Accommodating WTO rules of

Non-Discrimination in Domestic Law:

The Case of Vietnam

Phan Thi Thanh Thuy

Submitted for the partial fulfilment of

Doctor of Juridical Science

at the

University of Technology, Sydney

Faculty of Law
University of Technology
Sydney, Australia

2008

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY

Date January 2008

Author Phan Thi Thanh Thuy

Title Accommodating WTO rules of
Non - Discrimination in Domestic Law:
The Case of Vietnam

Degree Doctor of Juridical Science (SJD)

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Candidate

$Copyright © 2008 \\ by \\ Phan Thi Thanh Thuy (thanh.phanthi@student.uts.edu.au)$

Permission to make digital or hard copies of all or part of this work for personal or classroom use is granted without fee if copies are not made or distributed for profit or commercial advantage and that copies bear this notice and the full citation on the first page. To copy otherwise, or republish, to post on servers or to redistribute to lists, requires prior specific permission and/or a fee.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to my principal supervisor, Doctor Stathic Plassis, Faculty of Law, whose help, advice, guidance and constructive criticism were of great assistance to me in my research. I am also grateful to my co-supervisor, Professor Sam Blay, for his encouragement from the initial stage of my research and his insightful comments on my thesis.

I appreciatively acknowledge the financial support for my research from the Vietnamese Government and UTS Law Faculty. I would like to express my deep gratitude: to the Dean and the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Law, Professors Jill McKeough and Phillip Griffith respectively; and to Professor Kathy Bowrey and Ms. Leanne Palmer, who gave me their precious support in the most critical stages of my studies. I am also grateful to colleagues and law lecturers at UTS for their support. I would like to express my appreciation: to Professor Nguyen Nhu Phat, Vice-Director of the Institute of State and Law, Academy of Social Science and Professor Le Hong Hanh, Vice-Director of the Institute of Juridical Science, Ministry of Justice, for their respected recommendations on domestic legal reform in Vietnam; to legal experts in the Department of Economy, the Office of Vietnamese National Assembly, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Justice, and the VCCI for their open discussions concerning my thesis and the provision of legal and research documents as important materials for my thesis.

I wish to thank my husband Nguyen Thanh Son and my son Nguyen Cong Minh for their love and patience towards me that helped make my effort worthwhile. I wish to thank my parents, my brother and my sister, my aunt and her family who lent me support and encouragement.

I am grateful to Toni Paramore for her assistance with proofreading, and finally, yet importantly, I am thankful for the support I received from my friends, Nguyen Quang Vinh and Le Thi Nga during my research.

Table of Contents

List of F	igures.		X
Abstract	xi		
Abbrevia	ations	•••••	xii
Chapter	1 Int	oduction	1
1.1	Thesi	topic and rese	arch area1
1.2	Thesi	background	1
1.3	State	nent of workin	g hypothesis5
1.4	Thesi	objective	6
1.5	Resea	rch scope	6
1.6	Signi	s7	
1.7	Resea	rch methodolo	gy9
1.8	Thesi	structure	10
Part I -	The Int	ernational Tra	ade Regime and Developing Countries12
Chapter	2 The	WTO and in	ternational trade law13
2.1	Introd	uction	13
2.2	The GATT/WTO: core underpinnings		ore underpinnings14
	2.2.1	Theory of trac	le liberalisation
	i		globalisation to trade liberalisation14
	i	Theor	y of trade liberalisation
	i	i. Comp	arative advantage and international trade law21
	2.2.2	The history of	GATT/WTO22
	i	The C	SATT and trade liberalisation
	i	. The V	VTO: new representative of trade liberalisation28
	2.2.3	The WTO and	l its membership31
	i	The V	VTO and its "special" members
	ii	. States	, sovereignty and the WTO33
2.3	The le	gal framework	of the WTO36
	2.3.1	Public interna	tional law and the WTO36
	i	Relati	onship between public international law and WTO law36
	ii	. The n	ature of WTO law38
	2.3.2		al system: sources of law
	i.	The V	VTO agreements: "covered agreements"44
	ii	. Intern	ational agreements reflected in the WTO covered agreements45

	iii. Reports of GATT/WTO panels	46	
	iv. International trade custom	48	
	v. Principles of public international law	49	
	vi. Teachings of the most highly qualified publicists	52	
2.4	Critical commentary	53	
	2.4.1 Improving the shortcomings of GATT/WTO core philosophy	53	
	2.4.2 The WTO: indispensable representative of trade liberalisation	54	
	2.4.3 Interaction between WTO law, domestic law and legal transplantation	54	
2.5	Conclusion	55	
Chapter	The conceptual and legal framework of WTO non-discrimination rules	57	
3.1	Introduction	57	
3.2	The conceptual foundation of the non-discrimination rules in international trade	57	
	3.2.1 Non-discrimination rules in international trade	57	
	i. The explanation of non-discrimination rules	57	
	ii. Emergence of the non-discrimination clause in the history of		
	international trade	58	
	3.2.2 The incorporation of MFN into reciprocal clauses	62	
	3.2.3 The role of principle of NT in international trade	63	
3.3	3 The legal basis of non-discrimination rules in the WTO		
	3.3.1 Non-discrimination rules in the GATT	65	
	i. MFN obligation in the GATT	66	
	ii. NT obligation under the GATT	68	
	3.3.2 Non-discrimination rules in the GATS	74	
	i. MFN treatment in the GATS	74	
	ii. NT obligation in the GATS	75	
	3.3.3 Non-discrimination in the TRIPS	76	
	3.3.4 NT in the TRIMS	77	
3.4	Implementation of non-discrimination rules	78	
	3.4.1 Enforcing the non-discrimination rules in the WTO	78	
	3.4.2 The trade policy review mechanism	80	
	3.4.3 The exceptions to non-discrimination rules for developing countries	82	
3.5	Critical commentary	82	
	3.5.1 Developing members and "free riders"	83	
	3.5.2 Ambiguous concepts in MFN and NT obligations	83	
	3.5.3 The role of the NT obligation in domestic law	84	
	3.5.4 Policy for developing countries	84	
3.6	Conclusion	85	

Chapter	4 Non-discr	imination rules and implications for developing countries	86
4.1	Introduction		86
4.2	The impact of	of non-discrimination on developing countries	87
	4.2.1 The q	uestion for equal treatment for developing countries	87
	i.	History of developing countries in the GATT/WTO	87
	ii.	The problem of the GATT's core philosophy in practice for	
	develop	ing countries	94
	4.2.2 Implie	cations of trade preferences for developing countries	95
	i.	Trade preferences for developing countries: an inevitable out	come of
	the non-	discrimination rules	95
	ii.	Legal basis of trade preferences in the GATT/WTO	97
4.3	The significa	ance of trade preferences for developing countries	100
	4.3.1 Trade	preferences and national development in developing countries	100
	i.	Trade preferences: the legal instrument for developing count	ries100
	ii.	The unexpected impacts of trade preferences on developing	countries 103
	4.3.2 Trade	preferences and non-discrimination rules	104
	i.	Does S&D support developing countries' fuller participation	in the
	WTO?		105
	ii.	Does S&D treatment erode non-discrimination?	108
	iii.	The controversy of EC-Bananas	
4.4		mentary	
	4.4.1 The a	mbiguity of the concept "developing country"	114
	4.4.2 The V	WTO decision-making doctrine and developing countries' fuller	•
	participation in the WTO		
	4.4.3 The in	nadequacies of trade preferences	116
4.5	Conclusion.		117
Part II -	Vietnam's ac	cession to the WTO: accommodation of non-discrimination	rules119
Chapter		s economy and legal system	
5.1			
5.2		nd legal background of Vietnam until early 1986	
		istory of Vietnam until 1945	
	i.	The period leading to 1945	
	ii.	The birth of Democratic Republic of Vietnam	
	•	eriod from 1945 to 1975	
	i.	The 1946 Constitution that had not come into effect	
	ii.	The 1959 Constitution: starting points of socialist economic	
	system i	n Vietnam	125

		5.2.3 The pe	eriod from 1975 to 1986: the prelude to Reform	128
		i.	The rigidity of the 1980 socialist Constitution	130
		ii.	The consequences of the 1980 Constitution and inadequate e	conomic
		policies	for Vietnamese society	132
	5.3	The period fr	om Reform 1986 to the present	135
		5.3.1 Why F	Reform (Doi moi) was launched?	135
		i.	The desperation of the domestic economy	135
		ii.	The collapse of socialist block and the economic reform in C	hina137
		5.3.2 Transi	tion to market economy: open political and economic policy	140
		i.	The role of the CPV and the new perception of socialist socie	ety141
		ii.	New economic policy and the role of the State in the transition	onal
		economy	y	142
		iii.	Positive change in diplomatic policy: integration into the reg	ional and
		global ed	conomy	146
		5.3.3 The 19	992 Constitution: the legal basis of comprehensive reform	148
		i.	Why the 1992 Constitution was adopted?	148
		ii.	The legal basis of economic and political reform	150
		iii.	The 1992 Constitution and theory of "the rule of law" in Vie	tnam 156
	5.4	Vietnam inte	grates into regional and the global economy	159
		5.4.1 Partici	pation in regional economic organisations	160
		i.	Vietnam: an ASEAN member state	161
		ii.	Joining APEC	163
		5.4.2 Acces	sion to the WTO	164
		i.	The itinerary of Vietnam's accession to the WTO	164
		ii.	The Working Party comments	165
	5.5	Critical com	mentary	167
		5.5.1 Vietna	am's unique legal foundation through its constitutions	168
		5.5.2 The fi	rm connection between law, economy and politics in Vietnam	171
		5.5.3 Econo	mic and legal reforms: the severe ordeal to set up a legal basis	for
		market econo	my	173
		5.5.4 The cr	itical conditions of Vietnam's economic integration	176
	5.6	Conclusion		178
Cha	pter	6 Acceptanc	e of non - discrimination rules	180
	6.1	Introduction.		180
	6.2	The major pr	oblems that limited the effect of the Vietnam's domestic law re-	eform181
		6.2.1 The in	adequacies in Vietnam's domestic legal framework	181
		i.	The lack of constitutional principles for further reform	181

		ii.	General dilemmas in domestic law: the lack of uniformity, stability,
	d transparency		
		6.2.2	The limits of state authorities and concerned organisations
		i.	The limited capacity of the NA
		ii.	The inadequacy of the executive body
		iii.	The weaknesses of trade dispute settlement bodies
	6.3	Further	ing domestic law reform to accommodate non-discrimination rules191
		6.3.1	The drastic law reform: from broad scope to specific laws191
		i.	Adapting the 1992 Constitution: improving legal framework for
		Vi	etnam's international integration
		ii.	Establishing and implementing the Legislation Action Plan to meet
		W	TO requirements
		6.3.2	Practising the LAP to meet the rules of non-discrimination
		i.	The strong reform in the legal framework represented in the LAP207
		ii.	Practising the legal framework to meet WTO non-discrimination rules235
		iii.	The combination of law, administrative, and judicial reforms240
	6.4	Being a	a WTO member: the lessons Vietnam learned from WTO accession242
		6.4.1	Vietnam's developing neighbours and their accessions to the WTO242
		i.	Experience of China's WTO accession
		ii.	Cambodia's accession: a valuable experiences for the LDCs247
		6.4.2	Vietnam as a WTO member: opportunities and challenges252
		i.	Opportunities for Vietnam
		ii.	Challenges for Vietnam
	6.5	Critica	commentary
		6.5.1	The struggle developing countries have to confront to join the WTO and
		implem	ent WTO obligations
		6.5.2	The gap between the requirements of WTO non-discrimination rules and
		Vietnan	n's domestic law
		6.5.3	The reasons why domestic law reform still did not meet WTO rules
		6.5.4	Vietnam's strategy to accommodate WTO non-discrimination rules274
		6.5.5	The experience Vietnam learnt from its WTO accession277
	6.6	Conclu	sion
Cha	apter	7 Cond	clusions and Recommendations281
	7.1	Genera	l assessment on relationship between the WTO and its developing members 281
		i.	The inadequacies in WTO side
		ii.	Dilemmas facing WTO developing members
	7.2	Recom	mendations for the case of Vietnam

	7.2.1	Improving the capacity of legislative bodies	288
	7.2.2	Improving domestic legal system.	290
	7.2.3	Furthering administrative reform	293
	7.2.4	Improving the dispute settlement bodies in Vietnam	
	7.2.5	Enhancing human resource in legal profession	296
i. The human resource in state authorities		The human resource in state authorities	296
	ii	The human resources supporting for implementation of law	297
	7.2.6	Enhancing Vietnamese enterprises' competitive ability	298
	7.2.7	Taking advantages from RTAs	299
7.3	Concl	usion	300
Bibliography		302	
GATT and WTO Dispute Settlement			319
Vietnamese Legislation			321

List of Figures

Figure 1. The number of laws and ordinances newly promulgated from 1998 to 2006 (the I	NA
tenures 10 th - 11 th)	206
Figure 2. Inward FDI to Vietnam from 1988 to 2006 (US million)	226
Figure 3. Share of FDI in total investment	226
Figure 4. FDI contribution to GDP	227

Abstract

The WTO is the only global international organisation dealing with the regulation of trade liberalisation between countries. The WTO commits to support developing members to take advantage of trade liberalisation for their economic growth and national development. Given its significance, it is understandable and desirable that many developing countries have joined the WTO for their economic growth and national development. However, joining the WTO means that all members have to accept the WTO rules and implement them in their domestic law. This is a very complex task for developing members, especially for a transitional economy such as Vietnam, because of the large gaps in economic development and legal regime between developed and developing countries.

In the case of Vietnam, with its communist political regime and unique circumstances, its accession to the WTO has significantly impacted all aspects of Vietnamese society. Vietnam made a concerted effort to integrate into the regional and international economy by its 1986 comprehensive reform, in which legal reform was central. In such reform, Vietnam had to adjust its legal system and trade regime to comply with WTO rules. In the circumstances of Vietnam's transitional economy, accommodating WTO non-discrimination rules in domestic law was the core matter of legal reform to ensure its adequate legal system and trade regime for trade liberalisation as required by the WTO. As a result of its constant efforts over 20 years of Reform, Vietnam was accepted as a full WTO member in late 2006.

Legal reform has proved positive changes towards market economy in Vietnam's economic and legal system. However, determination is needed for still ongoing legal reform involving the very complex and strategically painstaking task of implementing non-discrimination rules to warrant that all economic sectors are treated equally before the law.

This thesis will explore the level and extent of legal adjustments needed for Vietnam to meet ongoing requirements for WTO members. In the scope of its seven chapters, this thesis investigates the nature of the WTO's relationship with developing members; analyses its significance in the context of Vietnam; and identifies the driving factors behind the need for further reform. It also explores progress with accommodating of WTO non-discrimination rules in Vietnam, and existing hindrances in its domestic legal system which need to be overcome for its fuller integration into the global economy. Finally the thesis concludes with recommendations on means of improving the Vietnamese economic legal system and trade regime.

Abbreviations

Vietnamese Organisations

Central Institute of Economic Management **CIEM CPV** Communist Party of Vietnam DRV Democratic Republic of Vietnam MOF Ministry of Finance Ministry of Foreign Affairs **MOFA** Ministry of Justice MOJ Ministry of Trade MOT VCCI Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry Vietnamese National Assembly VNA State Owned Enterprises SOEs SRV Socialist Republic of Vietnam

International Organisations

ASEAN Free Trade Area **AFTA** Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum **APEC** Association of Southeast Asian Nations ASEAN Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) **CMEA** ICJ International Court of Justice International Monetary Fund IMF ITO International Trade Organisation G - 77 Third World Coalition in the United Nations G - 7 Group of seven leading industrial countries: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States. G - 8G - 7 plus Russia General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade **GATT** Non - Governmental Organisation NGO Permanent Court of International Justice **PCIJ** Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development **OECD** United Nations UN United Nations Centre for International Trade Law UNCITRAL UN Committee of Development Policy UNCDP UN Conference on Trade and Development UNCTAD UNDP United Nations Development Programme WBWorld Bank World Trade Organisation WTO

Countries and their organisations

AMCHAM American Chamber of Commerce

ACPs African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries

CFA Catfish Farmers of America

CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union DoC Department of Commerce of the US

EC European Communities

(Official name of the European Union in the WTO)

EU European Union

LDCs Least Developed Countries
NICs New Industrialised Countries
NIEs New Industrialising Economies
PRC People's Republic of China
US United States of America

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VFA Vietnam Fisheries Association

WTO agreements and other international agreements

AOA Agreement on Agriculture

BTA Vietnam – US Bilateral Trade Agreement

CEPT Agreement on the Common Effective Preferential Tariff ASEM Asia-

Europe Meeting

DSU Dispute Settlement Body Understanding
GATS General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1947
GATT 1994 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994

GSP Generalised System of Preferences

GSTP Agreement on the Global System of Trade Preferences among

Developing Countries

NIEO New International Economic Order

SCM Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures SPS Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures or regulations

TBT Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade

TRIPS Agreement on Trade - Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights

TRIMS Agreement on Trade - Related Investment Measures

TPRM Trade Policy Review Mechanism

UPOV Rome Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of

Programs and Broadcasting Organisations and International Union for

the Protection of New Varieties of Plants Conventions

WCT Copyright Treaty

Terminologies

AusAID Australian Agency for International Development GATT B.I.S.D GATT Basis Instrument and Selective Documents

CU Customs Union

DSB Dispute Settlement Body
EVI Economic Vulnerability Index
FDI Foreign Direct Investment

HAI Human Assets Index
GDP Gross Domestic Products

GMO Genetically Modified Organisms

GNI Gross National Income MFN Most Favoured Nation NT National Treatment

TNCs Transnational Corporations

PNTR Permanent Normal Trade Relations

RTAs Regional Trade Agreements S&D Special and Differential treatment

STAR Support for Trade Acceleration Project from the US

TPRB Trade Policy Review Body

TPSSM Transitional Product-Specific Safeguard Mechanism

TRM Transitional Review Mechanism