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CHARACTERISTICS AND MODEL OF VIETNAM'S FOREIGN POLICY –  
FROM THE HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

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**Nguyen Van Hiep. Characteristics And Model Of Vietnam's Foreign Policy – From The Historical Point Of View-- Palarch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 18(4), 3394-3407. ISSN 1567-214x**

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**ABSTRACT**

Since 1988, when the Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam issued Resolution No. 13 on foreign policy duties and policies in the new situation, affirming the strategic goal and the highest interests of the Party and our people is must consolidate and maintain peace in order to focus its power on economic construction and development, Vietnam's foreign policy shifts towards the multilateral motto built on the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist worldview, Ho Chi Minh's thought and a tradition of people's external relations. With a historical approach, the article analyzes the characteristics and model of foreign policy to clearly see changes in thinking and perceptions, the leadership role of the Communist Party for Vietnamese foreign affairs.

**INTRODUCTION:**

Foreign policy covers many issues, from politics, defense, security, and economics to environmental issues, labor, and energy. "Foreign policy is a system of activities carried out by communities to change the behavior of other countries and adapt their own actions to the international environment" (Modelski, 1962: 61) to reduce adverse effects and increase cooperation; according to Marijke Breuning is "the sum of policies and interactions with the environment outside national borders" (Breuning, 2007: 5). Foreign policy can be understood through: the relationship between inputs and outputs in decision-making; policy making process; foreign policy goals.

Foreign policy is a part of national policy (public policy), synthesizing the goals, means, measures and adjustments of a country to be carried out in the international arena in order to serve the existence and development of that

country. With this concept, countries will make adjustments to their foreign policies in order to respond appropriately in solving problems, taking advantage of the beneficial situation or mitigating disadvantages. Factors such as ethnicity, religion, ethnicity, ideology... affect foreign policy making.

In which, the first and most important factor is the system of leaders' views, beliefs and perceptions. Perceptions have profound effects on a country's foreign policy. National perceptions and visions can influence the benefits and risks of leaders in the policy-making process. At the same time, the leaders' decisions are shaped by knowledge, experience, beliefs and worldview. Human psychology also tends to maintain consistency in the system of major beliefs, leading to the ability to ignore or misinterpret information contrary to existing beliefs. This is especially likely when the subject of perception has a strong stereotype about the image of other countries.

According to scholar Pham Quang Minh (2012), when researching the renovation foreign policy of Vietnam, there are three groups of opinions: (1) innovation in Vietnam's foreign policy is just a positive reaction. the nature of the situation in front of the rapid developments of the world situation, rather than the active, calculated and carefully prepared perceptions in advance; (2) the second group of opinions said that the results that Vietnam has achieved in foreign policy are impressive but still limited, not fully reflecting the country's potential; (3) Although Vietnam has implemented an innovative foreign policy, Vietnam is still confused, There is no yet a clear external strategy and appropriate strategies when the world and regional situation is changing rapidly and complicatedly.

## **RESEARCH RESULTS**

### ***Foreign Policy of Vietnam (1988 - 2020)***

A strong shift in Vietnam's foreign policy since 1988, when the Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam issued Resolution 13 on foreign policy and tasks in the new situation, affirming the strategic goal and the highest interest of the Party and our people is to consolidate and maintain peace in order to concentrate efforts on economic construction and development (Nguyen Co Thach, 1990: 7). The Politburo proposes a resolute policy to actively change the struggle from confrontation to struggle and cooperation in peaceful coexistence; taking advantage of the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the trend of globalization of the world economy to take advantage of the most beneficial position in the international division of labor; resolutely expand international cooperation relations, make every effort to diversify foreign relations (Nguyen Manh Hung, 2006: 14-18).

This is the policy of implementing President Ho Chi Minh's point of view on the need to diversify international relations, making friends with all democratic countries. An important part of that is cooperating with neighboring countries in Asia with a "brotherly attitude"; building counterbalancing and balancing relationships among the major countries involved; on the basis of the principles of maintaining independence and self-

reliance, taking advantage of international cooperation, both cooperation, fighting and acting wisely to ensure the legitimate interests of the nation.

Next, the Central Conference Resolution 8 Session IX (July 2003) has an important strategic position in the foreign policy of the Communist Party of Vietnam, raising new perceptions of "object" and "partner". The country's construction platform in the transition to socialism (additional and development in 2011) also affirms: "Before and after as a support for the communist parties and workers, the communal progressive movements Assembly in the struggle for the common goals of the era; expanding relations with leftist, ruling party and other parties on the basis of ensuring national interests, maintaining independence, self-control, for peace, friendship, cooperation and development" (the Party Communist Vietnam, 2011: 237).

On that foundation of thought, Vietnam's foreign policy is an integral part of the revolutionary line of the Communist Party of Vietnam, serving the cause of building and defending the country. Foreign policy making stems from the Party's international point of view, characteristic of national traditions and the practice that requires revolution in each period.

The typical feature here is the transition from the previous foreign policy to the form of unilateral relations mainly with the countries of the socialist faction to diversification, multilateralization of international relations and the policy of cooperation. Equality and mutual benefit with all countries, irrespective of different socio-political regimes, on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence, with the motto "Vietnam wants to be friends with all countries in the world community, striving for peace, independence and development" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1991: 147). Since then, Vietnam has strived to strengthen relations with neighboring countries and countries in the ASEAN organization; constantly strengthening relations with traditional neighboring countries; attach importance to relations with developed countries and world economic and political centers; to unite with developing countries, with the non-alignment movement; actively participating in and contributing to the activities of international organizations and international forums.

Congress XI continued to affirm the consistent implementation of the foreign policy of independence, self-control, peace, cooperation and development; multilateralization, relationship diversification, proactive and active international integration; enhancing the status of the country; for the sake of the nation, the nation, for a rich and strong socialist country; Be a friend, reliable partner and responsible member of the international community, contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2011: 83-84)

Outstanding results of Vietnam's foreign policy in this period were active and active international economic integration, normalizing relations with China (November 10, 1991); normalize relations with the United States (July 11, 1995); In July 1995, Vietnam joined ASEAN. Vietnam has officially signed with the European Union Free Trade Agreement (EVFTA) and Investment Protection Agreement (EVIPA). In 2019, Vietnam took part in joint maritime

exercises within the framework of ASEAN with the US for the first time; signing the Framework Agreement on participation in the EU's crisis management activities (FPA); accession to Convention No. 98 of the International Labor Organization. Vietnam has successfully organized the 2nd US-Korea summit in Hanoi, contributing to promoting dialogue, reconciliation and peace on the Korean peninsula, is highly appreciated by international partners and community. Vietnam was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council for the term 2020-2021 with a record high number of votes in the history of the Security Council election at the United Nations (192/193 votes). In 2020, Vietnam's foreign affairs will be deployed synchronously, effectively and creatively to further strengthen a peaceful and stable environment, contribute to promoting security interests, development and further enhancing the country's position in the international arena.

The successes of Vietnam's foreign policy are highly appreciated by foreign scholars, Professor Dmitri Mosyakov (2020) said that Vietnam has made a great contribution to maintaining peace in this region, contributing to enhancing ASEAN's position and role in the world, the perseverance of the conflict resolution path by peaceful means, always supports the early completion and implementation of the COC. In addition, Professor Mosyakov (2020) affirmed that with multilateral foreign policy, Vietnam attaches great importance to cooperation with Asian partners and other countries around the world, thereby positively impacting the reduction. tension, contributing to promoting peace and stability in the South China Sea, while emphasizing Vietnam's consistent policy of resolving disputes in the South China Sea by peaceful means, complying with international law, is the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

### *Characteristics of Vietnam's foreign policy*

Vietnamese foreign policy plays a fundamental role in the policy of peace protection Foreign policy always plays a fundamental role in the policy of peace protection. During the innovation period, foreign policy has made an important contribution to the end of hostility, confrontation, encirclement and embargo, creating favorable international environment to focus on economic construction, get out of socio-economic crisis "resolutely, persistently fight to firmly defend the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity of the Fatherland, maintain peace and stability" (the Vietnamese Communist Party Male, 2016: 59).

Vietnam's foreign policy has promoted the normalization and expansion of cooperation with other countries, taking advantage of external resources, participating in international labor division and multilateral cooperation mechanisms.

The process of innovating foreign thinking on the basis of trying to combine the strength of the nation with the strength of the times in new conditions has renewed perceptions, concepts, approaches, and assessment of the world situation and international relations,, becoming the foundation for reforming policy lines, setting goals, guiding ideology, operating motto and foreign

priority. The Communist Party of Vietnam has deeply grasped, applied and developed creatively Marxism - Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's Foreign Thought.

The Communist Party of Vietnam has made a breakthrough in renewing awareness, assessing the situation and development trends of the world in recognizing complex movements in the world landscape. The 6th Party Congress has proposed a way to expand foreign relations before the trend of peace, globalization and economic cooperation between countries with different social regimes, participating in the international division of labor on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

Renovation of regional awareness and regional integration has helped Vietnam see clearly that Southeast Asian countries share historical, geographic and cultural similarities and are influenced by strategies of major countries. The Communist Party of Vietnam renovated its view on the relationship between national interests and international obligations, between security and development, and between cooperation and struggle. In particular, Vietnam's highest external interests and goals are identified as maintaining peace for development, creating a peaceful international environment conducive to innovation and socio-economic development, and realizing the goal of wealthy people, strong country, justice, civilization, and firmly defend national independence, sovereignty and security.

The external mission has been identified as upholding the principle of independence, unity and socialism, with a more flexible and accurate thinking in order to be able to innovate in the principle, form and approach in foreign relations system, creative, dynamic, flexible, suitable to the position, conditions and specific circumstances of the country, as well as the situation of the world and the region, suitable to each object. generation. Through the process of development, the Communist Party continues to affirm the strategic mission of Vietnam's foreign policy to "maintain a peaceful environment, create favorable international conditions for innovation and promote socio-economic development, industrialization and modernization of the country, building and defending the Fatherland, at the same time, actively contributing to the common struggle of the world people for peace, national independence and independence. master and social progress" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2006: 112).

Breakthroughs in awareness of the world situation, the trend of peace, stability and development, the struggle and cooperation in peaceful coexistence among countries with different social regimes have helped the Communist Party. Vietnam has determined foreign relations in the innovation era. That is maintaining peace and economic development, "adding friends and reducing enemies", multilateralizing international relations on the principle of respect for independence, sovereignty for mutual benefit, determination and proactive move to fight and cooperation in peaceful coexistence. The aforementioned breakthrough in foreign thinking has shaped the fundamental views in the reform of foreign policy, which is the shift from the policy of "comprehensive solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union has always been the

cornerstone of foreign policy of our Party and State "and" tightening friendship and expanding cooperation with socialist brotherly countries on the basis of Marxism - Leninism and socialist internationalism" to independent, independent, open, diversified and multilateral international relations.

With the country's situation in this period, the Communist Party of Vietnam has correctly identified and hit the breakthrough point to escape the besiege and embargo is to solve Cambodia's problem, normalize relations with China, and , to build relationships with ASEAN and improve to normalize relations with the US.

The precise determination of the breakthrough has laid the basis for the development in relations with neighboring countries, major countries in the post-cold war period and is the foundation for the development of relations with ASEAN, making important contributions to the realization of development goals in each stage of the innovation period. In the years 1986-1996, Vietnam successfully resolved the socio-economic crisis to stabilize and develop; After that, Vietnam moved to a new period of development, accelerating the process of industrialization and modernization, bringing the country out of the state of underdevelopment, becoming an average developed country in the world, creating a basis for Vietnam to increasingly integrate with the region and the world...

### *Peaceful foreign policy*

Vietnam's foreign policy carries a humanistic tradition, upholds righteousness; friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the peoples of the world. The main conduct style of Vietnamese people is peace and friendship with other ethnic groups. Stemming from the national cultural tradition, "fairness" with righteous goals and from circumstances that sometimes have to deal with many objects at the same time, Vietnam always pursues the motto "more friends, less enemies", "Make our country less enemies and more allied friends" "with a peaceful mindset, more friends and less enemies (Nguyen Thi Tuong Duy, 2014: 3-8). From the revolutionary situation, at times having to deal with many opponents, President Ho Chi Minh highlighted the motto "... make your country less enemies and more allies" (Communist Party of Viet Nam, 2000, episode 8: 27)

Vietnamese soft power in the strategy of "public diplomacy" is the traditional cultural values of the Vietnamese people that are widely spread, receiving the love of the people of the world... This is the soft index which contributes to building the image, creating prestige and position of the country. For Vietnam, soft power stems from the country's own values such as history, tradition, culture, humanistic ideology, the system of human opinion, worldview... and the accretion, attention and promotion through the policies of the Party and the State as well as the awareness and action of each Vietnamese people both at home and abroad (Mai Phan Dung, 2020).

Neighboring countries and the region are always included in the overall foreign policy of Vietnam on the basis of the requirements of the country in

each historical period. In the context of major countries' policies and the relations between major countries having an important influence on the international situation and gathering forces in the region, Vietnam always strives to build friendly relations with other countries. Neighbor country. In addition, the policy with neighbors and regions of Vietnam is also a combination of many goals, factors and dimensions at the same time.

Peaceful diplomacy has become the Party's guiding viewpoint, reflected in the determination of the external objectives and tasks to ensure the interests of the nation "Ensuring the highest interests of the nation and the nation, on the basis of basic principles of international law, equality and mutual benefit, and consistent implementation of the foreign policy of independence, autonomy and harmony peace, cooperation and development ... On the basis of both cooperation and fighting, external activities to serve the goal of maintaining peace and stability, making the most of external resources for country development" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2016:153).

### *Smart foreign policy*

As a country of low potential, always having to fight against foreign aggression and deal with the dangers of invasion throughout history, the goal of Vietnamese diplomacy is to contribute to regaining and maintaining independence., sovereignty, unification of the country. In the strategy of "A grasshopper kicks carriage" when confronted with more powerful forces, small countries want to defeat the big empire, the foreign policy and diplomatic activities have become weapons in linking with other Allied forces, differentiate the enemy, change the force relationship and create a beneficial situation for small countries.

Vietnam's foreign policy played an important role in proactively proposing strategic directions, applying flexible strategies to win in each revolutionary period and playing an important role in the development strategy of Vietnam. Vietnam's foreign policy always promotes all resources to create synergy; combining national strength and era power. Independence and self-reliance are a cross-cutting element in Vietnam's foreign policy. Independence, self-reliance and self-reliance associated with solidarity and international cooperation are the key ideas in the policy of combining national strengths and the strengths of the times.

The national strength of Vietnam is the position and force of the country, the combined strength of both material and spirit. It is economic, political, military, demographic, territorial; historical values, traditions, culture, patriotism, hard work and the will to rise of the Vietnamese people...

The power of the times is the main flows of the world and the region, such as the scientific and technological revolution, the trends of globalization, regional integration, peace, cooperation and development; the process of shifting the balance of forces ... The strategy in Vietnam's foreign policy is to properly combine the national strength with resources and great trends of the world to multiply the national power. Vietnam's foreign policy also always shows the

"Keeping /calm is to cope with multi-unexpected changes" viewpoint as a foreign method, style and art of Ho Chi Minh. The tradition of his father's diplomatic struggle has formed a method of persistent principle but flexible, soft, deft strategy (Nguyen Van Khanh, Nguyen Thi Mai Hoa, 2016).

The Party's motto on foreign affairs in the innovation period has been carried out consistently, steadily in strategy, and flexible in strategy. In the innovation period, the "Keeping calm is to cope with multi-unexpected changes" principle is the national interests with the connotation of independence, sovereignty, territorial unification, the strength and position of the country, is the goal of building Vietnam "wealthy people, strong country, justice, civilization".

The multi-unexpected changes is the rapid, unpredictable change of the situation, the adjustment of strategies and policies of the countries, the relationship and gathering of forces, the transformation of "partners", "objects"... The Party and State have been persisting with the unchanging principle of "consistently implementing the foreign policy of independence, autonomy, peace, cooperation and development" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2016: 153), while continuing to diversify and multilateral foreign relations, correctly identify the "partner" and "object" in each issue of national interests and ethnic groups in order to promptly work out appropriate and effective policies and measures to cooperate and fight.

The method of deployment varies widely, when it is necessary, when moving forward and backward, depending on the issue, time, and specific force relationship. Therefore, the Party always determines the directions, tasks and implementation methods in each revolutionary period to suit the reality of Vietnam. The history of fighting with opponents many times stronger than that of the Vietnamese people has formed the art of grasping opportunities and winning step by step. That is the thought of "taking a few enemies more, taking weak and strong victories", harmoniously combining political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields to create synergy. During the innovation period, when socio-economic development became a central task, foreign policy contributed to take advantage of the most favorable international conditions for the construction and defense of the country, raising prestige and country position through mastering, actively creating opportunities, attacking to win step by step, advancing to win completely. That strategy is reflected in the gradual participation in global and regional forums, organizations and institutions such as ASEAN (1995), ASEM (1996), APEC (1998), WTO (2006), TPP (2015), step by step fully integrate with the region and the world.

Commenting on Vietnam's soft and intelligent diplomacy, Dr. Pankaj Jha (2020), an Indian scholar specializing in international affairs, commented on Modern Policy page that as a non-permanent member of the Council Security, Vietnam has the opportunity to harmonize ASEAN development goals with UN initiatives. The current draft COC covers a wide range of issues, reflecting the aspirations and legal stance of each disputing party. However, how to address the concerns of the parties and reach a joint draft will be a challenging



task for Vietnam. Vietnam will have to use flexible diplomacy and skillful negotiations to achieve this goal (Thu Hien, 2020).

### ***Model foreign policy of Vietnam***

Foreign policy is reviewed and evaluated in four main aspects: (1) external and domestic environment; (2) content policy; (3) policy makers; (4) deployment measures. In addition, according to author Nguyen Vinh Hang (2015), the foreign policy model of a country is often determined by the highest government apparatus of the country. Each different country, each different political institution has a different way of structuring the foreign policy-making apparatus. The author cites the key factors that determine a country's foreign policy model include: (1) the country's power and power in the international arena; (2) world political and security situation; (3) the desired national goal to be achieved; (4) the influence of foreign policy-making apparatus; (5) internal political factors (interest groups, media groups, public opinion...) (Nguyen Vinh Hang, 2015).

The author Breuning argues that the foreign policy model is "the sum of the policies and interactions with the environment outside national borders" (Breuning 2007, p. 5). A country's foreign policy covers a wide range of issues, from traditional security and economic sectors to issues of the environment, energy, foreign aid, migration and human rights. Subjects "starting" foreign policy actions and subjects who are the target of such actions are usually states, but not always. According to Breuning (2007), foreign policy analysis "is primarily concerned with explaining how and why decisions are made" (Breuning, 2007, 164). In fact, unlike the broader field of study that is international relations, foreign policy analysis emphasizes the human factor involved in policy making (Breuning, 2007; Hudson, 2005).

Thus, foreign policy analysis considers a country as a single entity and involves the study of different subject within a country both as individuals and groups of individuals involved in planning or influencing their foreign policy. In other words, this field of research always looks at more deeply than the state level, thereby studying the influence of individual leaders, the administrative apparatus and institutions in foreign policy making.

Modeling foreign policy in Vietnam goes through many historical stages with cautious steps since 1986. The dilemma that Vietnam was facing during this period cannot be closed to the outside world, if we do that, the country and the regime would collapse; if it is done too quickly and too hard, the change could go out of control and risk rupture. Therefore, a foreign policy adjustment will be an interaction between the status quo inertia and a new perception of the need for change.

The process of adjusting the foreign policy model is the result of the interaction between the requirement of ensuring foreign policy objectives (security, development and position) and elements of maintaining the status quo and new perceptions; on the basis of policy making, learning, learning and feedback. Vietnam's foreign policy objectives for serving a general foreign

policy are constant, but depending on the context in each stage, the content, the order of priority, or the implementation program can be adjusted. or redefined (Pham Binh Minh, editor, 2011).

Absolute and unified leadership role in the foreign policy of the Communist Party of Vietnam, particular political system operates under the unified leadership of the Party on the principle of democratic centralism and the National Party Congress is held every 5 years, so steps for policy adjustment will be analyzed. in the system of Party Congress documents. The motto gives priority to foreign activities, and at the same time must “Ensure the unified leadership of the Party, the centralized management of the State over foreign activities. Closely coordinating the Party's external activities, State diplomacy and people's diplomacy; between political diplomacy with economic diplomacy and cultural diplomacy; between foreign relations with national defense and security” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2011: 238).

That is the crystallization of leadership and direction of the Party, recommendations of advisory and policy-making agencies, lessons learned from the actual implementation of foreign policy from the previous term. Factors of awareness, learning and learning are important. The innovation process involves systematically evaluating and summarizing the lessons through regular Party congresses. One of the lessons of the Innovation period is to increase practical summation and continuously complete the theory of foreign policy. These lessons allow policy evaluation in the implementation of strategic objectives to make adjustments in accordance with reality and become the basis for the next policy-making.

Analyzing these lessons will provide a more thorough understanding of Vietnam's foreign policy adjustment in the short to medium term, between Party congresses. At the same time, the analysis also shows a trend in the way, the scope and speed of policy adjustment. Foreign policy adjustment is evaluated based on the levels including adjustment of orientation; target adjustment; adjustment of measures.

The change in Vietnam's foreign policy at the onset of the innovation (1986) can be considered a "major change of direction in foreign policy", through which the Party has drawn experiences and important lessons for modern Vietnamese diplomacy, such as: the national interests are the highest priority and the foundation of the national strategy as well as foreign policy; establishing and strengthening friendly relations and stable cooperation with neighboring countries; always attach great importance to and handle well relations with major countries; to closely combine economic development, foreign affairs and defense (Pham Binh Minh, 2020). In which, a breakthrough change in foreign policy-making thinking is that the identification of national interests is the highest requirement, and according to author Nguyen Viet Thao (2019), thinking and the foreign policy of the Party and State of Vietnam nowadays, more than ever, it is necessary to bring into full play Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology: consistency of opinion and stance; steadfast in strategy and flexible in handling each issue, place, time, with each partner, subject.

It can be seen that, since the Communist Party of Vietnam, as the leader of the Vietnamese political system, has gradually changed thinking, perceptions and adjusted the foreign policy model in Vietnam to suit and respond to the context of international integration. Vietnam's foreign policy model is built on the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist worldview and Ho Chi Minh's ideology, combined with the tradition of peace, love for peace, wisdom and towards a multilateral foreign policy model in the context of the industrial revolution 4.0...

Since the 12th Congress, the multilateral diplomacy model has become a major motto and orientation of Vietnam's foreign activities “Diversification and multilateralization in foreign relations; proactive and active international integration; You are a friend, a trusted partner and a responsible member of the international community” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2016: 35). Consistent implementation of the foreign policy of independence, self-control, peace, cooperation and development; diversification and multilateralization in foreign relations; proactive and active international integration; You are a reliable partner and a responsible member of the international community to “serve the goal of maintaining a peaceful and stable environment, making the most of external resources for national development, high people's life; enhancing the country's status and prestige and contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2016: 34-35).

In the current context, according to Ambassador Nguyen Nguyet Nga (2020), the development of a model of Vietnam's multilateral foreign policy must be based on the following issues: (1) identifying the trend of multilateral in the world, multilateral links is the pivot; (2) the process of shaping multilateral trends is changing very quickly, but still happening in a long time; (3) challenges have now become very acute (translation of Covid-19, trade war...), challenges that require multilateral solutions. The new level of multilateral is much different than before, reflected in four aspects: the goal is a vast, comprehensive peaceful environment; the goal is to create a position - a new space for foreign affairs and resources - new resources, space for development; approaches are multi-layered, interdisciplinary, associated with digital transformation and sustainable development, stakeholders; Vietnam plays a pivotal role, leading and mediating; Vietnam actively participates in, actively shapes the rules and rules of the game...

Ambassador Nguyen Nguyet Nga (2020) emphasized four focuses of multilateral diplomacy in the coming time: taking on a broader role (initiatives, ideas, policy contributions, human resources, finance; presiding over, coordinate, initiate ideas, lead with dual roles in ASEAN and the UN Security Council...), participate in shaping new structures, mechanisms and rules; deep economic integration, linking digital transformation and sustainable development; completing important commitments (ASEAN Vision 2025 and after 2025, Vision APEC 2040...) (Phan Mich, 2020).

Recognizing the advantages of Vietnam's multilateral foreign policy model, professor Carl Thayer (2020) (University of New South Wales, Australia) that

Vietnam was unanimously elected by the countries at the United Nations as the representative of Asia to take the position of a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. The two times being elected to hold this role (2008-2009 and 2020-2021 terms) with almost absolute votes shows that Vietnam is seen as an active and reliable member not only in the Asia-Pacific region but also in the eyes of the international community. With his own point of view, former Deputy Prime Minister Vu Khoan (2020) said that Vietnam's multilateral diplomacy model often takes place a diverse force gathering in order to find allies, reconcile contradictions, respond to views and forces that are not favorable to them, strive for humanity's great aspirations such as peace, independence, democracy, and social progress. This is the place where we can fulfill our international obligations to hot human affairs, and at the same time apply the motto "Keeping cool/calm is to cope with multi-unexpected changes" (Phan Mich, 2020).

Also agrees with Professor Carl Thayer, author David Hutt (2020), on the prospect of a multilateral foreign policy model that will help Vietnam have a better chance to take on an assertive role in the position of owner. ASEAN, Vietnam has the opportunity to shape a common policy for the bloc. Author Prashanth Parameswaran (2020) argues that taking up the position of a non-permanent member of The United Nations Security Council creates an inherent challenge with an important role in the continued development of the overall foreign policy and Vietnam's approach to the region and the world in general.

In addition to a traditional foreign policy model, the Party and State of Vietnam also promote public diplomacy. According to Pham Minh Son (2019), Vietnam's traditional foreign policy model is often seen and approached from the perspective of the implementing entity (also known as the external channel), including Party diplomacy, State diplomacy, foreign people; or the field of activity, including political diplomacy, economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy. The author argues that public diplomacy is a new, object-oriented approach to foreign affairs, to the public, also known as the non-governmental of the countries.

## **CONCLUSION**

The outstanding feature of Vietnam's foreign policy is that the Communist Party of Vietnam is the absolute and unified leader of foreign affairs. Vietnam's foreign policy is also always friendly and peaceable; combine national strength with the power of the times to overcome a small country's shortage of resources in the face of changes in the world and regional situation.

From the implementation of the renovation policy, the Communist Party of Vietnam has renewed its foreign mindset, with important adjustments in the perception of the world situation and international relations; approach in planning foreign policies, policies, goals, guiding ideology, operating motto and foreign priority. Vietnam's foreign policy adjustment process is assessed through the levels including adjustment of orientation, adjustment of objectives, adjustment of measures. The driving factor for the adjustment is

the domestic and international context of Vietnam in each period, between the Party congresses. Control factors are cognitive barriers. Cognitive factors, learning and learning from experience are associated with evaluating, summarizing and renewing thinking through the Party Congress and Central Conferences in the Congress terms.

Vietnam's highest external interests and goals have been identified as maintaining peace to develop and create a peaceful international environment conducive to the renovation, socio-economic development, to achieve the goal of a rich people, a strong country, democracy, equality and civilization; firmly defend national independence, sovereignty and security.

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