



IOSUD – „DUNĂREA DE JOS” UNIVERSITY OF GALAȚI
Doctoral School for Humanities and Social Sciences

PhD Dissertation

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE U.S.A. (1995-2019)

Summary

**PhD Candidate,
Nguyen Thi Thuy Dung**

**Scientific coordinator,
Prof. PhD hab. Arthur-Viorel TULUȘ**

**Series U3: History No. 19
GALAȚI 2022**



PhD Dissertation

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE U.S.A. (1995-2019)

Summary

**PhD Candidate,
Nguyen Thi Thuy Dung**

Presiding	Prof. PhD Nicoleta IFRIM ”Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați
Scientific coordinator	Prof. PhD Arthur-Viorel TULUȘ ”Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați
Scientific reviewers	Prof. PhD Gheorghe ONIȘORU ”Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava Prof. PhD Valentin CIORBEA ”Ovidius” University of Constanța Assoc. Prof. PhD Cătălin NEGOIȚĂ ”Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați

Seriile tezelor de doctorat susținute public în UDJG începând cu 1 octombrie 2013 sunt:

Domeniul fundamental ȘTIINȚE INGINEREȘTI

- Seria I 1: **Biotehnologii**
- Seria I 2: **Calculatoare și tehnologia informației**
- Seria I 3: **Inginerie electrică**
- Seria I 4: **Inginerie industrială**
- Seria I 5: **Ingineria materialelor**
- Seria I 6: **Inginerie mecanică**
- Seria I 7: **Ingineria produselor alimentare**
- Seria I 8: **Ingineria sistemelor**
- Seria I 9: **Inginerie și management în agricultură și dezvoltare rurală**

Domeniul fundamental ȘTIINȚE SOCIALE

- Seria E 1: **Economie**
- Seria E 2: **Management**
- Seria SSEF: **Știința sportului și educației fizice**

Domeniul fundamental ȘTIINȚE UMANISTE ȘI ARTE

- Seria U 1: **Filologie-Engleză**
- Seria U 2: **Filologie-Română**
- Seria U 3: **Istorie**
- Seria U 4: **Filologie-Franceză**

Domeniul fundamental MATEMATICĂ ȘI ȘTIINȚE ALE NATURII

- Seria C: **Chimie**

Domeniul fundamental ȘTIINȚE BIOLOGICE ȘI BIOMEDICALE

- Seria M: **Medicină**

CONTENTS

Abbreviations, list of tables and graphs

Introduction

Chapter 1: Relations between Vietnam and the USA before 1995

- 1.1. Before 1975
 - 1.1.1. Before American intervention in South Vietnam
 - 1.1.2. During American intervention in South Vietnam
- 1.2. After the unification of Vietnam (1975-1990)
 - 1.2.1. Missed opportunities in bilateral relations
 - 1.2.2. The *Đổi Mới* – Vietnam undergoes economic reforms
- 1.3. Establishing bilateral diplomatic relations (1990-1995)
 - 1.3.1. International context
 - 1.3.2. Initial achievements of the *Đổi Mới* process
 - 1.3.3. Reasons for the US to pursue relations with Vietnam
 - 1.3.4. Reasons for Vietnam to pursue relations with the US
 - 1.3.5. Progress made until the official establishment of bilateral relations

Chapter 2: The development of relations between Vietnam and the USA between 1995 and 2019

- 2.1. Economic relations
 - 2.1.1. Commerce
 - 2.1.1.1. Before the Bilateral Trade Agreement (1995-2000)
 - 2.1.1.2. From the enforcement of the BTA until Vietnam's accession to the World Trade Organization (2001-2006)
 - 2.1.1.2.1. The development process
 - 2.1.1.2.2. BTA impact on commercial relations with the US
 - 2.1.1.3. From Vietnam's accession to the WTO until 2019
 - 2.1.1.3.1. The development process
 - 2.1.1.3.2. Impact of the BTA, PNTR, and Vietnam's accession to the WTO on commercial relations with the US
 - 2.1.2. Investments
 - 2.1.2.1. General view on American investments in Vietnam
 - 2.1.2.2. Sectoral distribution of American investments in Vietnam
 - 2.1.2.3. Geographical distribution of American investments in Vietnam
 - 2.1.2.4. Vietnam's investments in the US
 - 2.1.2.5. US aid for Vietnam's development
- 2.2. Political and diplomatic relations
 - 2.2.1. Between 1995 and 2001
 - 2.2.2. Between 2001 and 2019

Chapter 3: Comments on the political, diplomatic, and economic relationship between Vietnam and the USA (1995-2019)

- 3.1. Accomplishments

- 3.1.1. In economy
 - 3.1.1.1. In commerce
 - 3.1.1.2. The importance of the American market for Vietnam's exports
 - 3.1.1.3. In investments
 - 3.1.2. In politics and diplomacy
- 3.2. Visible limitations
 - 3.2.1. In commerce
 - 3.2.2. In investments
 - 3.2.3. In politics and diplomacy
- 3.3. General aspects of relations between 1995 and 2019
 - 3.3.1. In economics
 - 3.3.2. In politics and diplomacy
 - 3.3.3. The nature of economic, political, diplomatic relations
- 3.4. Dilemmas for future connections
 - 3.4.1. Fundamental differences in values, political institutions, strategies
 - 3.4.2. Differences in economic capacities
 - 3.4.3. Current challenges in economic, political, diplomatic relations
- 3.5. Possible solutions
 - 3.5.1. For political differences
 - 3.5.2. For economic differences

Chapter 4: Perspectives for bilateral relations in the geopolitical context of Southeast Asia

- 4.1. Asia-Pacific today
 - 4.1.1. Recent meetings of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum
 - 4.1.2. The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
 - 4.1.3. Politics and diplomacy
- 4.2. Perspectives and strategies of Great Powers present in Asia-Pacific
 - 4.2.1. U.S.A.
 - 4.2.2. Russia
 - 4.2.3. China
 - 4.2.4. Japan
 - 4.2.5. India
- 4.3. Relational perspectives for Vietnam and the USA in current Asia-Pacific geopolitics
 - 4.3.1. In commerce
 - 4.3.2. In investments
 - 4.3.3. In politics and diplomacy

Conclusions

Bibliography

Annexes

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE U.S.A. (1995-2019)

Abstract of the doctoral thesis

Nguyen Thi Thuy Dung

Keywords: *American foreign policy, Vietnam foreign policy, Vietnam War, bilateral relations, Bilateral Trade Agreement, Permanent Normal Trading Relations, Most Favoured Nation, American investments abroad, Foreign Direct Investments, U.S. aid, Vietnamese diaspora, export-import, Asia-Pacific, geopolitics*

Vietnam and the United States established full diplomatic relations only about 25 years ago, after they had had a direct military confrontation spanning approximately from 1961 to 1975). But they've had connections ever since the 19th century, especially through commerce. After the Vietnam War, the two countries met opportunities to reform and extend their interactions. However, first attempts were unsuccessful. It was not until July 1995 that bilateral relations were officially and fully reinstated. The outcomes were not immediately fruitful, but progress made throughout the years has been remarkable, seeing how the two countries are putting aside their past disagreements and looking towards the future together, by standing for the principle of mutual respect and benefit. Over the past 25 years Vietnam and the U.S. have built a relationship on multiple fronts, particularly in three directions: economy, politics, diplomacy.

American-Vietnamese relations have been discussed in several academic works of various extents (monographies, scientific articles, etc), such as:

➤ Bui Thi Phuong Lan, *Vietnam – U.S. relations (1994-2010)*, published in 2011. The author discusses the pre-normalization situation, then thoroughly analyses the building of a bilateral relationship. Vietnam is set within the new framework for American foreign and security policy and in its relationship with Asia, following the economic crisis. This work sketches the evolution of bilateral contacts, with their ups and downs, as well as their dependency on geopolitical and historic context. Bui Thi Phuong Lan's evaluation shows how, in the specified timeframe, bilateral relations improved in all domains (diplomacy, defence, security). Through these observations, the author tries to answer the biggest question concerning diplomatic ties between the two countries and whether they could become strategic partners in Asia. The

result is a practical analysis of the process for establishing economic relations, and of American perspectives and policies concerning Vietnam. However, it only covers the period from 1994 to 2010. Another shortcoming is that Bui Thi Phuong Lan focused on foreign policies, with little content on economic rapports. Our own research takes on some of Bui Thi Phuong Lan's formulas to complete the image of American-Vietnamese developments after 2010.

➤ Nguyen Thiet Son, *Economic relations between Vietnam and America: issues, policies, tendencies*. Published in 2011, it has 9 chapters, with 3 main segments: the premises and facts of economic relations between Vietnam and the United States from 2001 to 2007, prospects for Vietnam in economic relations with America, and a series of proposals to guide standpoints, policies, and scenarios for the development of bilateral relations. The author mainly analyses mutual tendencies and policies, by looking at results in commerce and investments. He examines bilateral relations mainly from the Vietnamese perspective. American economic policy is not systematically investigated, nor is the impact that historical contexts made on the judicial system or on decision makers. Nguyen Thiet Son only gives general information on commerce and investment, without causal explanations. Through our own study, we aim to add new aspects concerning this type of relations.

➤ Nguyen Ngoc Bich, *Trading with the U.S.A.* Published in 2002, this work is divided into 9 sections. The author focuses on practical information about American commercial law, insisting on clarifying judicial matters but not looking at economic and commercial policies. American trade with Vietnam and bilateral economic relations are the main point of interest.

➤ Pham Thu Nga, *Relations between Vietnam and the United States (1939-1954)*, published in 2004. It focuses on the economic premises that foreshadowed the Vietnam war. By using historical documents and testimonies (especially from within the field of economics), the author convincingly concluded on the war and American strategy concerning Vietnam and its surrounding area. Although it only covers a limited period, this work offers many data that reflect the strategic, economic, and political vision of the United States towards Indochina and Asia in general.

➤ Nguyen Thi Kim Chi's article from 2009, „USA's commercial policies for Vietnam from 2001 to the present day” looks at factors that influenced bilateral relations.

➤ In another article – „Legal basis and application system for U.S.A.'s international commercial policy” – the same author looked at American objectives concerning trade and the institutional framework for promulgating and implementing commercial policies. Several institutions, along with their role in formulating policies and establishing bilateral contacts, are discussed (the U.S. Congress, the Government, the Office of the Trade Representative, the Department of State's Division for Trade Policy and Negotiations, the Federal Agency for Customs and Border Protection within the Department of Homeland Security, the International Trade Commission, regional private sector Advisory Committees, etc). Nguyen Thi Kim Chi's paper illustrates how very complex is the United States' process of planning and implementing trade policy. This is a matter that must be considered by Vietnamese economic entities that want to operate on the American market.

➤ American academic journals contain several articles in which Vietnamese scholars have discussed the foreign trade policies of the U.S. These papers also contain information concerning relations with Vietnam. For instance: Le Thi Van Nga, „U.S. trade policies in the context of economic globalisation” (2005); Tran Nguyen Tuyen, „Adjustments in the foreign policy of the Obama administration and current economic relations between Vietnam and the U.S.” (2009); Le Khuong Thuy, „Adjustments made by the Obama Government in policies concerning South-East Asia” (2010); Nguyen Minh Tuan and Vu Dang Linh, „American perspectives and policies concerning integration issues in East Asia” (2010); Nguyen Anh Cuong, „Overview of American policies towards Vietnam (1976-2008)”, published in 2011.

➤ Apart from works by Vietnamese scholars, we have also considered a series of foreign studies. Bruce W. Jentleson's work, *American foreign policy: the dynamics of choice in the XXI century* (2000) reflects on the fundamentals of U.S. economic politics, including those concerning Vietnam. Another work worth mentioning is Frederick Brown's *Normalization of relations between U.S. and Vietnam. Past, present, future* (1997). It rigorously presents the recovering of American-Vietnamese relations and analyses them through several historical stages. Through scientific evaluations and prognosis, the author also discussed the potential for bilateral economic cooperation. The book is a useful reference because it shows how diplomatic normalization was a strong basis for the establishment of economic ties, both in commerce and in investments. However, it only covers events up to the year 2000, underlining the need for further research.

Our own dissertation relied on these bibliographical references, but was not limited to them. Evidently, all contributions, ours included, are important sources of information and counsel for future decisions concerning Vietnam's diplomatic relations in general and those with the United States in particular. The works that have been published so far only cover some of the aspects of the bilateral relationship. In most cases, they follow a singular perspective (diplomatic, cultural, or political). Moreso, major studies only covered events up to the year 2010, when several important events took place in the process of re-establishing bilateral contacts. Consequently, our dissertation will continue and complete these analyses by outreaching to 2019-2020. By doing this, it will supplement the fundamental data needed for informing and developing diplomatic relations.

For our study, we have collected statistical data from secondary as well as primary sources (unfortunately, for the latter we only benefited from declassified documents kept at Vietnam's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and from American documents that have been published digitally). Verification and correlation of facts was ensured through logical methods, as well as direct contact with figures representative within the universe of the subject (solely Vietnamese individuals).

Our analysis borrowed two theories from sociology (social system and rational behaviour). The first theory underlines the role of elites/castes/upper class individuals which are motivated to obtain certain advantages (groups of interests). To be specific, we looked at the position and the role that American groups with power or influence had over policies concerning U.S. diplomatic relations with Vietnam. The second theory helped us understand the way policies, strategies, and specific actions were chosen in the context of American-Vietnamese relations. It also helps in establishing impact factors that could determine future policies.

The dissertation is divided into 4 chapters. The first one looks to the founding and development of *Vietnam – U.S. relations before 1995*. We consider that this bilateral relationship is overall special because current economic, political, diplomatic contacts are impacted by a difficult historical legacy. Their ups and downs began far back, in 1787, while Vietnam was under feudal rule, and they continue to manifest to this day.

This chapter has been divided into 3 chronological segments. The first phase of bilateral relations was before 1954, when the United States hadn't yet intervened directly in South Vietnam. American influence

over Vietnamese politics and economy was not too great in this stage, therefore its legacy does not heavily impact subsequent relations. The two countries made contact early, at the end of the 18th century. A reference to the beginnings of American influence in Asia through Vietnam can be deduced in the speech that President Bill Clinton held in 2000 on his official visit in Hanoi: „Two centuries ago, during the early days of the United States, we reached across the seas for partners in trade and one of the first nations we encountered was Vietnam”¹.

The second stage of relations corresponded to the American intervention in Vietnam (1954 to 1975), when – for reasons related to the Cold War as well as personal interests – the United States endorsed large scale war in Vietnam and Indochina. Vietnamese historiography sees it as a colonial aggression war, upheld by the U.S. on Vietnam for 21 years. In this period, tensions in bilateral relations peaked, with the U.S. having very few economic and trade contacts with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. America sought to exploit Vietnamese natural resources and indigenous agricultural products, its market importing raw materials, wood, rubber, seafood, ceramics². On April 30th, 1975, Ho Chi Minh won the war and Vietnam was reunified. For reasons concerning the overall evolution of bilateral relations, we chose to analyse and evaluate this period (beginnings until 1975) in this first subchapter.

The second subchapter is dedicated to the period spanning from 1975 to 1990. At this stage, the two countries had (but missed) several opportunities to normalize their diplomatic relations. These chances must also be viewed in the light of Cold War geopolitics. The final subchapter looks at bilateral contacts that were established after 1990, which ended in the restoration of diplomatic ties in July 1995. Once international tendencies started changing in the 1990s, American leaders had to modify their attitudes and policies concerning foreign affairs, including those towards Vietnam. Moreso, relieved of the geopolitical pressures of the Cold War, American companies started to feel anxious about missing out on the opportunity to enter a new market. Therefore, besides government conditions, the business world played a very important and positive role in the recovery of relations with Vietnam. For Hanoi, resuming constructive relations with Washington was an opportunity for international integration. Normalization with the United

¹ Full text of U.S. President Bill Clinton's speech at *Le Việt Nam aujourd'hui*, patrick.guenin2.free.fr/can Tho/vnnews/bclint14.htm [22.12.2021].

² See Nguyễn Thiết Sơn (ed.), *Việt Nam–Hoa Kỳ quan hệ thương mại và đầu tư* [Trade and investment relations between Vietnam and the United States], Hanoi, 2004, p. 11.

States was Vietnam's most important diplomatic objective at that time, because without it the entire vision for new foreign politics (open-doors, diversification) would have been ineffective. Ultimately, after efforts from both parties, on July 11th, 1995, the Clinton Administration announced the official normalization of relations with Vietnam. A day later the Vietnamese Prime-minister, Vo Van Kiet, welcomed the decision. After July 12th, 1995, the relationship between Vietnam and the United States went on a totally different course.

Chapter 2 – *The development of Vietnam-U.S.A. relations between 1995 and 2019* – continues the chronological analysis of economic, political, diplomatic connections. Prior to 1995, Vietnam already had economic and trade links with several American NGOs. Through intermediaries, some American companies had brought goods into Vietnam (,according to the U.S. Department of Trade, the United States exported to Vietnam \$23 million-worth of goods in 1987, \$15 million in 1988, and \$11 million in 1989³).

The first subchapter follows economic collaboration. In terms of trade exchanges, the two sides gained remarkable results from 1995 to 2019, including the signing of a Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) in 2000. From 1995 to 2000, commercial activities started to effectively work. Total turnover of bilateral trade varied from some dozen million dollars to more than 1 billion USD at the end of 1996. In 5 years, trade balance between the two countries always tilted in favour of the U.S., that had a surplus of 121,773 million USD in 1994, 53,894 million USD in 1995 and a record 401 million in 1996⁴. The signing of the BTA meant a turning point in cooperation. After it took effect, American investments in Vietnam grew rapidly. This was a „second wave” of U.S. investments, with the first having manifested after the 1995 normalization.

Trade has been the most important domain for bilateral economic relations and is the focus of the BTA. After 20 years of implementation, trade between Vietnam and the U.S. has registered impressive results. First off, after BTA went into effect, two-way commerce grew continuously and exceeded 68 billion USD in 2019 (in 2000 it started at 1,19 billion). Secondly, trade balance has always tilted towards Vietnam. Of the 68 billion turnover in 2019, 12,75 billion were American exports to Vietnam, while the latter sold 47,52 billion-worth

³ Phạm Hồng Tiến, „Quan hệ thương mại giữa Việt Nam và Hoa Kỳ sau khi tìm kiếm năm năm trước” [Trade relations between Vietnam and the U.S. after 5 years], *USA Today*, no. 5, 2000, pp. 35, 38.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

of goods to the U.S. Therefore, it can be said that the BTA had a bigger impact on American imports from Vietnam than on American exports to Vietnam. Between 2001 and 2006 the total turnover was 31,57 billion dollars, in which 25,18 billion were imports made by the U.S. and nearly 6,4 billion were American exports to Vietnam⁵.

In 2007 Vietnam acceded to the World Trade Organization, and the U.S. established Permanent Normal Trading Relations, namely unrestricted bilateral commerce. As a result, in 2008 Vietnam was one of the top 30 largest exporters to the United States market⁶. Entering WTO had a beneficial role in bilateral trade because the United States are a founding member as well as a key-economy that has influence inside the Organization. Also, WTO commercial rules are essentially in agreement with American commercial rules, which means that many provisions favouring imports into the U.S. market are applied mainly to partners that are also WTO members. For Vietnam, one of the biggest impacts of this membership was that it opened the international market. As a result, starting in 2007, the value of bilateral trade grew rapidly. Statistics for the last 13 years (2007-2019) show an average growth of 17,4% per year. Exports grew by 16,2% per year, while imports by 23,8% per year. Overall, there were 12 years of growth, with 2009 being the only exception, on account of the global economic crisis.

Another element favourable to the development of American-Vietnamese trade was the 2007 signing of the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA). This determined a fast and constant growth for U.S. exports to the Vietnamese market. In 2014 the total value of bilateral trade had reached approximately 35 billion dollars⁷. That was also the year in which Vietnam surpassed its regional rivals (Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia) to become the biggest southeast Asian vendor to the American market. In 2015 the bilateral turnover reached 41,43 billion USD. In circa 20 years of normal diplomatic relations, it had increased 187 times⁸. In the first semester of 2019 it was again at around 35 billion dollars. Massive changes in the global supply chain

⁵ Nguyễn Anh Hùng, *Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ giai đoạn 2000-2012* [Economic relations between Vietnam and the U.S. in 2000-2012], PhD dissertation, Hanoi, 2012, p. 75.

⁶ United States Trade Representative, „United States and Vietnam Hold First Meeting Under Trade and Investment Framework Agreement”, December 17, 2007.

⁷ „The Vietnam-U.S. relationship viewed from an economic perspective”, enternews.vn/20-nam-quan-he-viet-nam-hoa-ky-nhin-tu-goc-do-kinh-te-90599.html

⁸ „Economic and trade relations between Vietnam and America. Expectations for the future”, tapchicongthuong.vn/bai-viet/phan-tich-moi-quan-he-kinh-te-thuong-mai-viet-my-va-nhung-ky-vong-trong-tuong-lai-47320.htm

helped Vietnam rise from 12th to 9th place amongst the biggest exporters to the American market. At the same time, it became the 27th export market for American goods and the 16th biggest commercial partner of the U.S.⁹ In 25 years of official contacts, the turnover between the two countries has risen continuously, from 450 million to 60 billion dollars (133 times increase). Amongst the hundred commercial partners Vietnam has globally, the United States are the third.

In terms of investments, on March 31st, 2019, the total capital that American enterprises had spent in Vietnam had reached 9,15 billion dollars, taking 11th place amongst 65 other countries and territories with similar interests. In the first 7 months of that year, the U.S. had 66 approved projects worth 123 million dollars. Presently, many American companies are negotiating long-term investment plans in Vietnam. Same as foreign investors in general, they focus on 3 main domains: industry and construction; services; agriculture, forestry, and fishing. Moreso, American capital is present in many provinces and cities, but is especially concentrated in South Vietnam.

We can say that American Foreign Direct Investments have a major impact on Vietnam. They have actively supplemented capital needed for Vietnam's industrialization and modernization, helped improve the balance of international payments, and compensated foreign currency deficit. Although U.S. investments don't yet rise to their full potential on Vietnam's market, their value is significant. Secondly, they have visibly helped improve technological capacities on the Vietnamese market. The latter has absorbed modern techniques and technologies from one of the leading countries in the field. To compete with potential rivals, American investors (must) exercise their tech strengths in business. This creates an opportunity for Vietnam to learn about, receive, understand, and use the latest scientific and technological achievements. Furthermore, American capital (and foreign investments in general) have made an important contribution to the Vietnamese job market by creating availability, raising productivity, improving the quality of human resources.

By comparing current American FDIs with the situation before 1975 we can see just how effective they have been. Even so, they still have limitations. As we've said before, by the end of 2019 the U.S. ranked 10/65 entities investing in Vietnam, which shows that their FDIs are not as high as they could be, considering the potential of both countries. Secondly, American capital is not spread evenly, as it's mostly

⁹ „Trade projects between Vietnam and the U.S.A”, socongthuong.binhduong.gov.vn/xem-chi-tiet/dien-an-thuong-mai-viet-nam-hoa-ky

interested in domains and regions that have a good infrastructure, meaning they can give quick return and high profit rates.

In the second major segment of Chapter 2 we looked at political and diplomatic relations between the two countries. The 1995 act of normalization opened a new era in bilateral contacts, but rehabilitation of mutual faith took time. Also, naming the right ambassadors and overcoming various obstacles. A very important step in moving forward together was the visit that the U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, made in Vietnam in August 1995. This was the first visit that a high U.S. official made in Vietnam after the war. After that, many state visits would be made on behalf of both countries. One notable encounter between high representatives was occasioned by the visit of Vietnamese Prime-minister Phan Van Khai. Made in June 2005, it registered within the celebrations of a decade of normal diplomatic relations, and it had notable results. Phan Van Khai and American President George W. Bush both confirmed the progress made in mutual connections, then had an open dialogue, including sensitive matters such as religion and human rights, to extend and strengthen the bilateral relationship. In 2013 Barack Obama received Truong Tan Sang, President of the Socialist Republic, at the White House. At the end of their meeting the two leaders announced the establishment of a comprehensive partnership. In May 2016 Obama returned the presidential visit to Hanoi and announced that the U.S. were to lift the ban on lethal arms sales to Vietnam. The last impediment in bilateral contacts was thereby surpassed, marking complete normalization and sending an important message on the reparation of mutual trust and cooperation. Overall, bilateral visits made by high state officials produced 8 Joint Statements. The most meaningful was the 2013 Partnership Declaration, which included 9 domains for future cooperation.

In Chapter 3 – *Comments on the political, diplomatic, and economic relationship between Vietnam and the USA (1995-2019)* – we sought to make pertinent observations on the progress made during these 25 years of normal bilateral relations. We can say that economic, political, and diplomatic interactions grew constantly, especially after the signing of the Bilateral Trade Agreement (2000). From former war enemies, the two countries developed into inclusive and extensive partners, by consolidating and expanding their collaboration in several domains (2013). Concord became a driving force for socio-economic development in both countries (especially in Vietnam). However, the

whole process of relational development still faces many challenges and obstacles that need to be quickly overcome by both sides.

In terms of economic strategy, it is necessary that cooperation be exercised at the highest political levels. On this line, the two countries have signed a series of agreements, such as the *Agreement on the establishment of copyright relations* (June 27, 1997) and the *Overseas Private Investment Corporation Agreement* (2008, later renamed as Development Finance Corporation). By 1999 the U.S. had signed the framework agreements needed for Eximbank to operate in Vietnam, foreshadowing the signing of the BTA in 2000. We can say that, in a legal sense, bilateral economic relations were fully established starting with 2001.

Alongside trade, mutual investments also registered strong progress and are constantly improving. American capital in Vietnam grew very much especially after the signing of the Bilateral Trade Agreement and the U.S. became one of its main investors. The development of economic relations made a great contribution to the stable and sustainable growth rate of Vietnam's GDP.

In politics and diplomacy, the two countries exercised setting aside the past and looking towards the future together. The lifting of American embargoes over Vietnam was therefore very appreciated by its government and people. In February 1995 both countries opened liaison bureaus in their capital cities, and in July of the same year President Bill Clinton announced diplomatic normalization. The next day, Vietnamese Prime-minister Vo Van Kiet reciprocated. This event became „an important milestone in the history of the development of relations between the two countries and a significant contribution to the process of peace, cooperation and development in the region and in the world”¹⁰. Since 1995 political and diplomatic contacts have advanced hugely and have substantiated relations in many other domains. Over the years dozens of visits, discussions and special work sessions have been organised at all levels.

Aside from all these accomplishments, the bilateral relationship has had several limitations, too. In trade, the United States is a massive market for Vietnamese goods. Its annual exports to America have risen to 1250 billion dollars. But this figure is still relatively small if compared to the total value of imports made by the U.S. Vietnam still

¹⁰ Nguyen Xuan Thang: „Bình thường hóa và phát triển mối quan hệ hợp tác Việt Nam và Hoa Kỳ trong quá trình đổi mới đất nước [Normalization and development of cooperation between Vietnam and the United States in the process of national renewal], *Journal of World Economic and Political Issues*, Nr. 11 (139), nov. 2007, p. 32.

faces many shortcomings when competing internationally for the American market. For instance, African countries, about 40 to count, benefit preferentially in trade pursuant to the African Growth and Opportunity Act. Similar favours have been granted through the Caribbean Basin Trade and Partnership Act.

When it comes to investments, American FDIs have grown continuously both by number of projects and total value of capital, but they remain low compared to their potential. On March 31st, 2019, American enterprises accumulated 9,15 billion dollars, but only ranked 11th out of 65 entities investing in Vietnam. This reflects the disproportioned balance between investments and bilateral trade¹¹.

In politics and diplomacy, the ideological and structural differences between the two regimes, combined with their special historical and cultural features, form different visions and interpretations, and therefore misunderstandings in matters concerning values, principles, acts. This especially affects discussions on human rights, democracy, liberties. These differences affect all levels of American society (political leaders, business circles, the people), they influence the positions that the United States take towards Vietnam, and they will certainly continue to cause contradictions between the two countries. This type of issues does not exist and therefore does not constitute a problem within the relations that the U.S. have with other, capitalist states.

To summarize, the process Vietnam and the U.S. went through to develop economic, political, and diplomatic relations has some important features:

➤ In economy

(1) First contacts appeared relatively early but, because of historical conditions and political differences, they were followed by a long period of stagnation, which seems to have been overcome now.

(2) The two national economies have huge differences in scale and level of development.

(3) Bilateral trade and economic ties in general offer many advantages for both parties. This dynamic character leads to faster developments in other areas.

¹¹ „Doanh nghiệp Hoa Kỳ đầu tư vào Việt Nam: Lộ trình dài hạn để phát triển bền vững” [US businesses investing in Vietnam: A long-term roadmap for sustainable development], *Báo Đầu tư*, 16 July 2019, baodautu.vn/doanh-nghiep-hoa-ky-dau-tu-vao-viet-nam-lo-trinh-dai-han-de-phat-trien-ben-vung-d103720.html

(4) In commercial exchanges, the scales have always been tilted in Vietnam's practical benefit.

(5) Even if current affairs are functioning well, the bilateral relationship is marked by their past tensions.

➤ In politics and diplomacy

(1) There are complex factors working at regional and global level that must be acknowledged.

(2) One essential condition in building trust and faith between the two sides has been the joint process of clarifying the fate of American POWs and MIAs.

(3) Vietnamese decision makers have decided to actively pursue a new diplomatic vision, new policies and strategies in relation to the U.S.

(4) Mutual interests in economy have influenced political and diplomatic ties in a clear and positive manner.

(5) Both countries must keep in mind global and regional situations, especially the position and politics of China.

(6) Official, high-level visits are very important, with a clear example in the benefits brought on by the visit made in 2013 in the U.S. by Vietnamese Prime-minister Truong Tan Sang.

The fourth chapter of our dissertation is concerned with *Perspectives for bilateral relations in the geopolitical context of Southeast Asia*.

From a commercial point of view, although there has been much progress and the United States have become one of Vietnam's biggest trade partners, the latter is yet to hold the same importance within American economy. It is unlikely that Vietnam's current economy or its short-term perspectives will attract special attention from the U.S. Still, American policy can't overlook extending relations with Vietnam, especially not when applying its Pivot to Asia strategy (initiated by President Obama). In global investments, although they face intense competition and risks brought by China's ascent, the U.S. continue to be an influential world economy. Each year, Washington invests approximately 40 billion dollars abroad. At the same time, a large network of transnational companies can transfer American capital in regions and industries all over the world. When they invest internationally, the United States want to actively control raw material resources, dominate important production industries, consolidate financial and banking activities, command the market.

Through their political and diplomatic ties, Vietnam and the United States pursue 3 common goals: (1) to maintain peace, stability, cooperation, and prosperity in Asia-Pacific and Southeast Asia, by

respecting international laws and regional agreements; (2) to maintain good relations with the EU, ASEAN, and various important states; (3) to maintain multipolarity in the region and avoid that it be dominated or controlled by one single „player”.

Therefore, we can draw some important conclusions. After the normalization of diplomatic relations in 1995, Vietnam's relationship with the United States steadily strengthened, in all applicable areas, and has grown to be viewed as strategic. From 450 million dollars in 1995, bilateral turnover has risen 170 times, reaching 76 billion dollars in 2019. In time, the economies of Vietnam and the United States developed complementary and reciprocal traits. The U.S. continues to be Vietnam's biggest export market, selling textiles, footwear, agricultural goods, seafood. Inversely, Vietnam is the fastest growing market for American exports. The Vietnamese people have new needs, tastes and desires, and they've come to prefer American brands and services in areas such as agriculture, telecommunications, aviation, finances, banking, education.

After 2000, leaders from the two countries have made several mutual visits. Vietnam has had 3 notable missions: in 2013, when the visit of President Truong Tan Sang to Washington concluded with the establishment of the Comprehensive Partnership; in 2015, when Secretary-general Nguyen Phu Trong became the highest Party official to visit the United States; in 2017, when Prime-minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc became the first ASEAN leader to visit Washington. In reverse, all American presidents in office after 2000 have visited Vietnam. Donald Trump even made 2 separate visits, in 2017 and in 2019. Each encounter was beneficial in building the relationship between the two countries.

All these developments have opened new, optimistic perspectives for the coming years. Even so, there remain many challenges:

(1) Recession in both countries may have a negative impact on economic relations.

(2) There is strong competition from emerging economies, China's especially.

(3) Divergency in values and political institutions may cause negative effects.

(4) In light of current international, as well as American-Chinese relations, Vietnam's geostrategic position may generate difficulties in its economic, political, diplomatic ties with the U.S.

Overall, the intertwined opportunities and challenges of this relationship demand sustained efforts from both parties, for benefits to be promoted and hardships limited. We feel that the advantages of the

bilateral relationship hold great importance, while the disadvantages don't encompass major discords which may lead to confrontation, don't affect strategic interests, therefore they can't deteriorate ties between the two countries. Mutual assistance isn't only beneficial for their nations, it actively helps build peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia. In other words, both Vietnam and the U.S. are interested in ensuring stability in Asia-Pacific.

The interests and profits that each country finds in its partner form a favourable basis and a driving force for the future. As Michael Marine, former U.S. ambassador to Hanoi, once declared: „It is clear that neither Vietnam nor the United States of America don't currently have strategic differences. In fact, there are many areas in which the U.S. and Vietnam share interests”¹².

The bilateral relationship developed faster and faster over the last 20 years. Notable progress has been made in diverse fields. However, both countries must make continuous efforts to overcome any hurdles and barriers that may appear. Vietnam and the United States have left war and its traumas behind them in order to build a new path together, one of peace and cooperation, for mutual and sustainable development.

SOURCES

Speeches, testimonies of high officials:

- „Assistant Secretary Stilwell remarks for 25th anniversary of diplomatic relations”, December 27, 2019, U.S. Embassy and Consulate in Vietnam, vn.usembassy.gov/assistant-secretary-stilwell-remarks-for-25th-anniversary-of-diplomatic-relations/
- „Bài phát biểu của Tổng thống Bill Clinton tại Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội” [President Bill Clinton's speech at Hanoi National University], November 17, 2000, Special references 0212.01a, VNA, Hanoi
- „Celebration of the 15th Anniversary of United States-Vietnam Relations, remarks by Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, Hanoi, Vietnam, July 22, 2010”, U.S. Department of State, 2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/07/145064.htm
- „Full text of U.S. President Bill Clinton's speech in Vietnam”, *Le Việt Nam, aujourd'hui*, patrick.guenin2.free.fr/can Tho/vnnews/bclint14.htm
- „Lyndon Baines Johnson, Withdrawl Speech (March 31, 1968)”, *Voices of Democracy*, voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/lyndon-baines-johnson-withdrawal-speech-31-march-1968/

¹² Vietnam News Agency, *Special References* (May 16th, 2006), „Vietnam on the strategic map of the United States”, p. 1.

- „Meeting of Former Prime Minister Tanaka and Vice Premier Deng (Summary Record)”, February 07, 1979, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/120025
- „Pres. Nguyen Minh Triet's historic visit to the United States. President Bush welcomes President Nguyen Minh Triet of Vietnam to the White House. The Oval Office. 10:50 A.M. EDT - June 22, 2007” [Minutes], Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United States of America, vietnamembassy-usa.org/relations/pres-nguyen-minh-triets-historic-visit-united-states
- „President Bill Clinton. Vietnam Trade Embargo Decision”, February 3, 1994 [video], c-span.org/video/?54288-1/vietnam-trade-embargo-decision
- „President Eisenhower's Remarks on the Importance of Indochina at the Governors' Conference, August 4, 1953”, *The Pentagon Papers*, Gravel Edition, Vol. 1, Boston, Beacon Press, 1971, mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon/ps7.htm
- „Press Briefing by ambassador Douglas Pete Peterson”, Hanoi, November 18, 2000, The White House Office of the Press Secretary, clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/WH/New/november2000/briefing11_18a.html
- „Remarks by President Obama in Address to the People of Vietnam”, The White House. Office of the Press Secretary, May 24, 2016, obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/05/24/remarks-president-obama-address-people-vietnam
- „Remarks with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Pham Gia Khiem. Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, following signing ceremonies. Hanoi, Vietnam. October 30, 2010”, U.S. Department of State archives, 2009-2017, state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/10/150189.htm
- „Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright Press Conference, Daewoo Hotel, Hanoi, Vietnam, June 27, 1996, as released by the Office of the Spokesman in Hong Kong on June 29, 1997”, U.S. Department of State, 1997-2001, state.gov/statements/970627.html
- „Spoken statement [of] the honorable J. Brian Atwood, administrator [of the] U.S. Agency for International Development before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D.C., February 3, 1994”, pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNABQ599.pdf
- „Vice President Mike Pence's Remarks on the Administration's Policy Towards China”, October 4, 2018, Hudson Institute, hudson.org/events/1610-vice-president-mike-pence-s-remarks-on-the-administration-s-policy-towards-china102018
- „Vietnam: A Television History; Legacies; Interview with Richard C. Holbrooke” [video], July 07, 1983, *GBH Archives*, openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/A_16B6A23542FA41BD9B3026759890327F
- „William J. Clinton. Remarks at Vietnam National University in Hanoi, Vietnam”, November 17, 2000, *The American Presidency Project*, presidency.ucsb.edu/node/228474

- Carter Jimmy, *Keeping faith. Memoirs of a president*, University of Arkansas paperback edition, 1995
- Cochran Thad, „Report on trip to Indonesia, Vietnam, and Hong Kong”, Congressional Record Volume 142, Nr. 138 (Monday, September 30, 1996), govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-1996-09-30/html/CREC-1996-09-30-pt1-PgS12026-4.htm

Reference documents (agreements, joint statements, institutional reports):

- *2016 International Trade Statistics Yearbook*, volume I (Trade by country) & volume II (Trade by product), United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 2017, comtrade.un.org/pb/
- *Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the establishment of copyright relations*, state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/13015-Vietnam-Intellectual-Property-Copyright-12.23.1998.pdf
- *Agreement between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on trade relations*, ustr.gov/sites/default/files/US-VietNam-BilateralTradeAgreement.pdf
- *Agreement between the United States of America and Vietnam on scientific cooperation*, 2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/128460.pdf
- *Agreement for Economic and Technical Cooperation*, state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/05-727.1-Vietnam-Economic-Cooperation.pdf
- *Air Transport Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*, 2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/114647.pdf
- *Báo cáo chính trị của Ban chấp hành Trung ương Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam* [Political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam]
- *China's Military Strategy (White Paper)*, 2015, People's Republic of China, english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2015/05/27/content_281475115610833.htm
- *Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)*, dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/tpp-11-treaty-text.pdf
- Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ VI* [Communist Party of Vietnam, Documents of the 6th Congress of National Delegates], Hanoi, 1987
- Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IX* [Communist Party of Vietnam, Documents of the 9th Congress of National Delegates], Hanoi, 2001
- Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, *Văn kiện Đảng Toàn tập* [Communist Party of Vietnam, Party Documents], vol. 8, Hanoi, 1993
- *Digital Economy Partnership Agreement (DEPA)*, Foreign Trade Information System. Organization of American States, sice.oas.org/TPD/DEPA/DEPA_e.ASP

- *Generalized System of Preferences (GSP)*, U.S. Customs and Borders Protection, cbp.gov/trade/priority-issues/trade-agreements/special-trade-legislation/generalized-system-preferences
- *Generalized System of Preferences (GSP): Overview and Issues for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/RL33663.pdf
- *Giáo trình kinh tế đối ngoại Việt Nam* [Vietnamese foreign economic textbook], Hanoi, 2005
- *Hanoi. Building Toward a New Future in Viet Nam*, U.S. Department of State, 1997-2001, state.gov/publications/statemag/statemag_feb98/pom.html
- *Hồ sơ thị trường Hoa Kỳ* [U.S. market profile], December 2018, Department for international relations, Vietnam Chamber of commerce and industry
- *International merchandise trade. Vietnam. 2007*, General Statistics Office, 2009, gso.gov.vn/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/XNK-hang-hoa-nam-2007-1.pdf
- *Joint Statement – Enhancing the Comprehensive Partnership Between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*, May 31, 2017, presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/joint-statement-enhancing-the-comprehensive-partnership-between-the-united-states-america
- *Joint Statement between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*, June 21, 2005, Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, georgewebush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/06/text/20050621-2.html
- *Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*, May 23, 2016, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/05/23/joint-statement-between-united-states-america-and-socialist-republic
- *Joint Statement by President Barack Obama of the United States of America and President Truong Tan Sang of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*, July 25, 2013, Office of the Press Secretary of the White House, obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/07/25/joint-statement-president-barack-obama-united-states-america-and-preside
- *Meeting of Former Prime Minister Tanaka and Vice Premier Deng (Summary Record)*, February 07, 1979, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/120025
- *Normalization of U.S.–Vietnam relations. Regional security policy paper* (course), authored by J.I. Maslowski, National Defence University, National War College, 1994, apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA440538
- *President's Export Council History*, International Trade Administration, legacy.trade.gov/pec/history.asp
- *Refugee Program: The Orderly Departure Program from Vietnam*, United States General Accounting Office report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, April 1990, gao.gov/products/nsiad-90-137
- *Report of the Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs*, U.S. Senate, January 13th, 1993, irp.fas.org/congress/1993_rpt/pow-exec.html

- *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002, 2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf
- *The Vietnam-U.S. Bilateral Trade Agreement* [report], September 2002, Congressional Research Service, crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL30416
- *The Vietnam-U.S. Normalization Process* [report], June 2005, Congressional Research Service, sgp.fas.org/crs/row/IB98033.pdf
- *The Vietnam-U.S. Normalization Process* [report], updated June 17, 2003, Congressional Research Service, everycrsreport.com/reports/IB98033.html
- *The Vietnam-U.S. Textile Agreement*, updated June 18, Congressional Research Service report, 2003everycrsreport.com/reports/RL31470.html
- *Toàn tập các văn kiện của Đảng cộng sản Việt Nam* [Complete documents of the Communist Party of Vietnam], Hanoi, 2004
- *Trade and Investment Framework Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*, investmentpolicy.unctad.org/international-investment-agreements/treaty-files/2537/download
- *Trong chuyến thăm của Bộ trưởng Ngoại giao Hoa Kỳ tới Việt Nam (26-28 / 6/1997), bổ sung cho các tạp chí, Cẩm nang Xây dựng Đảng, tháng 9 năm 1997* [Visit of the U.S. Secretary of State in Vietnam (June 26-28, 1997), appendix to the *Manual for building the Party*, September 1997]
- *U.S.-ASEAN Business Report*, October 9, 1999: „Presidential Proclamation: To Implement the Agreement Between the US and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on Trade Relations. By the President of the United States of America”, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, June 8, 2001, georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/06/20010608-6.html [07.02.2022].
- *U.S.-Vietnam Economic and Trade Relations: Issues in 2020*, Congressional Research Service, February 13th, 2020, sgp.fas.org/crs/row/IF11107.pdf
- *U.S.-Vietnam joint statement issued in Hanoi, on matters of POW/MIA Issues, Development/Relief Aid, International Law*, U.S. Department of State Dispatch, October 26, 1992, Vol. 3, No. 43, permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo41448/dispatch/1992/html/Dispatchv3no43.html
- *U.S.-Vietnam relations. Issues and Implications*, United States General Accounting Office report to Congressional Committees, April 1995, gao.gov/products/nsiad-95-42
- *United States – Vietnam Joint Vision Statement*, July 07, 2015, Office of the Press Secretary of the White House, obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/07/07/united-states-%E2%80%93-vietnam-joint-vision-statement
- *United States and Vietnam hold first meeting under Trade and Investment Framework Agreement*, December 17, 2007, United States Trade Representative
- *United States of America, Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Provisional Revolutionary Government of The Republic of South Viet-Nam, and Republic of Viet-Nam. Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet-Nam. Signed at Paris on 27 January 1973*,

treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20935/volume-935-I-13295-English.pdf

- *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, ohchr.org/en/udhr/documents/udhr_translations/eng.pdf
- *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IX* [Documents of the 9th National Congress], Hanoi, 2001
- *Vietnam: a country study*, edited by Ronald J. Cima, Library of Congress, 1989, loc.gov/collections/country-studies/?fa=location:vietnam

Specialty works:

- Đặng Phong, *21 năm viện trợ Mỹ ở Việt Nam* [21 years of American assistance in Vietnam], Hanoi, Institute for scientific research on market values, 1991
- Degregorio William A., *Bốn mươi hai tổng thống của Hoa Kỳ* [Forty-two presidents of the United States], Hanoi, 1998
- Đỗ Phú Hải, *Thúc đẩy quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ trên lĩnh vực chính trị-ngoại giao: hiện trạng, những vấn đề đặt ra và triển vọng* [Promoting political and diplomatic relations between Vietnam and the U.S.: current situation, issues, perspectives], Hanoi, 2004
- Hurst Steven, *The Carter administration and Vietnam*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, 1996
- Kerr Pauline, Wiseman Geoffrey (eds.), *Diplomacy in a globalizing world. Theory and practices*, Oxford University Press, 2002
- *Khi Việt Nam đã vào WTO* (2007) [When Vietnam joined the WTO], Hanoi
- Lê Khương Thùy, *Quan hệ Việt - Mỹ 30 năm sau chiến tranh 10 năm bình thường hoá quan hệ* [Vietnam-U.S. relations 30 years after the war and 10 years after normalization], research project, American Institute, 2005
- Lê Thị Thanh Minh, *Quan hệ kinh tế, chính trị giữa Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ từ sau khi bình thường hoá quan hệ ngoại giao 1995 đến 2013* [Political and economic relations between Vietnam and the U.S. after diplomatic normalization, from 1995 to 2013], BA dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41338579.pdf
- Lê Văn Quang, *Quan hệ Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ trong thời kỳ hậu chiến tranh lạnh (1990-2000)* [Vietnam-U.S. relations after the Cold War], Ho Chi Minh City National University, 2005
- Miller Robert Hopkins, *The United States and Vietnam (1787-1941)*, National Defense University Press, Washington D.C., 1990
- Morris Richard B., *Những tài liệu căn bản về lịch sử Hoa Kỳ* [Fundamental documents on American history], Saigon, 1967
- Ngô Xuân Bình (ed.), *Hướng xây dựng quan hệ đối tác chiến lược Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ* [Directions for the construction of a strategic partnership between Vietnam and the United States], Hanoi, 2010
- Ngô Xuân Bình, *Kinh tế Mỹ - Lý thuyết, chính sách đổi mới và thực tiễn* [American economy – theory, politics, the practice of innovation], Hanoi, 1993

- Nguyễn Anh Hùng, *Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ giai đoạn 2000-2012* [Economic relations between Vietnam and the U.S. in 2000-2012], PhD dissertation, Hanoi, 2012
- Nguyễn Anh Tuấn (chủ biên/ed.), *Quan hệ kinh tế Mỹ-Nhật với Việt Nam từ năm 1995 đến nay* [U.S.-Japan economic relations with Vietnam from 1995 to the present day], Hanoi, 2001
- Nguyễn Mai, *Quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ hướng về phía trước* [Vietnam-US relations moving forward], Scientific Publishing House, 2008
- Nguyễn Mạnh Hùng, *Tiến trình quan hệ kinh tế Hoa Kỳ - Việt Nam giai đoạn 2000-2012* [Progress of economic relations between the United States and Vietnam in 2000-2012], PhD dissertation, Hanoi National University, 2012
- Nguyễn Ngọc Trung, *Quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ từ năm 1975 đến năm 2010* [Vietnam-US relations from 1975 to 2010], BA dissertation, Hanoi University for Social Sciences and Humanities, 2010
- Nguyễn Thái Yên Hương (ed.), *Cần thiệp nhân đạo trong chính sách đối ngoại của Mỹ* [Humanitarian intervention in U.S. foreign policy], Hanoi, 2005
- Nguyễn Thái Yên Hương, Tạ Minh Tuấn (ed.), *Các vấn đề nghiên cứu về Hoa Kỳ* [Research issues about the United States], Hanoi, 2011
- Nguyễn Thiết Sơn (chủ biên/ed.), *Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ: vấn đề, chính sách và xu hướng* [Economic relations between Vietnam and the United States: issues, policies, trends], Hanoi, 2011
- Nguyễn Thiết Sơn (ed.), *Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ quan hệ thương mại và đầu tư* [Vietnam-U.S. trade and investment relations], Hanoi, 2004
- Nguyễn Thiết Sơn, *Quan hệ kinh tế Mỹ - Việt Nam, một số tác động với kinh tế Việt Nam* [U.S.-Vietnam economic relations, and some impacts on Vietnam's economy], research project, American Institute, 2003
- Nguyễn Thiết Sơn, *Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ quan hệ thương mại và đầu tư* [Vietnam-U.S. trade and investment relations], Hanoi, 2004
- Phạm Thị Thi, *Quan hệ Mỹ-Việt* [U.S.-Vietnam relations], American Research Institute, 2001
- Phạm Thu Nga, *Quan hệ Việt-Mỹ (1939-1954)* [Vietnam-U.S. relations], Hanoi, National University Press
- Phạm Xanh, *Góp phần tìm hiểu lịch sử quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ* [Contributions to understanding the history of Vietnam-U.S. relations], Hanoi, 2006
- Pul Peter A., *Mỹ và Đông Dương từ Rudoven đến Nixon* [America and Indochina from Roosevelt to Nixon], Hanoi, 1986
- Trần Nam Tiến, *Quan hệ Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ thực trạng và triển vọng* [Current status and perspectives for Vietnam-U.S. relations], Hanoi, 2010
- Trần Nam Tiến, *Quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ (1995-2005)* [Vietnam-U.S. relations], PhD dissertation, 2006
- Trần Thị Minh Châu (ed.), *Về chính sách khuyến khích đầu tư ở Việt Nam* [About policies to encourage investment in Vietnam], Hanoi, 2007
- Trần Văn Đào, Phan Doãn Nam, *Giáo trình lịch sử quan hệ quốc tế 1945-1990* [Textbook on the history of international relations] Hanoi, 2001

- Tường Hữu, *Sự thật về cuộc chiến tranh Việt Nam* [The truth about the Vietnam war], Ho Chi Minh City, 2005
- Vũ Đăng Hình (chủ biên), *Chính sách kinh tế Mỹ dưới thời Bill Clinton* [American economic policies under Bill Clinton], Hanoi, 2002
- Vũ Thị Thu Giang, *Một số vấn đề then chốt trong quá trình bình thường hóa quan hệ Mỹ-Việt* [Some key-issues in the process of normalizing U.S.-Vietnam relations], PhD dissertation, 2005

Specialty articles:

- Bony-Cisternes Romain, „Changes in official development assistance in Vietnam as seen through the prism of governance”, *International Development Policy Review*, 11.1 (2019), journals.openedition.org/poldev/3204
- Bùi Thành Nam, „Hợp tác kinh tế Việt Nam Hoa Kỳ: thực trạng và triển vọng” [Economic cooperation between Vietnam and the U.S.: current status and perspectives], Papers of the *Vietnam-U.S. relations towards new heights* scientific conference, 2012
- Castelli Beth, „The lifting of the trade embargo between the United States and Vietnam: The loss of a potential bargaining tool or a means of fostering cooperation?”, *Penn State International Law Review*, Vol. 13 (1995), No. 2, article 5, elibrary.law.psu.edu/psilr/vol13/iss2/5
- Chang Felix, „From Pivot to Defiance: American Policy Shift in the South China Sea”, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 24 august 2020, fpri.org/article/2020/08/from-pivot-to-defiance-american-policy-shift-in-the-south-china-sea/
- Cù Chí Lợi, „Chuyến thăm định hình quan hệ Việt – Mỹ” [The visit that will shape Vietnam-U.S. relations], *USA Today*, No. 6/2017
- Đặng Văn Chương, „Quan hệ đối ngoại của Xiêm với các nước phương Tây dưới thời Rama III (1824–1851)” [Foreign relations of Siam with Western countries under Rama III (1824-1851)], *Hue University Science Review*, nr. 26, 2005
- Đỗ Phú Hải, „Thúc đẩy quan hệ Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ trên lĩnh vực chính trị-ngoại giao: hiện trạng, những vấn đề đặt ra và triển vọng” [Promoting Vietnam-U.S. relations in politics and diplomacy: current situation, issues, perspectives], *Indian and Asian Studies Journal*, nr. 6, 2015
- Hoang Khắc Nam, „Hệ thống - cấu trúc khu vực Ấn Độ Dương - Thái Bình Dương: Hiện trạng và những tác động” [The system and structure of the Indo-Pacific region: Current status and implications], University of Social Sciences and Humanities, National University of Vietnam, in *Tạp chí Cộng sản* [The Communist Review], ISSN 2734-9071, [2740311-vi-tri-va-tam-quan-trong-cua-khu-vuc-chau-a-thai-binh-duong.htm](https://doi.org/10.27349/2734-9071-vi-tri-va-tam-quan-trong-cua-khu-vuc-chau-a-thai-binh-duong.htm)
- Hoàng Thị Lê Ngọc, „Viện trợ phát triển của Hoa Kỳ với Việt Nam” [U.S. development aid for Vietnam], Papers of the *Vietnam-U.S. relations towards new heights* scientific conference, 2012
- Ikenberry G. John, „Why export democracy?”, *Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 1999, «Woodrow Wilson» International Research Centre, Connecticut

- Lại Thái Bình, „Quan hệ Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ: Những tiến triển mới” [Vietnam-U.S. relations: new evolutions], *Communist Review*, nr. 884 (June 2016)
- Lê Khương Thùy, „Mô tả ngắn gọn về lịch sử và nền tảng của quan hệ Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ” [Brief description of the history and background of Vietnam – U.S. relations], *USA Today*, 8 (101), 2006
- Lê Khương Thùy, „Quan hệ Việt–Mỹ: Các khía cạnh chính trị, kinh tế và quân sự sau hơn 10 năm bình thường hóa” [Vietnam-U.S. relations: Political, economic, and military aspects after more than 10 years of normalization], *USA Today*, nr. 8 (101), 2006
- Lê Khương Thùy, „Thế và lực trong quan hệ Mỹ - Trung” [Position and power in U.S.-China relations], Papers of the *Vietnam-U.S. relations towards new heights* scientific conference, 2012
- Lê Khương Thùy, „Vài nét về lịch sử và cơ sở phát triển quan hệ Việt–Mỹ” [Some aspects of the history and development of Vietnam-U.S. relations], *USA Today*, 8 (101), 2006
- Lê Linh Lan, „Quá trình Bình thường hoá quan hệ Việt - Mỹ: kinh nghiệm và bài học” [The normalization process of Vietnam – U.S. relations: experiences and lessons], *International Research Review*, nr. 2 (61), 2005
- Mạnh Nguyễn Ngọc Tường, „Quan hệ tình với Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ sau 15 năm liên” [Vietnam–U.S. relations after 15 years of normalization], *USA Today*, 2010, 6
- Minh Nguyễn Tuấn, „15 năm quan hệ thương mại Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ” [15 years of trade relations between the U.S. and Vietnam], *USA Today*, 6/2010
- Nelson Kelly, „U.S.-Vietnamese Normalization”, *Asian Affairs* 19, no. 1, Spring 1992, jstor.org/stable/30172149
- Nguyễn Anh Hùng, „Quyền phủ quyết của Tổng thống và Quốc hội Mỹ” [The power of veto of the president and the U.S. Congress], *USA Today*, (2), 2010
- Nguyễn Hồng Quang, „Một số đánh giá bước đầu về ‘học thuyết Obama’” [Some preliminary evaluations of the Obama doctrine], *USA Today*, (8), 2009
- Nguyễn Hữu Dũng, „Tìm hiểu cuộc chiến catfish của Mỹ chống cá tra và cá basa Việt Nam” [About the U.S. catfish campaign against Vietnamese pangasius and basa fish], *USA Today*, nr. 4 (49), 2002
- Nguyễn Lan Hương, „Vai trò của kinh tế-thương mại trong quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ” [The role of economy and commerce in Vietnam-U.S. relations], *USA Today*, nr. 05, 2015
- Nguyễn Minh Phong, Võ Thị Vân Khánh, Nguyễn Trần Minh Trí, „Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ lực đẩy đẩy mới nâng tầm vóc mới” [Vietnam-U.S. economic relations are a stimulus for new developments], *Journal of World Economic Issues*, June 11, 2016
- Nguyễn Sinh Cúc, „Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ thực trạng 2009 và triển vọng 2010” [Vietnam-U.S. economic relations, status in 2009 and perspectives for 2010], *Journal of Economic Management*, No. 33 (June 2010)

- Nguyễn Thái Hương, „Chính sách đối ngoại của Hoa Kỳ trong những năm cuối của Tổng thống George W. Bush” [U.S. foreign policy in the later years of the George W. Bush Administration], *USA Today*, 2 (107), 2007
- Nguyễn Thị Hạnh, „Hoa Kỳ điều chỉnh chiến lược của mình đối với ASEAN trong các lĩnh vực An ninh, Quân sự và Chính sách sau ngày 11 tháng 9 năm 2001” [The United States adjusting their security, military, and political strategy toward ASEAN after September 11th, 2001], *USA Today*, 1 (94), 2006
- Nguyễn Thị Thùy Dung, Dan Văţăman, „Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ sau khi ký hiệp định khung về thương mại đầu tư TIFA (2007-2019)” [Vietnam-U.S. economic relations after the signing of TIFA agreement on commerce and investments], in *Tap Chí Khoa Học / Science Review*, Hanoi University, nr. 37, 2020
- Nguyễn Thiết Sơn, „The role of Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership in Asia-Pacifics economic structure and the involvement of the USA in Vietnam”, Papers of the *Vietnam-U.S. relations towards new heights* scientific conference, 2012
- Nguyễn Tuấn Minh, „Những cơ sở hoạch định chính sách kinh tế của Mỹ và vấn đề đối với Việt Nam” [Fundamentals of elaborating American economic policy and issues for Vietnam], *USA Today*, (6), 2009
- Nguyễn Văn Bình, „Quan hệ kinh tế thương mại Việt Nam – Hoa Kỳ” [Vietnam-U.S. economic and trade relations], *USA Today*, (6), 2009
- Nguyễn Văn Tuấn, „Quan hệ chính trị, ngoại giao Việt Nam–Hoa Kỳ (1995-2015)” [Political and diplomatic relations between Vietnam and the U.S. (1995-2015)], *History Review of the Communist Party*, April 2016
- Nguyễn Xuân Thắng, „Bình thường hóa và phát triển mối quan hệ hợp tác Việt Nam và Hoa Kỳ trong quá trình đổi mới đất nước” [Normalization and development of cooperation between Vietnam and the United States, considering the process of national renewal], *Journal of World Economic and Political Issues*, No. 11 (139), November 2007
- Phạm Cao Cường, „Chính sách đối ngoại của Mỹ đối với Đông Nam Á sau sự kiện 11-9” [U.S. foreign policy on Southeast Asia after 9/11], *USA Today*, 6 (87), 2005
- Phạm Hồng Tiến, „Quan hệ thương mại giữa Việt Nam và Hoa Kỳ sau khi tìm kiếm năm năm trước” [Trade relations between Vietnam and the U.S. after 5 years], *USA Today*, no. 5, 2000
- Sơn Nguyễn Thiết, „Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ và sự phát triển kinh tế Việt Nam” [Economic relations between the U.S. and Vietnam and the economic development of Vietnam], *USA Today*, 6/2004
- Trần Thị Hằng, „Đầu tư trực tiếp của Hoa Kỳ vào Việt Nam.Hai mươi năm sau bình thường hóa quan hệ (1995-2015). Thực trạng và triển vọng” [American FDI in Vietnam after 20 years of normalized relations (1995-2015). Status and perspectives], *Science Review*, nr. 28, 2016, Hong Duc University
- Tuzin Alexander H., „Vietnam's eligibility to receive trade benefits under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences”, *Loyola University Chicago*

International Law Review, Volume 7, Issue 2, Spring/Summer 2010, pp. 193-212, lawcommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1034&context=lucilr

- Văn Việt, „Một năm bình thường hóa quan hệ Việt Nam - Hoa Kỳ: Nhìn lại và mong chờ” [One year of normalized relations between Vietnam and the U.S. Looking back and forward], *International Weekly*, nr. 29 (June 17-27, 1996)
- Wunker Robert, „The Laws of Vietnam Affecting Foreign Investment”, *The International Lawyer*, Vol. 28, no. 2, Summer 1994, pp. 363-383, scholar.smu.edu/til/vol28/iss2/7/
- Xuân Nguyễn, „Quan hệ Việt Nam-Hoa Kỳ con đường đã qua và triển vọng” [The past and prospects of Vietnam-US relations], *Journal of Political Theory*, January 2009

Electronic resources (governmental):

- Binh Duong Regional Department for Industry and Trade – *Sở Công Thương Bình Dương* – socongthuong.binhduong.gov.vn
- Centre for the Development of e-Commerce – *VietnamExport* – vietnamexport.com
- Committee for information on foreign partners – *Ban Chỉ Đạo Công Tác Thông Tin Đối Ngoại Trung Ương* – tapchithongtindoingoi.vn/
- *Communist Review*. Political theory agency for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam – *Tạp Chí Cộng Sản* – tapchicongsan.org.vn
- *Customs Review* – *Tạp chí Hải Quan* – baohaiquan.vn/
- Hanoi City Police – *Cơ Quan Của Công An Thành Phố Hà Nội* – anninhthudo.vn/
- Ho Chi Minh City Department for Foreign Affairs – *Bộ Ngoại Giao. Sở Ngoại Vụ Thành Phố Ho Chi Minh* – mofahcm.gov.vn
- Information Centre on Industry and Trade – *Trung Tâm Thông Tin Công nghiệp và Thương Mại* – vinanet.vn/
- Ministry for Industry and Trade – *Cổng thông tin điện tử Bộ Công Thương* – moit.gov.vn/
- Ministry for Planning and Development. Foreign Investments Agency – *Bộ Kế Hoạch Và Đầu Tư, Cục Đầu Tư Nước Ngoài* – fia.mpi.gov.vn
- National Centre for socio-economic information and prognosis – ncif.gov.vn
- *National Defence Review* – *Tạp Chí Quốc Phòng Toàn Dân* – tapchiquptd.vn/
- National portal for investments (Vietnam) – dautunuocongnoi.gov.vn
- National Statistic Office of Vietnam – *Tổng Cục Thống Kê* – gso.gov.vn
- *Navy Bulletin* – *Báo Hải Quân* – baohaiquanvietnam.vn
- *People's Wisdom*, Agency of the Ministry for Labor, Invalids, and Social Matters – *Dân trí*, Cơ quan của Bộ Lao động, Thương binh và Xã hội – dantri.com.vn
- The American Embassy and Consulate in Vietnam – vn.usembassy.gov
- The Communist Party of Vietnam – *Đảng Cộng Sản Việt Nam* – dangcongsoan.vn/
- The Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the United States of America – vietnamembassy-usa.org

- U.S. Congressional Research Service Reports – sgp.fas.org/crs/index.html
- U.S. Department of State Archives – 2009-2017.state.gov/index.htm
- U.S. Department of State Dispatch – loc.gov/item/2013230139/
- United States legislation and government information – govinfo.gov
- University for Social Sciences and Humanities, Ho Chi Minh National University – css.hcmussh.edu.vn
- Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry – *Vietnam Business Forum* – vccinews.vn
- Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry, World Trade Organization Centre – trungtamwto.vn/
- Vietnam Customs – customs.gov.vn
- Vietnam Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Press Department – mofa.gov.vn
- Vietnam News Agency – *Thông tấn xã Việt Nam* – vnanet.vn
- Vietnam News Agency, Education Board – *Thông tấn xã Việt Nam*, Ban Biên Tập Tin Kinh Tế – bnews.vn
- White House Press Secretary, Clinton Administration – clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/
- *Bidding* newspaper, agency for the Ministry of Planning and Development – Báo *Đấu thầu* - Cơ quan của Bộ Kế hoạch và Đầu tư – baodauthau.vn
- *Capital Labor* newspaper – Báo *Lao Động Thủ Đô* – laodongthudo.vn
- *Industry and trade* newspaper, agency for the Ministry of Industry and Trade – Báo *Công Thương* – congthuong.vn
- *Investments* newspaper, agency for the Ministry of Planning and Development – Báo *Đầu tư* – baodautu.vn
- *Law* newspaper of Ho Chi Minh City – Báo *Điện Tử Pháp Luật* – plo.vn
- *Solidarity* newspaper, central agency for Vietnam's Fatherland Front – Báo Đại Đoàn Kết. Cơ Quan Trung Ương Của Mặt Trận Tổ Quốc Việt Nam – daidoanket.vn

Electronic resources (specialty, but non-governmental):

- *Foreign Policy Research Institute* – fpri.org
- Portal for APEC Forum – apec.org
- Portal for business opportunities in Vietnam – vietnam-briefing.com/
- Portal for the economy of Vietnam – kinhte24h.com
- Portal for the education system of Vietnam – loigiaihay.com
- Portal for the history of Vietnam – *Người Kể Sử* – nguoikesu.com
- Portal for the South China Sea – *Nghiên Cứu Biển Đông* – eastseastudies.org/
- Portal for World Bank – worldbank.org/en/home
- *Seafood Trade Intelligence Portal* – seafood-tip.com/
- *The American Presidency Project* – presidency.ucsb.edu/

News, press, non-scientific periodicals:

- *ABC News*, abcnews.go.com/
- *Associated Press*, deseret.com/

- *BBC News* – bbc.com/
 - *Foreign Policy* – foreignpolicy.com
 - *The New York Times* – nytimes.com
 - *The Wall Street Journal* – wsj.com
 - *The Washington Post* – washingtonpost.com
 - *United Press International* – upi.com/Archives/
- *
- *Business Forum Magazine* – *Tạp chí Diễn đàn Doanh nghiệp* – diendanndoanhnghiep.vn
 - *Electronic Finance Magazine* – *Tạp chí điện tử Tài chính* – tapchitaichinh.vn; thoibaotaichinhvietnam.vn
 - Information and news on economy – *VnEconomy* – vneconomy.vn
 - *Mondaq.com*, mondaq.com/
 - *New Hanoi Newspaper* – *Hà Nội mới* – hanoimoi.com.vn/
 - *New Newspaper* – *Báo Mới* – baomoi.com
 - News portal – *Cánh Cò* – canhco.net
 - News portal – *Vietpress*, vietpress.vn/
 - News portal – vnexpress.net/
 - News portal – *VOV* – vov.vn
 - *People's Newspaper* – *Báo Nhân Dân* – nhandan.vn
 - *Soldier's Magazine*, thefreelibrary.com/
 - *The Front Magazine* – *Tạp Chí Mặt trận* – tapchimattran.vn
 - *Viet-My Newspaper* – vietmy.net.vn
 - Vietnamese nationals in Eastern Europe – *Vietinfo. Người Việt Đông Âu* – vietinfo.eu/
 - *Vietnamese Newspaper* – *Việt Báo* – vietbao.vn
 - *Weekly Magazine* – *Tuần* – tuanvietnam.net
 - *Youth newspapers* – *Báo Thanh Niên* – thanhnien.vn; *Tuổi Trẻ Online* – tuoitre.vn