# VIETNAM

Assessment

Creating a Sound Investment Climate

edited by

Suiwah Leung

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The National Centre for Development Studies of the Australian National University provides an Australian focus for the study and evaluation of development and aid issues. Its geographic focus is Asia and the South Pacific, reflecting Australia's substantial trade, investment and cultural links with its immediate region. Graduate teaching in the economics of development, development administration, and environmental management and development are at the core of the Centre's activities. The Centre also acts as an independent research body for the Australian Agency for International Development.

In addition, the Centre pursues an active dissemination program working with governments, international organisations and the business community as well as other academic institutions to increase understanding of development issues. It welcomes this opportunity to publish jointly with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore.

The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional research centre for scholars and other specialists concerned with modern Southeast Asia, particularly the many-faceted problems of stability and security, economic development, and political and social change.

The Institute is governed by a twenty-two-member Board of Trustees comprising nominees from the Singapore Government, the National University of Singapore, the various Chambers of Commerce, and professional and civic organizations. A tenman Executive Committee oversees day-to-day operations; it is chaired by the Director, the Institute's chief academic and administrative officer.

### **Foreword**

In 1990 the Australian National University's Research School of Pacific Studies convened a major conference on current conditions in Vietnam, and each year since then has held a Vietnam Update Conference. This has rapidly established itself as one of the leading international conferences of its type on contemporary Vietnam.

In engaging leading scholars to explore major policy issues relating to Vietnam, the Update Conference provides an invaluable focus for academic research, with direct spin-offs for policy development processes both in Australia and Vietnam. At the same time, it serves to inform the broader Australian community of important recent events and trends in what is an increasingly significant—and rapidly changing—regional neighbour. It also provides a unique opportunity for interchange between groups with diverse backgrounds and differing perspectives. The Update Conference enables academics, business people, public servants, aid workers and others with an interest in Vietnam to engage in wideranging and thought-provoking dialogue on political, social and economic issues of concern to both Vietnam and Australia.

From the outset, the conference organisers have encouraged the participation of scholars, commentators and officials from Vietnam. Indeed, in any one year up to half of the conference participants are Vietnamese. This effort has not only maximised the quality of the discussions at the Update Conference, but also facilitated the establishment of important and productive links between Vietnamese and Australian scholars and institutions.

Vietnam Assessment: Creating a Sound Investment Climate is an important contribution to the understanding of Vietnam's development prospects. Vietnam is confronted with critical choices about its future. The papers in this volume help chart the challenges and opportunities facing Vietnam as it continues on its path of economic transformation.

X

In introducing this selection of papers from the 1995 Vietnam Update Conference, I am also pleased to note the inclusion of papers from the second Vietnam Economic Research Project Workshop, an initiative of the National Centre for Development Studies. It is aimed at producing and publishing quality research on the Vietnam economy through a teaching and research program conducted with postgraduate students drawn from the National Economic University and the Central Institute for Economic Management in Hanoi, and the University of Economics in Ho Chi Minh City. The contribution of papers to this volume is an excellent indication of the Project's success.

Trevor Kanaley June 1996

### **Contributors**

**Bui Kim Chi** is a lawyer from the Vietnam Ministry of Water Resources, seconded to the Melbourne office of Deacons Graham & James. This law firm is a member of an international network that has branches in Australia, the Asia–Pacific region and the United States. It has had representative offices in Hanoi since 1992 and in Ho Chi Minh City since 1994.

Le Dang Doanh is President of the Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM), a key economic thinktank within the Ministry of Planning and Investment in Vietnam. The CIEM offers policy advice, and has recently been involved in the drafting of several pieces of economic legislation. Mr Doanh is a prominent commentator on developments in the Vietnamese economy and frequently expresses his own position on economic matters.

Suiwah Leung is Director of Graduate Studies in Economics of Development at the National Centre for Development Studies at the Australian National University (ANU). She is also Convenor of the Vietnam Economic Research Project, which is in part funded by a grant from the Australian aid agency, AusAID. The Project promotes research on the Vietnamese economy by scholars and researchers at the ANU and various institutions in Vietnam. The three Vietnamese institutions to which the ANU is specifically linked through the Project are the Central Institute of Economic Management, the National Economic University in Hanoi and the Economic University of Ho Chi Minh.

Elizabeth Maitland is a lecturer in the Department of Business Development and Corporate History at the University of Melbourne. Her chapter in this book represents part of her PhD research on Australian investment in India, Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines. Ms Maitland conducts extensive fieldwork in Australia

xii Contributors

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The Vietnam Economic Research Project links the Australian National University (ANU) to three major institutions in Vietnam: the National Economics University in Hanoi (NEU), the University of Economics in Ho Chi Minh City (UEH), and the Central Institute of Economic Management (CIEM) in the Ministry of Planning and Investment in Vietnam. I would like to thank the respective Heads of the three institutions for their participation in the Conference, and for their support throughout the Project. A special vote of

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Suiwah Leung June 1996

# **Contents**

	t of tables	Vi
List of figures		viii
	Foreword	
	Contributors	
Ack	knowledgments	xiii
1	Introduction Suiwah Leung	1
2	Economic developments and prospects Le Dang Doanh	6
3	Policy reform and the microeconomic environment in the agricultural sector Nguyen Tri Khiem	21
4	Politics of the reform of state institutions in the post-socialist era Thaveeporn Vasavakul	42
5	Foreign direct investment in Vietnam Nguyen Tuan Dung	69
6	Foreign investors in Vietnam: An Australian case study Elizabeth Maitland	90
7	Providing legal services in Vietnam: A practitioner's viewpoint Bui Kim Chi	107
Index		115
About the Editor		123

# **List of tables**

2.1		Structure of GDP by sector, 1986–94	9
3.1	L	Major features of policy regimes	22
3.2	2	Area and value of crops, 1991–94	24
3.3	3	Labour utilisation in rice production, 1989–92	30
3.4	Į.	Wage rates by type of rice-farming operation in Red River and Mekong Deltas, 1989–94	31
3.5	5	Chemical fertiliser and pesticide use in	
		agriculture, 1985–93	33
3.6	5	Domestic and border prices of urea, 1986–94	34
3.7	7	Rural income distribution by region, 1989–92	37
5.1	L	Investment incentives in Vietnam and Indonesia	72
5.2	2	Investment incentives in ASEAN countries	74
5.3	3	Foreign investment projects approved and	
		implemented, 1988–95	76
5.4	Į.	FDI by sector	77
5.5	5	FDI by investment category	77
5.6	5	Leading investors in Vietnam	78
6.1	L	Foreign investment in Vietnam by country of origin	91
6.2	2	Firms' responses by industry group	92
6.3	3	Firms' responses by firm size	93
6.4	Į.	Firms' motives for investing in Vietnam	97
6.5	5	Length of negotiating period	98
6.6	5	Position in firm of negotiator	98
6.7	7	Type of technology transferred	99

List of tables	vii

6.8	Form of licence obtained	100
6.9	Vintage of technology transferred	100
6.10	Firms' reasons for seeking a Vietnamese partner	102
6.11	Firms' assessment of project risk	103

# **List of figures**

2.1	Growth and inflation, 1986-95	7
2.2	Growth in Vietnam and Eastern Europe	
	during reform	8
2.3	Inflation in Vietnam and Eastern Europe	
	during reform	9
2.4	Inflation and growth in Vietnam and Eastern Europe	10
2.5	GDP growth in Vietnam and China during reform	11
2.6	Inflation in Vietnam and China during reform	11
2.7	FDI and ODA in Vietnam, 1988–95	13
2.8	State and non-state sectors' share of GDP, 1987-95	17
3.1	Change in size of landholdings for individual	
	farm households in Mekong Delta, 1989-93	26
3.2	Change in size of landholdings for individual	
	farm households in Red River Delta, 1990–93	27
3.3	Land prices in Phuoc Thoi village, 1989–95	29
3.4	Average per capita income in rural households,	
	1990–93	36

# Introduction

## Suiwah Leung

This volume comprises a selection of papers presented at the Sixth Vietnam Update Conference and the Second Vietnam Economic Research Workshop, both held at the Australian National University in November/December 1995. The theme of the volume is 'creating a sound investment climate in Vietnam'. Although its economy has made a decisive turnaround this decade, Vietnam is still one of the poorest countries in the world. In terms of GDP per capita, it ranks 151st among the world's 174 countries, although, according to the UNDP's Human Development Index, it is in 121st place. Even at the current growth rate of 9.5% per annum, it will still take Vietnam 15 years to reach the standard of living presently enjoyed by Indonesia, and 28 years to reach that of Thailand.

Macroeconomic reforms and structural adjustments over the past 10 years, together with successful resource exploitation, have certainly brought impressive results, including sustained rapid growth and moderate inflation levels. However, rapid growth has also meant that most of the excess capacity in capital equipment and infrastructure created under central planning has been utilised. Continued growth of 9–10% per annum would thus require higher rates of investment than in the past. A sound investment climate is essential for the fulfilment of Vietnam's ambitions to catch up with other rapidly growing countries in the Asia–Pacific region.

Four themes emerge from the following chapters as necessary components of a sound investment climate. First, Vietnam must continue to provide a stable macroeconomic environment. Second, it must persist with its agenda for microeconomic reform. Third, there must be greater clarification of its laws, particularly in relation to property rights. In this regard, the administration of laws affects

the investment climate almost as much as the laws themselves. Underpinning these three factors is the need for the political leadership to redefine its concept of the 'leading role of the state' to one in which the state provides the economic, legal and administrative framework for the functioning of a market economy. If these conditions are met, then there could emerge in Vietnam a vibrant domestic corporate sector that could undertake domestic investments as well as act as a conduit for foreign investments.

# Providing a stable macroeconomic environment

In Chapter 2, Le Dang Doanh compares Vietnam's success in macroeconomic stabilisation with that of other transitional economies. He emphasises the government's commitment to inflation control, while stressing the need for Vietnam to pursue microeconomic reforms and to counter inefficient state monopolies that are being created in the current climate. In Chapter 5, Nguyen Tuan Dung identifies macroeconomic stability, rather than special investment incentives, as the key determinant of foreign direct investment in Vietnam. Elizabeth Maitland, who studies the case of Australian companies investing in Vietnam in Chapter 6, again emphasises long-term growth and political and economic stability as being important for Australian companies' decisions to invest in Vietnam. This is reinforced in Chapter 7 by the experience of Bui Kim Chi, a legal practitioner providing advice to foreign investors in Vietnam. A willingness to stay for the 'long haul' and a belief in the long-term stability of Vietnam are clearly recognised to be significant in decisions to invest. Finally, in Chapter 4 Thaveeporn Vasavakul discusses the politics and motivations behind Vietnam's reform of public administration (which commenced in earnest in 1995). There is seen to be a desire to shift the balance of power from the middle and lower-ranking cadres in the provinces back to the central government administration. The reform gives power to the technocrats in central economic ministries such as the Ministry of Finance. This is seen as reflecting the government's commitment to economic stability.

### Agenda for microeconomic reform

The political will to undertake microeconomic reforms is less certain. Le Dang Doanh argues in Chapter 2 that, in order for Vietnam to maintain real growth of 10% per annum, it will need to invest about 30% of its GDP annually. Net domestic savings, however, are only about 6–7% of GDP. The financial sector is dominated by state banks, the majority of whose loans go to unprofitable state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Reform of the financial sector is essential for boosting domestic savings, but the apparent commitment on the part of the government to the SOEs makes such reforms politically controversial.

Furthermore, the chapter points out that 98% of foreign joint ventures are currently with enterprises in the state sector. This has the potential to create large state monopolies backed by foreign capital, and obstruct the efficiency gains necessary for Vietnam to maintain rapid growth with low inflation. This point is brought out vividly in the examples given in Chapters 3 and 4. Nguyen Tri Khiem cites the fact in Chapter 3 that the import of agricultural inputs is dominated by several SOEs in joint venture with foreign firms, and that the marketing costs of these enterprises are estimated to be at least 10% higher than those of private traders. In Chapter 4 Thaveeporn Vasavakul discusses examples in the construction industry where projects commissioned by SOEs have tended to cost 20–30% more than those in the non-state sector. Microeconomic reforms are indeed necessary to maintain economic growth and a healthy investment climate.

While Nguyen Tri Khiem assesses the rate of rural-urban migration as not yet giving cause for alarm, it has the potential to increase rapidly. To maintain political stability, the development of labour-intensive manufactures in the cities would then be necessary to absorb the labour force from the countryside. This, in turn, would require reform of the international trading regime and the structure of importing industries—fundamental elements of structural reforms to create a sound investment climate in Vietnam.

#### Clarification of laws

The importance of property rights for the investment climate is emphasised throughout the book—both the legal recognition of property rights and the administration of the laws themselves. The granting of long-term leases (or land use rights) in 1988 to farm households is identified by Nguyen Tri Khiem in Chapter 3 as the main impetus behind land improvement and development resulting in rapid agricultural growth between 1988 and 1992. The prohibition on transfers of land use rights until 1993, when the Land Law was enacted, was not a major impediment to this process as extra-legal