

論文要旨と審査結果

Vietnam's Asean Strategic Objectives since the 1986 *Doi Moi* Reform

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I. 論文要旨

The study examines the dynamics of Vietnam’s ASEAN-based policy since the late 1980s in pursuit of three strategic objectives—economic development and industrialization (development goal), managing its security relations with China and the threat of US-led “peaceful evolution” to its communist regime (security goal); and building “national standing,” defined in terms of enhancement of its diplomatic standing and political influence in the regional community. ASEAN provided Vietnam with the leverage to achieve all the strategic objectives, because of its norms and principles, especially its economic linkages with its major partners and ASEAN-centered multilateral institutions, which Vietnam exploited to meet its own economic, security, and diplomatic/political interests.

Over the three decades since the *Doi Moi* economic reforms and new political thinking in foreign policy in 1986, Vietnam has managed to overcome its economic crisis and international isolation and become a middle-income country, deeply integrated in global and regional economy and active diplomatically in regional affairs. Vietnam has also managed its relations with China and the US, the two hegemonic powers shaping the regional architecture in the Asia-Pacific. The study shows that the Vietnamese participation in ASEAN has turned out be the best strategic choice for its integration with the regional and global economy and managing its relations with China and the US. The study provides a comprehensive picture of Vietnam’s ASEAN-based integration policy in economic and politico-security dimensions.

The dissertation is organized into six chapters. The 1st chapter is Introduction. The 2nd chapter examines the background of Vietnam’s pursuit of ASEAN membership (from the mid 1970s to 1995) and explains why the Vietnamese party-state leadership opted for ASEAN in light of the *Doi Moi* Reform. Chapter 3 investigates Vietnam’s ASEAN-based integration policy after its entry into ASEAN from 1995 to 2001. Chapter 4 looks at the changing regional order and Vietnam’s attempts to use ASEAN as a leverage to pursue its strategic goals in the 2001–2007 period. Chapter 5 examines the new economic and politico-security context of the East Asian Asia-Pacific and the

evolution of Vietnam's strategic objectives. The final chapter, Chapter 6, is the conclusion in which findings are summarized, future research questions raised and the prospects for Vietnam's ASEAN strategies discussed.

In sum, the dissertation makes an important contribution to our understanding of examines Vietnam's foreign policy in the period from 1986 to 2012 period. Its strength lies in its major thesis that Vietnam used ASEAN as the most important foreign policy leverage in achieving its three strategic objectives of development, security, and "national standing," and in its use of sources, both Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese, in supporting its argument. It is very well-researched and informative about Vietnam's foreign policy as well as its the domestic political context.

II. 審査結果報告

審査委員：主査 白石 隆
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平成25年7月24日の博士論文最終報告に引き続き、主査である白石隆、副査である恒川恵市教授、大山達夫教授、鬼丸武士助教授による審査委員会が開催された。その際の評価は以下の通りである。

We see many repetitions in the thesis draft. You also need to address the points below.

First, the time frame needs to be justified, namely you need to explain why you frame your story in the 1986-2012 period. This can be done in the introduction.

Second, you need to explain the notion of "national standing." We have problems with the concept, in part because it is not clearly defined, but more importantly because it cannot be operationalized and we tend to avoid such a concept in social sciences. Here you are confronted with a big challenge. I have no doubt Vietnamese policy makers use this concept to define one of their strategic objectives. But to make it intelligible for those who do not know the Vietnamese language and cannot access to the kind of debate you discuss in Vietnam, you need to show how it is deployed in the debate among policy

makers, giving us some examples, say, from party and government policy statements and to tell us what they approximately mean if translated in English.

And finally some of us also think that you should be clear about what policy measures the government adopted at different points in history. This is tough, and I would suggest that you tell the reader the kind of thinking that informed policies, instead of discussing policy measures themselves.

本論文は、全体として、本学の博士にふさわしい内容の論文であると全委員が評価し、上に示した点についてしかるべく修正を施した上で、Ph.D. in International Relations の学位を授与すべきであるとの判断で一致した。論文修正後の確認措置としては、主査に一任することとし、これに遵い、修正済論文は主査が承認の上、論文最終版として提出された。