

学位論文の要旨 (論文の内容の要旨)
Summary of the Dissertation (Summary of Dissertation Contents)

論 文 題 目
Dissertation title

Vietnam's Foreign Policy in the post-Cold War Era: Ideology and Reality

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The study is all about the restructuring and adjustment of Vietnam's foreign policy in the context of the post-Cold War era. By focusing on the interplay of ideology and reality and analyzing impacts of the two-factors relationship on the reshaping process of Vietnam's diplomatic paradigm, the study tries to provide both closer and more comprehensive look on Vietnam's foreign policy after the Cold War end.

Background of the study

Historical perspective: Vietnamese nationalism and socialism. Colonial disputes and the right of self-determination, imperialism and nationalism, capitalism and communism had made Vietnam to become one of the world's toughest battle ground for almost all the twentieth century. The pre-modern and modern history of Vietnam is nothing other than the history of long-years struggling for independence, national unity and pursuing communism ideology. While the whole world focused their efforts on social-cultural improvement and economic development, Vietnam had to gather up its limited national resources to struggle for independence and protect its choice of socialism and put heavy stamps on Vietnam's national strategy and foreign policy.

Vietnamese *Doi Moi-Renovation* and new foreign policy directions: The *Renovation* in Vietnam officially began in 1986. Then, there appeared the first seeds of a new foreign policy, with the breakthroughs in thinkings and practices. Despite Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP)'s several policy commitments and practical efforts, Vietnam's *Renovation* course has been in the intensive arguments both inside and outside the country. The VCP has been confused with requirements to push for further economic reform, while ensuring political stability and maintaining Party's leadership role. *Doi Moi* was associated with VCP's acknowledgement of the vital role of globalization and international economic integration to Vietnam's survival and development. The mission of Vietnam's new diplomacy was to ensure Vietnam's active and proactive integration into international economy, concurrently expand international cooperation in other fields.

Problem statements

There emerged many questions regarding to Vietnam's diplomacy strategy and foreign policy decision-making process in the post-Cold War era, such as: Will Vietnam be able to bring its policies more into line with its national capabilities, social-economic reality, and the changing regional and international order? Can Vietnam achieve a more balanced relationship with China, a more friendly relationships with the United States, the Western countries and especially with ASEAN? What if Vietnam fails to adapt to the post-Cold War era? They are all important issues and lead to Dissertation's problem statements as follows: (i) Vietnamese Renovation: Adjustment to the new global context. (ii) The interplay of Ideology and Reality: Dilemma of Vietnam's diplomatic alignment in the new strategic context. (iii) Reformist-Conservative debates: Seeds of Vietnam's paradigm shift in foreign policy. (iv) Vietnam's foreign policy: Changing paradigm in a changing world.

Objectives of the study

For analyzing Vietnam's foreign policy after the Cold War (1986-2011), the scope of the study has firstly been focused upon the first two stages of *Renovation* (the period of 1986-1991; and 1991-2001). These two stages have marked by significant and strong movements in Vietnam's foreign policy, from changing to renouncing (to a certain extent) the previously ideological dominated foreign relations perspectives of the socialist system. Vietnam's foreign policy in later stage of *Renovation* (2001-2011) will also be analyzed to draw a

comprehensive picture of Vietnam's diplomacy in the post-Cold War era and towards the future. There comes two main objective of the study: (i) Vietnam's post-Cold War political dilemma: The interplay of ideology and reality in formulating and implementing foreign policy; and Vietnam's approach to foreign relations: National interest versus ideological aspect of diplomatic alignment and direction. (ii) Vietnam's balanced foreign policy in the post-Cold War era.

Dissertation's analytical framework

Vietnam's foreign policy is considered as a complex combination of the foreign policy itself and the foreign policy decision-making process, and the multilevel, multidimensional approach are needed to carry out analyses. Therefore, to examine Vietnam's foreign policy in the post-Cold War era, I will use the analytical framework which basically bases on theoretical foundation and standpoint of realism and neorealism and follow Waltz's three levels of analysis with approaches of assessing Vietnam's political behaviors and policy choices by considering this nation as an independent socio-political-economic entity with rational will and always pursuing its supreme interests. The study has also used ideas of Marxist-Leninist dialectic materialism and its political economy approach which, I believe, is applicable in analyzing Vietnam's socio-political-economic context.

Structure of the Dissertation. Besides the Introduction and Conclusions, the Dissertation consists of seven Chapters as follows: **Chapter 1:** Theoretical foundation; **Chapter 2:** Literature reviews: Vietnam in the post-Cold War era; **Chapter 3:** Foreign policy formulating and restructuring: Vietnamese mechanism and principle; **Chapter 4:** Vietnamese foreign policy of *Renovation*: International politics and internal politics; **Chapter 5:** Ideology-Reality dilemma: Vietnamese foreign policy in the first stage of *Renovation* (1986-1991); **Chapter 6:** National interest aspect of diplomatic alignment: Realpolitik foundation of Vietnamese foreign policy in the second stage of *Renovation* (1991-2001); **Chapter 7:** Vietnam's Omni-directional diplomacy: Foreign policy of strategic independence (2001-2011).

Conclusions

Vietnam, the country that was driven and controlled by the conception of "independence," "autonomy" and the need for "self-help," was put into a harsh reality after the Cold War. Unlike other countries, after the Cold War, it seemed that Vietnam had had no strategic choice but to rely on itself and believe in the validity of the multilateral institutions. The end of the Cold War eliminated the so-called twin-threat of superpower intervention and involvement, and communist revolution in Southeast Asia. Hostile attitude seemed no longer dominate intra-regional political relations. The uncertainties of newly establishing international system have also encouraged Southeast Asian countries including Vietnam to engage into regional multilateral discussions which led, to some extent, the rapid changing dynamism of Asian security environment.

As other regional countries in the context of the new world order right after the Cold War, Vietnam had to face off with several newly security issues as well as potential insecurity and instability which are caused partly from the decline of security role of the United States in Southeast Asia and the rise of China with its hegemonic ambition. Changes in international posture had also forced Vietnam to be more accommodating toward its traditional and ideological concerns such as fears of "Peaceful evolution" from the West and hegemonic influence from the North.

Vietnam's foreign policy reorientations in the later period of the first stage of *Renovation*, with the focus of normalization with China, were strongly controlled by the ideological viewpoints. But China's increasing influences will inevitably lead to Vietnam's enforcement of its national power. However, a more tactful way may be the continuation of diplomatic strategies of using multilateral institutions and forums, creating a balanced position of Vietnam among powers' policies, and taking advantages of strength and influence by not only the United States to stabilize regional situation, controlling China's ambition and extreme actions. In its new diplomatic strategy, Vietnam considers and wants to be considered by its neighboring Southeast Asian not only important economic allies for trade and development of region but also political and security ties to serve as a counterbalance to Chinese hegemonic influence.

In the second stages of *Renovation*, the identification of the biggest risks to Vietnam, the confirmation that Vietnam's revolution based on the "assemblages of forces" foundation of either socialist ideology or nation-state interests would decide policy direction selections, as well as the definition of Vietnam's strategic partnership and special partnership. Economic cooperation and integration has also an effective strategic solution for Vietnam to strengthen its newly developed relations with AESAN, Japan and the West. The VCP finally concluded that only through multilateralization and diversification foreign policy can Vietnam provide security and opportunity for its own strategic survival and development goal. The nature of the selection among China, ASEAN, the United States and Western countries was the decision on whether ideology or nation-state interests being the foundation of Vietnam's foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. In other words, it was the question of regime survival or state survival.

Regarding to Vietnam's foreign policy of international integration in the later stage of *Renovation*, Vietnamese scholars evaluated, "International integration has indeed the more and more important resource to consolidate

independence and self-determination. Vice versa, independence and self-determination have also been the crucial basis for international integration. The reality has shown that the more deeply we integrate, the more firmly independence and self-determination have been maintained which has in turn led to deeper integration.” After twenty-five years of *Doi Moi-Renovation*, changes in international, regional context and Vietnam’s situation, and evaluations on the lack of new motivation of Vietnam’s diplomacy may lead to the need for the VCP to reevaluate and reestablish the strategic guidelines for foreign policy decision-making process. The restructuring of Vietnamese foreign policy could be concluded as the interplay of the old fundamental anti-imperialism strategy and the newly realist-developed modernization and adaptation strategy of Vietnamese nationalism. Tackling this dilemma may be the perpetual task of the VCP in its duo-strategic goals of developing the nation and keeping the Party’s absolute supreme leadership.

備考 論文の要旨はA4判用紙を使用し、4,000字以内とする。ただし、英文の場合は1,500語以内とする。

Remark: The summary of the dissertation should be written on A4-size pages and should not exceed 4,000 Japanese characters. When written in English, it should not exceed 1,500 words.