

博士論文審査結果報告
Report on Ph.D. / Doctoral Dissertation Defense
National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)
 田中 明彦 教授

審査委員会を代表し、以下のとおり審査結果を報告します。

On behalf of the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee, I would like to report the result of the Doctoral Dissertation Defense as follows.

学位申請者氏名 Ph.D. Candidate	VIXAYPHONGMANY Alouni		
学籍番号 ID Number	DOC17111		
プログラム名 Program	安全保障・国際問題プログラム Security and International Studies Program		
審査委員会 Doctoral Thesis Review Committee	主査 Main referee	田中 明彦 Akihiko TANAKA	主指導教員 Main Advisor
	審査委員 Referee	高木 佑輔 Yusuke TAKAGI	副指導教員 Sub Advisor
	審査委員 Referee	Andrea PRESSELLO	副指導教員 Sub Advisor
	審査委員 Referee	Patarapong INTARAKUMNERD	博士課程委員会委員長代理 Acting Chairperson of the Doctoral Programs Committee
	審査委員 Referee	大庭 三枝 Mie OBA 神奈川大学 教授 (Professor at Kanagawa University)	外部審査委員 External Referee
論文タイトル Dissertation Title (タイトル和訳)※ Title in Japanese	LAOS'S FOREIGN POLICY CHANGE: FROM 1975 TO 2000 ラオス外交政策の変容:1975年から2000年		
学位名 Degree Title	博士(国際関係論) Ph.D. in International Relations		
論文提出日 Submission Date of the Draft Dissertation	2021年6月29日	論文審査会開催日 Date of the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee	2021年7月27日
論文発表会開催日 Date of the Defense	2021年7月27日	論文最終版提出日 Submission Date of the Final Dissertation	2021年9月8日
審査結果 Result	合格 Pass		

※ タイトルが英文の場合、文部科学省に報告するため、和訳を付してください

Please add a Japanese title that will be reported to MEXT.

1. 論文要旨 Thesis overview and summary of the presentation.

This thesis is an analysis of the evolution and the historical process of Laos's foreign policy change since the establishment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) in 1975. After making a careful and detailed historical description of the colonial and the post-World War II political development full of civil wars and foreign interventions until the establishment of the Lao, PDR in 1975 in Chapter 2, the thesis analyzes the development of Laos's foreign policy in five chapters corresponding to the author's periodization of Laos's foreign policy.

Chapter 2 presents the case why Laos chose the "non-alignment" policy despite the fact the newly established government was a clear Marxist and Leninist one. The chapter points out the significance of Laos's consideration with China under the Sino-Soviet conflict. However, with the situation in Cambodia deteriorating, the chapter describes the process within which Laos had to make a clear alignment with the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries. Chapter 4 describes the period in which Laos deepened its reliance on its close relations with Vietnam and the Soviet Union. As the Cambodian civil war still raging, the author argues, Laos had no other options.

Chapter 5 demonstrates that the opening up and reforms in the Soviet Union (*perestroika*) and Vietnam (*doi moi*) increased room of maneuvers to Laos. Laos, which explored the possibilities of economic reforms as early as in 1979 but refrained from full-fledged reforms given its dependence on the Soviet bloc, now started its domestic economic reforms and activated its foreign policy. The most important foreign policy initiative that Laos took in this period was normalization of diplomatic relations with China even when Vietnam was unable to

do so. The chapter argues that Laos in fact acted as a mediator to realize diplomatic normalization between China and Vietnam in the subsequent years. Chapter 6 starts with the analysis of the impact of the end of the Cold War on Laos and examines Laos's relations with its neighbors and other powers. In addition to improving relations with both Vietnam and China, the chapter documents improvement with former adversaries: Thailand and the United States. The chapter also describes Laos's improving relations with Japan and ASEAN. Chapter 7 examines the expansion of the diplomatic scope of Laos that leads to today's Lao foreign policy. The important landmark was Laos's accession to ASEAN in 1997. In contrast to a view sometimes made in the literature that argues that Laos joined ASEAN only after Vietnam did so, the author argues that Laos made a deliberate choice to prepare itself to fulfill obligations in ASEAN (e.g. the use of English) and joined it in 1997 when it felt prepared.

Chapter 8 summarizes the evolution of Laos's foreign policy from 1975 to 2000 and concludes that the changes in Laos's foreign policy cannot be explained simply as responses to the changes of the external powers, but that it should be understood as calculated responses to the nexus between domestic and external factors.

2. 審査報告 Notes from the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee (including changes required to the thesis by the referees)

The thesis review committee regards the thesis as an important academic contribution to the understanding of Laos's foreign policy. One reviewer points out that given the paucity of literature on international relations of Laos, this thesis is probably the first full-blown academic attempt to write a history of Laos's foreign policy. In comparison with the previous literature, the thesis provides a much more comprehensive description of Laos's foreign policy for a long period and it provides a much more nuanced explanation that incorporate both

external and internal factors. Admitting the significance of the contribution of the thesis, the committee made the following recommendations for further improvement:

1. A clearer discussion on the methodology should be made.
2. Characterization of each chapter including the title should be made more appropriately.
3. A brief explanation of the decision-making system in Laos should be made.
4. Although Chapter 2 is an important contribution in the sense it provides detailed analysis of complex history of turmoil and foreign interventions, how this previous history influenced the foreign policy of the Lao PDR after 1975 is not very clear. An additional analysis is desirable.
5. The main argument of the thesis that Laos's foreign policy had more autonomy than the previous literature suggests should be strengthened by
 - (a) a thicker description of Laos's attempt to play a mediator role between China and Vietnam, and
 - (b) a wrapping-up analysis in the conclusion.

Since the median score made in the review committee after the defense was 4, the author was asked to revise the draft in accordance with the recommendations and resubmit it for approval by the committee members.

3. 最終提出論文確認結果 Confirmation by the Main Referee that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the referees

After the re-submission of the revised draft on August 31, all the review committee members reviewed it with utmost care. All members agreed that the thesis was satisfactorily revised.

4. 最終審査結果 Final recommendation

The doctoral thesis review committee recommends that GRIPS award the degree of Ph.D. in International Relations to Alouni VIXAYPHONGMANY.