

F → O

Date: 2018/06/18

(yyyy/mm/dd)

Report on the Final Exam

Name of the Chair: Naoko Kumagai

On behalf of the Thesis Examining Committee, I would like to report the result of the Final Exam as follows.

1. Student ID	1B5D01
2. Name	Nicholas William Chapman
3. Cluster	International Relations
4. Thesis Examining Committee	Chair: Naoko Kumagai
	External Examiner: Mie Ōba
	Examiner: Aung Maung Myoe
	Examiner: Motohide Saji
5. Dissertation Title	Vietnamese Foreign Policy: Memory and Learning in the Doi Moi Era. (日本語訳: ヴェトナムの外交政策: ドイモイ期における記憶と学習)
6. Submission Dates	Draft: May 18, 2018
	Final: June 15, 2018
7. Final Exam Date	June 5, 2018
8. Faculty Meeting Date	June 18, 2018
9. Degree Title	博士 (国際関係学) / Ph.D. in International Relations
10. Result	Pass

I. Dissertation Overview and Summary of the Presentation

The dissertation seeks to examine the sustainability of the multidirectional diplomacy of Vietnam since Doi Moi. It looks at the successfully diversified and multilateralized foreign relationships, with a focus on international integration into the international political economy. This multidirectional foreign policy is designed to contribute to the stability of both the international and domestic stability environment with the ultimate purpose of enhancing Vietnam's national power, in terms of economic growth, protection of state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

This multidirectional foreign policy has contributed significantly to the economic reformist agenda of Doi Moi. In addition, it has boosted Vietnam's international profile and reversed the diplomatic isolation it faced as the Cold War came to a close. As such, multidirectionalism has become a fundamental aspect of the Doi Moi process.

This thesis traces, with the methodology of process tracing, the learning process to show how multidirectionalism has continued to be sustained and reinforced since its inception through focusing on the accumulated positive memories of economic benefits for the Vietnamese Communist Party.

The candidate explained the purposes, propositions, methodology, logic and empirical analysis of the dissertation with effective visual images of the charts showing the logic and figures. For reference, the candidate brought copies of the diplomatic documents he has collected in the Vietnam National Archives Center.

II. Notes from the Thesis Examining Committee (including the changes required to the dissertation by the committee)

The committee found that the dissertation was well researched. Still, the committee raised some questions, mainly of a conceptual and logical nature, in the argument. They were mainly about the conceptualization of the three components of multidirectionalism—diversification, multilateralism, and integration—and the logical explanation of the continuation of multidirectionalism.

Followings are the main questions and suggestions for revision from the committee.

1. The dissertation subtitle could better reflect the argument in the dissertation, thus reflecting the concepts of memory and learning while removing the terms of “identity” and “post–Cold War” from the title.
2. The committee also suggested minimizing the use of the term of “identity” in the main text by rephrasing or by choosing another word in the main text.
3. The committee suggested that the candidate incorporate an explanation about why multidirectional diplomacy of Vietnam is worth close research while many states today are adopting *de facto* multidirectional diplomacy.
4. Further explanation of the complex situation of Vietnam’s “isolation” after 1978, especially the influence of the USSR, was needed to clarify whether it was isolated by its own making or due to outside factors.
5. The committee requested that the candidate further clarify the three elements of multidirectional diplomacy, diversification, multilateralism, and integration.
6. The committee requested the clarification of the overall causal relation in the empirical analysis chapters (Chapter 3–6). The suggestion was to rewrite or rephrase some parts which tended to show misleadingly the logic of multidirectional diplomacy as a means to ends (economic development and legitimacy), which was the reverse of the candidate’s overall logic (economic development and legitimacy as leading to the “continuation/survival” of multidirectional diplomacy).
7. In this relation, the committee also requested that the candidate rephrase or rewrite (or add interpretations) to show that such perceptions and comments of government officers, seemingly reflecting the reverse of the candidate’s overall logic are just parts (temporary phenomena and assessments) of the long-term series of events/policy implementations over the years.

III. Confirmation by the Chair that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the committee

The committee reviewed the revised version and confirmed that the revised version reflects the request of revisions as listed in the previous section of this report.

IV. Overall Evaluation

The candidate examined the reasons why the Vietnamese government has continued to emphasize a multidirectional foreign policy since Doi Moi. His meticulous analysis of diverse elements, such as the Vietnamese Communist Party's intention to maintain and manage the one-party system as well as state sovereignty and territorial integrity, the country's territorial disputes with China in the South China Sea, and the passionate nationalism of civil society, along with discourse analysis of relevant actors with painstaking process-tracing methodology, persuasively demonstrates that both domestic and international benefits gained from multidirectional foreign policy have gradually consolidated and reinforced the Vietnamese policy makers' continuation of multidirectional policy.

The committee understands that the doctoral thesis makes a significant contribution to the understanding of contemporary Vietnamese foreign policy with the most up-to-date information obtained from archival research and interviews in Vietnam.

The committee rates highly the candidate's diligence in acquiring the language skills of Vietnamese and his patience to do archival research and gain access to Vietnamese governmental officers, interviews with whom are usually difficult due to the nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party. All of this made the highly persuasive discussion in the doctoral thesis possible.

The committee believes that the logic of the sustainability of Vietnam's multidirectionalism could be further developed for generalization to be applied for other cases of such states that have experienced transition from isolation to open diplomacy.