

## PREFACE

I want to thank first and foremost Professor Yosef D.M. Djakababa Ph.D., for your careful and thoughtful guidance and tireless support throughout various classes and especially during your time as my thesis advisor. Without your invaluable assistance, this thesis would not have been possible.

The classes taught at Universitas Pelita Harapan, especially those by Professor Aleksius Jemadu, Ph.D., Professor Amelia J. Liwe, Ph.D., Dr. Adriana Elisabeth, Dr. Edwin M.B. Tambunan and Dr. Makmur Keliat were particularly resourceful and relevant towards the writing of this thesis. Ms. Astrid Loppies and Ms. Jesyka from the Master of International Relations program have been patient and helpful every step of the way. I am also grateful to my fellow classmates, especially Alam Primanda Suharso for your companionship.

I would like to extend a special thanks to Dr. Le Dinh Tinh, formerly at the Diplomatic Academy of Viet Nam and now at Foreign Policy Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, who encouraged me to write 12 years ago. This thesis was inspired by our work “The events of 1978 in Vietnamese diplomacy: Analyses and lessons for today’s small-to-medium sized countries” published in Asian Affairs magazine volume 52 on May 2021.

Finally, nothing would have been possible without the tireless support of my family – my wife Pham Quynh Anh, son Hoang Pham Hai Phong, parents Hoang Van Loi, Luong Thi Thu Ha, Pham Trong Bang, Vu Thanh Dung and siblings Hoang Ha Phuong Thao, Pham Nhat Minh, Trinh Thi Mai Huong, as well as friends from the Embassy of Viet Nam in Jakarta who provided me with timely hot food on late nights.

December 17 2022



Hoang Hai Long

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTIONS .....	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....	6
1. Literature on Viet Nam-China relations from 1975-1979.....	6
2. Literature related to theory and concept.....	8
2.1. Bilateral relations .....	8
2.2. Neorealism.....	12
2.3. National interests.....	14
2.4. Current dynamics of Viet Nam-China relations.....	16
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY .....	18
CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS .....	22
1. Global and bilateral context .....	22
2. Viet Nam historical background and the role of China.....	23
3. A causal analysis for the breakdown in bilateral relations in the 1975-1979 period ...	25
3.1. China's national interests.....	25
3.2. Viet Nam's national interests .....	28
3.3. Viet Nam and China's shared and conflicting interests.....	35
4. The breakdown of relations between Viet Nam and China .....	43
4.1. The historical process .....	43
4.2. Consequences and aftermath by the end of 1979.....	46
CHAPTER 5: HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES IN THE CURRENT VIET NAM-CHINA RELATIONS .....	50
1. Global and regional context .....	50
2. The bilateral context .....	56
3. Viet Nam's current policy towards China.....	63
4. Historical lessons and implications for Viet Nam's contemporary China Policy .....	66
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS .....	75
REFERENCES .....	i

### **List of abbreviations**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CCP	Communist Party of China
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
CPTPP	Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
CPV	Communist Party of Viet Nam
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HD981	Hai Duong 981
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
IMF-GATT	International Monetary Fund-General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development