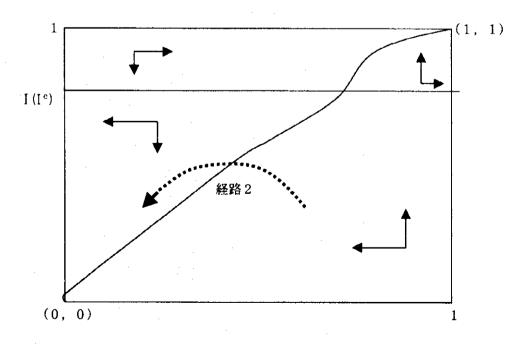
図6 負のショックとアドホックな措置の合成効果

実線は負のショックが起こる前。点線は負のショック後。 アドホックな措置は国営企業の資本生産性の低下を表面上防ぐ。



(出所) 筆者作成。

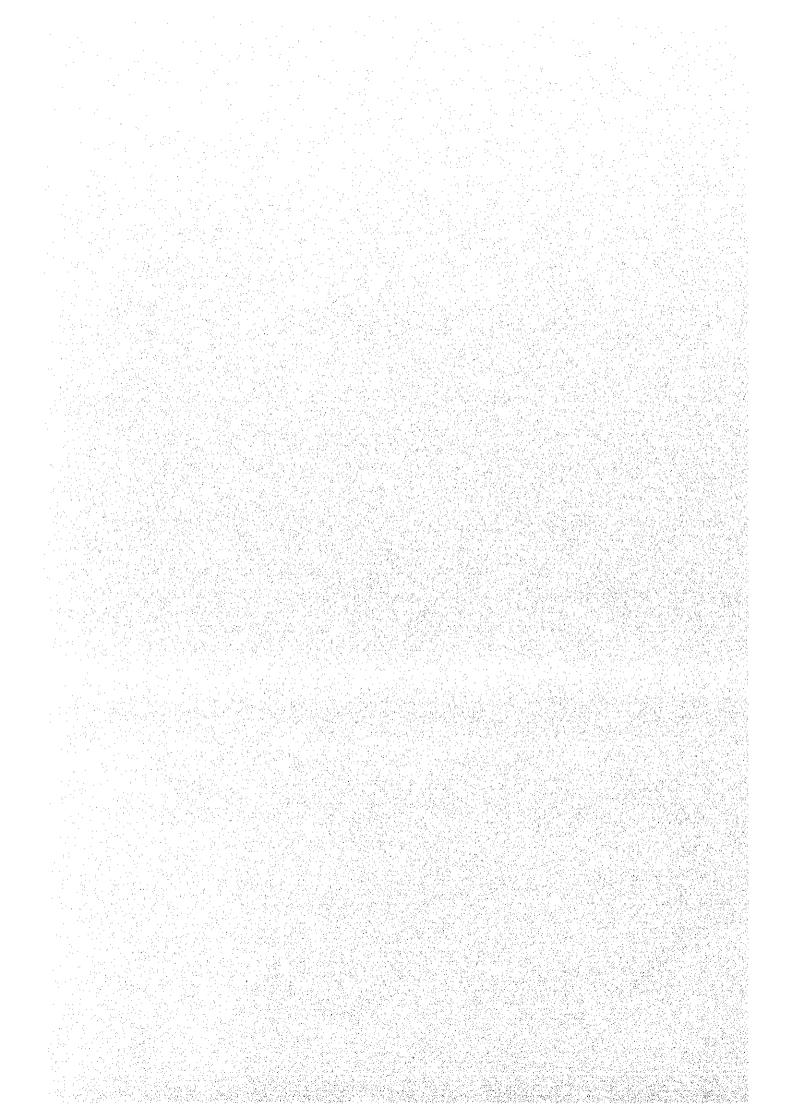






第2章-2 財政改革

A. 財政改革の諸問題



A-1

General Issues on Viet Nam Public Finance in Period 1991-2000

Nguyen Ngoc Tuyen

Ministry of Finance

It is a complicated work to assess Viet Nam public finance in period 1991-2000. It is the initial stage when Viet Nam economy dramatically transferred to the market economy and economic policies changed quickly and lacked stableness. This is because the State has to make new policies as well as to complete former ones in order to make them appropriate and consolidate when implementing. Moreover, Viet Nam has just experienced a long period of economic recession and a lot of social problems need immediately solving that makes it difficult for the state budget to serve a lot of purposes at the same time. Besides, it is difficult to collect information and statistics for assessing and analyzing because of inadequate and inconsistent information system. Some statistical norms and price systems are not consistent and changeable. For example, before 1995, some statistical norms were collected and calculated according to the comparative price system in 1989, but since 1995, they have been calculated according to the comparative prices in 1994. Therefore, there are shortcomings and the accuracy is limited. However, the writer has selected and made a system of tables from some published materials (attached), including:

- Table 1: State budget balance 1991-2000
- Table 2: Revenue from internal sources 1991-2000
- Table 2a: Structure of revenue from internal sources 1991-2000
- Table 3: State expenditure 1991-2000
- Table 4: State expenditure structure 1991-2000
- Table 5: Current expenditure structure 1991-2000
- Table 6: GDP growth 1991-2000
- Table 7: State capital expenditure 1991-2000 (comparative price)
- Table 8: State capital expenditure structure 1991-2000 (present price)
- Table 9: Structure of state capital expenditure 1991-2000

This report on Viet Nam public finance in period 1991-2000 consists of following three main parts:

- Review on changes and trends in state revenue and expenditure, present state budget surplus and deficit.
- 2. Review on changes and trends in state budget: expenditure and financial sources.
- 3. Evaluation on state budget deficit possibility and appropriate financial measures for budget deficit financing.

Part 1 Review on changes and trends in state revenue and expenditure, present state budget surplus and deficit

Period 1991-2000 marks fundamental changes of Viet Nam state budget. The assessment on Viet Nam state budget changes in this period includes following aspects:

1. State budget balance

Before 1990, Viet Nam economy was in the depression period, there was continuous state budget deficit and it was financed mostly by the amount of money issued. Because of exceeding issue, the inflation rate had been rising continuously to three digits (the highest level at 600-700%). The budget was out of control.

According to Table 1, since 1991, state revenue and expenditure and budget balance have been settled down step by step. State budget deficit hasn't stopped but the deficit rate has been decreased. State budget situation has been better and seemed to be improved to the end of the 1990s. State budget deficit has been increasing but with a quite low rate and under control. It was 1.9% of GDP in 1991, increasing to 4.9% of GDP in 1993, decreasing gradually in 1995 and 1996 and increasing again in 1999 at 4.8%. From that situation, we can have some conclusions:

- The deficit level is under control. From the tables, we can see that annual deficit compared to GDP during the past ten years is not stable but always under 5%. In addition, in the early 1990s, the State did not seemed to take initiative to control state budget deficit. It arose completely from the difference between state revenue and expenditure occurring until the end of each fiscal year. However, until 1999, the deficit level of 4.8% is totally the State's intention. In 1999, the monetary and financial crisis in the region and the world affected Viet Nam, making Viet Nam economy depressed and there were signals of serious deflation. Economic growth gradually decreased from 9.34% in 1996 to 5.8% in 1998 and seemed to continue decreasing in 1999 (4.8%): Goods were in stock; consuming price index continuously decreased; credit institutions mobilized a large amount of capital from people's savings but could only give small investment loans that lead to surplus capital and increasing risks and made commercial banks' financial situation worse. Therefore, the Government carried out many "demand stimulating" measures in order to encourage economic growth and development, of which the main measure is to increase the amount of capital for infrastructure development, especially for building big projects and infrastructures. The Government "intentionally made state budget deficit" and considered it as a good measure to encourage social consumption and production. Therefore, the state budget deficit level of 4.8% is completely under the Government's control.
- Budget deficit is mainly used for investment expenditure, not for current expenditure. This principal was seriously obeyed during the 1990s, so that by early 1990s, inflation rate was entirely under

control. The inflation rate during the past ten years was always kept at one digit (less than 10%).

Stopping issuing money for financing budget deficit. Before 1993, budget deficit was mainly financed by the amount of money issued and external debt. But from 1993, the Government has borrowed from both internal (including issuing state bonds, securities) and external sources to finance budget deficit instead of issuing money. Due to bids for state bonds, it has brought about effectiveness and helped to limit negative effects in managing and controlling state budget deficit.

2. Trends in state revenue

The trends and situations of state revenue in period 1991-2000 are reflected in Table 1 and 2. General assessment on state revenue in this period includes:

- · State revenue increased continuously over the years regarding both the amount and the rate.
- Annual revenue always met demand for current expenditure and was step by step accumulated for development investment.
- Revenue from internal sources (including import-export duties) accounted for a big proportion at 95% of total revenue.
- Revenue from internal sources was relatively stable and timely met the Government's expenditure demand.
- Taxes and fees are major sources of state revenue.

When assessing state revenue situation in period 1991-2000, we must take into account two main factors that determine the total revenue: the economic development and growth; reform process of policies relating to revenue collection (tax laws, fees, state budget law...).

Economic growth and development

From Table 6 we can see that, from 1991 to 1997, Viet Nam economic development and growth rate continuously obtained high level (peaked at 9.54% in 1995). The growth rate tended to reduce in 1998 (5.76%) and fell to the lowest level in 1999 (4.8%). The main reason is that the financial and monetary crisis in the region and the World affected Viet Nam economy and made the growth rate decrease. In the year 2000, the world economy has been recovered and developed, and so has Viet Nam economy. In the first six months of the year, economic growth rate increased gradually and reached 6.2%. It is forecasted that the average economic growth rate in the year will be about 6%-6.5% or higher (7%).

High economic growth rate in the early 1990s is one of the reasons that lead to annual increased state revenue. State revenue compared to GDP was 13.8% in 1991, peaked at 24.3% in 1994 and 23.3% in 1995. However, this ratio has been decreasing since 1996 and fell to 17.8% in 1999. This can be explained as follows:

· Investment efficiency was high at the beginning of the economic transition process because

advantages were utilized and it was easier for investors to improve productivity. Their investment capital was smaller but they could still get higher efficiency, i.e. ICOR index was low. Later, it was more and more difficult for them to exploit economic advantages. They had to invest more in science and technology to obtain the same efficiency, i.e. ICOR index must be higher.

- There are changes in comparative price when calculating GDP. Before 1994, GDP was
 calculated according to comparative price in 1989, but since 1995 it has been calculated according
 to comparative price in 1994.
- The inflation rate or price index was relatively high during period 1991-1995 (17.55% in 1992, 14.4% in 1994 and 12.7% in 1995) but has been falling since 1996 and reached 0.1% in 1999, i.e. consuming goods' prices almost stayed the same or increased little but GDP calculated according to fixed price increased continuously. Thus, in the early 1990s, inflation contributed a certain amount to the state revenue, which means that price is one of the factors that affect abovementioned falling trend.

Reform of policies relating to revenue collection

The most important point about policy relating to revenue collection in period 1991-2000 is tax policy reform. It is divided into two phases: phase I from 1991 to 1995 and phase II from 1996 until now. Some key points in tax policy reform include:

- The State issued tax laws and ordinances to make it highly legal and easy for implementing.
- There are no exceptions that make it consolidate and equal between taxpayers.
- Tax policy system has been simplified and clarified. The number of tax rates has been
 considerably reduced in order to make it easier for implementing. It is also the objective of tax
 reform to increase taxpays, reduce tax rates as well as the list of tax rates.
- Tax reform process must be appropriate with tax policy of other countries in the region and the world and promote the international economic integration process.
- Mobilizing state budget revenue timely to meet State increasing demand.
- Preventing tax evasion, state revenue loss and anti-smuggling.

Besides the tax policy system, other policies such as charges and fees policy, budgetary policy, business finance policy... have been gradually completed that helped to increase state revenue. From Table 2 we know that annual revenue increased constantly and with relatively high speed. This is mainly due to tax policy reform. In 1990 and 1991, we issued and started implementing a series of new tax laws: turnover tax, import-export tax, special consumption tax, and income tax... that are applied to all taxpays. This was also the initial stage when we turned from various collecting policies to tax laws collecting policies that brought about rapidly increasing revenue.

Besides, this was also the stage when some more sources were mobilized into the state budget, especially land-related sources. There had been only agricultural land use tax before, but from 1991, there have

been other taxes such as land rent charges, land and housing tax, land use transferring tax... coming into force that helped to increase State revenue.

Since 1995, the Government has implemented some measures including tax policies to treat equally between domestic and foreign invested enterprises and encourage enterprises and investors to accumulate capital for investment. Therefore, investment priorities, especially tax priorities, have been offered more widely that make tax revenue compared to GDP reduced. Besides, this is also the stage when Viet Nam became an ASEAN member and started carrying out CEPT/AFTA agreement so that tax policies has been adjusted to be appropriate with this commitment. These are the reasons that make tax revenue has been reducing relatively although the total amount has been increasing annually.

In short, the state budget was unbalanced and there was annual deficit but the budget situation during period 1991-2000 was relatively positive. It has been more and more stable and improved.

Part 2 Review on capital budget changes and trends: expenditure and financial sources

In period 1991-2000, the State has implemented many major social and economic reforms. They have brought about important changes in economic development, international economic integration and many other fields. State expenditure has played an important part in obtaining these results.

Table 3, 4 and 5 show clearly Viet Nam state budget expenditure policy.

From total state expenditure in period 1991-2000, we can have some conclusions as follows:

- Annual expenditure has been increasing rapidly.
- · Capital expenditure has been increasing more rapidly than regular/administrative one.
- Current expenditure has been accounted for a big proportion in total state expenditure.

Table 1 shows that total state expenditure accounted for about 23%-24% of GDP and was always bigger than total revenue during period 1991-1999. Besides, Table 3 shows that annual state expenditure increased considerably. It was more than 6 times bigger (more than 600%) in 1998 than in 1991. It increased rapidly in the early 1990s (about 100% in 1992 compared to that in 1991 and about 65% in 1993 compared to that in 1992) and steadily reduced in the late 1990s, especially in 1998 when the expenditure was only 96% compared to that in 1997. Capital and current expenditures account for a large part in total expenditure.

Capital expenditure. Table 3 and 4 show direct capital expenditure from state budget; Table 7, 8 and 9 show state capital investment, of which there is also state credit besides state capital expenditure. Annual state capital expenditure has accounted for about 6% of GDP. Its characteristics include:

- Annual expenditure increasing rate has been high.
- The increasing rate of capital expenditure has increased more rapidly than that of current expenditure.
- State capital expenditure has been mainly used for big infrastructure projects.

The annual increasing rate is relatively high (it was 202% in 1992 compared to that in 1992). It reduced in

1993, 1994 and 1995 and tended to increase in the late 1990s. This is because at the beginning of the decade, capital expenditure policy was under the State's control. Later, realizing that this didn't bring about expected results, the Government decided to change the investment management policy. It didn't finance projects directly but financed through credit channels. In 1998, the economy was affected by the monetary and financial crisis in the region and the world, foreign direct investment decreased seriously and affected economic growth. Thus, the State implemented investment-promoting policy, especially concentrated on constructing important and strategic big projects and infrastructure projects such as roads, ports, and bridges Therefore, the increasing rate of state capital expenditure went up rapidly in 1998 (nearly 10 times bigger compared to that in 1991, while that of current expenditure was only about 6 times).

Table 9 shows clearly structure of state capital expenditure, of which expenditure for infrastructure in 1992 and 1993 accounted for only less than 50% of total capital expenditure but in 1997 and 1998, it increased to 96%-97%.

Current expenditure. Assessments on current expenditure in period 1991-2000 can be as follows:

- Current expenditure has accounted for a large part in total annual state expenditure.
- The increasing rate of current expenditure has always been smaller than that of state revenue.
- The increasing rate of current expenditure has always been smaller than that of state capital
 expenditure.
- The State didn't issue money to meet current expenditure demand.

Statistics on current expenditure show that social expenditure has always accounted for nearly a half of total expenditure. Moreover, it is the expenditure that has the highest increasing rate of all current expenditure items (it accounted for 41% total current expenditure in 1991 and 44% in 1998).

Expenditures for education and social securities represented for a large part in total social expenditure. These are really the items that have the highest increasing rate because many offices haven't got support from the state budget any more. For example, education and training activities at state-owned corporations used to be financed by the state budget but have now been financed by the corporations themselves. Thus, the number of state budget beneficiaries has been less but expenditure from the state budget has been still increasing, this means that the increasing rate of social expenditure has been going up considerably.

Although current expenditure for human (expenditure for wages and salaries, social securities and social services...) has always been improved, it is still low compared to social needs and to other countries in the region. Therefore, this expenditure will be increased in the future.