CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

The process of Reunification refers to the condition of merging or integration of partitioned countries to the status of a unified one. Reunification is an event and a process too. Once the reunification takes place, the reunified country has to deal with the opportunities and challenges of the reunification. Reunification does not come alone; many processes are simultaneously involved with it and nation-building assumes primary significance all over again. The study aims to point the way to a clear understanding of the process of nation-building in reunified countries.

The most famous examples of reunified countries are Germany, Yemen and Vietnam. Nation-building in reunified states has to cope up with more typical challenges than in other cases. In case of the reunified countries the political geographical concerns attain a new complexity. At the same time, the process of nation-building in reunified countries has many similarities. All of the above mentioned countries; Germany, Yemen and Vietnam, had to deal with some similar challenges, such as, winners and losers situation, domination of one part over another, psychological differences, internal conflicts, problems of dissidents, lack of monetary funds, discrimination by the winner party, unemployment, poverty, lack of foreign aid, boundary related problems and conflicts (as they were superimposed by the ruling country and resulted due to the war or conflict), unfurnished foreign relations, geopolitical significance, etc.

The present research attempts to find out the connections between the political geography (geopolitics and geoeconomics), and nation-building in the reunified countries. Geoeconomics is the study of spatial, temporal and political aspects of economies and resources. It could also be argued that in most of the cases it was associated with the globalization, which was guided by the political realities of a place or location.
Globalization is a coherent theory in the times of comparative peace and economic expansion.

NATION-BUILDING

‘Nation-building’ is an effort to promote social, economic and political reforms with an objective of transforming a society from conflict, into one at peace with itself and others. The ‘nation-building’ process comprised of peacekeeping, law enforcement, security, humanitarian relief, governance (local and national), economic stabilization, democratization and development. Some time back nations were forged through ‘blood and iron’, but now a days, nations are build through the processes of conflict resolution, foreign aid, free elections, and peace keeping actions, etc, (Ottaway 2002: 16). It required a mix of military and civilian capacity and national, multinational and international participation because these types of societies were economically and militarily too weak to deal with the problems of establishing peace, law enforcement, democratization, etc. According to Fukuyama (2009: 135-136) there were three aspects or phases of nation-building; the first concerns what has come to be called post-conflict reconstruction, secondly, where the chief objective was to self-sustaining state institutions and the last phase had to do with the strengthening of weak states.

The nations which were going to transform themselves, shared the similar tasks and most of the countries that had sustained economic development were those where ‘aggressive state intervention’ (Lee 1988: 1) had took place and the process of nation-building was more successful where the government was relatively more capable (Ottaway 2002: 17). Development and democratization were two important tools in this process (Dobbins 2008:14). Pei (2003: 52) defined nation-building as the ‘restructuring of governing institutions in foreign and domestic societies, which was very complex in nature’.

The neighbouring states also had a profound effect, for better or worse, on the outcome of nation-building operations. ‘If the intervening authorities leaves behind the society at peace with itself and its neighbours, there mission must be regarded as success’ (Dobbins
In a society emerging from a conflict, all the factors like security, economic growth, social upliftment and political reforms, etc. were interdependent. But, nation-building in reunified countries had not been an easy task to perform. There could be more problems than opportunities in reunified countries in the context of nation-building (Kocka 1994: 173). It was a complex task, which never comes with a single agenda.

The most common problems are the winners and losers situation, persistent dissimilarities and question of borderland to centrality (Corson and Minghi 1994: 125). The problems of discrepancies between the former parts of a reunified country was an inseparable reason for the conflict and crisis in a newly reunified country, which resulted in improper handling and management of the nation-building processes of the newly reunified country (Winkler 1994: 117). According to Winkler, the psychological unification would be much more difficult than the physical one. Winkler (1994: 123) argued that the building of a nation could be possible only after the mutual understanding of a nation by its people.

The population of a territory which considered themselves collectively as a nation would result in a good future for all those involved the population of a state territory and its government (Derichs 2004: 42-43). A reunified country could play a constructive role in its region and in the world, if it finds constructive solutions for its problems (Winkler 1994: 125). According to Despotovic (1990), the intensive political dialogue between the superpowers, eased the tension worldwide, and the discovery of newly developed alternatives in some quarters of the globe had their effect in reviving the idea of reunification of some countries like Yemen and Germany. Braun (1992) had also emphasized on the role of political parties, political system, decision making research and universities in achieving the goal of nation-building in a reunified country.

Pfaff-Czarnecka (2005) said that the political institutions influenced the logic and effectiveness of a democratic politics. Braun discussed the steps and agreements towards the Yemeni reunification. There had also been voices against the reunification of Yemen (Braun: 177). Lahiri (1991) in his article talked about the various steps that had been
taken in relation to the reunification of Yemen along with its development initiatives. Despotovic (1990) said that in the post reunification era, the countries were not only supposed to enjoy the major natural resources but also had to deal with the growing attention of big powers towards it.

Natural resources had an important role in achieving desired results of nation-building operations, but when the geopolitics was involved, a country, which was starving for its development, had to face more serious external problems than internal ones. Chopra (1992) argued that the changing political order in a region affected the outcomes of reunification and nation-building. While discussing reunification, Searight (1990) also focuses on the targets of nation-building in the post reunification phase. The socio-political and religious divisions had to be sorted out in terms of achieving the desired success in nation-building. ‘Nation-building’ was a means to graduate societies to the status of mature democracies (O’Tuathail 1994). It was meant to create democratic and stable states:

“*The promotion of democracy is based on the assumption that democracies rarely go to war with each other and that an increase in the number of democratic states ...and more secure and peaceful world*” (von Hippel 2000: 96).

Reunification was a one time event, as well as a process, which had to be completed in various phases or stages. There were various stages or transition phases of state formation (Painter 1995). Owen (2002) said that the geopolitics had always been involved in case of foreign involvement in the nation-building. He found that all ‘big’ countries did it and especially the ‘great powers’, which were more likely to have the means to undertake such projects. He argued that a ‘great power’ was prone to regard unrest abroad as either a threat to its security or as an opportunity to extend its influence. In either case, it would be tempted to recreate target states in its own image.

Berger (2006), analyzed the idea and practice of nation-building in the context of decolonization, the universalisation of the nation-state system, the geopolitics of the rise
and fall of the Cold War and the transformation of the global political economy between the 1950’s and the 1990’s. He also discussed the charm of being involved or undertaking of the projects of nation-building by great powers. The external support in nation-building process should follow some principles so that the security and sovereignty of a country could not be disturbed (Hopp and Kloke-Lesch 2004). Success in the nation-building of a country could be altered by its geopolitical location. The problems might arise in the matter of national security, foreign policy and border disputes.

The post reunification era in the reunified countries was often dictated by geopolitical considerations (Neuss 1997: 81). It was true in the case of reunification of Vietnam, as its situation in the Southeast Asia was also important from the geostrategic point of view. The geostrategic location of a country altered the nation-building efforts from neighbouring countries and other foreign powers. Neuss had tried to elaborate the real situation of a country in its post reunification phase. He discussed the elements of reunification in relation to nation-building and international politics, resources and foreign policy.

The role of political parties had a very important role in the psychological integration of a reunified country (Kocka 1994: 178-180). Vietnam had been involved in a long series of conflicts since a long period from the French occupation to its reunification in 1976. After its reunification, Vietnam had to fight another war for its nation-building. Since reunification, Vietnam ushered into a new era of peace making, unification and national construction. In its earlier phase many socio-economic and political targets were not achieved due to both internal and external factors.

The differences also had their roots between the Vietnamese government and the society (Pierre 2000). The basic one was about the strengthening of the economic sector of the country as both the people and government of Vietnam were keen to do so, but the differences occurred in their ideas and considerations. Vietnam’s economy fell into crisis and stagnation and people’s lives were difficult. At the sixth Congress of the Communist Party, the Doi Moi (reform) policy was launched with the focus on economic growth.
This marked an important milestone in the new stage of development of Vietnamese nation. In Vietnam ‘democratization’ came to mean challenging communist advances rather than implementing democratic reforms (von Hippel 2000: 95-6).

Meanwhile, the foreign relations of Vietnam were not good and its relation with US got normalized only in 1995, which had an important role in achieving the target of developments in Vietnam. The present study sought to analyze the development operations in Vietnam since its reunification and their achieved success. The role of geoeconomics in nation-building would also be analyzed in this study. It would also try to explore the major hindrances and difficulties in its earlier phase of nation-building. The present study would help to understand that how far the external factors helped in socio-economic and political developments of Vietnam. The main query is, whether foreign participation in Vietnam was geopolitically and geostrategically intended. This study will also make an attempt to understand how far foreign led nation-building operations succeeded in Vietnam.

The present study would cover the significance of nation-building operations in the reunified countries, with special emphasis on the reunified Vietnam. It would analyze policies and reforms, which took place in post reunified Vietnam in its socio-economic and political sectors, with special emphasis on the processes of nation-building in the post colonial and post-war states. Other than dissecting the various problems and hindrances in the process of nation-building in Vietnam, this study would also suggest some solutions, which would prove beneficial for the fulfilment of task of developing an ill-fated country into a modern and developed nation.

As Vietnam was declared independent in 1954, in the form of two parts: North and South Vietnam, and reunified in the Year 1976, the focus of this study will be from 1976 to present times. During this period Vietnam had gained considerable success in its efforts of nation-building. The literature available on Vietnam mostly concerned its historical aspect, war with US and economic reforms after Doi Moi. The role of geoeconomic variables in the nation-building of Vietnam was almost neglected. Therefore, from
Vietnam’s perspective of policy and decision making in relation to its geopolitical and geostrategic concerns, much was to be done. The study will fill this gap through further exploration and it will also attempt to situate itself to understand the nation-building process in reunified Vietnam, with special reference to geopolitical and geostrategic concerns.

ABOUT STUDY AREA

VIETNAM

Vietnam, officially the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, is a thin strip of territory, over much of its length of almost 1600 kilometres from north to south, narrowing to as little as 40 kilometres at its central parts, but broadening out at each end. The shape of Vietnam resembles a ‘water horse’. Vietnam is situated at the 8°10’-23°24’ North to 102°09’-109°03’ East. Vietnam covers a total area of about 331,689 square kilometres (GIOI 2000). It is the easternmost nation on the Indochinese Peninsula. It is located on the western shore of the South China Sea, bordered by China to the north, by Laos to the west, and by Cambodia to the southwest (Figure 1).

The land

Vietnam could be divided into four physiographic regions: the Annamese Cordillera extending from north to south through west-central Vietnam, the Red River delta in the north, the Mekong River delta in the south, and the coastal plain in the east. The extremely rugged and densely forested Annamese Cordillera is a southward extension of the Yunnan Plateau covers about two-thirds of the total land area. Parallel northwest and southeast ranges with several peaks rising to more than 6,000 feet above sea level dominate the northern half of Vietnam and a series of heavily eroded longitudinal plateaus (average elevation 2,500 to 5,000 feet) extend into the southern half.

In the north the densely populated Red River delta is situated, which is roughly triangular in shape and intensively cultivated (wet rice is the chief crop). The Red River and its
Figure 1. Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Source: Based on the map available at www.traveltoVietnam.cc/travel-vietnam
tributaries are subject to severe and frequent flooding and are important for irrigation and local freight transportation.

The fertile Mekong River delta is almost four times larger than the Red River delta and is one of the richest rice growing areas in the world. The annual floods in the Mekong River, unlike those in the Red, are regular and increase the fertile land each year by depositing new sediments on the floodplains. There are extensive rice paddies and plantations of sugarcane, bananas and coconuts in the Mekong delta. A low lying, narrow coastal plain about 620 miles (1,000 km) long connects these two major river deltas.

Climate

Vietnam has a tropical monsoon type of climate with hot winters in the south and cool winters in the north. The annual average temperature in the north (Hanoi) is 74° F (23° C) and in the south (Ho Chi Minh City) is 81° F (27° C). The mean annual precipitation (mainly occurring from May to October) is 60 to 80 inches (1,500 to 2,000 mm). Typhoons are frequent in the north and southwest.

Vegetation

Almost one third of the total land area is under tropical evergreen and subtropical deciduous forests of oak, beech, chestnut, pine, teak and ebony. Bamboo is widespread both in the undergrowth of forests and in pure stands, primarily along rivers. Mangrove forests are prevalent in the tidal coastal plains and savannah type grasses and shrubs cover the highlands and plateaus of the southwest. A great amount of forest land has been degraded by slash-and-burn cultivation and by bombing and herbicides used by U.S. armed forces during the Vietnam War in the late 1960s, although war ravaged areas subsequently underwent renewal. About one-fifth of the country’s total land area is cultivated. The natural resources of Vietnam have contributed greatly in the economic development of country after the reunification.
Mineral Resources

Northern Vietnam is rich in mineral resources, especially anthracite and lignite coal. Other minerals found in the north include iron ore, lead, zinc, bauxite, copper, chromium ore, tungsten, gold, asbestos and tin. Some petroleum deposits exist off the southern coast. Oil resources had contributed significantly in its economic development. Vietnam has enough water resources and has a potential of 18,000 megawatts of hydropower production, of which around 3,700 megawatts has already been developed. The pattern of development in Vietnam did not follow a consistent path rather it was unevenly distributed all over the Vietnam, in accordance of the availability of resources. The presence of US intervention in South Vietnam was responsible for this to a larger extent.

Population

Vietnamese are the predominant ethnic group, accounting for almost 90 percent of the total population. Minorities in the north include Chinese, Hmong and the Tai speaking Nung and Tay (earlier known as Tho). Southern minorities include highland ethnic groups, Khmer and Chan. Vietnamese is the official language; French, Chinese, English, and Khmer are also spoken. Buddhism and Taoism are the major religions, and Confucianism is the predominant philosophy. Roman Catholics, Muslims, Hoa Hao, Cao Dai and Protestants are other religious groups. Connor (1972) emphasized the role of ethnic factor for the integration of a society in terms of nation-building.

Vietnam’s birth and death rates and annual average population growth are relatively high by world standards but are in a better condition comparing to other countries in Southeast Asia. Consequently, about two-fifths of the population is younger than 15 years. Life expectancy is approximately 66 years.

When the government of South Vietnam collapsed in 1975, about 1 million refugees fled the country. Refugees who left Vietnam after that time are estimated at another million, including Vietnamese and many ethnic Chinese. In 1976, the government began a plan to
Table 1 Population of Vietnam (Thousand persons)

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<tr>
<th>Year (mid-year)</th>
<th>Population (mid-year)</th>
<th>Growth Rate</th>
<th>By sex</th>
<th>By area</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>23,597</td>
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<td>82,032</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>40,311</td>
<td>41,721</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>83,106</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>40,846</td>
<td>42,260</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>84,156</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>41,355</td>
<td>42,801</td>
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</table>

Source: GSO (2007)

redistribute 10 million people of the urban population into rural “new economic zones,” particularly in the south. Between 1976 and 1986, it was reported that more than 4 million people had been settled in the new economic zones. Table 1 shows the pattern of population growth and other related aspects.
The Economy

In pre colonial Vietnam, agriculture was the foundation of economy of the country. Wet rice culture began in the Red river delta with the development of dikes. Vietnam became the cradle of forest products, either as a commodity or tribute, for China during her occupation until the tenth century.

In Colonial Vietnam, the French, who needed raw materials and a market for French manufactured goods, altered these commonalities by undertaking a plan to develop the northern and southern regions separately. The South, better suited for agriculture and relatively poor in industrial resources, was designed to be developed agriculturally; the North, naturally wealthy in mineral resources, was selected as the region in which industrial development was to be concentrated. There were some barriers that prevented the Vietnamese economy from achieving steady improvement before 1986. They had their roots in Vietnam’s colonial legacy and the economic restraints that trapped the country when it was ruled under socialist ideology after 1976. French occupation in Vietnam left a number of economic legacies, which hindered the development goal of the country. This led it to specialize in the primary commodities production, hindering its development in industrialization and arresting the accumulation of capital (Beresford 2003). Vietnam became a colony under French sovereignty beginning in 1858. It was not until 1954 when Geneva Accords was signed to establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in the north that French colonialism in Indochina ended.

From 1940s until 1970s, Vietnam was constantly involved in large scale wars, which left profound impacts on the domestic economy. The First Indochina war, which resulted in the establishment of the DRV in North Vietnam war, was fought from 1946 until 1954. Later on, the newly independent country had to struggle against US in the Vietnam War that lasted from 1959 to 1975. Both wars particularly devastated institutional structures. For Vietnam as a whole, the war resulted in some 1.5 million military and civilian deaths, 362,000 invalids, 1 million widows, and 800,000 orphans. The country sustained a further loss in human capital through the exodus of refuges from Vietnam after the
communist victory in the South. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, as of October 1982, approximately 1 million people had fled Vietnam. Among them were tens of thousands of professionals, intellectuals, technicians, and skilled workers.

The separation distorted the basic Vietnamese economy by overly stressing regional economic differences. In the North, while irrigated rice remained the principle subsistence crop, the French introduced plantation agriculture with products such as coffee, cotton, tea, and tobacco. The colonial government also developed some extractive industries, such as the mining of coal, iron and non-ferrous metals. A shipbuilding industry was begun in Hanoi, rails, roads, power stations and hydraulic works were also constructed. In the South, agriculture development concentrated on rice cultivation, and nationally, rice and rubber were the main items of export. Domestic and foreign trades were centred around the Saigon-Cholon area. Industry in the South consisted mostly of food-processing plants and factories producing consumer goods.

Exports of coal from the North, rice from the South and the import of French manufactured goods, however, stimulated internal commerce. A pattern of trade developed whereby rice from the South was exchanged for coal and manufactured goods from the North. The economy in the South between 1954 and 1975 became increasingly dependent on foreign aid. The United States, the foremost donor, financed the development of the military and the construction of roads, bridges, airfields and ports; supported the currency, and met the large deficit in the balance of payments. The Vietnamese economy constantly suffered from 'chronic disequilibrium between sharply and demand' like other socialist economy (Beresford 2003). Priority over heavy industry also suggests that the agricultural sector did not receive sufficient attention in its recovery after the war.

Between 1976 and 1986, the then unified country had a planned economy. Though the government’s Second Five-Year Plan (1976-1981) set extraordinarily high goals for annual growth rates for industry, agriculture, and national income and aimed to integrate
the North and the South, the Plan's aims were not achieved: the economy remained dominated by small scale production, low labour productivity, unemployment, material and technological shortfalls, and insufficient food and consumer goods. The more modest goals of the Third Five Year Plan (1981-85) were a compromise between ideological and pragmatic fractions; they emphasized the development of agriculture and industry. Efforts were also made to decentralize planning and improve the managerial skills of government officials.

In 1986, Vietnam launched a political and economic renewal campaign (Doi Moi) that introduced reforms intended to facilitate the transition from a centrally planned economy to form a market socialism officially termed "socialist oriented market economy". Doi Moi combined economic planning with free market incentives and encouraged the establishment of private business in the production of consumer goods and foreign investment, including foreign owned enterprises.

The first major Doi Moi reform was the promotion of FDI beginning in 1987. The Foreign Investment Law was passed in that year and implemented in 1988 which permitted 100 percent foreign ownership and profit repatriation, and provided concessions for companies investing in priority areas such as exports, consumer goods, and technology transfer (Beresford 2003). By the late 1990s, the success of the business and agriculture reforms under Doi Moi was evident. More than 30,000 private businesses had been created, and the economy was growing at an annual rate of more than 7 percent, and poverty was nearly halved. In the first half of 1990s, it became the largest recipient of FDI. Inflow of foreign investment amounted to US$ 1.5 billion by 1994 and during the four years from 1994 to 1997, the inflows of FDI averaged over 9 percent of GDP (Schaumburg-Muller 2003). In the beginning major proportion of FDI in the manufacturing sector went to import substituting capital intensive industries. These were usually industries, which were under high degree of protection like automotive, electrical and food processing industries. As for export oriented FDI, resources were concentrated in garments and footwear.
In 2001, the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) approved a 10-year economic plan that enhanced the role of the private sector, while reaffirming the primacy of the state sector in the economy. In 2003, the private sector accounted for more than one-quarter of all industrial output. However, between 2003 and 2005 Vietnam fell dramatically in the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report rankings, largely due to negative perceptions of the effectiveness of government institutions (Gwartney, Lawson and Gartzke 2005). Official corruption was pandemic and Vietnam lags in issues of property rights, the efficient regulation of markets, and labour and financial market reforms. Although Vietnam’s economy, which continued to expand at an annual rate in excess of 7 percent, was one of the fastest growing economies in the world, the economy is growing from an extremely low base, reflecting the crippling effect of the Second Indochina War (1954-75) and repressive economic measures introduced in its aftermath.

Vietnam had a centrally planned, developing economy that was largely based on agriculture. Unyielding policies of collectivization and nationalization implemented by an often inefficient and sometimes corrupt bureaucracy had hampered economic reconstruction since the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. However, in 1986 Vietnam began to move toward an economy that utilized market forces and incentives and tolerated private enterprise. Vietnam's gross national product (GNP) per capita nonetheless remained one of the lowest in the world.

Agriculture employs almost three-fourths of Vietnam's workforce and accounts for more than one-fourth of the gross domestic product (GDP). The government of Vietnam began allowing the sale of surplus grain on the open market in late 1980s, and it again began to export rice after years of shortages. The maximum part of arable land is used for rice cultivation, with two crops harvested per year in many areas. Other significant food crops include cassava, sweet potatoes, peanuts (groundnuts), sorghum and corn (maize). State collective farms produced some coffee, tea and rubber for export as well as sugarcane, soybeans and coconuts.

Fish and shellfish harvested from inland waters and the South China Sea are the second most important food staple after rice, as well as important export commodities. The
Ministry of Forestry supervises the timber industry, and though there has been little modernization, production is slowly expanding. Vietnam extracts economically significant amounts of coal, apatite (phosphate rock), tin and chromite.

Mining and manufacturing account for more than one-fifth of the GDP, but employ only one tenth of the labour force. Most of the country’s industries are concentrated in the north. Shortages of raw materials and skilled labour persist in the industrial sector. The government has urged incentive pay systems to increase output, reduced subsidies to inefficient, state-run operations, and allowed limited market mechanisms. Reconstruction efforts after 1976 centered on cement, steel, textile, and electric power production facilities. Food processing, however, continued to be the largest industrial activity in Vietnam. Transport and distribution of goods remained a problem because of an inadequately developed infrastructure. ‘Hydroelectric power stations are the primary source of electricity but the amount produced is insufficient’ to meet the country’s needs (Ashwill and Diep 2005).

Vietnam was heavily dependent on foreign aid, supplied mainly by the Soviet Union until 1991. Imports exceeded the value of exports. Until the late 1980s, the Soviet Union was Vietnam’s main trading partner. During the early 1990s, its main partners were Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, and Singapore. Vietnam had begun to attract trade and investment from a number of Asian and Western countries. Imports included fuel and raw materials, machinery, and foodstuffs, where as exports were dominated by raw materials and handicrafts.

Development can be conceptualized in two ways; the first is a narrow definition, where development is defined as the upward evolution of the economy reflected by basic indicators such as GDP per capita and the industry’s proportion in the economy. From this perspective, development gap is mainly the disparities in terms of wealth and levels of industrial development among countries. Yet, such a definition only focuses on the economic aspects of development while failing to reflect its multi dimensional nature. The broad definition viewed development as a multi stage process, where growth occurs in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The GDP of Vietnam in 2008 was 6.2 percent.
(ADB 2009: 161-62). The ‘notion of development’ is not only limited to economic but also ‘non-economic fields’ (Pham and Nguyen 2004: 9).

Foreign Direct Investment in Vietnam had played a significant role in its regional development, industrialization process, poverty alleviation and many other reforms. Ritu Sharma (1999) argued that the policy of ‘liberalization’ was the key to success in Vietnam. She analyzed the role of various agencies and organizations like World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations, Asian Development Bank, ASEAN, etc. for the development and reconstruction of Vietnam. She also discussed about the process of economic liberalization, industrial and agricultural production and more importantly the growth in gross domestic product.

Religious Conditions

Vietnam has a diversified character of religious identities. These are the result of foreign interaction. Vietnam has mainly four religions, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity and Confucianism. Though Vietnam has religious freedom but it also has a system to abandon the same, if it is found as a threatening to the national security (Ashwill and Diep 2005: 13-4).

Society and Governance

Under 1992 constitution, Vietnam is a socialist republic and the highest organ of state power is the National Assembly, whose members are popularly elected for a five year term. The National Assembly elects Vietnam’s president from among its members and the president asks the assembly to appoint or dismiss the vice president, prime minister, and the chief justice of the Supreme People’s Court. The terms of the president, the prime minister and other members of the government follow that of the National Assembly. The Supreme People’s Court is the highest court of appeal and supervises lower People’s courts. The most important political institution in the country is, however, the Vietnamese Communist Party, most of whose members hold high positions in the government. Major policy decisions are formulated by its all powerful Politburo. The
party selects the members of the National Assembly, who are then ratified by voters from a single unopposed candidate list.

Vietnam provided health services and facilities that reach into the villages and rural areas, and the incidence of diseases such as poliomyelitis, typhoid, diphtheria, and tuberculosis has been reduced. Education is officially compulsory and free for nine years of schooling. The government claims to have eradicated illiteracy in the late 1970s. Higher education is provided by the University of Hanoi and other colleges. The press and all broadcasting facilities are operated and controlled by the government and the Communist Party. A number of daily, biweekly, and weekly newspapers are published, including *Nhan Dan* ‘The People’, which is the official party newspaper.

**Early History**

A distinct Vietnamese ethno-linguistic group began to emerge about 200 BC in the independent kingdom of Nam Viet, which was later annexed to China. In the 1st century AD the kingdom of Funan, which was greatly influenced by contact with India, occupied much of the Mekong delta area, but it disappeared in the 6th century. By 939, the north was finally freed of Chinese rule. The Vietnamese repulsed three Mongol invasions in the 13th century but were re-conquered by the Chinese in 1407, after which a national resistance movement finally drove the Chinese out in 1428. Under the Le dynasty, a bureaucratic government was established in the Chinese style, and the borders of Vietnam were gradually pushed southward. However, by 1757 the country had been divided into two parts. It was not reunited in 1802, by the general Nguyen Anh, who became the emperor Gia Long.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Vietnam was gradually conquered by the French, who controlled it as a colony (1883–1939) and then as a possession (1939–45). In 1945 communist and other nationalists under Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam’s independence. For seven years the French opposed independence and Ho Chi Minh led guerrilla warfare against the French in the First Indochina War, which ended in a Vietnamese victory at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954. An agreement was signed at Geneva on July 21, 1954,
providing for a temporary division of the country, at latitude 17°N, between a communist-led and Soviet supported northern Vietnam (Figure 2) and a US supported southern half (Figure 3). The activities of North Vietnamese guerrillas and procommunist rebels in South Vietnam led to US intervention and the Second Indochina War, or Vietnam War (1955–75), which caused great destruction and loss of life. A cease fire agreement was signed in 1973, and US troops were withdrawn.

Figure 2. North Vietnam

Source: Based on the map available at
www.adventurevacationtrip.com/photos/200605/vietnam
Figure 3. South Vietnam

Source: Based on the map available at www.rivervet.com/mapprovinces.htm
The civil war soon resumed, however, and in 1975 North Vietnam launched a full scale invasion of South Vietnam that resulted in the collapse of the South Vietnamese government and its replacement by a regime dominated by the communists. On July 2, 1976, the two Vietnams were united as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

**Recent History**

The declaration of the present Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976 marked the unification of the country, which had previously existed as North and South Vietnam and had been in a state of war since the year 1954 until reunification. Vietnam was also an example of reunification like Germany and Yemen, but the circumstances and conditions leading to the reunification of Vietnam were much different from the other ones. Vietnam was not reunified as a result of the end of the Cold War politics; instead it was reunified after gaining victory in the Vietnam War. In this sense, the case of Vietnam was very much peculiar. Likewise its reunification, the geopolitics and geoeconomics variables involved in its nation-building had also been different from others. Since its reunification, Vietnam had seen a new era of peace, unification and national construction. But the reunification of the country did not bring full peace. It was, in effect, a take over of the defeated South Vietnam by the victorious North Vietnam. It had also involved forced transformations of the socio-economic and political sectors of South Vietnam.

The post War Vietnam was busy in its nation-building. The geopolitics and geoeconomic environment had significant impact on its nation-building. In the same year of its reunification in 1976, it joined the IMF and the World Bank and also started taking interests in foreign aid and investment for its development. In the early years of its reunification, Vietnam was much in trouble. It could not be admitted to the UN until 1977, due to its worsened relations with US. In 1978 it had became a full member of the erstwhile Soviet Trading Bloc, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

During the same period a new phase of economic transformation began, which led to the abolition of private trading and street markets in the South and the unification of
currencies. Initially Vietnam was dependent on the former USSR for its development and strategic concerns. Its relations with China were also not pleasant. China was the only major power in the region and Vietnam was an obstacle for China in the further expansion of its power in the 'great power-free zone' in its neighbourhood (Vuving 2006: 805). China was not satisfied with Vietnam’s treatment of overseas Chinese residents there and its orientation towards Moscow, because of its geostrategic considerations. In the year 1979, they ushered in a short but hostile border war, after Vietnam’s attack on Cambodia in 1978, which deteriorated its relations with USSR, China and the Western world, which were resolved later. Its relations with US could only be normalized as late as in 1995, and in the same year it became a member of ASEAN. Vietnam was accepted into WTO on November 7, 2006.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a single party (Communist Party of Vietnam) state. A new state constitution was approved in April 1992, as a revised version of the 1980 constitution, which had replaced the first constitution of Democratic Republic of Vietnam, adopted in 1959. Even the national flag of the country has been also changed many times until its reunification. The central role of the Communist Party was reasserted in all organs of government, politics and society. Only political organizations affiliated with or endorsed by the Communist Party were permitted to contest elections. The President of Vietnam is the Head of State and the nominal Commander in Chief of the military of Vietnam, chairing the Council on National Defence and Security. The National Assembly of Vietnam is the unicameral legislature of government. It is superior to both the executive and judicial branches. All members of the council of ministers are derived from the National Assembly. The Supreme People’s Court of Vietnam, which is the highest Court of Appeal in the nation, is also answerable to the National Assembly. Beneath the Supreme People’s Court stands the provincial municipal courts and the local courts. Military courts are also a powerful branch of the judiciary with special jurisdiction in matters of national security. All organs of Vietnam’s government are largely controlled by the Communist Party.
The Vietnam People's Army (VPA) is the official name for the three military services of Vietnam, which is organized on the lines of China's People's Liberation Army. Through Vietnam's recent history, the VPA has actively been involved in Vietnam's workforce to develop the economy of Vietnam, in order to coordinate national defence and the economy. The VPA is involved in areas such as industry, agriculture, forestry, fishery and telecommunications.

At the 6th Congress of the Communist Party in 1986, the Doi Moi (reform) policy was launched with the focus on economic reform. This marked an important milestone in the new stage of development of the Vietnam. The Doi Moi policy was consistently reaffirmed throughout the later Party Congresses. With the implementation of four five-year socio-economic development plans, Vietnam, from a food importing country, had become the second largest rice exporter in the world. The economy attained high growth rate in the late 20th century and the early years of the 21st century, health sector attained required success. Significant changes in poverty reduction were also recorded; people's lives had significantly improved; basic education was improved; development of formal social security systems and community organizations; social policy received greater attention, the legal system had become increasingly complete and social management based on the rule of law had put into place.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF REUNIFICATION

GERMANY

Germany is situated in central Europe, covering an area about 357,021 square kilometers stretching from the Alps to the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. It has the second largest population in Europe and stands at seventh position in terms of area. It shares borders with nine European countries due to its central locality. It shares borders with Denmark in the north, Poland and Czech Republic in east, Austria and Switzerland in the south and France in southwest and Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands in the west. Germany
has a temperate and marine type of climate with cool and wet seasons throughout the year (Kitchen 2006).

Germany is a very ancient country dated back with the establishment of the nation from Ancient Roman period to the 8th century and continued until the 1806 AD. Earlier it had a vast area under its domination but the present Germany is very much different to the previous one. The history of Germany is divided in several sub headings and phases like, the German Confederation (1815-1866), the German empire (1871-1918), and the Weimer Republic (1919-1933). After that the period of Nazi Germany began up to the year 1945.

After the failure of efforts to establish a unified Germany, the US, British and French zones were integrated in 1948. A provisional constitution was formed in May 1949 for all three zones and federal elections took place in August. A new German state, i.e. Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was formed in three western zones in September 1949. The Eastern Germany (Soviet Occupied) declared itself the German democratic Republic (GDR), with the Soviet zone of Berlin as its capital. The remaining portion became an open enclave for FRG within the GDR's territory.

Germans frequently referred to 1945 as the Stunde Null (zero hour) to describe the near-total collapse of their country, as it left them with miser conditions and sufferings. At the Potsdam Conference, Germany was divided into four military occupation zones by the Allies (Kitchen 2006: 316). The three western zones formed the Federal Republic of Germany (commonly known as West Germany), while part of the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic (commonly known as East Germany), both founded in 1949. West Germany was established as a liberal democratic republic while East Germany became a Communist State under the influence of the Soviet Union. Also in Potsdam, the allies agreed that the provinces east of the Oder and Neisse rivers were transferred to Poland and Russia. The agreement also set forth the abolition of Prussia and the repatriation of Germans living in those territories and formalized the German exodus from Eastern Europe. Evans (1997) discussed the process of the expulsion,
millions of these German expellees from the lost pre-1945 German east Provinces died and many suffered from exhaustion and dehydration.

**East Germany**

The economic and political structure of the two divided German states was in contrast. The GDR had become as a socialist state influenced by the Soviet System. Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED i.e Socialist Unity Party of Germany) was the controller of political system. The SED party was formed in April 1946 with the merging of Communist Party of Germany (CPG) and the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands [(SPD: Social Democratic Party of Germany)]

In the immediate post war years, the German population lived on near starvation levels and the Allied economic policy was one of de-industrialisation, in order to preclude any future German war-making capability. US policy began to change at the end of 1946 and by mid 1947, after lobbying by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Generals Clay and Marshall, the Truman administration finally realized that economic recovery in Europe could not go forward without the reconstruction of the German industrial base on which it had previously had been dependent (Figure 4). In July, Truman rescinded on “national security grounds”, which had directed the US forces of occupation in Germany to “take no steps looking toward the economic rehabilitation of Germany”. It was replaced by JCS 1979, which instead stressed that an orderly, prosperous Europe required the economic contributions of a stable and productive Germany (Evans 1997).

The economy of East Germany was heavily suffered by the displacement of food items, livestock, industrial goods and machinery to the erstwhile USSR from East Germany. This resulted into the outbreak of uprisings and demonstrations in the year 1953, which were suppressed by Russian forces. Apart from this, the increasing number of people moving from GDR to FRG due to the failure of GDR in establishing economic stabilization, had became a serious problem during 1949-61, which resulted in the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961.
Figure 4. East Germany

Source: Based on the map available at www.myweb.unomaha.edu/-dselling/image.htm
Walter Ulbricht was appointed as the Secretary General of SED in 1950. He was succeeded by Erich Honecker as the first Secretary in May 1971 and Ulbricht remained at the post of Chairman of the Council of State, which he was holding since 1960 until his death in 1973. After him, Willy Stoph was the next Chairman, but he was replaced by Honecker in 1976. Honecker was strict in matters of relations with FRG. He strongly opposed the reforms, which began in Russia and Eastern European countries by mid 1980s (Stent 1998).

West Germany

In the elections of 1949, Christian Democratic Union of Germany [(CDU) Christian Social union] gained victory along with the Christlich Soziale union [(CSU) Christian Social Union]. Dr Konrad Adenauer was elected as the Federal chancellor by the Federal Assembly and Theodor Heuss was the first President. During his Chancellorship (1949-63), FRG gained a marked success in rebuilding itself and became one of the dynamic states of Europe (Figure 5). The Paris Agreement of 1954, gave the full sovereign status to FRG and it was also granted the NATO membership.

West Germany eventually came to enjoy prolonged economic growth beginning in the early 1950s. Its economic success could be 'ascribed largely due to the strong desire of people to build a new society from the ruins of Second World War' (Radke 1995: 11). The recovery occurred largely because of the previously forbidden currency reform of June 1948 and to a minor degree by US assistance through Marshall Plan loans. West Germany joined NATO in 1955 (Chopra 1992: 3) and was a founding member of the European Economic Community in 1958. Across the border, East Germany soon became the richest, most advanced country in the Warsaw Pact, but many of its citizens looked to the West for political freedoms and economic prosperity.

The period of 1966-69 witnessed the coalition of CDU/CSU with SPD, under the Chancellorship of Dr. Kurt Keisinger, but it ended with the general elections of 1969. The new form of coalition was of SPD with Free Democratic Party (FDP), with Willy
Figure 5. West Germany

Source: Based on the map available at www.maps-of-germany.co.uk/map-of-west-germany.htm
Brandt, as the Chancellor. Brandt resigned in 1974, when his personal assistant was found guilty of having secret ties with GDR. He was then succeeded by Helmut Schmidt of SPD, by that time the economic and political conditions had became worse due to the increasing mutual differences among coalition members and decreasing popularity of the government. Following to this, in the 1976 general elections, SPD lost its status of largest party while SPD-FDP coalition retained the situation.

The same coalition formed the government in general election of 1980, but it lasted for two years only, because of the lack of coordination and diverse interests of the party members. One month later, a new coalition of FDP with CDU/CSU was formed, with Helmut Kohl as the Chancellor. This coalition worked again in 1987, when the Chancellorship was repeated under Kohl.

FRG remained isolated from the Eastern Europe for the period of 1949-69 as it was not ready to recognize GDR, as an independent state. Willy Brandt adopted a policy (Ostpolitik), to establish relations with Eastern Europe and GDR particularly. In 1970, formed discussions were held between FRG and GDR for the first time, which led to the significant rise in the bilateral relation between FRG and East Europe. In 1971, FRG and GDR signed an agreement allowing West Germans to visit GDR. Another important treaty was signed in December 1972, between two German states with the aim to settle disputes and to respect each others independence. This treaty allowed FRG and GDR to join UN in September 1973.

The relations of two German states deteriorated once again in December 1983, with the deployment of US missiles in FGR and the subsequent discovery of sites of Soviet missiles in GDR. The 1989 political incidents in GDR affected the relations of German states. In 1989, thousands of GDR citizens emigrated to FRG via Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. Neuss (1997: 79) highlighted that the situation was aggravated more with the removal of exit visa to permit GDR citizens to leave Hungary.
There was a situation of dissent in GDR, led by the New Forum, an independent action group promoting the democratic reforms, justice and environmental issues. In October 1989, anti-government protests were rising in East Berlin and other major cities (Kocka 1994: 174-75). When the situation went out of control, Honecker resigned from the post of General Secretary of SED, Chairman of Council of State and Chairman of National Defence Council, on the grounds of poor health conditions. He was succeeded by Egon Krenz. He introduced many policies and reforms for the NF members, liberty to media and offered pardon to the people detained for illegal emigration. But, it failed to reconcile the demonstrators and demands of dissents. Subsequently, the whole body of GDR council of Ministers resigned, followed by the SED politburo resignation. On November 9, 1989 restrictions on foreign travel for GDR citizens were ended and all border crossings to FRG were opened (Neuss 1997: 79).

Dr Hans Madrow was appointed as the Chairman of Council of Ministers. The new government was determined to implement political and economic reforms extensively and to hold free elections in 1990. In December 1989, the GDR’s legislature voted against the provisions of Constitution that protected the SED’s status of the single ruling party. The demonstrations were continuously taking place, stirred up by revelations of corruption and abuse of power by the state security service. An inquiry commission was set up for the investigation and former senior officials like, Stoph and Honecker were expelled from the SED and kept under house arrest. Later on, the entire membership of SED politburo and Central Committee was abolished.

All party meeting was held in December 1989, and January 1990, in GDR and a new body known as Government of National Responsibility was formed to hold office till further elections. On 18 March, 1990, first free elections of GDR were held and a coalition government was formed in April 1990, under the leadership of Lothar de Maiziere.
Reunification of Germany

Relations between the two post war German states remained icy until the West German Chancellor Willy Brandt launched a highly controversial rapprochement with the East European communist states in the 1970s, culminating in the Warschauer Kniefall on December 7, 1970. Although anxious to relieve serious hardships for divided families and to reduce friction, West Germany under Brandt’s was intent on holding to its concept of “two German states in one German nation” (Cooke 2005: 1-3). Relations improved and in September 1973, East Germany and West Germany were admitted to the United Nations (Figure 6).

During the summer of 1989, rapid changes took place in East Germany, which ultimately led to German Unification. Growing numbers of East Germans emigrated to West Germany via Hungary after Hungary’s reformist government opened its borders. Thousands of East Germans also tried to reach the West by staging sit-ins at West German diplomatic facilities in other East European capitals. The exodus generated demands within East Germany for political change, and mass demonstrations in several cities continued to grow.

Faced with civil unrest, East German leader Erich Honecker was forced to resign in October and on 9 November, East German authorities unexpectedly allowed East German citizens to enter West Berlin and West Germany. Kocka (1994: 175) describes the situation that hundreds of thousands of people took advantage of the opportunity; new crossing points were opened in the Berlin Wall and along the border with West Germany.

In February 1990, in response to the growing demand and support for the reunification of Germany, Modrow advocated the establishment of unified Germany (Starkman 2006). In May, the FRG and GDR legislatures approved the Treaty establishing a monetary, economic and Social Union, with effect from 1 July, 1990. Finally on 31 August, 1990 the Treaty of the establishment of German Unity was signed in East Germany (Kocka

31
Figure 6. Germany

Source: Based on the map available at www.map-of-germany.org/about.htm
1994: 179), by the two German Government Representatives that came into force on 3 October, 1990. The reunification of Germany also brought to light civil discontent concerning the racial makeup of Germany.

**Post Reunification Germany**

The problem of German unification was solved on 3rd October, 1990 on the “Day of German Unity”, (Kitchen 2006: 396) brought cheers to the majority of faces but it also brought the challenges and problems ahead. Like Vietnam, Germany was also going to deal with some problems similar with the examples of reunification. Dr Kohl was re-elected as the Federal Chancellor in January 1991. In the same month the German authorities dismissed the task of arresting and sentencing Honecker for the charges on corruption, killings and abuse of power, due to his poor health conditions. Germany renounced the possession of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, as per the charter of “Two-Plus-Four-Treaty” (Winkler 1994: 108; Neuss 1997: 80) and it was also agreed to delimit its forces. Reunified Germany signed many treaties with its neighbours like Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The reunification ‘triggered a far reaching economic turn around in East Germany’ (Herjog 1998:79-91). Unemployment was a critical problem for the newly reunified Germany. The rate of unemployment was high in Eastern Germany, for which the market-oriented reforms and efforts of integrating its economy with GDR was responsible (Holscher and Stephan 1998: 28). The rate of unemployment funds were also decreasing day by day. ‘The 27.5 million employed and two million self-employed workers in Germany had to support their unproductive compatriots in the east’ (Kitchen 2006: 400).

The crime rates in East Germany were also increasing day by day. It was too difficult for the newly formed government to handle all of the situations (Winkler 1994: 121). Russia raised a demand of 36 thousand million marks to cover the costs of withdrawing from Germany. The “west was dominating the east politically but economically the East bled
the West white to the extent that it faced a sharp decline in the economy and services'’ (Kitchen 2006: 400).

The question of new capital was also remain unsolved, as many people wanted the capital in Bonn and the desiring ones for Berlin says that the two German states should come together in Berlin and rejected Bonn by stating that it was too far from the newly joined provinces (Kitchen 2006: 396). Numerous efforts had taken place and voting was also done but the capital was not moved from Bonn to Berlin before 1999.

There was also resentment on the grounds of the cost of reunification as it was borne unevenly. The gap between rich and poor was increasing. The problems were associated with the attitude of the foreign investors, eastern Germany was failing to get the required attention of FDI and aid, from the European Union Countries. The majority of Germans were also against the abandonment of German Mark by replacing Euro (Neuss 1997: 87; Smith 1994; Smith 1998: 166-67) on January 1, 2002.

YEMEN

The Republic of Yemen is situated in south of the Arabian Peninsula, sharing boundaries with Saudi Arabia in the north, Oman in the east, Gulf of Aden in the south and Red Sea in the west. Its geographical location is 15°00' N and 48°00' E (Figure 7). It has the total area of 527,970 square kilometres. It is situated at a strategically significant location; where lies the world’s most important shipping route (Despotovic 1990: 27; Philips 2008). The population of Yemen is 22,917,485 along with the literacy rate of 60.9% (UNDP 2009). Yemen has mostly desert type of climate: hot and humid along west coast, temperate in western mountains. Yemen is seasonally affected by monsoon conditions and extraordinarily hot and dry in east. It does not have any perennial river and has only 2.5 percent arable land (Fergany 2007: 10).

Yemen is one of the oldest centres of civilization in the world. Between 2300 BC and the sixth century AD, it was a part of the Sabaean, Awsanian, Minaean, Qatabanian,
Figure 7 Yemen
Source: http://www.geology.com/world/yemen-satellite-image.html
Hadhramawtian, Himyarite and some other kingdoms, which controlled the lucrative spice trade. It was known to the Ancient Romans as Arabia Felix ("Happy Arabia") because of the riches its trade generated. Augustus Caesar attempted to annex it, but he failed. The Ethiopian Kingdom of Aksum annexed it by around 520, and it was subsequently taken by the Sassanids Persians around 570.

North Yemen

In the 3rd century and again in the late sixth and early seventh century, many Sabaeans and Himyarite people migrated out of the land of Yemen following the destructions of the Ma'rib Dam and migrated to North Africa and northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. In the 7th century, Islamic caliphs began to exert control over the area.

After the Caliphate broke up, the former North Yemen came under control of Imams of various dynasties, who established a theocratic political structure that survived until modern times (Lahiri 1995: 10). Egyptian Sunni caliphs occupied much of North Yemen throughout the eleventh century (Figure 8). By the sixteenth century and again in the nineteenth century, North Yemen was part of the Ottoman Empire and during several periods its Imams exerted control over South Yemen.

North Yemen became independent of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, and came under control of the Imam Yahya, the leader of Zaydi community. In 1930s and 1940s the Imam Yahya Rule was opposed by the major part of the population (Lahiri 1995: 10-11). Finally, Yahya was assassinated in 1948, and forces stood against his feudal set up. After him Imam Ahmad, son of Yahya became the ruler until 1962. His rule witnessed the growing repression and hostility with the Britishers in the south. The period from 1958 to 1961, North Yemen was united with Egypt and Syria (Despotovic 1990: 27). After his death in 1962, his son Badr succeeded him but was deposed by the army, under the leadership of Colonel Abdallah al Sallal had created the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR). He created an eight member Revolutionary Command Council under his leadership.
Resultantly, civil war broke out between the Royalist forces (supported by Saudi Arabia) and Jordan against the newly formed Revolutionary Command Council (supported by
Egypt). In 1967, the Egyptian forces from the North Yemen, and Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) were recognized by Saudi Arabia in 1968 (Majed 2005: 13).

South Yemen

In 1839, the British occupied the port of Aden and established it as a colony in September of the same year. They also set up a zone of loose alliances (known as protectorates) around Aden to act as a protective buffer. By the year 1965, most of the tribal colonies under the protectorate and Aden colony joined together with the British and formed the federation of South Arabia. Small conflicts took place with the forces of Marxist national Liberation Front (NLF) and Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (Figure 9). By August 1967, NLF established its control over majority portions of South Yemen and the British federation was formally dissolved. British withdrew their forces and gave back Aden to Yemen due to extreme pressure of battles with the North and Egyptian allies. After the British withdrawal, this area became known as the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen.

There were conflicts between divided North and South Yemen by 1972. The Yemen Arab Republic was receiving aid from Saudi Arabia and the People’s Democratic. There were conflicts between divided North and South Yemen by 1972. The Yemen Arab Republic was receiving aid from Saudi Arabia and the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen from the erstwhile Soviet Union. At that time the Arab League broke the cease fire and both of the Yemens was agreed for unification (Despotovic 1990: 27), but there was state of unrest and conflict resulting into the assassination of the YAR president in 1978. After some time the constituent Assembly elected Colonel Ali Abdallah Salih as the president.

Subsequently, fighting started again in 1979, and in March 1979, the two Yemens signed an agreement favouring unification in Kuwait. The president of PDRY went into exile and Ali Nasir Muhammad became the new president on 1980. In the year 1986, Abdul
Figure 9. South Yemen

Source: Based on the map available at www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.

Fattah Ismail returned from exile and gained a senior position in Yemen Socialist party (YSP). This incident also invited the conflicts again between the supporters of Ali Nasir Muhammad and Abdul Fattah Ismail, which resulted in the death of Ismail and Haydar Abu Bakr al Battas became the new president of PDRY in 1986 (Braun 1992). In July 1988, Salih won the elections for the third time and became president of YAR.
Reunification

Both of Yemens were highly disturbed with the prevailing differences and continuous conflicts between them. The governments of YAR and PDRY, agreed on withdrawal of forces from the border. In May 1990, the divided Yemens agreed on a draft unity constitution, which was approved by the referendum in May 1991 (Day 2010: 4). Finally, the Republic of Yemen was established on May 22, 1990, (Braun 1992: 174) with the merger of North Yemen (the Yemen Arab Republic) and South Yemen (the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen).

Aftermath

Searight described that the early years were marked with the civil unrest and the worse economic condition in Yemen (Searight 1990: 10). In 1993, the general election took place and in the early post election period, one party was created by merging two former ruling parties (Day 2006: 122-24). Following this in August 1993, country’s security condition got worse with the voluntary exile of vice president al Bayadh. This resulted in spread of massive civil unrest, corruption and open political rivalry (World Bank 2002: 57). Efforts were taken by the members of all political parties in Jordan to resolve the crisis (Schwedler 2006: 60-67). Despite the measures, the country remained in the condition of unrest and instability; and the international efforts were also proved unsuccessful.

In 1994, leaders of former South Yemen and al Bayadh tried to form a new Democratic Republic of Yemen with Aden as the capital, but this effort was unsuccessful to get any international recognition. Soon after that, the civil war ended when the Salih’s forces captured the Aden. In October election took place in which Salih was re-elected and he brought new changes in domestic policy and amended the constitution (al-Mikhlafi 2005: 94-96). The important cabinets were allotted to the General People’s Congress (GPC; the party of Salih) and Yemeni Islah Party (YIP) members (Carapico 2007; al-Kamim 2005: 53).
However, civil war ended but it did not bring peace, order and stability in the condition of Yemen (Day 2006: 124-28). The currency was devalued, cost of fuel rose to the all time high level and improper supply of basic necessities like water and electricity were the most serious problems in Yemen (Carapico 2007: 168-69; Day 2010: 2). The differences arose between the YIP and GPC members regarding the economic reform policies, guided by the World Bank (Philips 2008: 80-82). In the 1997 election GPC achieved the majority and a new ministerial council was formed (Day 2006: 128). In September, 1999, Salih was elected to a five year term by outstanding majority. At the same time its dispute with Eritrea over the sovereignty on the Hanish Islands was awarded to Yemen by an International Panel. This was the period when Yemen witnessed some of its problem's resolution. Yemen signed a Treaty of Jeddah with Saudi Arabia, which solved the dispute between Yemen and Saudi Arabia in June 2000. The constitutional amendments were introduced in 2000 by president Salih and in the elections of 2006, he was re-elected. In 2007, extensive political reforms were also introduced.

Ideologically, North and South Yemen were different but they shared certain things in common: poor and under-developed economies. The reunification did not come with happiness rather it also brought new challenges. During the Gulf War (1990-91), Yemen supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait by side lining Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, both had supported Yemen financially in its nation-building. Due to its support to Iraq in Gulf War, the economy of Yemen suffered hardships (Mashhur 2005: 27). It brought the expulsion of over one million workers from Saudi Arabia and reduction in economic assistance from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which were not resumed until the year 2000. US also suspended its economic support to Yemen on those particular grounds. It was a tough time for the newly reunified country to implement its nation-building measures effectively in lack of proper economic and technical support. The civil war already deteriorated the economic system of Yemen, followed by the reduction in foreign aid, which proved very difficult for a country heavily dependent on the foreign aid (Chase 2003: 225). Yemen was keen to get foreign aid to build up its economy and to achieve growth, in terms of over all development (Fergany 2007: 15-16). In 1997, IMF approved two programs for economic growth and poverty reduction.
In the following years, the implementation programs did not achieve the required success which resulted in the partial approval of aid from the international donors. Yemen as a member of Arab fund for Economic and Social development since 1974, had contributed to the socio-economic development programs in the Arab states through aid and grants. In March 2004, Arab League contributed US$ 136 million as an aid for infrastructure development programs in Yemen.

In 2005, World Bank announced the extension of the economic support program with the condition that if Yemen proved unsuccessful in implementing the economic and growth reforms, it would be resulted in the reduction of financial assistance. In December 2005, Japan declared to write off US$ 17 million of the US$ 264 Yemen owes. Germany also declared increase in the economic aid for the development in education and water sanitation programs. In November 2006, a meeting was held in London headed by World Bank and Yemen government, with an aim to provide sufficient aid to Yemen in order to qualify for future Gulf Cooperation council (GCC) membership.

Yemen's GDP in 2006 was estimated to be US$ 19 billion and PDP per capita was estimated to be only US$ 880-US$ 904 (Carapico 2007; UNDP 2009). In May 2006, World Bank adopted an assistance strategy for Yemen to provide US$ 400 million in International Development Association (IDA) credits for the period of Financial Year (FY) 2006 to 2009. United Kingdom (UK) announced in November 2006, the 400 percent increase in its aid to Yemen.

In 2007, the growth rate was 2.8-3.6, which decreased from 3.2-4.0 percent in 2006 and it was also estimated that the GDP for 2008 would also remain the same without any sign of further growth. The human development rose from a HDI of 0.49 in 1995 to 0.58 in 2007 (UNDP 2009). The low rate of oil production also contributed to the decreased growth rate. The exporting capacities were also compromised along with the increasing demand for the imports, which handicapped the GDP to achieve required growth rate (Schmitz 2007: 31). In the words of Schmitz, Yemeni land was transforming itself into a heaven for imported goods.
Yemen's other supporters also provided it a total of US$5 million in the form of grants and loans for the period of 2007 to 2010, for the implementation of the reform programs highlighted in the Yemen’s five year (2006-2010): Development Plan for Poverty reduction (DPPR). In 2007 United Arab Emirates (UAE) also increased its aid from US$ 500 to US$ 650 million. Yemen has healthy trade and bilateral relations with China. In June 2008, Chinese Council for the Promotion of International Trade and Yemeni General Investment Authority jointly announced to promote the pre-existing trade and investment relations between them (Schmitz 2007: 34-38). In the meeting, China announced the US$ 12 million grant to the development projects of Yemen.

The condition in Yemen was poor, because of low economic growth, high population, lack of basic necessities and inability to contain security threats. The problem of improper utilization of natural resources was also posing serious concerns for Yemeni government (Mahdi, Wurth and Lackner 2007: xxiii). The future dimensions of growth and success of nation-building was often modified by the ongoing conflicts, in any country. Hashem (2007) and Philips (2008: 63) held a view that apart of the foreign aid Yemen remained as one of the poorest countries in the world with the poverty rate of nearly 45 percent.

The nation-building processes in reunified countries were largely shaped by the geopolitical reasons. All three examples had earned more or less similar experiences. It is necessary to discuss the geopolitical traditions and settings of the reunified countries in relation to the contemporary world geopolitical order. The problems, which are associated with the reunification and its relationship with geopolitical settings has to be analyzed in order to provide a framework for the proper functioning of the system further.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Nation-building in Reunified Countries

Nation-building in reunified countries has not been an easy task to perform. There could be more problems than opportunities in reunified countries in the context of nation-
building (Kocka 1994: 173). The most common problems are the winners and losers situation, persistent dissimilarities and question of borderland to centrality (Corson and Minghi 1994: 125). Along with these problems the process of nation-building in reunified countries can be studied (Corson and Minghi). The problems of discrepancies between the former parts of a reunified country is an inseparable reason for the conflict and crisis in a newly reunified country which result in improper handling and management of the nation-building processes of the newly reunified country (Winkler 1994: 117). According to Winkler, the psychological unification would be much more difficult than the physical one. Winkler 1994: 123 argue that the building of a nation could be possible only after the mutual understanding of a nation by its people. The population of a territory which consider them collectively as a nation will result in a good future for all those involved: the population of a state territory and its government (Derichs 2004: 42-43).

A reunified country can play a constructive role in its region and in the world if it finds constructive solutions for its problems (Winkler 1994: 125). According to some scholars unity is considered as a distant aim which could not be accomplished rapidly (Neuss 1997: 79). The post reunification era in the reunified countries is often dictated by geopolitical considerations (Neuss 1997: 81). It is true in the case of reunification of Vietnam, as its situation in the Southeast Asia is also important from the geostrategic point of view. The geostrategic location of a country alters the nation-building efforts from neighbouring countries and other foreign powers. Neuss has tried to elaborate the real situation of a country in its post reunification phase. He discusses the elements of reunification in relation to nation-building and international politics, resources and foreign policy. The role of political parties has a very important role in the psychological integration of a reunified country (Kocka 1994: 178-180).

Braun (1992) discusses that the international power always plays a decisive role in the reunification of a divided nation. According to Despotovic (1990), the intensive political dialogue between the superpowers, easing tension worldwide and the discovery of new developed alternatives in some quarters of the globe had their effect in reviving the idea of reunification of some countries like Yemen and Germany. Braun (1992) has also
evaluated the role of political parties, political system, decision making research and universities in achieving the goal of nation-building in a reunified country. Pfaff-Czarnecka (2005), says that the political institutions influences the logic and effectiveness of a democratic politics. Braun discusses the steps and agreements towards the Yemeni reunification. There have also been voices against the reunification of Yemen (Braun 1992: 177).

Lahiri (1995) in his article talks about the various steps that have been taken in relation to the reunification of Yemen along with its development initiatives. Despotovic (1990) says that in the post reunification era, the countries are not only supposed to enjoy the major natural resources but also have to deal with the growing attention of big powers towards it. Natural resources have an important role in nation-building operations, but when the geopolitics is involved, a country which is starving for its development, has to face more serious external problems than internal ones. Chopra (1992) argues that the changing political order in a region affects the outcomes of reunification and nation-building. While discussing reunification, Searight (1990) also focuses on the targets of nation-building in the post reunification phase. The socio-political and religious divisions have to be sorted out in terms of achieving the desired success in nation-building. Searight also throws some light on the newly changed geopolitical conditions of Yemen in relation to its nation-building processes.

Though the above mentioned literature deals with the issues of reunification and nation-building, it was also useful for the study. The analysis of the reunified countries was of immense help for the study. However, there are some limitations in the above mentioned literatures, for instance, hardly any of them deals with the geopolitical perspectives of nation-building, in relation to the reunified countries. Furthermore, the publications are not so recent that they can cover the post cold war period. The study will therefore try to fill up these gaps and will attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis on the topic.
Nation-building and Geopolitics

In his article O'Tuathail (1994) discusses about the geopolitics of development and nation-building in respect of the International Organizations. He describes ‘nation-building’ as a means to graduate societies to the status of mature democracies. He also presents a brief but clear account of the popular geopolitics of development. Corson and Minghi (1994) presents an in depth analysis of reunification of partitioned states and their consequences. As the authors consider their work as an initial attempt to bring the clear understanding of the reunification in the divided societies, they propose three hypotheses: a winners and losers hypothesis, a persistent dissimilarities hypothesis and a borderland to centrality hypothesis. The authors throw light on the political geographic concerns in relation to the reunification processes, while testing their hypotheses in the cases of Germany and Vietnam. The authors sought to bring more structured analysis to the process of partition and reunification in relation to the nation-building of the reunified countries.

Reunification is a one time event, as well as a process, which has to be completed in various phases or stages. There are various stages or transition phases of state formation Painter (1995). He also presents an evaluation of the nature and effects of imperialism and post-colonialism in relation to the geographical factors. He further discusses the power relations at international level since the Second World War. Owen (2002) says that the geopolitics has always been involved in case of foreign involvement in the nation-building. He found that all ‘big’ countries do it and especially the ‘great powers’, which are more likely to have the means to undertake such projects. He argues that a ‘great power’ is prone to regard unrest abroad as either a threat to its security or as an opportunity to extend its influence. In either case, it will be tempted to recreate target states in its own image. Berger (2006) analyzes the idea and practice of nation-building in the context of decolonization, the universalisation of the nation-state system, the geopolitics of the rise and fall of the Cold War and the transformation of the global political economy between the 1950’s and the 1990’s. He also discusses the charm of being involved or undertaking of the projects of nation-building by great powers. The
edited volume by Agnew (1998) is a detailed description of the politics, geography and political geography and other related concepts. The book discusses about the concepts of power, territory, boundaries, place and spatial analysis in political geography. It also deals with the nation-building, states and identities.

Hopp and Kloke-Lesch (2005) says that the external support in nation-building process should follow some principles so that the security and sovereignty of a country would not be disturbed. van Edig (2004) presents an interesting account of the nation-building in relation to the strategy for regional stabilisation and conflict prevention. He highlights the objectives, contents and players involved in the regional stabilisation and conflict prevention. Luttwak (1993) describes the logic of geoeconomics; economic regionalism as a defensive strategy in an increasingly competitive post Cold War environment. In terms of political-economic geography, the national security is assured through economic diplomacy, competitiveness and trade wars. According to Carranza (2003), states do behave as unitary actors in regional integration.

The literature on this theme is a little short in terms of the quantity but it is of immense value in analyzing the nation-building process in relation to geopolitics. All the works mentioned above has dealt with the various aspects of nation-building and geopolitics. But, the missing link is the geopolitical connection to the nation-building in real terms. The present study seeks to incorporate the overlooked areas in the literature.

Harrie and Hoa (1997) have presented an overview of the economic transformation of the Vietnam and their outcomes. The authors have tried to provide an outline of the economic reforms in post war period in relation to the policy of doi moi under which Vietnam has pursued a variety of reforms in the context of economic growth, foreign direct investment sector-wise growth rate and its strategy for the economic growth. The authors have also presented a framework for the Vietnam’s prospect up to 2000. They have presented a brief summery of the economic reforms of Vietnam. Jefferies (2001) has attempted to cover the popular themes of the economic development of reunified Vietnam. He has discussed the determinant factors in the economic development of
Vietnam, like human rights decision making, and the role of China as a regional power. Morley and Nishihara also focused upon the role of regional and international actors in nation-building of Vietnam till 1996.

This study has also dealt with the transitional politics, economic developments in relation to the foreign aid donors like China, US, Russia and Japan. They have also analyzed the relations of the countries of Indo-Chinese peninsula and the effect of the relationship in each other. Neighbour-hood has also played an important role in the nation-building processes of Vietnam. Frost (1993) has discussed the role and nature of cooperation of external actors in relation to Vietnam. He has also presented and a background of the Vietnam’s international relations in the post reunification period. The role of the aid providing countries and organization has also been analyzed. Duiker (1995) has analyzed the socio-economic and political development in reunified Vietnam. He has also analyzed the role of reforms in its socio-cultural sectors in relation to the contemporary global context.

The issues of politics and governance since the Vietnamese reunification were also discussed and prospects for the further development in reunified Vietnam. The authors have presented a brief introduction of the historical background of Vietnam and the issues of ideological differences between Vietnam and the western world. Arkadie and Mallon (2004) have analysed the Vietnam’s experiences of the nation-building processes, particularly in the context of policies related to the central planning and doi moi. The role SOEs in the economic development areas has been discussed in relation to the performance of economic measures. Their work has also presented an overview of the poverty related matters and the policies associated with it. The edited volume of Tun Nam and Pham (2003) is a good work on the initial issues of the reunified Vietnam. The editors have presented the varied matters of FDI, agriculture, administrative reforms, economic integration and reforms in relation to the nation-building processes in Vietnam.

The role of investment and growth rate has been discussed. The phenomenon of north-south integration in term of economy was dependent on the nature of foreign aid and
assistance and their impact on the domestic reform policies have also been examined. Balme and Sidel (2007) have analyzed the Vietnamese integration into the world economy. The role of foreign policy and the regional political settings have also been discussed. The book has also examined the rule of law and administration in Vietnam. The issues of border disputes and their impact on the regional cooperation have also been discussed.

The available literature on the social, economic and political situation of Vietnam along with related issues have proved beneficial for the present study, but the geopolitical aspect of the nation-building process in Vietnam had to be examined. Thus, the present study tends to present an understanding of geopolitical settings and their impact on the nation-building processes of Vietnam.

The Case of Reunified Vietnam

Nation-building in reunified Vietnam has attracted much attention from scholars worldwide. There are some works which deal with the Vietnam's nation-building in its post-reunification era. Abuza (2001) focuses on the political aspects of the Vietnam which ranges from the political parties, government policies and democratization of the Vietnam. He presented an account of the confrontations of the dissidents and the state and their impact on the Vietnamese political system. Abuza considers the 'dissidents' as the agents of change in Vietnam (Abuza 2001: 9-10). The differences also had their roots between the Vietnamese government and the society (Pierre 2000). The basic one is about the strengthening of the economic sector of the country as both the people and government of Vietnam are keen to do so, but the differences occur in their ideas and considerations. Pierre (2000) notices the clear distinction between the older and younger generations of Vietnam in relation of the social systems, economic reforms, and political considerations.

Success in the nation-building processes of a country can be altered by its geopolitical location. The problems may arise in the matter of national security, foreign policy and
border disputes. Amer and Thao (2005) focus on the Vietnam’s border disputes (territorial as well as maritime boundary disputes), the way they have been managed and the future prospects. The main emphasis of their article is to point out the effects of border disputes on the sovereignty and the Vietnam’s capacity in exercising its sovereignty and regional integration (Amer and Thao 2005: 439-443). The issue of National Security is an important factor in nation-building. The article of Singh (1999) is based on the national security issues and perspectives of Vietnam. He recognizes the inter-connection between economic development and national security of Vietnam (Singh 1999: 1481-1483) and also suggests some prospects for the several economic problems of Vietnam. He also discusses about the foreign policy and relations of Vietnam with China and Russia in relation to its political developments (Singh 1999: 1487-1488).

The neighbours of a developing country play an important role in its nation-building and other related matters. Vuving (2006) talks about the Vietnam’s foreign policy towards china. China is the only major power in the region and Vietnam is an obstacle for China in the further expansion of its power in the ‘great power-free zone’ in its neighbourhood (Vuving 2006: 805). He discusses about the security concerns of Vietnam in relation to China and presents a brief description of the evolution of Vietnam’s China Policy, its strategic considerations and major determinants (Vuving 2006: 821-822). (Acharya 2001: 4-5) examines the Southeast Asia and the role of ASEAN in the challenging circumstances of post Cold War era in Southeast Asia. He considers ASEAN as one of the most successful example of regional cooperation. His work also deals with some key issues of territorial disputes of Vietnam with its Neighbours, domestic instability and assessment of the intra-regional relations and ASEAN’s way of conflict management (Acharya 2001: 128-136).

The above mentioned literatures have broadly dealt with the political aspect of nation-building in reunified Vietnam. The information will be of great help to analyze the role of political parties, political system and political institutions in the nation-building of reunified Vietnam. But there are some limitations in it such as; it has not highlighted the
link between the geopolitics and national security and foreign policy. The present research will therefore add the ignored areas of the above mentioned literature.

Chetty (1997) illustrates the developments in Vietnam and the process of modernization. He also discusses Foreign Relations, Investment, economic developments and agricultural developments in Vietnam. The development can be conceptualized in two ways. The first is a narrow definition, where development is defined as the upward evolution of the economy reflected by basic indicators such as GDP per capita and the industry’s proportion in the economy. From this perspective, the development gap is mainly the disparities in terms of wealth and levels of industrial development between and among countries. Yet, such a definition only focuses on the economic aspects of development while failing to reflect its multi-dimensional nature. The broad definition viewed development as a multi stage process where growth occurs in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The notion of development is not only limited to economic, but also non-economic fields.

One important work on the economic reforms in reunified Vietnam is of Quinne-Judge (2006). Her article deals with the mistakes, which were committed by Vietnam in its process of nation-building. There were some similarities of reforms in the post war Vietnam and China (Quinne-Judge 2006). Whatever differences China and Vietnam may have, they have in common a shared mistrust of U.S. global power and the fact that they are some of the governments remaining communist states seeking to reform their economics along market lines without losing political control (Gainsborough 2002: 705).

Quinne-Judge (2006: 289) is quite satisfied with success achieved in the economic matters but on the other hand, also concerned about the uncertainty of futuristic political reforms in Vietnam. In his article Thayumanavan (2001), tries to evaluate the role of Communist Party of Vietnam in the management of state affairs and in the strategy development for its future. It discusses the Party’s role in Vietnam’s transitional process and its success (Thayumanavan 2001: 3518-20). He interprets the growing GDP of Vietnam and its Per

There are some other arguments explaining the Vietnamese policies of Foreign Direct investment and regional development in relation to ASEAN. Mirza and Giround (2004), shows the success of Vietnam in achieving its goal becoming a major FDI recipient. The authors also discuss the methodologies to gain that status. Foreign direct investment in Vietnam has played a significant role in its regional development, industrialisation process, poverty alleviation and many other reforms. Ritu Sharma (1999) argues that the policy of ‘Liberalisation’ is the key to success in Vietnam. She analyzes the role of various agencies and organizations like World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations, Asian Development Bank, ASEAN, etc. for the development and reconstruction of Vietnam. She also discusses about the process of economic liberalization, industrial and agricultural production and more importantly the growth in Gross Domestic Product. The study also demonstrates the monopolistic role of Communist Party of Vietnam and the impact of foreign culture and social systems too (Sharma 1999: 102-103).

These works were also useful for the present study but they does not provide a clear understanding of geopolitics involved in foreign participation and regional cooperation in the nation-building of reunified Vietnam. Geopolitical dimensions also need to pay attention at par with the economic dimensions. The present study would focus on the overlooked areas in the study of nation-building of reunified Vietnam.

Malaney’s book (2002) is about the revolutionary socio-cultural changes, which took place in the state of Vietnam. He also presents an account of some revolutions and cultural reforms, which achieved limited success in comparison to others. Malaney (2002) has thrown a considerable light on the variations in the implementation and the response of the society, in regard of the cultural reform policies. In his another article, Malaney (1997) argues that the culture, Virtues and political transformations are more prominent in the contemporary Northern Vietnam. Drummond and Thomas (2003) present a compilation of articles on the
various cultural aspects of the Vietnamese society. It begins with a background to the recent changes in Vietnam and their effects on the social practices.

There is a clear distinction between the popular culture of Vietnam and the recent transformation in it. Duncan’s (2004) work is a comprehensive overview of rapidly changing Vietnam, dealing its nation-building with a special coverage on its society. It covers most of the aspects of Contemporary Vietnam such as recent history, political economy, reform practices, and developments in the education sector, health, poverty, labour market, Foreign Direct Investment and Foreign policy. It also throws light on the changes of Foreign policy of Vietnam at various stages of development and the interrelationship of Vietnam and ASEAN. It also illustrates the structure of democracy in Vietnam. It also highlights the role of local associations working on the health sector, HIV/AIDS and mass education reforms. In his article Gainsborough (2002) tried to establish an interconnection between democratization and economic development, which in its later stages of development led to the emergence of Middle Class. He illustrates the significance of Middle Class in the process of democratization of a country (Gainsborough 2002: 695). All of the countries follow the same path, which ultimately leads to the establishment of the democracy (Gainsborough 2002: 701).

The above mentioned literature was good in terms of understanding the social transformations in the reunified Vietnam. It has provided a broad discussion on the various aspects of social sectors developments in Vietnam in relation to its political set up and environment. But these works lack the correlation between the changing geopolitical conditions and the society. The social condition of a place is influenced by the dynamic geopolitics of a particular place. This is another important area that is also included in the present study.

**RATIONALE OF THE STUDY**

Nation-building is an effort to promote social, economic and political reforms with the objective of transforming a society from conflict, into one at peace with itself and others.
The ‘nation-building’ process comprises peacekeeping, law enforcement, security, humanitarian relief, governance, economic stabilization, democratization and development. It requires a mix of military and civilian capacity and national, multinational and international participation because these types of societies are economically and militarily too weak to deal with the problems of establishing peace, law enforcement, democratization, etc. The neighbouring states also have a profound effect, for better or worse, on the outcome of nation-building operations. In a society emerging from a conflict, all the factors like security, economic growth, social upliftment and political reforms, etc. are interdependent.

Vietnam has been involved in a long series of conflicts since a long period from the French occupation to its reunification in 1976. Since its reunification, Vietnam ushered into a new era of peace making, unification and national construction. In its earlier phase many socio-economic and political targets were not achieved due to both internal and external factors. Vietnam’s economy fell into crisis and stagnation and people’s lives were difficult. At the 6th Congress of the Communist Party, the Doi Moi (reform) policy was launched with the focus on economic growth. This marked an important milestone in the new stage of development of Vietnamese nation.

Meanwhile, the foreign relations of Vietnam were not good and its relation with US got normalized only in 1995, which had an important role in achieving the target of developments in Vietnam. The present study seeks to analyze the development operations in Vietnam since its reunification and their achieved success. The role of geoeconomics in nation-building will also be analyzed in this present study. It will also try to explore the major hindrances and difficulties in its earlier phase of nation-building. The present study will help to understand that how far the external factors helped in socio-economic and political developments of Vietnam. The main query is, whether foreign participation in Vietnam was geopolitically and geostrategically intended. This study is also an attempt to understand how far foreign led nation-building operations succeeded in Vietnam.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research started with the objectives, to present the answers and explanation to the following questions and problems:

a) What have been the major problems in nation-building of the reunified countries?
b) What was the nature of the geopolitical and geostrategic considerations in the nation-building processes of reunified countries?
c) How far has geopolitics had its impact on the foreign involvement in reunified countries?
d) How did the changing geopolitical world order influence the nation-building in reunified Vietnam?
e) What was the impact of foreign relations on the nation-building of Vietnam?
f) How did the geoeconomics alter nation-building processes in Vietnam?

HYPOTHESES

a) Regional Geopolitical dynamics plays a crucial role for nation-building processes in reunified countries.
b) In case of Vietnam, geoeconomic variables played an important role in its nation-building.

RESEARCH METHODS

The present study has applied the functional approach to analyze the nation-building processes in relation to the political geography concerns, such as, geopolitical trends and geostrategic perspectives. The organization of this study is based upon tracing Vietnam’s nation-building processes and then looking at the factors and consequences of it. In this attempt deductive method has been used. Statistical methods along with other tools of geographical research, such as cartographic techniques have been used for the present study. The collection of data from the various sources is used for the analysis and
interpretation of the collected relevant research material. It is supplemented by primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources include the official books and government documents. Furthermore, information published from time to time in official reports and documents is also used. The secondary sources include books, articles of relevance from various magazines, journals, websites, published and unpublished books and research.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter 1. Introduction: Conceptual Framework and the Geographical Region.
This chapter is the introductory part of the study which includes a brief summary of the aim and objectives of the study and its relevance. It presents a theoretical understanding of Nation-building in reunified countries and its important components in relation to Vietnam. It also include a geographical profile of Vietnam, including other examples of reunification

Chapter 2. Problems and geopolitics of Nation-building in Reunified Countries
The chapter focuses on the problems of nation-building in reunified countries and also attempt to bring some solutions for it. It also analyzes the geopolitical considerations in relation to nation-building in reunified countries. It also attempt to answer how geopolitical conditions affect nation-building, and how nation-building operations have been altered or guide by popular geopolitical traditions in relation to the world system.

Chapter 3. Nation-building in Reunified Vietnam: A Geopolitical Analysis
This chapter attempts to trace out the role of geopolitics in the nation-building of Vietnam. It also analyzes how Vietnam dealt with the geopolitical dynamics in its nation-building? It also includes an in depth analysis of Doi Moi Reform policy in the nation-building of Reunified Vietnam.

Chapter 4. Geopolitics of External Involvement in Nation-building of Vietnam
This chapter deals with the role and participation of intra regional foreign actors like Laos, Cambodi, China, Japan and Philippines. It also attempts to highlight the role of
various regional organizations like ASEAN and other International Organizations like UN, IMF, World Bank, and WTO in the nation-building of Vietnam.

Chapter 5. Conclusion
Findings and conclusions are the part of this chapter. The study concludes that the regional and international geopolitical settings have played an inevitable role in the nation-building of reunified countries. In case of Vietnam, the geoeconomic factors were also responsible and effective for the fulfilment of the purpose of the nation-building. In view of the final result, it also suggests the possible steps for future development of Vietnam and other reunified countries.