

The current situation and planning orientation to efficiently exploit resources for development of coastal economic zones in Vietnam

La situación actual y la orientación de la planificación para explotar eficientemente los recursos para el desarrollo de las zonas económicas costeras en Vietnam

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Abstract:

Over the past 10 years, Vietnam's coastal economic zones (CEZs) have made positive contributions to the socio-economic development of the country and their localities. However, in the process of planning and exploiting CEZs, many basic limitations have been revealed, of which the first is the efficient exploitation of natural resources, mainly land which create material products and jobs in CEZs is still very low compared to the economic zones (EZs) in other countries in the region. Among many reasons leading to the above problem, there are reasons from construction planning in general and land use planning in particular. Based on analyzing the official statistics, this article will point out the existing problems and limitations in the current land use planning in Vietnam and they need to be remedied for the sustainable development at CEZs of Vietnam and Cuba.

Resumen:

En los últimos 10 años, las zonas económicas costeras (ZEC) de Vietnam han contribuido positivamente al desarrollo socioeconómico del país y de sus localidades. Sin embargo, en el proceso de planificación y explotación de las ZEC, se han puesto de manifiesto muchas limitaciones básicas, de las cuales la primera es que la explotación eficiente de los recursos naturales, principalmente la tierra que crea productos materiales y puestos de trabajo en las ZEC sigue siendo muy baja en comparación con las zonas económicas (ZE) de otros países de la región. Entre las muchas razones que conducen al problema anterior, hay razones de la planificación de la construcción en general y de la planificación del uso de la tierra en particular. Basándose en el análisis de las estadísticas oficiales, este artículo señala los problemas y limitaciones existentes en la actual planificación del uso del suelo en Vietnam y que necesitan ser remediados para el desarrollo sostenible en las ZEC de Vietnam y Cuba.

Key words: Vietnam’s CEZs, Construction planning, land use planning in Vietnam’s CEZs.

Palabras clave: ZEC de Vietnam, Planificación de la construcción, planificación del uso del suelo en las ZEC de Vietnam.

1. Overview of the development of CEZs in Vietnam and Cuba

❖ Vietnam

In order to make our country become "strong and rich from the sea", the Resolution No. 09-NQ/TW was adopted by the Party Central Committee at the 4th Conference, Term X on February 9, 2007 on Vietnam's marine strategy until 2020, in which it sets out a goal to strive that by 2020, CEZs will contribute about 53-55% of the country's total GDP.

Currently, there are 17 CEZs established nationwide, attracting 254 foreign investment projects with a total registered capital of 42 billion USD and 1.079 domestic investment projects, with a total registered investment capital of about 805.2 trillion VND. In addition, there is a CEZ (Ninh Co CEZ, Nam Dinh province) has been planned, but not yet established.

Over the past 10 years, CEZs have contributed to promoting socio-economic development of localities. Production and business projects have covered 40% of the total land area for agricultural production, industry, tourism and services at CEZs. Currently, a number of important large projects at CEZs have been completed and put into operation such as: Dung Quat Oil Refinery; Doosan Vietnam Heavy Industry Factory (Dung Quat EZ); Chu Lai - Truong Hai auto mechanical industrial park (Chu Lai Open EZ); Cement and thermal power plants at Nghi Son EZ....

Figure 1: Distribution of Vietnam's CEZs until 2020



Table 1: List of established and planned CEZs until 2020

No	Coastal Economic Zones (CEZs)	Locations	Year of establishment	Area (ha)
I	Established CEZs			
1	Chu Lai	Quang Nam	5 June 2003	27,108
2	Dung Quat	Quang Ngai	21 March 2005	45,332
3	Nhon Hoi	Binh Dinh	14 June 2005	12,000
4	Chan May - Lang Co	Thua Thien Hue	5 January 2006	27,108
5	Vung Ang	Ha Tinh	3 April 2006	22,781
6	Van Phong	Khanh Hoa	25 April 2006	150,000
7	Nghi Son	Thanh Hoa	15 May 2006	106,000
8	Van Don	Quang Ninh	31 May 2007	217,133
9	Dong Nam Nghe An	Nghe An	11 June 2007	19,576
10	Dinh Vu - Cat Hai	Hai Phong	10 Januray 2008	22,540
11	Nam Phu Yen	Phu Yen	29 April 2008	20,730
12	Hon La	Quang Binh	10 June 2008	10,000
13	Dinh An	Tra Vinh	27 April 2009	39,020
14	Nam Can	Ca Mau	3 November 2010	11,000
15	Phu Quoc	Kien Giang	14 February 2013	58,923
16	Dong Nam Quang Tri	Quang Tri	27 February 2015	23,972
17	Thai Binh	Thai Binh	9 February 2017	30,583
	Total established area			843.738
II	The CEZs included in plans until 2020 but their establishment decision have't been made yet			
1	Ninh Co	Nam Dinh	Until 2020	13,950
	Total planned area			13,950
III	Total established and planned area			857,688

Source: The report of the Department of Economic Zone Management-Ministry of Planning and Investment

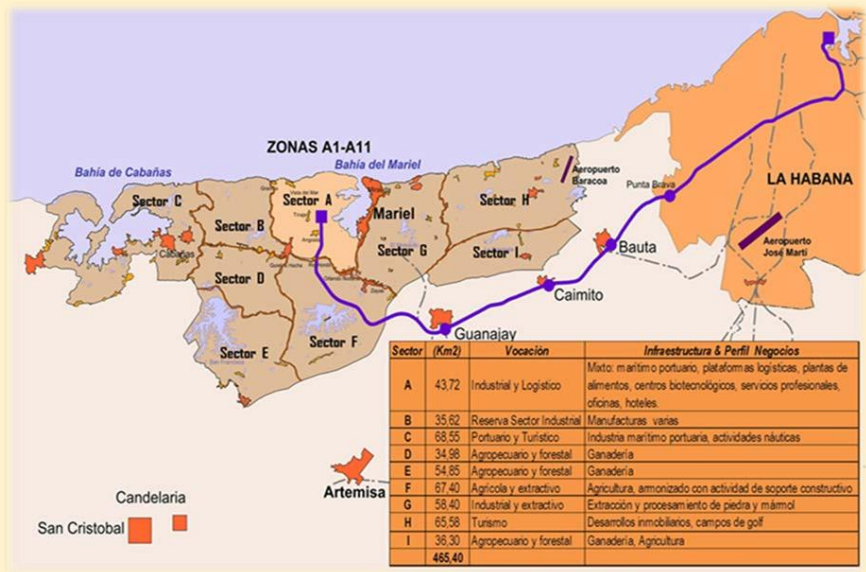
❖ Cuba:

Cuba is a sea and island country similar to Vietnam and in the process of updating the development model of CEZs to attract foreign investment. Mariel deep-sea port located in Mariel Special Economic Development Zone (ZEDM) was established in November 2013 under the Resolution of the 6th Congress on the direction of socio-economic development of the Communist Party of Cuba. The establishment of ZEDM - Cuba's first free trade export processing zone - is one of the most typical examples of the innovation policy being promoted. ZEDM covers an area of 465.4 square kilometers, 45 kilometers west of Havana capital. With its total investment of about 900 million USD, ZEDM aims to become the main gateway for Cuba's foreign trade and significantly change the transportation of goods into Cuba thanks to its prime location when located in the commercial center in Caribbean and Americas, between the intersection of the East - West / North - South axis in the Western Hemisphere, convenient for both sea and air transportation.

- Preferential policies:

Special mechanism and policies are created in ZEDM towards sustainable economic development through attracting foreign investment, technological innovation and industrial concentration, towards export growth, effectively replace imports and create new jobs on the basis of close coordination with the domestic economy. Foreign companies investing in ZEDM will enjoy a number of tax incentives, including exemption from labor and goods tax for a period of 10 years. More importantly, foreign investors are guaranteed security, protected from litigation by third parties in accordance with Cuban law. The Government of Cuba shall guarantee to foreign investors the free transfer abroad of dividends, profits or other income related to the export obtained as a result of the investment in freely convertible currency, free from taxes or any other fees associated to said transfer.

Figure 2: Mariel Special Economic Development Zone Plan in Cuba



In addition to preferential and special tax policies, ZEDM also has advantages such as a qualified and skilled workforce, a stable political, social and legal environment and basic available infrastructure, most-favoured-nation status granted to members of the WTO and economic agreements and partly to the extent concluded with Latin American and Caribbean countries, through the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

Management mechanism at ZEDM:

The Office of ZEDM is the entity attached to the Council of Ministers, in charge of managing the zone, controlling its activities, elaborating and conducting its Development and Business Program based on the approved Land Development Plan and City. The office is in charge of processing applications, permits and grant permits quickly through the “one-stop shop” mechanism. The two levels of investment project approval specified in Article 9 of Decree No. 313/2013 are the Director of the ZEDM Office and the Council of Ministers.

Areas of investment in ZEDM subject to approval by the Cuban Council of Ministers include:

- Exploration and exploitation of natural resources;
- Transfer of ownership and rights to State properties;
- Provision of public services, construction and exploitation of public works;
- Real estate development;
- Establishment of companies with 100% foreign capital.

2. Some issues in land use planning of CEZs in Vietnam

a) Planning size

According to the regulations on conditions for the establishment or expansion of CEZs, a CEZ must has “its land area of 10,000 ha and above”. The CEZs currently have their planned area from 10,000 ha (Hon La CEZ) to 217,000 ha (Van Don CEZ).

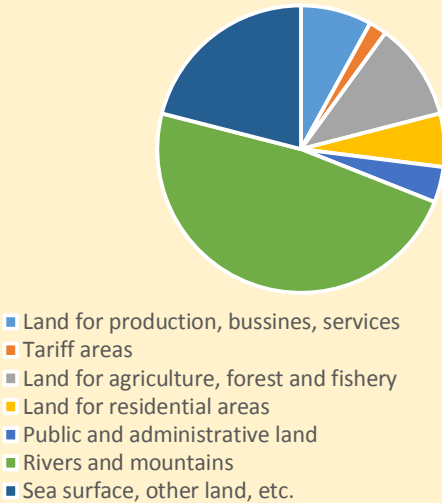
Compared with the size of CES in other countries, the land area of a CEZ in Vietnam is now too large. For example, Shenzhen-China Special Economic Zone (SEZ), at the time of its establishment in 1980, its land area was only 300 ha. Nearly 10 years later, when it became successful, its land area was expanded to nearly 1,000 hectares, and now increased to 33,000 hectares.

b) Land use structure at CEZs

- Overall land use structure

The first 15 CEZs have been established with their total area of 662,249 ha, of which about 54,300 ha (8% of their total land area) are for production, businesses, tourism and services; 12,100ha (about 2%) for tariff areas; 71,100ha (11%) for agricultural-forestry-fishery land; 36,800ha (6%) for residential land; 25,200ha (4%) for public works, administrative areas and waterfronts; **rivers and mountains occupy about 318,800 ha (48%)**.

Figure 3: Average land structure of the first 15 CEZs



The sea surface area in some CEZs accounts for a very large proportion such as in: Van Don CEZ, Van Phong CEZ, Nghi Son CEZ (Table 2), which leads to the low efficiency in use and exploitation of these CEZs.

Table 2: Percentage of sea surface area to total area in some CEZs

No	CEZs	Total planned area (ha)	Sea surface area (ha)	Percentage (%)
1	Van Don	217.133	158.950	73,2
2	Van Phong	150.000	80.000	53,3
3	Nghi Son	106.000	39.502	37,2
4	Hon La	10.000	1.012	10,1

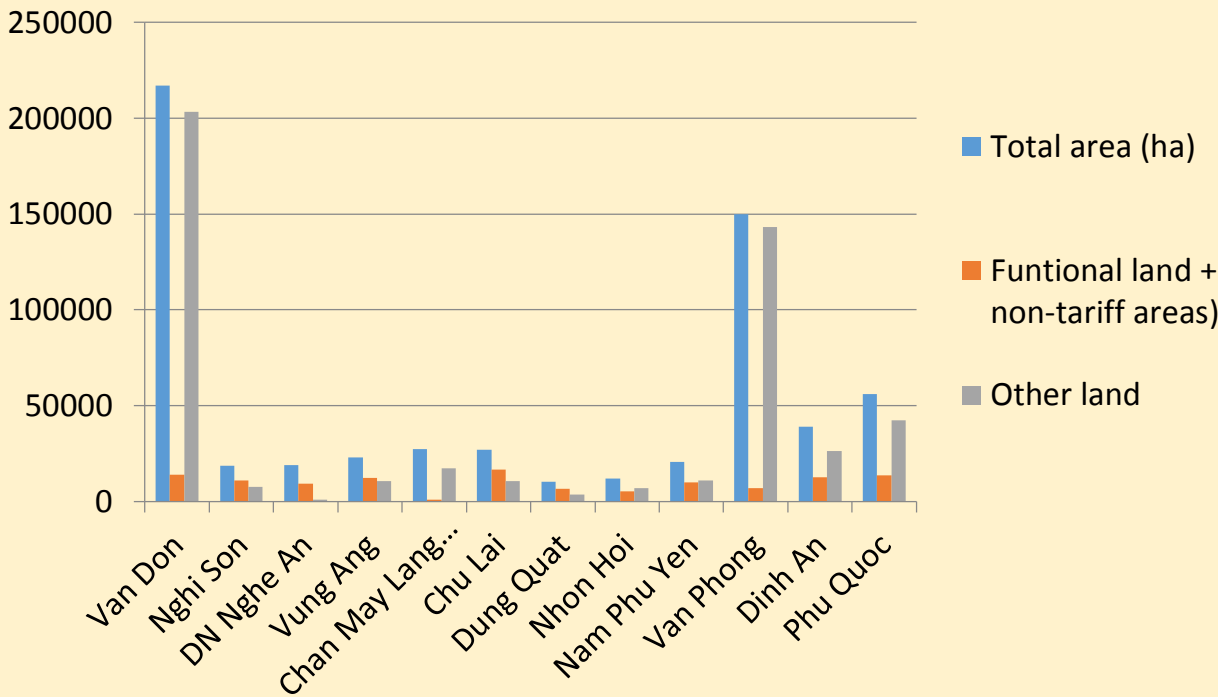
Source: The research team

Based on the above data, it can be seen that in the overall structure of land use planning of the CEZs in Vietnam, the percentage of natural land (rivers, hills, mountains, sea surface, etc...) accounts for a relatively large percentage (48%), especially in Van Don CEZ, its sea surface area accounts for 73.2% of the whole zone. Theoretically and practically, the natural area has little or no contribution to the business and production chain at CEZs, meanwhile, it causes complicated problems in the decentralization of administrative management, environment, forest protection, etc... between the Management Board of CEZs and local authorities (Cities, districts, wards, towns, townships) where have overlapping boundaries, etc... The high percentage of natural area gives the reason why the efficiency of exploitation and use of land and natural resources in the current CEZs is very low.

- Land use structure at each CEZ

Land use structure at each CEZ also showed some shortcomings, especially the proportion of land in functional areas (the areas directly creating physical products) is still low. The CEZs cover a large land area such as: Van Don, Van Phong and Phu Quoc. This indicates a great waste in the land use and sea surface resources at CEZs.

Figure 4: Land use structure at CEZs



- Non-tariff areas

Due to the current context, Vietnam has signed many free trade agreements (FTAs) with countries and many blocs in the world with the export tax rates close to zero, the non-tariff areas haven't played important roles in economic and processing zones. Therefore, the non-tariff areas should be adjusted to other using purposes to avoid wasting land fund.

c. General assessment of current land use at CEZs

Land use structure and functional areas of CEZs are quite similar.

Land fund reserved for CEZs is large but the actual use demands remain quite limited (Land for main functional areas accounted for: 28.4%, of which 10% directly serves production).

Land fund for industrial and urban projects at CEZs is quite large but it hasn't been fully occupied (The maximum occupation rate to 30%). Meanwhile, the urban and industrial land area in other places in provinces also remained redundant.

Currently, the industrial land area at CEZs has not been included at industrial zones in provinces.

Occupation rate: The average rate of new projects took up about 20-30%. The highest rate of implemented projects achieved nearly 30% (at Van Phong CEZ) and the lowest rate reached about 2-3% (at Dong Nam Nghe An, Chan May-Lang Co CEZs) etc...

Budget contribution: After 1/3 of the planning cycle, production activities in most of the CEZs only contributed 5-7% to the budget of each province. In particular, there are CEZs leading in performing obligation of the state budget remittance because key projects were invested by the State (e.g. Dung Quat, Vung Ang CEZs achieved over 80%).

Jobs attraction: The attractiveness and ability to develop population and labour of CEZs are not high. After about 6-8 years (accounting for 1/3 of the planning cycle), the number of new labour force reached less than 10% of the forecast, except for a few special zones (like Dung Quat CEZ).

Table 3: Budget contribution productivity on the land area of CEZs

No	CEZs	Total land area (ha)	Budget contribution (billion dong)	Budget contribution productivity (Billion VND/1ha of land)
1	Dung Quat	45,332	12,204	0.269
2	Chu Lai	27,040	13,052	0.482
3	Dinh Vu	22,140	3,805	0.171
4	Nghi Son	106,000	11,837	0.111
5	Vung Ang	22,781	7,669.4	0.336
6	Phu Quoc	58,923	4,120	0.069
7	Van Phong	70,000	142.2	0.002
8	Chan May-Lang Co	27,108	265	0.009
9	Van Don	58,183	0,55	0.000
10	Nhon Hoi	14,308	80	0.005
11	Dong Nam-Nghe An	20,776	1,084.8	0.052
12	Nam Can	11,000	66	0.006
13	Hon La	10,000	68	0.006
14	Nam Phu Yen	20,730	50.6	0.002
15	Dinh An	39,020	614.5	0.015
16	Dong Nam Quang Tri	23,792	0,37	0.000
	Total	577,133	55,059.4	

Source: Authors' team compiled from the Report made by the Department of Economic Zones Management-Ministry of Planning and Investment

Table 4: Foreign investment attraction productivity in the land area of CEZs as of December 2017.

No	CEZs	Total land area (ha)	Total foreign investment value (million USD)	Investment attraction productivity (million USD/1ha).
1	Dung Quat	45,332	1,594	0.035
2	Chu Lai	27,040	1,039	0.038
3	Dinh Vu	22,140	5,577.6	0.251
4	Nghi Son	106,000	10,108	0.095
5	Vung Ang	22,781	12,645.96	0.555
6	Phu Quoc	58,923	59	0.001
7	Van Phong	70,000	438.2	0.006
8	Chan May-Lang Co	27,108	313.8	0.011
9	Van Don	58,183	7.3	0.000
10	Nhon Hoi	14,308	358.3	0.025
11	Dong Nam-Nghe An	20,776	203.9	0.009
12	Nam Can	11,000		
13	Hon La	10,000	4.5	0.000
14	Nam Phu Yen	20,730	15.8	0.000
15	Dinh An	39,020	93.3	0.002
16	Dong Nam Quang Tri	23,792	2.4	0.000
	Total	577,133	32,461	0.056

Source: Authors' team compiled from the Report made by the Department of Economic Zones Management-Ministry of Planning and Investment.

According to the synthesized results: The efficiency of land fund exploitation based on the budget contribution rate per 1 hectare land area shows a large difference among EZs. Vung Ang EZ ranked first with its coefficient of 0.336 billion/ha, followed by Dinh Vu and Nghi Son EZs.

- Van Don, Dong Nam Quang Tri and Van Phong CEZs achieved the lowest rate because these CEZs are still in the process of investment and construction (Southeast - Quang Tri) and because the natural land area and sea surface are too large: Van Don and Van Phong CEZs.

- *The efficiency of investment attraction of EZs is quite low, especially the efficiency of attracting foreign investment (the average rate: \$0.056 million/ha). This number is too low compared to that of the other successful CEZs in the region. For example, Jurong Singapour EZ has an area of 3,000ha, with its total investment about 42 billion USD, equivalent to 14 million USD/ha (COMCEC, 2017:89).*

d. Reasons

❖ The construction planning for the development of CEZs

- There is a large number of CEZs having similar functions in close proximity to each other and close to the industrial zones of other provinces →, which lead to the mutual competition;

- The large and focal technical infrastructures such as seaports, airports, railways haven't been planned reasonably →, which lead to the spread of investment and the low efficiency of using investment resources.

- 100% of the construction planning for CEZs have been formulated, 12/15 of those have been approved; 40-50% of their zoning and detailed planning have been elaborated;

- The stability of the construction planning is not high: 6/12 of those must be adjusted;

- The contents of construction planning contained many irrationalities.

❖ **The construction planning contents of CEZs**

- The planning size is too large;

- Unreasonable land use structure;

- Social and environmental factors have not been well studied;

- Divergent, unfeasible investment plans;

- Lack of effective planning implementation monitoring mechanism

3. A number of planning solutions to increase the efficiency of resources for the development of CEZs

Renovating the construction planning process and steps for CEZs

The construction planning process for CEZs, applying previous standards, regulations, and growth calculations are often based on experience from the common urban planning cases. Therefore, it can be said that the general planning for EZs is both similar and different from the general urban planning.

Therefore, it can be said that the general planning for EZs and the current urban planning offer the same products (drawings, explanations) but the research approach is very different. City is a developed entity with its long history, an economic zone planning is like a completely new area. The planning orientation for CEZs is not only based on the available advantages and potentials, but also heavily influenced by economic and market factors, domestic and international trade policies. These are factors that determine the success and failure of CEZs.

Renovating the contents of land use planning of CEZs

a) Planning size

➤ **No requirement on the size and area of CEZs**

The minimum area for a CEZ is 10,000 ha at present and there is no limit on the maximum size according to the Decree No. 29/2008/ND-CP providing regulations on industrial parks, export processing zones and EZs and the Decree No. 35/2022/ND-CP providing regulations on the management of industrial parks and EZs, which have made some localities to expand the area of CEZs to the maximum in order to receive as much as possible the infrastructure development investment capital from the central budget without paying attention to the maximum efficiency and saving of land fund. This has caused waste of resources in the construction planning and infrastructure investment. It is shown in the practice that after more than 10 years, the current occupancy rate of CEZs is still very modest.

(The occupancy rate: The average rate of new projects registration achieved about 20-30%. The highest rate of implemented projects reached nearly 30% (Van Phong CEZ) and the lowest rate reached about 2-3% (Dong Nam Nghe An, Chan May-Lang Co CEZs).

The regulation on "the land area of 10,000 hectares and above" acts as one of the conditions for establishing or supplementing and expanding a CEZ. Compared with other countries, especially in China, the size of CEZs in Vietnam is quite large. According to the successful experience of Shenzhen CEZ, it has been established since 1980, this CEZ early covered an area of only 300 ha. Nearly 10 years later, when it became successful, the area of Shenzhen CEZ was expanded to nearly 1,000 hectares, and its area has been currently raised to 33,000 hectares.

Moreover, CEZs have large area and size causing an overlap in management boundaries between the Management Boards of the CEZs and local authorities (Cities, districts, wards, communes...) and create complexities for administrative management, land, protection of natural resources and environment, etc...

b) Land use structure

Excluding the 03 EZs e.g. Dong Nam Nghe An, Thai Binh and Ninh Co, the general construction plans of the remaining 15 CEZs have been formulated, including: about 8% of the total land area for production, business, tourism and service purposes; 2% for non-tariff areas; 11% for agriculture; 6% for residential areas ; 4% for public works, administrative areas and 48% of water surfaces, rivers and mountains (Vu Dai Thang, 2012). Thus, in fact, only about 10% of the land area have directly used for industrial production, tourism, services, and commerce, and they are industries that create production value for CEZs.

In order to rationalize the land use structure at CEZs, it is proposed to do the following contents:

- ***Minimizing the inclusion of natural conservation land areas such as:*** high hills, protection forests, nature conservation areas, marine ecological conservation areas in the planning boundaries of CEZs. It was shown in the practice that there was quite a lot of natural land areas and water and sea surfaces that was little or impossible to exploit for industrial and service activities. As a result, the size of CEZs has increased but overall land use efficiency has decreased.
- ***Priority should be given to the development of functional areas closely related to the marine economy:***

The functional areas prioritized for development in CEZs: Deep-water seaports, shipbuilding, logistic services, oil and gas, renewable energy, metallurgy, aquatic and seafood processing, etc... Industries with technological value, high exports: Electronics, automobile manufacturing.

- ***Balancing the industrial development area of CEZs with the scale of industrial development planning in provinces***

The industrial areas in CEZs are balanced on the basis of the potential of each province and region. The list of industrial land sizes is regulated by Government-level approval decisions. However, in CEZs, there are large industrial areas equivalent to those outside, but there is no legal document regulating the inclusion of industrial land in the province's industrial land fund. This is a premise that can lead to excess industrial land and waste of land resources.

➤ **Adjustment of land use scale for non-tariff areas**

Non-tariff areas (the commercial-industrial areas) have been identified as the investment priority of all CEZs. Actually, there was a small number of customers coming to these areas to buy goods, not guaranteeing sales and not many investors interested in this type.

On the other hand, Vietnam has signed many FTAs with countries and trading partners around the world, import and export taxes on most of the main products are on the way to reducing to 0%.

Therefore, in terms of commercial development of non-tariff areas, this type should be gradually removed, or integrated with other functional areas because it is no longer suitable with trading trends as well as new policies.

➤ **Urban development management at CEZs**

Currently, at some Industrial Parks and Economic Zones, there is growing trend towards industrial-urban-service areas. The Decree 35/2022/ND-CP providing regulations on industrial zones and EZs management has clearly defined the model of Industrial-urban-service area as well as the limitation of land use norms for urban development. It is not allowed to exceed 1/3 of the industrial park area. However, for CEZs with very large area, it is necessary to consider this regulation accordingly. It is suggested to control the land use norms for urban development at CEZs so that it can't exceed 1/3 of the total industrial and service land fund of the whole area.

Table 3: The urban development land norms for CEZs

Source: The research team's proposals

	Industrial zones	CEZs
Urban development-service norms	Not to exceed 1/3 of the industrial park's area. (According to Decree 55/2022/ND-CP)	Do not exceed 1/3 of the total industrial and service land fund. (The research team's proposals)

➤ **Strengthening linkages among CEZs**

The development forecasts of CEZs are often new and depend more on external influences than on internal factors. For CEZs, their future development plans depend on many national key projects in oil and gas, energy, heavy industry, projects on seaports, airports, etc...

Decree No. 29/2008/ND-CP forms as the basis for CEZs. Clearer legal documents and guidelines have not been prepared yet, so it is very likely that CEZs of lower potential and competition will be established. Criteria are not clear such as: Having a deep-water seaport (capacity, its expansion ability, or potential establishment) or near the airport (how many km?), convenient connection with national and international traffic axes (located on direct connection or more roads must be invested, etc.?) has favorable conditions and resources for investment in technical infrastructure (most of the infrastructure facilities funded by the Central Government). Therefore, many CEZs close together have developed the same type and functions, so they cannot create competitive advantages and share infrastructure.

➤ **Strengthening regional transport connections**

The traffic connection has demonstrated the weak point of CEZs. Although it has been planned and invested quite synchronously, the connection between the CEZs with the national transport system is still limited, hindering development linkages between CEZs with each other and among regions.

Connecting the CEZs with the national transport system, including: the national road system, the national railway system, the network of airports and seaports will create a connection network in circulation and goods transportation, shared infrastructure (airports, seaports), services, public utilities, especially between CEZs located geographically close to each other

➤ **Studying and adjusting the construction planning of CEZs in the direction of pairing**

❖ **Goals:**

The central investment capital focus on for the key EZs to stimulate socio-economic development for the whole inter-provincial region. It is required to coordinate and share functions of the CEZ pairs. Duplication of investment between EZs close to each other should be limited and enhancing competitiveness according to their specific strengths is required.

❖ **Specific Proposals:**

- Some key EZs, especially pairs of EZs that are adjacent to each other and have conditions for common use and share of infrastructure, may need to readjust the planning work and the planning for functional areas, similar economic and production activities is particularly limited in order to increase competitiveness and typical character of each zone.
- Prioritize solutions to share technical infrastructures, especially important key works (e.g seaports, airports...) and other technical infrastructure systems (e.g solid waste and wastewater treatment, etc...)
- Connecting pairs of EZs by traffic routes aims to facilitate common development and to increase investment efficiency of social infrastructures and housing.
- Pairs of ECs should be paid much attention including: Vung Ang-Hon La; Dung Quat-Chu Lai; Nam Phu Yen-Van Phong. The adjustment of the general planning for these pairs of ECs may need to be considered early in the immediate period.

4. Conclusion

In general, the exploitation efficiency of CEZs is still quite low in Vietnam at present, except for reasons of the location selection strategy, mechanism and policies to attract investment, the construction planning has made significant contribution to this weak status. Only the minimum size of CEZs is regulated, which makes CEZs tend to maximize their size to enjoy preferential policies and investment budget while not taking into account the efficiency of exploitation.

In order to increase the size of CEZs, they have been planned with a relatively large proportion of natural land and sea surface, which have reduced the overall exploitation efficiency and creates many complicated problems because the management works within CEZs have overlapped with local authorities and related departments

The absence of separate standards in the construction planning of CEZs is also a reason. The construction planning standards for common functional zones are still applied at CEZs. As a result, some irrationalities have arisen in the land use structure.

The size calculation of industrial land and urban land in EZs has not been made to connect and integrate with the industrial development planning and urban planning of provinces, leading to an excess of industrial and urban land.

Some functional areas at CEZs such as non-tariff areas have proved unsuitable in the current conditions, most of tariff barriers for imported goods have been abolished by the free trade agreements between Vietnam and other countries. Therefore, land for non-tariff areas should be considered and adjusted to other types of land use, giving priority to the land fund for production and development of social infrastructure, especially housing for workers.

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