

Some Clarification on the Relations between Vietnam and France

Vo Van Sung

Diplomatic relations between Vietnam and France date back to 1946 when France recognized Vietnam as “a free state”. The relations have undergone changes amidst a struggle of progressive and colonialist forces with another force sitting in between. Apart from the Communist Party of France, Gaullist forces also played an important role in improving relations between the two countries with De Gaulle’s statements against US policies in Vietnam while he was in power or out of power. These culminated in De Gaulle’s 1 September 1966 statement in Phnom Penh. The fence sitters consisted of people including Francisque Guay, Emile Bollaert, General Bigeard who later became supporters of the Vietnamese people’s struggle in one way or another. As time progressed, there were less and less French supporters of the “French Dirty War” in Vietnam. The author finally argues that the role played by people of Gaullist and neutralist tendencies are more important than conventional wisdoms suggest.

Vietnamese-American Relations at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Status of Play and Forecasts

Ha My Huong, Asso. Prof

There has been regular exchange of visits at the highest level in addition to more frequent visits at lower levels between Vietnam and the US. The Joint Statement between Vietnam and the US issued at the end of Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung’s visit to the US highlighted the positive friendly relations on the basis of mutual respect and commitment to multifaceted and constructive cooperation. In this connection, the two countries have seen success in their trade starting with the signing of the BTA in 2000, the granting of PNTR in 2006. Bilateral trade has seen huge increase over the past decade, going up from US\$ 451.3 million in 1995 to US\$ 10.30 billion in 2000. Much the same way can be said for investment. Notable progress can also be seen in education-training, science and technology, public health, environment etc. We can, however, easily see some hitches in the relations. Relations between can be characterized by (1) relations between two “sworn” enemies, (2) relations between world single superpower and a medium-sized socialist country, (3) relations between a vast market economy and a transition economy with great development potential. With all these, we can detect the following trends in the development of their bilateral relations: movement toward “constructive partnership, friendship and multifaceted cooperation; further improvement in their relations, especially in trade and investment, thanks to various agreements signed.

Vietnam should attach greater attention to measures to further promote its relations with the US; work out measures to exploit more effectively America's strengths and implement recent agreements to upgrade senior dialogues in political affairs, defence, security and others; establish a balanced relations between itself and US as well as other world powers. In the final analysis, Vietnam should build its endogenous energy, foster its power (both soft and hard) in order to translate opportunities in its relations with the US into a reality.

Supervision of Foreign Policy by the French National Assembly

Vu Doan Ket

The current French power structure is built on the basis of the 1958 Constitution of the Fifth Republic which tries to strike a balance between the legislative and the executive. However, in reality power has tilted to the executive. The power of the legislative has declined accordingly. The Constitution provides for the plenary sessions of the National Assembly to be open to the public. It also provides for the establishment of 6 committees and provisional committees as necessary. These are typical supervisory tools of the National Assembly. In foreign affairs, the President holds the supreme power while the Prime Minister is responsible for formulating and implementing foreign policies. The National Assembly supervises the President and the Prime Minister in the implementation of the country's foreign policy through the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Committee supervises the legislative process, appraising international treaties that the government has signed and the passage of the budget for foreign affairs. It also does its job through collecting and processing information by holding hearings or fact-finding missions. In addition, it is allowed to set up investigation committee. It also plays its role through vote of confidence or no confidence. Vote of confidence is held once a year on the country's foreign policy and another on its policy toward Europe. Hearing which started in France as early as 1909 is also another way of supervision by the National Assembly. So as a matter of fact, the French National Assembly still plays a very important role in foreign affairs;

The EU's New Security Challenges and Global Actorness in the Multipolar and Multilateral Context

Eric Remacle, Prof

The European Union has become a new security actor on the world stage after the Cold War. However, it is still constrained by the influence of Washington and Moscow on European affairs, the divergences among EU member states and a "capabilities-expectation gap". In 1992, the European Union established the Common Foreign and

Security Policy and created the post of the High Representative for CFSP. However, security problems were addressed in a case-by-case basis and reactive way. The EU then tried to transform itself into a “security provider” and “stability exporter”. In 1999, a military component was added to these security institutions and policies under the name of European Security and Defence Policy which envisaged the creation of permanent political/military institutions like the Political and Security Committee, the EU Military Commission etc. This has helped shape a decentralized and multilevel “foreign policy system” of the EU. The EU has also step by step transformed its reactive approach to security to a proactive one. However, the organization faces the following security challenges: it has to formulate its security policy with the new US administration, NATO’s new strategic concept and the UN peace operations and doctrines. As CFSP and ESDP remain intergovernmental, member states remain largely autonomous in last resort and may refuse to accept to design a common vision in many sectors of foreign and security policy or devote the majority of their own military capacities to the Union level. This is compounded by new trends toward multipolarity which encourages the European Union to diversify its alliances and partnerships and emphasize on multilateralism

Double Bubbles: US Finance and Hegemony

Dang Xuan Thanh, Dr.

The period after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War is often referred to by many as a US unipolar moment. Indeed, the last decade of the 20th century has been the longest period of vigorous economic development in the US and the pursuit of multilateralism and moderation in US foreign affairs. However, the 2000 crash of high-tech stocks and the shock of 11 September 2001 marked important turning point. Through massive fiscal and financial expansion, the US started both the military and economic engines. The US unilaterally resorted to military force, going back on its commitments, circumventing multilateral institutions. However, the double bubble cannot expand forever through borrowings. As a matter of fact, the financial bubble lost its momentum in 2006 and the economy has been in deep recession since the beginning of 2008. In the meantime, the hegemonistic bubble has been overinflated by the Iraqi and Afghanistan quagmires. The bubble has not burst because the US still tries to maintain high military spending and key powers do not want a quick US withdrawal as this would result in geostrategic collapse at key links, the propagation of terrorism, separatism and conflicts. The shift of the balance of power is likely to move to the periphery or is temporarily balanced and reverses itself. The burst of the financial bubble terminates the US “unipolar moment” but would not be likely to burst the hegemonistic bubble. Therefore, the structure of “a single superpower and many powers” can yet be replaced.

Terrorism and Political Violence in Southeast Asia: Trends, Threats and Responses

Natasha Hamilton-Hart

Students of international terrorism consider it their job to confirm that threats of terror are real and immediate. However, we have no grounds to see the situation in Southeast Asia in much the same way. Many casualties from terror are in Iraq, Afghanistan where the war on terror is most intense. In order to correctly judge threats to the region, we have to understand and distinguish from different threats. First of all, there should be a distinction from terrorism, insurgency and political violence. Secondly, a difference should be seen in the formation of the ideology of violence and the reasons behind it. Thirdly, there should also be another distinction between what regional governments can actually achieve and what they cannot achieve in their anti terrorism and counter-insurgency strategies. No governments could eradicate completely the possibility of terrorist attacks, therefore they should aim at preventing terrorist acts and reducing acts encouraging the use of terrorist tactics. Governments should also try to avoid the traps of overspread and ineffective concentration on ideology or religion and excessive violation of citizens' freedom.

Recent Developments across the Strait: Lessons for Southeast Asia

Ronald A. Rodriguez

Southeast Asian countries consider recent development across the Taiwan strait not only encouraging but also promising. Taiwan has recently declared the focus of its policy toward the mainland on economic diplomacy and cooperation and announced that it would resume flights across the strait and open its doors to welcome tourist from the mainland. These measures have met China's "peaceful rise", laying the foundation for more constructive relations and helping build pragmatic but unofficial contacts. This also has spill over effect in Southeast Asia. However, China has to show its consistency and determination to be a more responsible player in and a more reliable partner of Southeast Asia. In so doing, China would be able to turn a trouble spot into a catalyst for stability in the region. The author concluded by recommending: (1) greater cooperation opportunity among North Asian countries to construct a global financial system in Asian terms and rules; (2) twinning between cities across the Strait to ensure that the current policy continues well beyond the incumbent President; (3) joint efforts by China, Taiwan and South East Asian neighbours to remove barriers to closer cooperation between them. These would certainly help Southeast Asian countries gain greater confidence in China.

Anti - Dumping in the Doha Round: Sunset Clause

Nguyen Thi Lan Anh, Dr.

According the WTO Anti-Dumping Agreement, a country can resort to anti-dumping measures against other countries but within a maximum of 5 years, the country has to review conditions for the measures taken. If no review is done, the measure would automatically lapse. The provision is to prevent indefinite application of anti-dumping measure, to strike a balance between trade liberalization and the safeguard of domestic industry against unfair competition. However, many countries have abused the provision, prolonging their application of measures in question. Therefore, the clause needs revising. Friends of Antidumping Negotiations hold the view that anti-dumping measures would automatically come to an end without any reviews. Other countries deem it necessary to further clarify the conditions for the sunset clause. Still many others, especially those supporting the US view, think that anti-dumping measure should last as long as necessary and therefore there should not be any changes in the current sunset clause. Seeing those different views, Chairman of the Rules Negotiations has proposed automatic termination of the measure in ten years. However, with the US strongly object to the idea of reviewing the clause, it would be very difficult for the changes in the sunset clause to get through.

As a developing country which suffers a great deal from anti dumping measures, Vietnam should support the revision of the sunset clause that would provide for automatic relapse. This also conforms to position that Vietnam has taken in treatment of developing countries.

Factoring in Changes and Current World Situation

Vu Duong Huan, Asso. Prof

World situation is characterized by all aspects of the world affairs and is related to the balance of power among the main actors in the political chessboard within a definite period of time. Among these the main factors are changes in the balance of power in the world, especially among major political and economic centres; the struggle and cooperation among actors, especially the main ones to advance their interests. They also include main tendencies of the contemporary world, namely the rapid advance of science and technology, leading to new development in the forces of production, globalization and regionalization, peace, cooperation and development; the struggle between unipolarity and multipolarity with multipolarity gaining the ground; the tendency toward the democratization of political affairs along with in-country democratization. With these in view, we can see that the world from now to 2020 will include (1) further changes in the balance of power, (2) the US remaining the superpower in the world, (3) continued advance in science and technology as well in globalization, impacting on the world, peace, (4) cooperation and development remaining in the mainstream, (5) further development of modern capitalism, dominating the world, (6) a multipolar world with different powers playing different roles, (7) a shift of world development centre from Europe to Asia and the Pacific. These, of

course, present both challenges and opportunities for Vietnam. The problem is how to avail ourselves of the opportunities to prosper the country.

Confidence and Mutual Confidence in International Relations

Vu Le Thai Hoang, Dr.

In the context of integration, Vietnam has expressed its wish to be a friend and a trust-worthy partner in the international community, actively participating in regional and international cooperation. More than ever before, we need to understand confidence and mutual trust which have now become a separate area of study involving psychology, sociology, politics and main international theories. The author argues that confidence is the preparedness to put your interest in other people's hands. It is a psychological state and is expressed in the expectation of other's behaviours. In international relations, cooperation would require certain degree of confidence among countries. Mutual confidence depends on trust. The author points out criteria to measure mutual trust as well as to classify degrees of confidence. He also gives us different strategies to foster mutual confidence including the incremental strategy and the institutional strategy. In the last part, he gives us an example of confidence building in the relations between Germany and France after the Second World War. The relations serve as a model for building confidence and reconciliation among countries.

Global Value Chain

Do Thanh Hai

Many theorists have posited theories to explain the phenomenon of globalization. Karl Marx pointed out that there was no limit to the connection between capitalist mode of production with universal structures and he described globalization as a search for new value useful to the exchange of goods across borders. Wallerstein placed division of labour at the centre of his analysis of the development of capitalism. He developed world system analysis, a new approach, which introduced geopolitical and geo-economic architecture. However, others may see the global economy as a system in which labour and production helped complete the final products. "Commodity chain" was not a novelty but an indispensable part of global capitalist economy. On the basis of theory on commodity chain, economists have propounded theory of value chain which are defined as a collection of all activities that enterprises and workers undertake to make a product from materials to the complete product. At a later stage, ideas of "integration of trade", "disintegration of production" and outsource were added. This is indeed a useful tool to analyse the organization of different industries as well as the added value in each part of the production. It also helps us map out directions for development and suitable strategies.

**TỔNG MỤC LỤC TẠP CHÍ NGHIÊN CỨU QUỐC TẾ
NĂM 2008**

No.	Tên bài viết	Tác giả	Số TC
I. Quan hệ Việt Nam và các nước			
1	Bài phát biểu nhân dịp 41 năm thành lập ASEAN	Nguyễn Tấn Dũng	2 (73)
2	ASEAN bước vào giai đoạn phát triển mới và phương hướng tham gia của Việt Nam	Phạm Gia Khiêm	2 (73)
3	Bàn về Ngoại giao nghị viện và thực tiễn tại Việt Nam	Vũ Dương Huân	1 (72)
4	Vài suy nghĩ về triết lý ngoại giao truyền thống của Việt Nam	Vũ Dương Huân	2 (73)
5	Mặt trận nhân dân thế giới ủng hộ Việt Nam giai đoạn đàm phán Hiệp định Pa-ri	Trịnh Ngọc Thái	1 (72)
6	Những điều nói rõ thêm trong lịch sử quan hệ ngoại giao giữa Việt Nam và Cộng hòa Pháp	Võ Văn Sung	4 (75)
7	Hợp tác Việt Nam - Niu Di-lân tại các thể chế đa phương: ASEAN, Đông Á và Liên Hợp Quốc	James Kember	2 (73)
8	Nhìn lại trí tuệ Hồ Chí Minh trong giải pháp Pa-ri 1973	Nguyễn Phúc Luân	1 (72)
9	Đàm phán và Hiệp định Pa-ri	Nguyễn Khắc Huỳnh	1 (72)
10	Lương tri loài người thức tỉnh: Động lực của Mặt trận nhân dân thế giới ủng hộ Việt Nam chống Mỹ	Nguyễn Khắc Huỳnh	3 (74)
11	Quan hệ Việt - Mỹ trong những năm đầu thế kỷ 21: Một vài nhận xét về thực trạng và dự báo triển vọng	Hà Mỹ Hương	4 (75)
12	Việt Nam với hợp tác, liên kết ASEAN trong lĩnh vực chính trị - an ninh	Nguyễn Hoàng Giáp	3 (74)
13	Quan hệ Việt Nam - ASEAN: Những dấu mốc quan trọng và vai trò của Việt Nam	Nguyễn Văn Lan - Chúc Bá Tuyên	2 (73)

Thông tin – Tư liệu

14	Bước phát triển mới của quan hệ hữu nghị Việt Nam - Bê-la-rút	Lê Thanh Vạn	2 (73)
II. Các vấn đề quốc tế			
1	Thử bàn về cục diện thế giới hiện nay	Hồ Vũ	2 (73)
2	Tranh luận về đa dạng văn hóa trong bối cảnh toàn cầu hóa	Dương Văn Quảng	1 (72)
3	Tính chất đan xen trong quan hệ quốc tế	Dương Văn Quảng	2 (73)
4	Góp phần tiếp cận khoa học quan hệ quốc tế về cục diện thế giới	Nguyễn Vũ Tùng	3 (74)
5	Mỹ và các vấn đề toàn cầu thời kỳ sau Chiến tranh lạnh	Nguyễn Thái Yên Hương	1 (72)
6	Nước Nga hậu Putin: Khởi đầu một phương thức lãnh đạo mới	Lê Thanh Vạn	1 (72)
7	Tiếp cận an ninh con người ở Đông Nam Á	Khổng Thị Bình	2 (73)
8	Vai trò giám sát của Quốc hội Pháp trong lĩnh vực đối ngoại	Vũ Đoàn Kết	4 (75)
9	Một số nét về chính sách ngoại giao láng giềng mới của Trung Quốc	Nguyễn Công Minh	3 (74)
10	Tổng quan an ninh con người ở Đông Nam Á	Hà Anh Tuấn	3 (74)
11	Về sức mạnh mềm của Trung Quốc ở châu Á	Nguyễn Đức Tuyển	1 (72)
12	Những thách thức an ninh mới của EU và vai trò toàn cầu mới trong bối cảnh đa cực và đa phương	Eric Remacle	4 (75)
13	Bong bóng kép tài chính - bá quyền Mỹ	Đặng Xuân Thanh	4 (75)
14	Sự trỗi dậy của Nga: Những tác động đối với khu vực châu Á – Thái Bình Dương	Vitaly Naumkin	2 (73)
15	Một nước Mỹ mới sau bầu cử Tổng thống	Robert G.Sutter	2 (73)
16	Nước Pháp và việc tái tham gia các ủy ban của Tổ chức Hiệp ước Bắc Đại Tây Dương (NATO)	Nguyễn Hồng Quân	3 (74)
17	Chủ nghĩa khủng bố và bạo lực chính trị ở Đông Nam Á: Xu hướng, mối đe dọa và giải pháp	Natasha Hamilon-Hart	4 (75)

18	Những phát triển gần đây tại hai bờ eo biển Đài Loan: Có thể rút ra điều gì cho khu vực Đông Nam Á	Ronald A.Rodriguez	4 (75)
III. Nghiên cứu - trao đổi			
1	Nghiên cứu lịch sử ngoại giao Việt Nam và việc rút ra các bài học kinh nghiệm về ngoại giao	Vũ Dương Huân	3 (74)
2	Nhân tố làm thay đổi và xu thế phát triển cục diện thế giới hiện nay	Vũ Dương Huân	4 (75)
3	Đánh giá về việc sử dụng nguồn thu từ dầu lửa ở Trung Đông trong những năm gần đây	Nguyễn Mạnh Cường	1 (72)
4	Phân tích sự phân quyền trong cải cách hành chính ở Phi-líp-pin: Một số bài học kinh nghiệm cho Việt Nam	Lê Thanh Bình	1 (72)
5	Về ngày Liên Hợp Quốc Vesak	Bạch Thanh Bình	1 (72)
7	Quan điểm về đối ngoại của Obama và McCain: hai cam kết, một thực tiễn	Vũ Lê Thái Hoàng	3 (74)
8	“Lòng tin” và “Quan hệ tin cậy lẫn nhau” trong quan hệ quốc tế	Vũ Lê Thái Hoàng	4 (75)
9	Chuỗi giá trị toàn cầu	Đỗ Thanh Hải	4 (75)
10	Sức mạnh, quyền lực và bá quyền Mỹ trong cơn khủng hoảng	Trịnh Thị Thu Huyền	3 (74)
6	Về Hội nghị cấp cao Ấn Độ - Châu Phi lần thứ nhất	Nguyễn Văn Lịch	2 (73)
11	Phương pháp quản lý hải quan hiện đại và hợp tác kinh tế quốc tế	Nguyễn Công Bình	3 (74)
IV. Luật pháp quốc tế			
1	Nhìn lại việc giải quyết tranh chấp lãnh thổ giữa Xinh-ga-po và Ma-lai-xi-a	Đỗ Hòa Bình - Nguyễn Bích Thủy	3 (74)
2	Thương mại và ngoại lệ về an ninh trong WTO	Lý Vân Anh - Nguyễn Thị Hồng Liên	3 (74)
3	Vòng đàm phán Đoha về chống bán phá giá	Nguyễn Thị Lan Anh	4 (75)