

**THE ROLE OF ASEAN IN VIETNAM'S
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY PROTECTION SINCE 1995**

By

LE, thu Ha

THESIS

Submitted to
KDI School of Public Policy and Management
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

2015

**THE ROLE OF ASEAN IN VIETNAM'S
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY PROTECTION SINCE 1995**

By

LE, thu Ha

THESIS

Submitted to
KDI School of Public Policy and Management
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

2015

Professor Jeffrey Scott Robertson

**THE ROLE OF ASEAN IN VIETNAM'S
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY PROTECTION SINCE 1995**

By

LE, thu Ha

THESIS

Submitted to
KDI School of Public Policy and Management
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Committee in charge:

Professor Jeffrey Scott ROBERTSON, Supervisor



Professor Lisa LIM



Professor Hun Joo PARK



Approval as of December, 2015

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF ASEAN IN VIETNAM'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY PROTECTION SINCE 1995

By

Le Thu Ha

Territorial integrity is one of the most vital concerns to every nation all over the world in general and Vietnam in particular. As a regional organization, ASEAN has proved its own value in assisting its member states, including Vietnam to protect that national interest. This study aims at identifying the benefits that ASEAN membership can provide Vietnam in its efforts to protect its national territorial integrity. The main approach used in this study is the approach of constructivism in which the study will try to find out how Vietnam's territorial integrity becomes a regional issue and in what aspects this process can positively affect Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process. The main method used in this study is the discourse analysis in which the researcher will analyze 4 main types of documents: Documents of the National Party Congress of Vietnam; Official statements from ASEAN and prestigious magazines and journals. From results of this method, the study would point out the benefits that ASEAN membership can provide Vietnam's territorial integrity that can be a good reference for policy makers in Vietnam- ASEAN integration policy deployment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

As a citizen of a small country having a long history intervened or even invaded by major power, I've been thinking a lot about how my country can protect our territorial integrity – the most sacred value of every nation. Whenever thinking about this issue, there is often a Vietnamese saying occurring to my mind “Better a neighbor near than a brother far off”. That saying reminded me of a really a good source of support to the country's territorial integrity protection, which Vietnam had missed many times in the pass – the help of ASEAN. However, asking for the support does not only mean “ask”, it also requires a careful preparation with the deep understanding about the ASEAN, about the situation and also about Vietnam itself. These thoughts have led me to the study of the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's national territorial integrity protection.

After almost one year working on this study, I have found out many things that I hadn't know or even misunderstood before. Those findings can be small to some extent, but to my own personal perception, it does mean a lot. For this small but significant achievement, I would like to express my sincere thanks to the beloved people helping me a lot in my studying:

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Jeffrey Robertson for not only your knowledge but also your inspiration that he has given me during my time studying at KDI School and working on my thesis. He is a great teacher and really cool friend at the same time. Thanks to him, I've gained a lot of useful knowledge in International Relations in general and in the ASEAN study in particular. In addition, his enthusiasm and understand has encouraged me to overcome stresses and to finish my thesis in the most enjoying way. It's really a great honor for me to be his student.

Secondly, I would like to thank my Professors at KDI School. They are all great teachers, I have been inspired to do something GOOD for my thesis from Professor Park Hun Joo, to make use of the student life in KDI School from my academic adviser, Professor Kim Dong Young, to master a lot of knowledge and skills from all Professors in the school. Again, I feel really grateful for the chance being their students.

Finally, I want to express my thanks to my family and my friends at KDI School. My family has been always a great source of love that gives the strength to overcome every difficulty in studying and working on my thesis. My friends, Jazmin, Tubee and Miriam and Flor de Maria have been always beside me, make me feel like home and give me any necessary support for me to finish my thesis. I treasure and feel thankful about that.

For all these reasons, now I feel totally happy with my paper, knowing that there are still some shortcomings, but I have the confidence that, with the help, the encouragement from many kind people around me, I can make the best of myself to come up with something “good” for my country.

Sincerely,

Le Thu Ha

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: POLICY RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.1.1 Territorial integrity.....	1
1.1.2 Territorial integrity issues in Vietnam’s policy	3
1.1.3 Vietnam, ASEAN and the territorial integrity issue	3
1.2 Statement of problem.....	4
1.3 Objective and scope of the study	5
1.4 Research questions.....	7
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Theoretical literature	8
2.2 Related literature	12
2.2.1 The role of ASEAN in protecting member countries’ territorial integrity	13
2.2.2 Evaluations of ASEAN’s role in protecting its member countries’ territorial integrity .	15
2.2.3 The role of ASEAN to Vietnam’s security	18
2.3 Some knowledge gaps and the study questions	21
CHAPTER 3: THEORY	24
3.1 Overview on constructivism	24
3.2 Constructivism and the study of ASEAN	26
3.2.1 The suitability of constructivism approach in ASEAN study.....	27
3.2.2 ASEAN’s main characteristics in constructivist theory.....	32
3.3 Conclusion	34
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	36
4.1 Overview about discourse analysis.....	36
4.1.1 Definition.....	36
4.1.2 Requirements to discourse analysis methods.....	39
4.1.3 Main steps in discourse analysis process	42
4.1.3.1 Data preparation.....	43
4.1.3.2 Data coding.....	44
4.1.3.3 Drawing conclusion from the data.....	47
4.2 The relevance of discourse analysis methodology to the study	48

4.3 Applying discourse analysis to identify the role of ASEAN in Vietnam’s territorial integrity protection.....	51
4.3.1 Data preparation.....	51
4.3.2 Data coding.....	59
4.3.3 Drawing conclusion from the data.....	63
CHAPTER 5: STUDY RESULTS, CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....	66
5.1 Study results.....	66
5.1.1 Result from analyzing the VCP National Congress’ Resolutions (part iv)	66
5.1.2 Result from analyzing ASEAN’s official statements	68
5.1.3 Result from analyzing prestigious newspaper and journals.....	71
5.2 Conclusion	74
5.3 Foreign policy recommendations.....	75
APPENDIX A List of Statements from the ASEAN summits from 1995	78
APPENDIX B List of Statements from the ARF from 1995.....	107
BIBLIOGRAPHY	109

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Summary of documents selected for the analysis.....	59
Table 2: Summary of the coding scheme.....	63
Table 3: Result from coding the ASEAN's official statements.....	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The discourse analysis research process by Jan Schilling (Schilling, 2006).....	42
Figure 2: The discourse analysis research process by Klaus Krippendorff (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989).....	43
Figure 3: The discourse analysis research process by (Wildemuth & Zhang , Qualitative Analysis of Content, 2009)	43
Figure 4: Result from coding the VCP National Congress' Resolutions.....	67
Figure 5: Result from coding the New York Times Magazines	71
Figure 6: Result from coding the Foreign Affairs Journals	72
Figure 7: Result from coding the International Security Journals	72

CHAPTER 1: POLICY RESEARCH PROBLEM

There is a popular saying in Vietnam that “Better a neighbor near than a brother far off”. That saying has been repeated time to time as a reminder to Vietnamese people in the process of securing themselves in the context of being situated in a very critical geo-political position in the region. After the fall of communism block in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the 90s of this century, Vietnam has not been able to be protected by its communist brothers. In order to face with many challenges, including one of the most vital one, the territorial integrity violation from outside, Vietnam has no choice but to seeking for another supports. In that sense, the saying about neighborhood once again proves its value. In today context, that “neighbor” goes beyond the countries sharing the borderlines with Vietnam to reach a wider perception that Vietnam had missed many times in the pass – ASEAN. However, receiving the support does not mean “recieve” itself, it also requires a careful preparation with the deep understanding about the ASEAN, about the situation and also about Vietnam itself. The study on the role of ASEAN in Vietnam’s territorial integrity protection since 1995 below can contribute to this understanding.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Territorial integrity

There are many approaches to the definition of the word “Territory”. Its origin can be traced back to the Latin ‘terra’ (geographic area) and ‘terrere’ (to frighten: to terrorise) (Paasi, 2003) or the words ‘terra’ and ‘torium’ which means “belonging to, surrounding” (Gottmann, 1973). With these two origins, it can be seen that, territory can be defined as one geographic area under the governance of one certain political institution. However, the concept of “territory” when it is attached to politics, is defined not only by the question “what is it?” but more important, by “what is it about?”. On the one hand, “territory” is defined purely based

on its geographical meaning that leads to the “geographical determinism” that the territory is simply the geographical borderline in which political events take place (Galnoor, 1995). On the other hand, the “territory” is seen in the context of its relation with the state and becomes more active with the political life “The territory is a physical manifestation of the state’s authority, and yet allegiance to territory or homeland makes territory appear as a source of authority” (Sack, 1986). Thanks to this characteristic, “territory” can be seen as “the source of conflict most likely to end in war” (Vasquez, 1993). From these three points, it can be seen that territory in the context of political life is a demarcated geographical area featured by its “tangible contents or attributes, its intangible or psychological value, and its effects on a state's reputation” (Rowman & Hensel, 2012).

“Territorial integrity” is a principle that has been quite well defined and protected in the international law as well as other political discourse. In the Treaty of Westphalia, territory is defined as one component of state sovereignty in which the territorial integrity “never can or ought to be molested therein by any whomsoever upon any manner of pretence” (Yale Law School, 1648). Later, after the First World War, the principle of “territorial integrity” was emphasized in Woodrow Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” speech when he called for peace in the Europe in the post-war period with the “specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.” (Wilson, 1918). The principle of “territorial integrity” was final codified in Article 2(4) of the United Nations charter “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations” (United Nations, 1945). In short, it can be seen that, the territorial integrity is the principle of securing the state’s territory against any kind of violation stated by international law.

1.1.2 Territorial integrity issues in Vietnam's policy

Territorial integrity is one of the most crucial factors in Vietnam's policy in both terms of domestic and foreign ones. The first article of Chapter 1, The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam strongly claims "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an independent and sovereign country enjoying unity and territorial integrity, including its mainland, Islands territorial waters and air space" (Vietnam National Assembly, 2001). In every document of the National Party Congress, the strongest guiding document in Vietnamese policy, national territorial integrity is constantly emphasized. The most recent, 11th Viet Nam's National Party Congress in January 2011 set forth new key orientations for Viet Nam's foreign policy, in which priority is given to "firmly defending independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity; to raise the country's status" (Communist Party of Vietnam 2011)".

1.1.3 Vietnam, ASEAN and the territorial integrity issue

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN, was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration) by the Founding Fathers of ASEAN, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Vietnam became a member of ASEAN on 28 July 1995. Since then, Vietnam has made many significant contributions to the development of ASEAN and also through ASEAN achieved many foreign policy objectives. In 2015, ASEAN Community will officially come into being, marking a significant development of ASEAN as well as increase the regional integration to a new level. From the very first beginning, the territorial integrity of the member countries are always considered one of the most important focuses of ASEAN. The ASEAN charter clearly pointed out: "ASEAN and its Member States shall act in accordance with the ...principle... respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality,

territorial integrity and national identity of all ASEAN Member States” (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 2007)

As one of the institutions that Vietnam has the deepest engagement in term of political integration, ASEAN has considerable role in assisting Vietnam to fulfill its foreign policy objectives. In the 11th Viet Nam’s National Party Congress’s document mentioned above, ASEAN was also identified as one of the important partners supporting Vietnam’s foreign policy planning in the new period of international integration with the analysis that ASEAN will continue to speed up regional connectivity and building a community with a more important role in the region. (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2011).

1.2 Statement of problem

As one of the most important focuses in Vietnam’s foreign policy since 1995, ASEAN has been seen as one of the possible channels benefitting Vietnam in solving both domestic and foreign issues. However, the efficiency level of this benefit depends on many different factors and needs further study in each specific case.

In sensitive and complex issue that is related to many countries like the protection of the member countries’ territorial integrity, the role of ASEAN, as a regional organization is quite limited. However, in the case of Vietnam, ASEAN also has some certain roles in (i) Creating the peaceful environment in the region a part of which is inclusive with Vietnam’s national territorial integrity protection process; (ii) involving Vietnam’s territorial integrity issues in its own working agendas; (iii) Giving Vietnam’s territorial integrity issue more creditability in attracting the attention and helps from outside; (iv) Assisting Vietnam’s territorial integrity issue to attract more interests from prestigious thinkers all over the world and (v) Providing Vietnam with the direct support in accordance with its own principles.

Clarifying the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process will help Vietnam define its policy towards the territorial integrity issues rationally and effectively. On the one hand, it helps to avoid the over ambitiousness and impractical dependence on ASEAN of Vietnam when making the policy to solve this issue. On the other hand, it still implies some possible benefits from ASEAN that Vietnam should utilize when facing with the territory issues. From these two points, it will contribute to defining Vietnam's attitudes to ASEAN in the future especially when ASEAN community whose one of the pillar is the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) will officially come into being in 2015. In that sense, it would contribute to utilizing the benefits that ASEAN can bring into Vietnam; especially in its process of solving the territorial integrity issue is quite intensive recently.

1.3 Objective and scope of the study

The study aims to identify the benefits that ASEAN membership provides Vietnam in its efforts to protect territorial integrity instead of going into detail in evaluating the level of benefits as well as explain the reasons of them in order to avoid being distracted from the main topic.

Firstly, the evaluation of the efficiency level in ASEAN's assistance to Vietnam's territorial integrity may distract the main focus of the study. In fact, the territorial integrity issue is related to the core national interest of every country that is quite sensitive and differently interpreted by involved countries. As a regional organization, ASEAN are capable of supporting its member countries in protecting that national interest. However, the level of assistance will be determined by a complicated set of different factors in each specific case. As a result, the evaluation of the assistance of ASEAN to Vietnam's territorial integrity not only requires a lot of efforts in the study on history, politics, etc., to be carried out but also faces the possibility of being fragmented into a series of different results according to

different case. Therefore, in order not to distract the focus of the study that is the role of ASEAN in protecting Vietnam's territorial integrity, the study will only focus on the benefits Vietnam can enjoy from its ASEAN membership.

Secondly, the evaluation of the efficiency level in ASEAN membership's benefits to Vietnam's territorial integrity can lead to confusion between the role of ASEAN in offering the benefits, and the capacity of Vietnam in receiving and making use of them in protecting territorial integrity. In fact, ASEAN membership's benefits to Vietnam's territorial integrity issue is not a one-sided process. The efficiency of assistance is gained through both through ASEAN and Vietnam's efforts. These two factors, to some extent, are independent and can have either positive or negative influence on the level of assistance. As a result, the evaluation of them still can be misled in identifying the only role of the ASEAN.

Finally, the evaluation of ASEAN's assistance in Vietnam's territorial integrity can eliminate the consistency of the study. In fact, as a regional organization, ASEAN holds the responsibility of helping the member countries' territorial integrity. However, the level of these benefits change time to time according the growth of ASEAN as well as the contemporary world order. Therefore, while the aspect that ASEAN can support is quite consistent from time to time; the level of the benefits Vietnam can get varies in a rather complicated and inconsistent process. In another words, the measure of benefits that ASEAN membership can bring to Vietnam's territorial integrity should not be conducted at the same time with the identification of those benefits in order to ensure the consistency of the study.

In short, in order to avoid the distraction, confusion and inconsistency, the study will just focus on identifying the benefits that ASEAN membership provides Vietnam in its efforts to protect territorial integrity. In order to do so, the study will be includes four main parts:

(i) Literature review: Reviewing previous studies related to the issues (in both theoretical and content terms)

(ii) Theory: Identifying the theory approach used to study the issue (in this case, the constructivism will be used)

(iii) Methodology: Clarifying the methodology used to study the issue (the discourse analysis as the main method)

(iv) Research result: Discovering the main arguments to answer the research question.

1.4 Research questions

The study aims at answering the question “What benefits does ASEAN membership provide to Vietnam in its efforts to protect territorial integrity?”. In order to answer this question, the study will examine discourse on Vietnam’s territorial integrity and ASEAN membership. From this analysis, the study will identify the main benefits that ASEAN can provide Vietnam in its territorial integrity protection process.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Many prestigious scholars have studied the relations between Vietnam and ASEAN. Some of them also mentioned the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995. This chapter would presents a review of previous researches and literatures that are related to the study in both terms of theory and key findings, from that identifying some knowledge gaps that should be filled to bring about an overview picture of the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995 for further studies. The review will focus on the most related research categorizing into two main area: The first includes the discussion on theoretical approach in researches on ASEAN as well as Vietnam ASEAN integration and the second includes research related to the topic, including the studies about the relations between the globalization and national identity in general and the relations between the ASEAN integration and country members' sovereignty in particular; the ASEAN ways in protecting member countries' territorial integrity; ASEAN solidarity in the context of ASEAN community and Vietnam's "ASEAN policy".

2.1 Theoretical literature

There are many discussions about theoretical approach in research on Asia in general and ASEAN in particular. On the one hand, some scholars are not really into the International Relations (IR) theories approach when studying the region's issues, considering them having been "of little use in making sense of Asian regionalism"(Katzenstein, 1997) or even totally denied this approach while blaming it for "getting Asia wrong" (C.Kang, 2013). These conclusions generally base on the argument about the distinctiveness of the region (in every aspect from geography to ethnography, socio-economy, politics, etc.) to the Western region where most IR theories originated. On the other hand, other scholars share the idea about the important role of IR theories in researching the region, arguing that Asia, as well as every other region, still follows a lot of features of the Westphalian model and shares a lot of

similarities in terms of behavioral norms, state system, etc. with Western countries; therefore, IR theories, with the core concepts of distribution of power, international regimes, and political identity are still relevant (Mastanduno, 2003). In this perspective, Amitav Acharya has a quite comprehensive approach. According to him, although IR theory can not explain all the phenomena happening in the region, it still provides a very effective approach in analyzing relations inside the region (as long as it “do not encourage a selection bias in favor of those phenomena (ideas, events, trends, relationships) which fit with them and against that which does not”) (Acharya, 2008).

Scholars agreeing with the role of IR theories in analyzing the ASEAN region also have different approaches, mainly according to 3 main theories of IR: Realism, liberalism and constructivism.

Realism is one of the two mainstream international relations theories. Although there are many branches of this theory, realism’s main focus is the maximization of power in which the state plays the most important part. The theory comes from the assumption about human being’s nature, in which “it must needs be taken for granted that all men are wicked and that they will always give vent to the malignity that is in their minds when opportunity offers” (Machiavelli, 1998). From this, the realists develop the theory with the emphasis on the role of the state in international relations in which “the struggle for power is universal in time and space” (Morgenthau, 1985) with the “tragic presence of evil in all political action” (Morgenthau, *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, 1946). Applying this theory into the study of ASEAN, scholars identified this organization as an “adjunct” to the power balance in the region (Leifer, 1996). Also, they consider the conflicts as the potential threats to this organization when claim that the region, with the various national interest, is “ripe for rivalry” (Friedberg, 1993/1994). In short, realists, although recognizing ASEAN’s role in the region,

still consider this organization no more than an instrument to solve the security issues and can be broken any time due to the conflicts among the member countries.

Liberalism is another mainstream international relations theory. In contrast to realism, liberalism emphasizes the idea of cooperation and institution building and the freedom of the individual for the peace and development in which both state and non-state actors are important in international relations life (Doyle & Recchia, 2011). Based on this idea, liberalists when studying the ASEAN focus on two main points: First, they interpret the establishment and development of ASEAN as a way of expanding the interdependence among member countries as a force for keeping the peace in the region (Goldsmith, 2007). Secondly, they look at ASEAN as an “agent of cooperation” in which “they can increase information flows, reduce transaction costs and prevent cheating” among the member countries (Acharya, 2008).

Both of these two mainstream theories when studying ASEAN issues has contained the critique towards each other. Also, these two theories also have some limits in explaining some aspects in the current development of ASEAN. In my opinion, realism cannot explain the cooperation inside ASEAN even when the security threats are eliminated and it does not bring any specific benefit in term of power to ASEAN member states also, it may find difficulties in understanding the rise of ASEAN not only as a contemporary channel for conflict solving but a stronger community. Similarly, liberalism also meets with the problems when discovering the reason for the division inside ASEAN when dealing with the regional issues. In order to solve these problem, constructivism, a relatively newer IR theory, is used by many scholars in studying ASEAN.

Constructivism was first used as an IR term by Onuf Nicholas in his work “World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations” (Onuf, 1989). Although constructivists do not have the same way of approach in many issues, it can be seen

that, constructivism is characterized by emphasizing the social meaning of international phenomena; the issues of identity and belief; the role of social norms in international politics and the important role of non-State actors in comparison with that of other international relation's actors (Slaughter, 2011).

Many scholars use the constructivism approach to analyze activities of ASEAN (as both a region and an organization).

Studying about the establishment of the organization, Amitav Acharya in his famous book "The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia" pointed out that the motivation for the formation of ASEAN is the shared values among countries in the region, including the growing economic policy convergence, the "shared threat perceptions" among country members as well as "a common desire for collective diplomatic clout against external power" (Acharya, 2000).

About the activities of ASEAN, many scholars also use the constructivism approach when mentioning the word "ASEAN way". Firstly, it implies a social meaning when reflecting "a symbolic structure was constructed as a result of social interaction between and among the ASEAN member states in its 40-year history" (Tamaki, 2006). Secondly, "ASEAN ways" emphasized the identity of the region when dealing with regional issues through two main aspects: expressing the intra-mural interaction and distinguishing it from other, especially Western, multilateral settings (Acharya, 2011). Thirdly, "ASEAN way" expresses the role of the region's social norms in solving the emerging issues. Hiro Katsumata pointed out four rules that are also the social norm that "distinguished the concept" of that "ASEAN way": the principle of non-interference; quiet diplomacy; non-use of force; and consensual decision-making (Katsumata, 2003).

The Vietnam-ASEAN integration process is also studied under the light of the constructivism. Firstly, it reflects a social phenomenon of an actor's self-internalization. According to Nguyen Vu Tung "The case of Vietnam joining ASEAN then shows that the process of socialization and interactions between Vietnam and ASEAN countries helped improve the awareness of commonalities and promoted cooperative relations" (Tung, 2007). Secondly, this process once again emphasized the role of identity and belief. After the cold war, Vietnam encountered the identity crisis when the Soviet bloc was broken, as a result, and ASEAN is really a new chance for Vietnam to gain the new identity in the context of regional political and economic cooperation (Frost, 1993).

In short, among a lot of approach to the ASEAN as well as Vietnam-ASEAN integration process, constructivism seems to be one of the most persuasive ones which has been effectively used by many scholars. However, there hasn't been any research specifically focusing on the role of Vietnam-ASEAN integration in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995 using this approach. This study will try to cover this gap by identify the role of Vietnam-ASEAN integration in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995 through the constructivism approach when examining the way Vietnam's territorial integrity is solved under the cover of ASEAN's issues.

2.2 Related literature

There hasn't been any specific study about the role of ASEAN to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. However, there are some related studies around this issue, including (i) The role of ASEAN in protecting member countries' territorial integrity; (ii) The evaluation of ASEAN's role in protecting member countries' territorial integrity and (iii) The role of ASEAN in Vietnam's security.

2.2.1 The role of ASEAN in protecting member countries' territorial integrity

There have not many specifically identifying the role of ASEAN in protecting member countries' territorial integrity. However, from the related studies like the ones about the role of ASEAN in the regional security or the success of mechanism affiliated to ASEAN like ARF, it can be seen that ASEAN has three main roles in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity.

Firstly, ASEAN with its norms for inter-state relations has prevented a lot of territorial conflict not only among ASEAN member countries but also between ASEAN countries with other states. Many scholars agree with this fact when they compared the situations of the regional peace before and after the founding of ASEAN. They argue, when ASEAN was established in the late 1960s, the “outlook for regional security and stability in Southeast Asia was particularly grim.” (Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*, 2011). But after ASEAN came into being, there has not been a war between its founding members—Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand and during the times, ASEAN with its “somewhat regulative effect in the course of constructing relative peace in the region” (Wang, 2010). There are three main reasons for ASEAN's role. The first comes from its three of the most distinctive norms including the peaceful settlement of dispute namely the rejection of the use or threat of force, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. Thanks to them, “they, including ASEAN's newer members, have generally abided by those norms; not only that, they have persuaded others 14 non-regional states so far - to accede to the TAG, in which the norms are enshrined” (Severino, 2007). The second reasons come from ASEAN's quiet diplomacy. In fact, “each member (of ASEAN) refrains from criticizing the policies of others in public” and this, as a result, “allows the ASEAN members to subdue any bilateral tensions.” (Katsumata, 2003). The third source for this role of ASEAN in protecting its

member countries' territorial integrity is its "process of conflict avoidance or prevention" (Sukma, 2010). In fact, whenever conflicts among members of ASEAN appears, this organization tries to manage them "outside the parameters of formal structures and institutions" (Caballero-Anthony, 1998) which helped to decrease the tension level of the issue as well as manage the issue before it becomes the territorial disputes.

Secondly, ASEAN with one of its affiliation, ARF has created the forum for dialogues among member countries at many level for "decreasing the probability of war between members and that the adoption of the ASEAN Way by the ARF directly contributes to a sense of Asian solidarity, builds confidence and has increased trust among its members" (Whelan, 2012). In fact, with its annual meeting focusing on "fostering constructive dialogue and consultation on political and security issues" (Mely, 2003), ARF has created the chance for ASEAN member countries to share their points of view about their territorial issues for the mutual help and understanding inside the organization. Moreover, ARF, "representing more than half of the world's population, nearly half the world's gross domestic product, at least five important regional powers (the US, China, Russia, Japan, Russia and India)" (Whelan, 2012) is really a golden opportunity for ASEAN member countries to review regional security as well as seek cooperation from other major powers, and as to attract the interest from the international community to their own territorial integrity issues.

Finally, ASEAN has created closer relations among leaders of the ASEAN member countries for the further understanding as well as another peaceful channel to resolve such sensitive and tensed disputes like the territorial ones. According to Rizal Sukma (Sukma, 2010), through the institutionalization of the summit on an annual basis, the leaders of ASEAN member countries can meet and share their points of view on issues related to their countries (the territorial ones are not the exception) both in their countries' official stances as

well as their personal view. From that, the territorial integrity of the ASEAN member countries will be protected into three main basis: (i) ensure that the territorial dispute is solved between ASEAN member countries with the help of ASEAN's norms, without the intervention of any other third party (ii) increase the understanding between the leaders both formally and informally, from that, ASEAN member countries can avoid unnecessary misunderstandings which can lead to tensed disputes and (iii) the closer ties among leaders can help to alleviate the tension as well as create more chances to the win-win solutions.

2.2.2 Evaluations of ASEAN's role in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity

Despite the visible roles of ASEAN in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity, there are a lot of studies showing that the role of ASEAN in protecting member countries' territorial integrity is limited. Both realists and constructivists approve this idea with different explanations:

According to the realistic point of view, the question about the role of ASEAN in protecting member countries' territorial integrity is also the question about whether ASEAN, as "peripheral to great power politicking" are powerful enough to protect complete this task with "force and coercion" (Eaton & Stubbs, 2006). Answering this question, they claimed three main reasons lack to their skeptical about the role of ASEAN in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity:

The first explanation is related to the role of other great powers into territorial conflicts ASEAN has to deal with. According to Felix K. Chang, to most of the conflicts, the great powers prefer solving bilaterally with each single country instead of through a multilateral mechanism like ASEAN because of two main reasons. At first, when working with much smaller counter parts, these major powers will have more comparative advantages

and secondly, it seems to be easier to reach agreements between the two parties rather than with an organization/community with different complicated interests (Chang, 2014).

The second reason for limited role of ASEAN in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity comes from its lack of power to resist the control from major power. According to realistic criticism to the role of ASEAN in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity, only major powers are powerful enough to set the regional order. And in that case, the role of regional mechanism like ASEAN only should be considered as some "talk shop" serving the order from those major powers (Johns & Smith, 2007). To that extent, the ASEAN only can protect its member countries' territorial integrity if the major powers permit it to do so. And even in this case, the effect of this protection is limited.

Finally, realists also explain ASEAN's limited role in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity based on the this organization's principles, namely the non-interference and the consensus ones. The principle of "non-interference" is mentioned in the Article 2 of the "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia Indonesia" in 1976, clarifying that, the ASEAN countries are guided by the fundamental principles of "Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another" (Association of SouthEastAsian Nations, 1976). Although this principle seems to be suitable to the international norms and law, in the case of ASEAN, it has limited the ability of ASEAN to deal with a lot of issues related to the territorial integrity of the member countries because the non-interference means exactly the lack of "a sense of collective intersubjective identity among the region's members" which is the key condition for ASEAN to solve the issues related to its members' territory like Cambodia-Thailand conflicts, the South China Sea dispute, etc in a more effective way than just a "a process of multilateral policy coordination and negotiation of competing stakeholder interests" (Sheldon W., 2007). The consensus principle in ASEAN is also a reason for this organization's lack of capacity in protecting its member countries' territorial integrity. The main realistic argument

for this reason is that the consensus principle has made most of ASEAN's proposal in case related to territorial integrity of member countries hard to be achieved because these issues are quite sensitive and related to different interest of member countries or in another word, "the consensus principle is now threatening the unity of the group when the national interests of one member state prevail at the expense of others" (Nguyen, 2012) especially in such sensitive case related to the sovereignty issues.

According to constructivist points of view, the main reason why ASEAN has limited role in protecting its member countries' territory bases on its lack of capacity to solve such issues with the strong regional identity of dealing with such issues. In order to examine the strength of the regional identity of the region in protection of its member countries' territorial integrity, researcher Tobias Ingo Nischalke (Tobias, 2000) examined 4 categories of ASEAN's policies related to the regional security, including: (i) Initiatives that followed ASEAN's procedural norms and did not require substantial negotiations; (ii) Initiatives that followed ASEAN's procedural norms but met with substantial disagreements; (iii) Initiatives that did not either follow ASEAN's procedural norms or require substantial negotiations and (iv) Initiatives that did not follow ASEAN's procedural norms and need the substantial negotiations. The result is that, among 20 initiatives examined, 13 of them belonging to the categories (i) or (ii) (follow ASEAN's procedural norms) in which, just 6 did consensus without substantial negotiation. In another words, just in few cases, ASEAN can release the policies related to the regional security under the identity of a region, not just the mechanism for negotiation among member countries. And among 7 cases belong to categories (ii), just two case are not related to the negotiation with the non-ASEAN member countries. In addition, there are even two cases examined belong to category (iii) which mean that, through the substantial negotiations, even the initiatives without following ASEAN's procedure norms can be passed. These facts are the most important evidences for the author's

arguments about the ASEAN's lack of a strong identity in resolving the issues related to the member countries' territorial integrity: (i) the role of substantial negotiation over the mutual decision making process among all member countries as a strong institutions; (ii) the external influence over ASEAN's decision making process and (iii) ASEAN's procedure norms which is the symbol of the institutional strength of the region is, to some extent, less important than the substantial negotiations.

To sum up, in both realistic and constructivist approach, the role of ASEAN in protecting the territorial integrity of its member countries is limited with different explanation based on three main points: the role of the power, the national interest and the regional identity in solving territorial issues.

2.2.3 The role of ASEAN to Vietnam's security

Around the role of ASEAN to Vietnam's security, there are two main contrast ideas: Some argues that ASEAN has an effective role to the security of Vietnam while others claim that, the ASEAN integration has given a lot of limited to Vietnam's national security.

On the one hand, ASEAN has done some helps to Vietnam's security promotion.

Firstly, ASEAN has helped in creating a wider security protection net for Vietnam in the new security context. According to the two authors Le Dinh Tinh And Hoang Hai Long (Le & Hoang, 2013), "ASEAN is Vietnam's bridge to the wider world and a safety net when the country faces global and regional problems" in two main terms: Firstly, it has given Vietnam the chance to boost its relationship with major powers through the mechanisms affiliated to ASEAN, namely the ASEAN+1 (China) and ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and South Korea) mechanisms. Secondly, through ASEAN Vietnam can politically integrate into the larger Asia-Pacific region, including The East Asia Summit (EAS), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and The ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+), through which,

Vietnam will be able to not only share its security concerns but also ask for the support from ASEAN as an “honest broker and mediator for all parties in sensitive security issues”.

Secondly, the political integration into ASEAN has assist Vietnam to strengthen its position in the relations with major powers. There are two main reasons for this fact. At first, ASEAN membership has provided Vietnam a suitable organizational framework to deal with major powers with many additional communication channels from which, the gap between the two states can be narrowed down. Also, with the membership of the ASEAN, bilateral challenges in Vietnam with major powers will be partly transformed into a multilateral agenda involving both those major power and ASEAN as a group, which will considerably enhance Vietnam’s capacity in solving the issue as well as strengthen its bargaining position with major powers (Dosch, 2006)

Finally, through ensuring the peace in the region. ASEAN has played an important role in protecting Vietnam’s security. In another word, “ASEAN worked as a safeguarding mechanism both against hostility and aggression from the Southeast Asian neighbours and, equally important, reassured the latter of Vietnam's interest in a stable and peaceful regional environment” (Dosch, 2006). This help is expressed in the two main aspects: The first comes from the re-recognition of the ASEAN member countries to Vietnam from a “disruptive actor” which is created to other ASEAN states through differences in the past into a responsible state in the region after a series of positive activities of Vietnam, via ASEAN, to promote the security and prosperity in the region (Emmers, 2005). In addition, ASEAN membership has provided Vietnam with " a situation, which is conducive to the peaceful management of existing interstate disputes and potential future disputes" (Amer, 2004). In another word, ASEAN has helped Vietnam prevent the potential threat to its security as well as alleviate the tension, which can deteriorate its peace and stability.

On the other hands, there are some studies showing that ASEAN has some negative influence on Vietnam's security. This view is quite clearly expressed by the author Jörn Dosch when he called ASEAN the "golden cage" that Vietnam has been trapped into (Dosch, 2006). In his study, he mentioned four main points for prove this standpoint:

Firstly, ASEAN can become an obstacle to Vietnam in its balancing policy between great powers. In fact, as an organization of 10 countries with different interests like ASEAN, it will be really hard for it to reach a consistent policy toward major powers. In his study, Kei Koga also has similar views when claim that, ASEAN is now facing with "significant internal divisions among members with different opportunity-threat perceptions of China" (Koga, 2013). Consequently, as a member of ASEAN, Vietnam will meet with some difficulties in following ASEAN's policy with other major powers (which is quite confusing and falling into the bandwagon situation at sometimes) without being conflict with its balancing and multilateral foreign policy.

Secondly, ASEAN membership, in some cases, decreased Vietnam's comparative advantage to other countries in working with major power to solve its security issues. In his study, the author Jörn Dosch (Dosch, 2006) takes the case of Vietnam and Philippines in the relations with China to solve the South China Sea dispute to prove this point. Obeying the multilateral principle in solving the South China Sea dispute of ASEAN, Vietnam has not initiated any bilateral arrangement with China, which turns out to be a shortcoming of this country in solving issue when Philippines, in September 2004, during the Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's visit to China, Manila and Beijing signed an agreement for joint marine seismic undertaking in the South China Sea to explore the Spratlys for possible undersea oil which is considered a very significant step for China – Philippines' further negotiation in South China Sea dispute. Vietnam, following this change, also joined the agreement in March 2005. However, for being late, he has lost the chance to negotiate

with China about the solution to the issue to the Philippines. In another words, in some cases, ASEAN with its procedure norms is a hindrance for Vietnam to implement its flexible foreign policies especially in complicated and constantly changing issue like the territorial dispute.

Finally, according to Jörn Dosch (Dosch, 2006), ASEAN can be a cage keeping Vietnam from joining other mechanism. He argues that other mechanism like the sub-regional and mini-lateral initiatives seem to offer better opportunities and more immediate diplomatic gains for Vietnam in some certain cases. However, with the increasingly further integration into the regional mechanism and the fact that till now, there is no other mechanism can replace ASEAN in general security issue, a Vietnamese deviation from the common ASEAN pathways seems to be really difficult to pursue. In another word, ASEAN, with the strong capacity and outweigh to other mechanism itself, to some extent, turns out to be the limit for other member countries which want to have more various approach to security solutions.

2.3 Some knowledge gaps and the study questions

From the review above, it can be seen that, although there has been some studies about the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. Most of the studies are quite comprehensive and convincing. However, according to the different scope and different purpose of each study,, there are still some gaps that need to be filled in further studies:

About the theoretical approach, most of the constructivists mentioned the role of ASEAN in member countries' territorial integrity protection with the rationale of solving issue through establishing the identity as well as converting the national issue into the regional issues. Most of the studies about the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity also follow this approach. However, when applying in a specific case like Vietnam, studies

still also deal with the identity issue in a one sided way, Vietnam's territorial integrity become the regional identity without paying attention to the fact that, each country's national identity in general and territorial integrity perception in particular is quite distinctive. In the process of sharing the identity, this will have the effects on the common identity of the whole community. This gap should be fulfilled because only with the awareness of the effect of Vietnam's identity in the way ASEAN's protection of its member countries' national territorial integrity, should the call for ASEAN policy of Vietnam for utilizing the benefits ASEAN can bring to its territorial integrity protection be justified.

About the methodology, most of studies on the role of ASEAN in its member countries' territorial integrity protection used the specific activities of ASEAN as main supporting evidence. This is very valid and reliable way of researching. However, there is another methodology that seems to be ignored by ASEAN scholars, the discourse analysis. As an institutionalized organization like ASEAN and a country with one strong ruling party like Vietnam, the official documents have high value in identifying the main aspects of benefit. Also, in this era of communication explosion, the prestigious international relations journals should also be considered as an important source for the evaluation of the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. Especially to the constructivist approach, the chance Vietnam's territorial integrity issue is mentioned in the context of ASEAN issues in these prestigious journals should be a good reference.

About the content, the studies on the role of ASEAN on Vietnam's territorial integrity protection just focus on the question whether ASEAN is beneficial to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection instead of identifying how it can those benefits work with the specific aspects. Besides, most studies still consider Vietnam as a "passive host" of these benefits not mentioning the way Vietnam can be active in utilizing this valuable assistant from ASEAN. This gap should be filled because only when Vietnam is identified as an active player in the

relations with ASEAN, would the role of ASEAN on Vietnam's territorial integrity protection become distinctive with other countries as a lot of Vietnam foreign policy towards ASEAN can be justified.

All things considered, among studies on the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1998, there are still some gaps need to be filled in all terms of research methodology, theoretical approach and content. It is necessary to have more studies on this issue in which: (i) the discourse analysis should be applied; (ii) the constructivism should be seen in the sense that the ASEAN identity is the result of the behavior of both ASEAN and Vietnam, instead of ASEAN only and (iii) the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection should be seen in specific aspects as a result of many factors, one of which is ASEAN. Those gaps should be filled in serious studies on ASEAN and Vietnam. This study would focus on filling the first and second gaps as well as paying attention to the third gaps in its arguments.

Reflecting the literature review above, the next step is to examine the theoretical approach that would be applied to identify the benefits that ASEAN membership can provide Vietnam in its efforts to protect territorial integrity.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

As mentioned in previous chapter, constructivism is one of the theoretical approaches that have been used by many scholars in studying ASEAN and Vietnam in general and in the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection in particular. This chapter aims at providing a further understanding about this theoretical approach in both terms, the constructivism's main arguments and the how this approach has been applied to the study on ASEAN.

3.1 Overview on constructivism

After being first introduced by Onuf in 1989 (Onuf, 1989), constructivism became one of the most important influential IR theories besides realism and liberalism (Walt, 1998). Similar to these two traditional theories, constructivism gives the answers to four main questions determining the international relations life: (i) What are the actors of international relations? (ii) What is the goal of these actors try to aim when participating in the international relations life; (iii) How do actors behave in anarchy?; (iv) and what are the factors mitigating state's behavior. These questions are basically answered by Alexander Wendt, one of the leading constructivist IR theorists: "Anarchy is what states make of it."

Firstly, as well as realism and idealism, constructivism considers state the main actor of international relations whose main goal is to ensure its own survival (Weber C. , 2005). In fact, most constructivist theorists agree with the "state centricism" in international relations. According to this, through the daily activities, states, as the main decision-makers, would create the anarchy in the international relations (in both cooperative and conflictual way depending on the interaction among states in the international relations life). In another words, constructivist theories do not deny the role of identity and especially the self-interest

calculation of states in international relations. However, according to them, those two factors, in stead of coming from a competitive and invariable structure in international relations and creating a conflictual anarchy, are created through the daily activities of the states and the interaction among them when facing with and international relations events (Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics*, 1995). As a result, under the light of constructivism, the states' fighting for survival can take place under either war or peace, depending on the construct created flexibly among states. In this sense, the role of organizations featured by some certain identities of state members or helping them solving some interest related issues are very important.

Secondly, the states' behavior in international relations, according to constructivist theorists, is quite unpredictable. This argument comes from the not-pre-given nature of the states' interests, identities and institutions. In fact, the identities and the interests of the sates are always in flux. Both of them are constructed "in and through specific international interactions" in which the social interactions with other identities and with collective social institutions play the most important roles (Onuf, 1989; Wendt, *Collective Identity Formation and the International State*, 1994). Similarly, the institutions are not "already there" either. They are formed through the daily activities of states in dealing with other states' identities and serving their own interests whose motivation and means of protections can change day by day (Weber C. , 2005). As a result, the prediction for state's behavior in international relations should not be framed in any kind fixed calculation. It should be done through the analysis of the current situation in the constantly and flexibly changing style.

Thirdly, constructivism provides a clearer explanation on the orgirin of the state behavior which is the "intersubjectively constituted structure of identities and interests" (Weber C. , 2005). According to constructivist theory, states create the cooperation or competition in the international relations through its process of producing its own identities

and interests. In another words, state's behavior, which is mostly expressed through institution, is created through the interaction between the identities and interests within and among states. In fact, through the relationship among states, the state can find its own identities - the "relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self" (Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics*, 1995). On that basis of understanding, the states would see what it really needs for its own survival-the interest and from that have its own behavior, the institutions to achieve that interests. If the interests and identities are produced as a competition, the state's behavior would be competitive. Vice versa, if they are produced in a cooperative style, the cooperation would be resulted.

In conclusion, constructivism explains the international relations through the logic: "Anarchy is what states make of it." (Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics*, 1995). As the main actor in the international relations, states try to promote their own survival through every of their daily activities. These activities change day by ay in accordance with the change in their own identities and interests coming from the interactions among states in the international relations. As a result, a lot of institution is nationally and internationally constructed. Again, these newly constituted institution has the effects on the interaction non-stoppedly happening in international relations and creates the anarchy (in both the competitive and cooperative way that we are witnessing today. Therefore, in order to analyze and predict the international relations, examining the states' interests and identity in the interaction with others and in the social construct style is a must.

3.2 Constructivism and the study of ASEAN

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are many debates around the approaches to the study of ASEAN. Among that, constructivism is one of the most favorable theories to

many scholars in the sense that the role of studying the region's ideas and identity in should be taken into serious consideration (Higgott, 1994). Studying ASEAN, constructivist theorists have focused on two main points: (i) constructivism can work well in studying the establishment and development of ASEAN and (ii) Distinctive characteristics of ASEAN under the constructivist lens. From these two points, ASEAN's issues would be quite clearly examined and explained.

3.2.1 The suitability of constructivism approach in ASEAN study

To many constructivist theorists, ASEAN is the strong evidence for Wendt's typical claim about constructivism : "Anarchy is What States Make of it" (Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics*, 1995) in three main aspects : (i) With the main aim of remaining their own survival, states have been remained as the main actors in ASEAN since its establishment; (ii) The behavior of ASEAN's member states have changed from time to time and quite unpredictable and (iii) The origin of ASEAN state members' behaviour is the "intersubjectively constituted structure of identities and interests" among them.

Firstly, the main actors in ASEAN are states with the aim of maintaining the survival of their own countries. At the first place, ASEAN's mechanisms always serve the aim of protecting its own state members' survival. This point was clearly expressed in ASEAN's charter with the principle of sovereignty, consensus and non-interference (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 2007). Also, during the development process, whenever there is a newly emerging problem which can threaten the member state's security, ASEAN's institution will be changed in terms of reforming or creating the new mechanism to adapt to the new reaction. For example, in the early 1990s, with the globalization of the world economy as well as the uncertainty in the international relations life with the collapse of communism system, ASEAN faced to the many challenging to maintain its own existence

and development. As a result, the new mechanism has gradually been introduced, namely the plan to create an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as the solution to the international changes in terms of economy and politics, respectively (Nesadurai, 2009). Last but not least, the main aim of ensuring the state's survival in ASEAN is expressed through the member states' obedience to ASEAN's principles. According to Robert H. Jackson in his book "Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World" (Jackson, 1993), respecting ASEAN's principle is only way helping ASEAN's member states to overcome their own external and internal challenges and from that to "defend their statehood". In short, ASEAN's establishment and development process fits well the constructivism's idea about the main actor and purpose in international relations life.

Secondly, ASEAN member states' behaviors has changed time to time and do not follow any fixed principle, which can exactly reflects another constructivism's claim: State behaviours are unpredictable. This can be explained through the region's history of overlapping pre-colonial political system and shortlived empires of godkings. As a result, most of South East Asia countries have no experience with any long-lived armies or institution (Wolters, 1982). That facts lead to the way ASEAN member states act in the international relations life. Instead of being affected by some fixed principle, they would prefer flexibly changing their behaviours to adapt to the new situation which can be determined by a complicated groups of factors, namely the social interaction inside and outside the states, the institutionalized mechanism constructed by themselves, etc. All of those behaviours can not be interpreted through any single factor like interest or ideal itself, it reflects the whole process of the social construction and interactions in the international relations life, which is unpredictable and changing constantly. This phenomena can be well explained well by constructivism because of three main reasons: (i) it is, by nature, a flexible and not really binded to any fixed principles and (ii) this theory which Wendt is the typical

representative, accepts the existence of other logic of anarchy (Rother, 2012) which can be seen in some cases in ASEAN member states' establishment and development. In other words, the constructivism's view on the unpredictability of the state behaviors can be well applied in ASEAN context.

Finally, similar to what constructivist theorists claim about the origin of states' behaviors, ASEAN member state's act is also determined by the "intersubjectively constituted structure of identities and interests" (Weber C. , 2005). There are three important points need being taken into consideration about this: "the identities", "the interests" and "the intersubjectively constituted structure".

In the first place, it can be seen that ASEAN's structure is constituted through the process of social interaction among members states as well as between ASEAN countries with the outsiders in the context of the constantly changing in the international relations life. There are three main steps in this process of construction: At the very first beginning, they are just the norms of behaviors naturally established through the sharre of "a common lifeword and fate" (Ba, 2005) among ASEAN countries. When those norms are repeated and gradually acknowledged by the those countries, the role of it would be clearly highlighted and become "ASEAN Way". At that point, South East Asia had been no longer a region of simply geographical definition but became a "pacific 'normative community' governed by shared understandings of appropriate behavior" (Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*, 2011; Busse, 1999; Kivima'ki, 2001). Finally, that collection of norms would be revised and constituted in the style that best fit the characteristics of the region, namely: (i) focusing on the whole regional security instead of a specific country's and (ii) emphasizing the role of dialogue and consultation rather than any strict regulations or rapid institutionalizationn (Katsumata, *Establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum: constructing a 'talking shop' or a 'norm*

brewery'?, 2006). In brief, ASEAN's establishment and development can be well explained by the constructivism in the sense that its structure is constructed through a process of social interaction and institutionalization among member states as well as between them with the external environment.

That "intersubjectively constituted structure" leads to one of the strongest and most distinctive characteristics of ASEAN that fits constructivist views – the collective identity (Acharya, Do norms and identity matter: community and power in Southeast Asia's regional order , 2005; Kivimäki, 2001). In fact, the "identity" is one of the features that emphasize the importance of developing the new IR theories beside the Western ones (Tickner, 2003) which has been well started and developed by constructivism (Acharya, Dialogue and discovery: In search of International Relations theories beyond the West , 2011). East Asia's institution design in general and ASEAN's in particular show this characteristics quite clearly with the distinct traits comparing with the Western institution, namely the informal, non-legalistic and process driven procedure, the reliance on behind the scene discussions and consensual decision making process, the emphasize on the non-confrontation and largely oriented toward "open regionalism" (Solingen, 2008 and Busse, 1999). During the time, this identity has become stronger and stronger when ASEAN put more and more emphasis on dealing with the outside world as a united group with its own model (Busse N. , 1999) as well as develop its own regional forum to deal with common problem as a step to promote the image of a constitutionally constructed organization in the region (Eaton & Stubbs, 2006). Altogether, it can be seen that through the process of "intersubjective constitution" process, there is a "collectively identity" gradually formed among ASEAN member states which is one of the focus of constructivism about the international relations "outside the West" (Acharya, Dialogue and discovery: In search of International Relations theories beyond the West , 2011).

Similarly, ASEAN's interest can also be explain by the constructivism's idea that the interest's structure is intersubjectively constituted. In fact, ASEAN's structure of interest can be considered as a system that not only includes necessary components but also reflects the facilitation among them for the mutual theme as well as the interaction of this with other system (Hall, 2006). In that sense, ASEAN state members' interests can be considered as a system of interests coming from: (i) each country's own policy; (ii) other member states' policies and (iii) ASEAN as a whole group's policy. While the first source can be seen in every IR theories with the claim that the main aim of every state's foreign policy is its own survival. Sources (ii) and (iii) are the distinctive characteristics of constructivism. In term of the interests brought about by the other ASEAN member states' policy, it can be seen that after ASEAN came into being, its own member states have been paying more and more consideration into other members' situation when making their own foreign policies. As a result, there has been less and less chance that the war could occur among ASEAN members (Busse, 1999). In term of the interests coming from ASEAN as a single group's policy, the most significant ASEAN has got till now is create mechanisms to give the information on ASEAN's issues in the most favorable ways to member states as well as to make those issues the regional ones so that it can be responded accordingly by the outsiders (Jones, 2007). All those points are not clearly stated in ASEAN charters but have been constructed through the process ASEAN states interacts within the groups and with the outside countries, which gave them the chance to find the best way to utilize their own interests.

In conclusion, constructivism can be well applied in explaining the history of establishment and development of ASEAN. It shows that the main actor in ASEAN's every activity is still the state with the main aim of ensuring its own survival. In the process of achieving that aim, they have interacted with each other as well as with other players outside the group and from that, with their own identities, they have formed the region's own identity

in the style of both natural way and constitutive way. In other words, ASEAN's establishment and development history can be considered a clear illustration for constructivism's ideas about how regional organization have been acted as a single group with this own identity and as a group of countries who have their own identities and interests.

3.2.2 ASEAN's main characteristics in constructivist theory

According to the analysis above about the way constructivism can be applied in studying ASEAN, it can be seen that, constructivist theorists have been focusing on three main distinctive characteristics of ASEAN, including: (i) ASEAN way in pursuing its own aim; (ii) The main achievement of ASEAN as a regional group as got through following that way; and (iii) ASEAN's prospect in future.

In the first place, ASEAN has followed its own way in pursuing its aim of protecting the member states' survival. Acknowledging the fact that ASEAN is the "late comer" in the international relations life, ASEAN has been trying its best to prove its own identity through the absolutely respecting the basic rule of the strong commitment to its member states' sovereignty (Ayoob, 2005). This way is realized through ASEAN's refusal to any use of force to solve the conflict either inside or outside the group. In stead, the emphasis on the "shared ASEAN norms" was laid among member states. First, this perception is socialized around ASEAN countries, especially through the meeting (both informal and formal one) among the ASEAN states' leaders (Acharya, Do norms and identity matter: community and power in Southeast Asia's regional order, 2005). Besides, the ways the way of managing conflicts has been also laid a great emphasis. On the one hand, the principle of consensus has been respected, which help ASEAN get the "competence power" coming from shaping the free-conflict environment in a concerted way instead of asserting its own power to control its own member states' policy (Eaton & Stubbs, 2006). On the other hand, ASEAN has succefully made use of the peaceful approach to every conflict in the sense that the

consultation, negotiation and avoidance of conflicts would be the emphasized through the “dual practice” of ‘reaching consensus through mutual consultations and negotiations’ and ‘diffusing conflict by deferring controversial issues’ (Jetly, 2003). Altogether, in order to ensure the member states’ security, according to constructivist theorists, ASEAN has chosen the peaceful approach of consensus, non-interference and sovereignty respect based on the argument of its own regional identity and interests.

Thanks to that way, ASEAN has been got some certain achievements in managing conflicts that ASEAN countries have been involved. At first, it has been quite successfully in maintaining the peace and stability in the region. In fact, although there have been some conflicts taking place among ASEAN states as well as between ASEAN states with outside countries, there has been no outright conflict or war till now (Jetly, 2003). Thanks to that, ASEAN has been gradually becoming a “pluralistic security community” in the region (Acharya, Do norms and identity matter: community and power in Southeast Asia’s regional order, 2005) in the sense that it now holds a strong creditability for its capacity of introducing some effective solutions to the conflicts happening around the region. Those solutions, as mentioned above, although cannot completely solve the conflicts but at least, can give some breaks for parties to find to best solutions to the problems. In other words, in constructivism’s view, ASEAN has been successful in keeping its own member states from the severe conflicts, from that, creating the secured environment for them to survive and grow.

Finally, the constructivist theorists are quite optimistic about ASEAN’s future. According to their studies and analysis, ASEAN would get a lot of success even beyond the South East Asia region. In the study “Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia”, Eaton and Stubbs claim that, ASEAN would be not only the central point of South East Asia regional community but also the effective starting point for the community of the whole East Asian region in the future (Eaton & Stubbs, 2006).

One of the leading constructivist theorist about ASEAN, Acharya also agrees with this statement and goes into more detail about the way ASEAN can improve that prospect into the “hub of regional multilateral diplomacy” of the whole Asia Pacific region. In his analysis, ASEAN can achieve this success through contribute to setting up the institution of the region through its own various multilateral and bilateral relations with important partners in the region like US, China, India, etc. as well as its effective multilateral mechanism, namely the EAS summit (Acharya, ASEAN at 40: Mid-Life Rejuvenation?, 2007). In general, in the constructivist point of view, ASEAN’s future is quite promising with the broadening in term of space as well as deepening in term of involved institutions, which can be achieved through the process of promoting the regional shared identities.

3.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, among international relations theories about ASEAN, constructivism has proved its own position in explaining ASEAN’s history of establishment and development. This theory, in ASEAN’s case is built up by the arguments about the ASEAN way of emphasizing their own identity and make use of that characteristics to protect their own survival. In that sense, constructivism meet with other international relations theories in the claim that states remain the main actors in every ASEAN’s activity with the main aim of protecting their own survival. However, constructivism differentiates itself from other theories when stating that state’s behaviors are quite unpredictable because they come from the process of interaction among the countries in a very constantly and flexibly changing style. From those points, constructivist theorists have generalized the main characteristics of ASEAN, in which they used their own distinctive identity as a key way to achieve the main aim of protecting their own member states. As a result, the future of this organization, under the constructivist lens, is also quite promising when ASEAN’s influence sphere would go beyond the South East Asia and become the hub of multilateral cooperation in the whole Asia

Pacific region. In other words, constructivism posits that interaction is a key factor in socialization, state identity, and ultimately state behavior. Accordingly, through a focus on interaction between ASEAN and Vietnam, we can come to a better understanding of how ASEAN membership contributes to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process in the following chapters of this study.

When the theoretical approach can provide the framework for discovering the benefits that ASEAN membership can provide Vietnam in its efforts to protect territorial integrity, the next step would provide the tool to go further inside this issue, the discourse analysis methodology.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Among many research methodologies, discourse analysis is chosen by many scholars, especially in the social science aspects. However, as mentioned above, there has been no serious studies on the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection applying this method. This chapter would contribute to filling this gap by (i) Providing an overall understanding on the discourses analysis methodology; (ii) Explaining the relevance of this methods in looking for the answer for the questions of what benefits that ASEAN membership can provide Vietnam in its efforts of protecting the territorial integrity and (iii) Describing the steps in applying this methods to solve the research question of this study.

4.1 Overview about discourse analysis

4.1.1 Definition

Discourse analysis (or content analysis), as its name suggests, is basically the methodology of making inference from text (and others meaningful matters) in its own used context. From time to time, this methods has been developed by different scholars. Dated back to history, discourse analysis was first applied in the 1600s when the empirical studies on communications first conducted (Krippendorff, 1980). However, the phrase “content analysis”, first used in a 1940 study by Douglas Waples and Bernard Berelson, was officially defined in 1948 by Paul F.Lazarsfeld and Berelson. 13 years after that, in 1961, it was listed in the Webster's Dictionary for the first time (Krippendorff K. , 2010). Since then, the definiton of discourse analysis has been gradually enriched. According to Bernard Berelson, discourse analysis is “description of the...content of communication” (Berelson, 1952). This definition is added up by Harold D.Lasswell with the emphasis on the quantification of the “what” messages expressed through the text (Lasswell, 1952) and completed by Ole R.Holsti with the addition of more antecedents, namely the “who” (the source), “how” (the channel),

“why” (the encoding process), and the effects they have “on whom” (Holsti, 1969). In general, discourse analysis can be defined as the “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989).

There are two main approaches to discourse analysis methodology: Quantitative discourse analysis and the qualitative one. There are many discussion on the definition of both:

About the quantitative methods, Ole R. Holsti stated that, quantitative content analysis a “technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.” (Holsti, 1969). Bernhard Berelson broadens this definition when claiming that, quantitative content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” (Berelson, 1952). Although there are still many debates around the each element inside the definition but in general, it can be seen that quantitative disourse analysis method is “an empirical method used in the social sciences primarily for analyzing recorded human communication in a quantitative, systematic, and intersubjective way”. (Scheufele, 2008).

Another approach is the qualitative discourse analysis. Accorridng to Mayring, qualitative content analysis is “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within ^{[[[]]]}_{SEP}their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by ^{[[[]]]}_{SEP}step models, without rash quantification” (Mayring, 2000). Patton broaden this definition by saying that qualitative content analysis can be “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002). Finally Hsieh and Shannon clarified the main aim of the methods, “subjective interpretation of the content of text data ^{[[[]]]}_{SEP}through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes ^{[[[]]]}_{SEP}or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This is very imporatant achievement in defining the content analysis method

because it helps to distinguish between the qualitative content analysis method and the quantitative one, which will be clarified in detail as followed.

There are two main differences between qualitative content analysis and the quantitative one. Understanding these point can help to bring a clearer idea about the qualitative content analysis method. The first distinction lies on the field that these two methods is applied. The quantitative discourse analysis is mostly used in the mass communication, mainly by counting its textual elements in different ways depending on the specific purpose, which makes this methods sometimes be criticized for missing the “syntactical and semantic” information implied in the text (Weber, 1990). In contrast, by focusing on the anthropology, qualitative sociology and psychology analysis, qualitative methods provides a more effective way to examine the meaning underlying the “physical text” (Wildemuth & Zhang, 2009). Secondly, while the quantitative content analysis is more deductive in the sense that it aims at testing some hypothesis or answering questioned raised by previous empirical thesis, the qualitative analysis methods is more inductive when it tries to create the new inference or interpretation from the text (of many kinds). The third difference is about the way of collecting the data of these two methods. While the data sample in the quantitative technique should be collected randomly, that of the qualitative should be done in a selected way, depending on the research question being examined. Finally, the products of these two methods are different. While the quantitative aims at number which can be interpreted through various statistical methods to some extent, the qualitative will produce expression and description, which will be interpreted by the investigators based on various context (Berg, 2001). However, in real research, these two methods are sometimes not exclusive and often can be used in the combining style: “qualitative analysis deals with the forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form”.

4.1.2 Requirements to discourse analysis methods

There are two main thinking streams about the requirements to discourse analysis. Some scholars agree that the conventional requirements for every type of research methodology, namely reliability, plausibility and validity can be applied to judge the result of this methodology (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis, 2010). Some others argue that, based on the distinctive characteristics of the discourse analysis, a specific group of standards should be applied to check the trustworthiness of the methodology (Bradley, 1993). Lincoln and Guba, in this work, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), have clarified four main criteria can be used for the evaluation of the discourse analysis methodology: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

On the one hand, many scholars agree to use the conventional criteria to judge the result of discourse analysis method. In the first place, the methods have to ensure the reliability. In order to fulfill this requirement, the data used for the methods should be available and interpreted in the same way. As a result, the research process can be reproduced in any case with the same result. In the content analysis methods, the part that meet the biggest challenges to meet with this requirement is the “recording, categorization or scaling of text by human coders” (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis, 2010) because not everyone can access it, also, the interpretation has no specific standard to be synced with each others. The second requirement to the content analysis method is the plausibility. To different methodologies, the plausibility of the methods can be defined in different ways but in general, it gives the answer to the question whether one part of the methodology worth using to answer the research question (Fulton, 2010). In the case of discourse analysis, the plausibility focuses on answering to main questions: (i) Whether the text selected ring the true for the seek of answer for the research question and (ii) Whether the ways that text is interpreted can help to reach the findings of the research. Briefly, the plausibility in discourse analysis

method focuses on the requirement of suitability of the text selection and interpretation of the text to the research. Finally, the discourse analysis methodology has to meet with the requirement of validity. According to (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis, 2010), there are two categories of validity that the discourse analysis methodology needs to satisfy, the content validity and the technique validity. In term of content, the validity of discourse analysis methodology can be divided into three main components: (i) The correlative validity focuses on the correlation between result of the analysis and other variables used for the same research purpose; (ii) The structural validity is about the level to which the structure of the analysis can be the representative of the “stable relations underlying the inference” (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis, 2010); and (iii) the functional validity requires the history of the contribution of the analytical construct to the previous researches. In term of technique, the discourse analysis also has to meet with the requirements of semantic validity and the sampling validity. While the former focuses relativeness between the text with the readers, the later requires the validity in term of the representativeness of the sampled text. In general, like other methods, the content analysis also needs to be reliable, plausible and valid. Fulfilling those requirements would play important role in serving the study purpose of answering the research question.

On the other hand, there are some other scholars requiring the distinctive criteria to judge the result of the discourse analysis methodology. According to Lincoln and Guba (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), there are four main standards the methodology needs to meet, including the credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. In the first place, the creditability of the research refers to the “adequate representation of the construction of the social world under study” (Bradley, 1993). In order to achieve that standard, the researcher using the discourse analysis needs to fulfill two main criteria, the representation and the transparency in his/her study. While the first one will ensure the quality of the

research, the second one will pave the way for any kind of check to the study. Thanks to that, it would appear to be more creditable to the readers. Secondly, the discourse analysis methodology needs to be transferable. In that sense, the data and description used in the research needs to be rich enough to be applicable not only in that research itself but also works well in another contexts. The third requirement is the dependability. This criteria means “ the coherence of the internal process and the way the researcher accounts for changing conditions in the phenomena” (Bradley, 1993). In other words, an analysis can be considered “dependable” when every step of that is logically realized so that the checking process would be easier and consistent. And the final requirement for the discourse analysis methodology is the confirmability. This requirement refers to the level that the analysis is confirmed by the readers or the reviewers. The package of confirmation should cover most of the analysis products, including the data, the findings, the interpretations, and the recommendations. Briefly, based on the distinctive characteristics of the discourse analysis methodology comparing with other research methods, it needs to be creditable, transferable, dependable and confirmable. Fulfilling those requirements would help the research utilize all the advantages of the discourse analysis methodology in answering the research question.

In conclusion, the discourse analysis methodology, as a special research method, needs to fulfill the requirement for all research methods in general and the specific standards for the analysis itself in particular. In order to do so, the researchers should take a careful consideration in these criteria from very first beginning of the research process until the checking step so that all the requirements are adequately fulfilled for the aim of research. With all those requirements, the discourse analysis methodology can effectively fulfill the aim of the study on the role of ASEAN in Vietnam’s territorial integrity protection (the further detail would be clarified in the part 4.2 of this chapter).

4.1.3 Main steps in discourse analysis process

Different scholars have different ideas about the steps in discourse analysis process (see the figure 1, 2, 3). However, in general, it can be divided into three main steps: (i) Data preparation; (ii) Data coding and (iii) Drawing conclusion from the data.

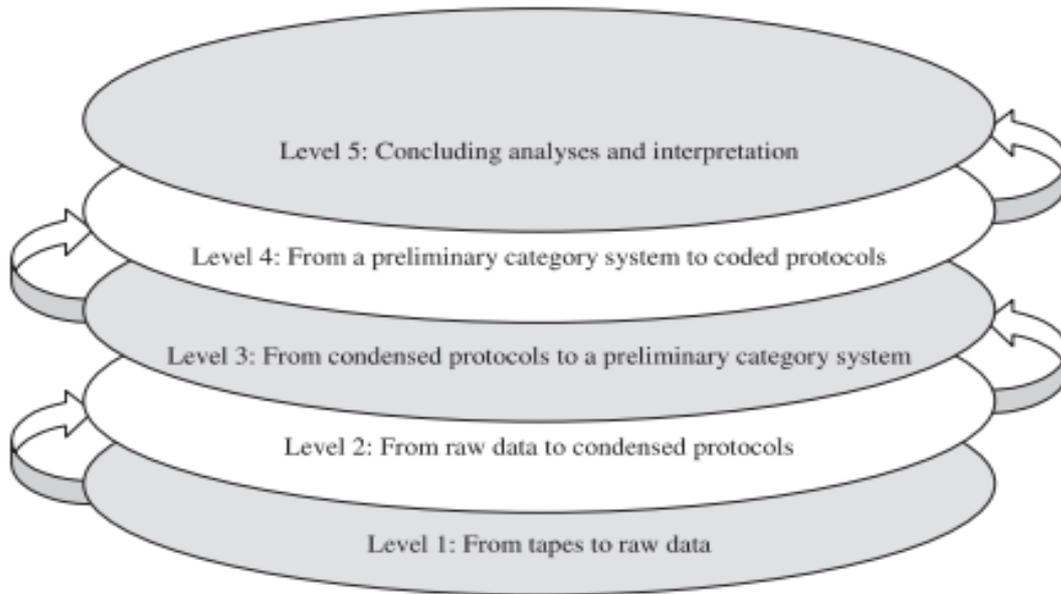
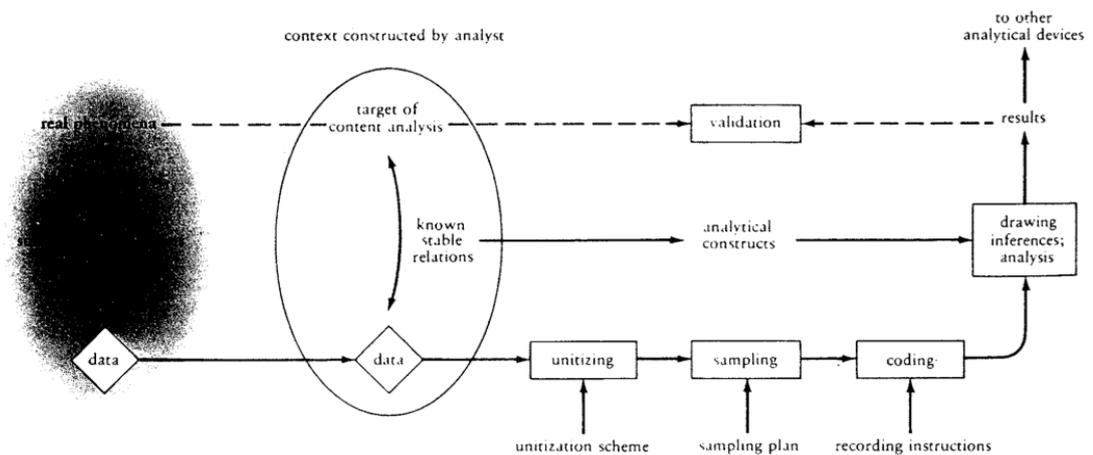
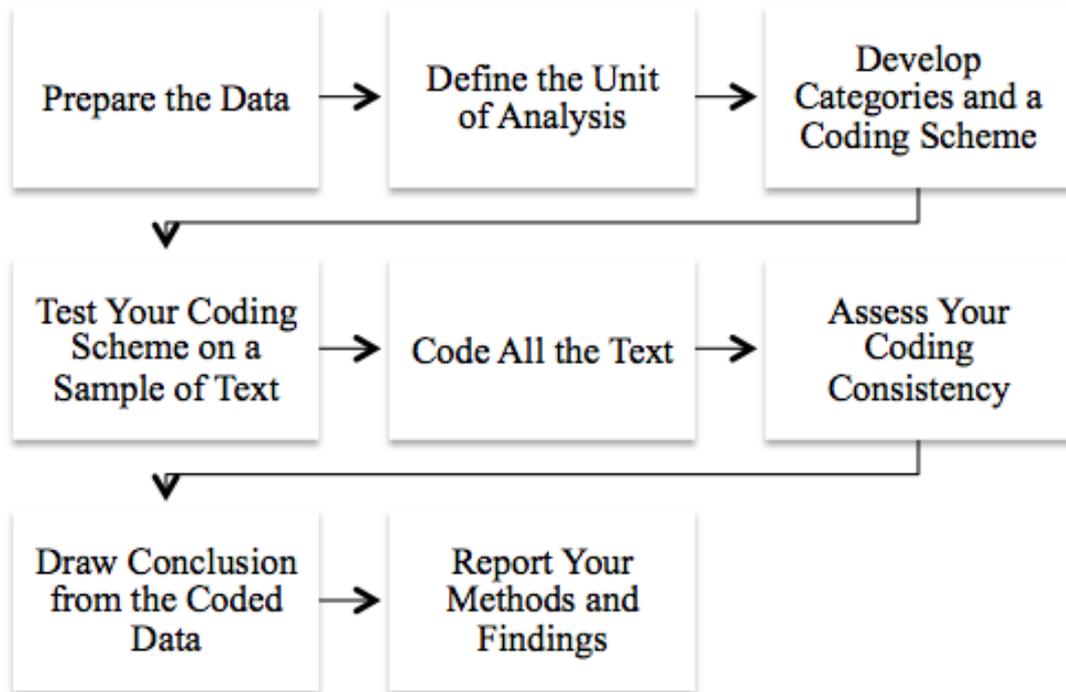


Figure 1: The discourse analysis research process by Jan Schilling

(Schilling, 2006)



**Figure 2: The discourse analysis research process by Klaus Krippendorff
(Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989)**



**Figure 3: The discourse analysis research process by (Wildemuth & Zhang ,
Qualitative Analysis of Content, 2009)**

4.1.3.1 Data preparation

For every discourse analysis process, data preparation is the first step needing to be taken into serious consideration. Data in discourse analysis often comes from the existing text (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis, 2010), so the most important points of this step, instead of finding the data, is the framework for analyzing those data based on the research context (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989) and the choice of data's content which can be justified by the research question (Patton, 2002). In the first place, the researcher has to design the framework for analyzing the data. This step can be done through defining the

research's context through three main terms: (i) The issue that the researcher wants to know but can not be directly seen from the data; (ii) The sources of data that are available to the researcher and (iii) the suitable analytical construct that can connect the data to the context of research issue (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989). Also, to come up with the data's content used in the research, the researcher needs to answer three main questions: (i) Whether a part or the all the data in each discourse should used? (ii) Whether every detail or just the summary of that discourse should be used? And (iii) should other factors related to that discourse be taken into account? (Schilling, 2006). These points above would be solved differently based on different research questions. However, clarifying these issues at the very first beginning of the research would help the researchers not only save the time but also avoid the unnecessary factors can mislead them into wrongly answer the research question.

4.1.3.2 Data coding

The second, oftenly the longest step of discourse analysis reserach process is the data coding step. The whole step is around two main issues: What to code? And How to code?

The “what to code” issue is realized through identifying units of the data used in the research. The first thing needed to be done in this step is sampling the unit. In general, sampling the data is aimed at helping the researcher draw all a “statistically repreasantative sample from a population of potentially available data” (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989). However, it should be taken in to account that it not compulsory for the discourse analysis research to draw all the representative discourse or investigate everypart of the discourse chosen. Therefore, the sampling step, unlike in other types of research just focuses on the two main points: (i) to undo the statistical bias that the researchers often meet with when dealing with the discoursed by important figures and (ii) to ensure that the part of discourse chosen to be examnied (the publication, page number, etc...) is the representative of the research subject (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989).

After sampling the data, a further step should be done to deal with those data, that is to unitize them. There are seven major unit of data that can be referred in the discourse analysis methods (Berg, 2001). The first unit is the *words or terms*. This is the smallest unit in the discourse analysis. In most researches, this unit is mentioned through its frequency of being repeated in the used text. The second unit is the *themes*. It is often a group of words or a sentence whose meaning is about a specific topic. Because the theme is often located in some certain parts of the discourse, the researcher should identify the parts for theme searching in every discourse in advance. The third unit is the *characters*. In fact, in many cases the number of times that a certain character (person/organization...) is mentioned in a discourse can refer to some ideas that can help answer the research question. Because one character can be texted with different words, this unit should be distinguished from the words unit. The fourth one is the *paragraphs*. This unit is not really often used in the discourse analysis because of the difficulty to extract the single and clear meaning from one paragraph objectively. However, in some cases, the repetition of paragraph expressing the same ideas about some certain aspects can be utilized as a channel to answer the research question. The fifth unit is the *items*. This unit refers to the whole unit of the message sent through the discourse. It can be a letter, speech, artical, etc. The sixth unit is the *concepts*. Similar to the *characters* unit, the *concepts* unit is also different from the *words* unit in the sense that, it can be texted under different words with the meaning belongings to a certain group identified by the researchers. Normally, the *concepts* unit can be identified through the variables in the research hypothesis or the important concepts used in the statement of problem. The last but not least unit used in the discourse analysis methodology is the *semantics*. Unlike other units mentioned above, the unit *semantics* is not about the type or the number the words are used, it is about “how strong or weak a word (or words) may be in relations to the overall sentiments of the sentence” (Pinhey & Sanders, 1983 cited in Berg, 2001). In order to apply this unit in

the discourse analysis, the objective judgment from the researcher should be taken into consideration. In brief, the identification and definition of units used in the discourse analysis research is very important to every study (Weber R. P., 1990) because this can affect the following steps of the research and as a result influence the whole research outcome (Wever, Schellens, Valcke, & Keer, 2006).

The question “how to code” is solved differently by different scholars (see figure 1, 2, 3). However, in general, it is all about developing the coding scheme based on categorizing the data. The categories of data can be built upon three main sources: (i) The data itself; (ii) The previous studies that are related to the research topic and (iii) theories about the research topic. Based on different research purposes, the researchers can choose the suitable source (or all of them) for categorizing the unit identified previously. Also, he/she can make some modification to that theory to develop his/her own coding categories (Miles & Huberman, 1994). There are three main points that the researcher should take into note when coding. At first, it is not necessary that the categories have to be absolutely exclusive. Some unit of text can be used more than once in different categories (Tesch, 1990). However, this should not be abused, in the best scenario, the categories should be homogeneous inside its own category as well as heterogeneous in comparing with others as much as possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The second point that the researcher should take into consideration when coding the data is the careful check of the category’s clarity and consistency. This task should be realized in all stages of the process: Before the real coding with the coding of some certain samples to prevent “drifting into an idiosyncratic sense of what the codes mean” (Schilling, 2006) and after the coding to recheck the whole coding scheme’s consistency. The last but not least point that the researcher has to keep in mind when coding is that the definition of the categories can change time by time (Miles & Huberman, 1994) which can affect the consistency of the coding’s consistency. As a result, the addition, deletion or

revision of the categories whenever any problems related to the coding scheme emerges is completely possible (and necessary during the coding process) (Weber R. P., 1990).

4.1.3.3 Drawing conclusion from the data

The final step in the discourse analysis research process is to draw the conclusion and findings from the coded data. This is, to many scholars, the most critical part to determine the success of the research (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989; Wildemuth & Zhang , Qualitative Analysis of Content, 2009). In order to finish this step, there are three main tasks that the researchers have to fulfill. At first, it's necessary to identify the properties and dimensions of the data's categories. Secondly, the relationship between the different categories (including the inclusive parts) should be taken into account. And finally, the researcher should examine the patterns of categories, especially in its relationship with the whole package of data (Bradley, 1993). The main aim of three tasks at the end is to apply the characteristics of coded data to answer the research question, or in other words, the inference to the conclusion from the map of data (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989).

In brief, discourse analysis research process is a multiple tasks that different researchers would have different ideas on how to deal with it in the best way (which is suitable to the characteristics of the research topic, the situation of the data as well as their own capacity). However, no matter which kind of process chosen, the researchers always have to follow three basic steps, namely data preparation, data coding and the conclusion inference. Also, one of the most important point needed to be paid attention to is the careful check to every step of the research, especially the categorizing and coding scheme so that the research would be always objective, focusing and updating.

4.2 The relevance of discourse analysis methodology to the study

As mentioned in the chapter 2 of this study, there has been no study on the role of ASEAN in protecting the member states' security in general and in protecting Vietnam's territorial integrity in particular. However, this methodology has proven its own relevance to this study in both terms of theory and content.

In term of theory, discourse analysis methodology can go well with the study using the constructivist approach like this study. In fact, in focusing in language that, in the case of political science, is mostly about the changing conceptualization of political phenomena like societies, institutions or identities, discourse analysis methodology, to some extent, has the same approach with the constructivism (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000a). According to discourse theorists, language itself is about the "situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relations between people and groups of people" (Wodak & Fairclough, 1997). As a result, in analyzing the discourse, instead of finding the fixed situation of any phenomenon which remain the "black box" in studying (Zucker, 1991), they would try to discover and describe the way the that phenomena is constructed (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Consequently, it is not merely a simple methodology, but became a theoretical one "based on a constructivist epistemology" (Wood & Kroger , 2000; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). For this reason, it can be seen that, discourse analysis would be a perfect supplement to this study which use the constructivism as the main approach.

In term of content, discourse analysis methodology is also a good way helping researcher to examine the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection.

In term of content, discourse analysis methodology is also a good way helping researcher to examine the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. Firstly, it gives a quite convenient way to discover the ASEAN's policy and roles. In fact, ASEAN's

activities and contribution in general, and the contribution of ASEAN in this study, in particular, as every other institutions' policy making process seems to be hard to access to the mass, the "marginalized sections of society", especially in terms of agenda settings, networking, decision-making arenas, etc (Srinivasulu, 2004).^{[1][2][3][4][5][6][7][8][9][10][11][12][13][14][15][16][17][18][19][20][21][22][23][24][25][26][27][28][29][30][31][32][33][34][35][36][37][38][39][40][41][42][43][44][45][46][47][48][49][50][51][52][53][54][55][56][57][58][59][60][61][62][63][64][65][66][67][68][69][70][71][72][73][74][75][76][77][78][79][80][81][82][83][84][85][86][87][88][89][90][91][92][93][94][95][96][97][98][99][100]} However, the discourses related to this study is quite available because to most political subjects, no matter how serious or confidential their missions are, the coalition with other subjects are very important. In that sense, public discourse becomes an effective way for them to gather the outside support through identifying their commonality in interests in argument and narratives, or in another words, "discourse coalitions". (Srinivasulu, 2004). Also, language is one of the best way to understand phenomena related to an institution or organization (Phillips, Lawrence , & Hardy , Discourse and Institutions, 2004) in general and ASEAN in particular. In fact, studying about the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995, in this research' s approach, is also the study about the interaction between ASEAN and other related subjects about this issues. And one of the most popular channels used to define those interaction are the linguistics processes of constitueing the definition of the constantly and flexibly changing reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Given these points, discourse analysis methodology is relevant to this study because it is not only convenient but also suitable to the characteristics of the study's objective.

In addition, discourse analysis help to reduce the bias when studying the sensitive issue like the sovereignty in this study. There are two main reasons for this fact. At first, the process of discourse analysis is quite objective in the sense that, regardless of where, when or by whom the analysis is realized, the steps for discourse analysis are fixed with clear principles of categorizing and coding. As a result, this process would be difficult to be affected by the researcher's impartiality. Secondly, in discourse analysis, every unit of analysis is treated equally no matter where it is used in the analysis. As a result, the inference

from the analysis would be objective in the sense that no matter what kind the procedures in analyzing the discourse is, the final result of coding process would be not significantly different. Altogether, discourse analysis methodology eliminate the chance that the researcher can be, intentionanly or mistakenly, bias when dealing with sensitive issues like the national territorial integriy (Krippendorff K. , Content Analysis , 1989).

Last but not least, the discourse analysis methodology pave the way for the researcher connect the study with the whole context, which is very important this study, given the complicated environment related to Vietnam, ASEAN and the territorial integrity issue. At first, the discourse analysis opens the door for the researcher to identify the context that each discourse has come into being. Thanks to that, the inference from the coding scheme would have more information to go in the right track (Krippendorff K., Content Analysis , 1989). Secondly, the discourse analysis would help the researcher focus on the important events and subjects of the issues through identify the political meaning and priority of the data available (Srinivasulu, 2004). In the case of this study, this feature is very important because there are many of discourse talking about ASEAN and its member states' territorial integriy protection issues. However, not all of them, or some parts of them are essential for answering the study's research question. Discourse analysis, with the consideration of the Vietnam, ASEAN, territorial integrity issue context, would help to solve this issue. Finally, the discourse analysis would help the researcher overcome the "economistic-reductionist limitations of the orthodox Marxism" (Hall & Foucault , 2001). Actually, the issue of study is not simply about the truth and power, the relation between Vietnam and ASEAN, the ASEAN's perception and policy about the member states' territorial integrity issues has changed time to time depending on many complicated factors. As a result, discourse analysis methodology, with the highlight of "the significance of local and micro contexts, institutions, networks, strategies and practices" (Srinivasulu, 2004) would help to identify all of those changes.

In conclusion, the discourse analysis methodology, although has never been used before in the study of ASEAN in protecting its member states' territorial integrity, turns out to be a quite effective way to examine this issue. It proves not only the closed relations with the constructivist approach that is used in this study but also the relevance to the contents mentioned here.

4.3 Applying discourse analysis to identify the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection

In this part the whole process of studying the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995 through the discourse analysis methodology would be shown in detail via three main steps as described above: (i) Data preparation; (ii) Data coding and (iii) Drawing the conclusion from the data

4.3.1 Data preparation

In this step, the study would try to discover the list of discourses that can help to examine the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995. In order to do so, it is necessary to identify the context of choosing the data and from that, select the appropriate list of possible discourses.

In term of the study's context, as mentioned in the Chapter 2 (literature review) of this study, there is not many discourses directly evaluating the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection since 1995. However, there are three main types of discourses that are related to this issues: (i) The discourses from Vietnam, the main host of the benefits, claiming it (not through proving); (ii) The discourses from ASEAN, the main source of the benefits, stating their intentions to assist; and (iii) The discourses from prestigious journals and magazines giving comments or showing the interests in the issues thanks to the membership of Vietnam in ASEAN. Those discourses are mostly made public under both

kinds of official documents from ASEAN, Vietnam and other related governments' and other means of media.

Among those discourses, it is not necessary to use all of them for the analysis. On the one hand, it would be inconvenient for the researcher to focus on the main issue considering the fact that there are a huge amount of discourses that can qualify the criteria mentioned in above. For example, there are about 1500 meetings officially held by ASEAN each year (Yap, 2012), for each meeting, there would be at least one official statement from ASEAN. Also, around every of that event, there would be many articles around that as well as the official press release, at least, from Vietnam. Examining all of those documents seems to be a huge work for the researcher. On the other hand, and more important, not all of those discourses focus, represent or even mention the topic (This point will be explained in detail in each group of documents as followed). As a result, using all of those discourses without a careful consideration can distract the researcher away from the main topic.

In term of the content of documents, it is not necessary to analyze every detail of the discourse selected; however, other factors related to the discourse should be taken into consideration. In fact, as mentioned above, there is no discourse studying about the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection seriously. The information about that issue maybe just appears as a part of the discourse selected. As a result, it is not necessary to examine the whole contents of those documents to answer the research question. The choice of content should be based on various reasons, namely the time of each discourse's release, the structure of discourse, etc. (The selection for each group of discourse would be described in detail later). Also, the sources of the discourses selected are also quite various. On the one hand, there are some official statements from the government that is typically featured by political calculations; on the other hand, there are some analysis from international journalism which largely characterized by the personal idea of the writers. Therefore, to each

group of discourse, it is necessary to take a careful consideration into their own context to have the most suitable method of selecting the part for analyzing.

All things considered, there should be five main groups of documents that can help the study convenient, representative and effective:

The first group of documents is the Documents of the Vietnam National Party Congress. According to Vietnam's political system after the unification (1975), the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) is the "force leading the State and society"(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam, 2014). In order to do so, there is a National Congress of the Party held once every five years as the "lighthouse" (Koh, 2008) to make decision on the development of the party and the country, in both terms of domestic and foreign issues. In accordance to each Congress, the VPC would release Party documents that state the key strategic policy for the next five years of the country (Thayer, 2015). Depending on specific contexts of the country, there is a various range of documents released from each VCP National Congress are quite different. However, the most important one is the VCP National Congress's Resolution which would establish the framework for every policy of the country in the next five years. There are four main groups of contents in every Resolution: (i) The appraisal of the past five-year period; (ii) Experiences drawn from the previous five-year period; (iii) The VCP's forecast on the global and domestic situation in the next 5 years and (iv) the goals and tasks for the coming period (Vietnam Plus, 2011). In that sense, the Documents' content would solve Vietnam's perception about the foreign partners in general and ASEAN in particular. However, as mentioned above, the Resolution is the most important Document of each Congress and also, all the strategic policy is listed in the part about "the goals and tasks for the coming period" As a result, instead of examining all the documents, the study just needs to focus on the part (iv) of the Resolutions of VCP National Congress since 1995.

The second group of documents analyzed is the discourses from ASEAN. There are three main points related to this kind of discourse that needs to be noted. At first, as mentioned above, not every ASEAN activity is related to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. Also, there is a huge amount of official statements released by ASEAN each year to announce this organization's opinion on various issues. Finally, different from the discourses from the VCP National Congress, ASEAN official statements are quite short and concrete about a specific issue. All things considered, it is necessary to specify the type of documents for analyzing and the study would examine the whole content of the document selected. In that sense, there are three main types of documents that need to be analyzed. The first one is the ASEAN charter. The ASEAN Charter has been enforced since 15th December 2008, with the main aims of "codifies ASEAN norms, rules and values; sets clear targets for ASEAN; and presents accountability and compliance" , from that, laying the "legal status and institutional framework for ASEAN" . Therefore, through this document, the study can examine what benefits ASEAN is supposed to provide Vietnam's national territorial integrity protection process.

The second group of documents is ASEAN's official statements from ASEAN summits. The ASEAN summits are held annually from 1967 to 2008 and twice per year from 2009 till now. Each summit would release many statements on important issues of the organizations. Also, the leaders from ASEAN states and ASEAN's important partners would also deliver important speeches about critical issues related to the region. The study would analyze the statements from ASEAN summits from 1995 to 2015, including:

- i) Twenty-sixth ASEAN Summit, *Kuala Lumpur & Langkawi, Malaysia, 26-28 April 2015.*
- ii) Twenty-fifth ASEAN Summit, *Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, 11-13 November 2014*
- iii) Twenty-fourth ASEAN Summit, *Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, 10-11 May 2014*

iv) Twenty third ASEAN Summit, *Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 9-10 October 2013*

v) Twenty second ASEAN Summit, *Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 24-25 April 2013*

vi) Twenty-first ASEAN Summit, *Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 18 November 2012*

vii) Twentieth ASEAN Summit, *Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 03-04 April 2012*

viii) Nineteenth ASEAN Summit, *Bali, Indonesia, 14-19 November 2011*

ix) Eighteenth ASEAN Summit, *Jakarta, 7-8 May 2011*

x) Seventeenth ASEAN Summit, *Ha Noi, 28-30 October 2010*

xi) Sixteenth ASEAN Summit, *Ha Noi, 8-9 April 2010*

xii) Fifteenth ASEAN Summit, *Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 23-25 October 2009*

xiii) Fourteenth ASEAN Summit, *Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February - 1 March 2009*

xiv) Thirteenth ASEAN Summit, *Singapore, 18-22 November 2007*

xv) Twelfth ASEAN Summit, *Cebu, Philippines, 9-15 January 2007*

xvi) Eleventh ASEAN Summit, *Kuala Lumpur, 12-14 December 2005*

xvii) Tenth ASEAN Summit, *Vientiane, 29-30 November 2004*

xviii) Ninth ASEAN Summit, *Bali, 7-8 October 2003*

xix) Eighth ASEAN Summit, *Phnom Penh, 4-5 November 2002*

xx) Seventh ASEAN Summit, *Bandar Seri Begawan, 5-6 November 2001*

xxi) Fourth Informal Summit, *Singapore, 22-25 November 2000*

xxii) Third Informal Summit, *Manila, 27-28 November 1999*

xxiii) Sixth ASEAN Summit, *Ha Noi, 15-16 December 1998*

xxiv) Second Informal Summit, *Kuala Lumpur, 14-16 December 1997*

xxv) First Informal Summit, *Jakarta, 30 November 1996*

xxvi) Fifth ASEAN Summit, *Bangkok, 14-15 December 1995*

(See appendix A for the List of Statements from the ASEAN summits from 1995)

Analyzing all documents from those summits would help identify what ASEAN has done in reality in benefiting Vietnam's national territorial integrity protection.

The third group is Statements in The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). ARF is an important mechanism of ASEAN focusing on the security issues of the region. It was first held in Bangkok on 25 July 1994. With the main objectives of: (i) fostering "constructive

dialogue and consultation on political and security issues of common interest and concern”; and making “significant contributions to efforts towards confidence-building and preventive diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region” (ASEAN Regional Forum, 2011), the ARF would be the main subject of ASEAN’s support to Vietnam’s territorial integrity protection. However, there are a huge amount of documents (statements, speeches, reports, etc.) released by the ARF each year and the main contents of those are all included in the ARF Chairman’s Statements. Therefore, the study would just analyze the ARF Chairman’s Statements from the ASEAN Regional Forum which is held every two years, including:

- i) The Twentysecond ASEAN Regional Forum, 2014-2015, *Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 6 August 2015*
- ii) The Twentyfirst ASEAN Regional Forum, 2013-2014, *Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, 10 August 2014*
- iii) The Twentieth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2012-2013, *Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 2 July 2013*
- iv) The Nineteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2011-2012, *Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 12 July 2012*
- v) The Eighteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2010-2011, *Bali, Indonesia, 23 July 2011*
- vi) The Seventeenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2009-2010, *Hanoi, Viet Nam, 23 July 2010*
- vii) The Sixteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2008-2009, *Phuket, Thailand, 23 July 2009*
- viii) The Fifteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2007-2008, *Singapore, 24 July 2008*
- ix) The Fourteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2006-2007, *Manila, Philippines, 2 August 2007*
- x) The Thirteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2005-2006, *Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 28 July 2006*
- xi) The Twelfth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2004-2005, *Vientiane, Lao PDR, 29 July 2005*
- xii) The Eleventh ASEAN Regional Forum, 2003-2004, *Jakarta, Indonesia, 2 July 2004*
- xiii) The Tenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2002-2003, *Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 18 June 2003*

- xiv) The Ninth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2001-2002, *Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 31 July 2002*
 - xv) The Eighth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2000-2001, *Hanoi, Vietnam, 25 July 2001*
 - xvi) The Seventh ASEAN Regional Forum, 1999-2000, *Bangkok, Thailand, 27 July 2000*
 - xvii) The Sixth ASEAN Regional Forum, 1998-1999, *Singapore, 26 July 1999*
 - xviii) The Fifth ASEAN Regional Forum, 1997-1998, *Manila, Philippines, 27 July 1998*
 - xix) The Fourth ASEAN Regional Forum, 1996-1997, *Subang Jaya, Malaysia, 27 July 1997*
 - xx) The Third ASEAN Regional Forum, 1995-1996, *Jakarta, Indonesia, 23 July 1996*
 - xxi) The Second ASEAN Regional Forum, 1994-1995, *Brunei Darussalam, 1 August 1995*
- (See appendix B for the List of Chairman Statements from ARF from 1995).*

The final group of discourse for the study is the prestigious journals and magazines about international relations. Although this type of discourse's influence in international relations is still controversial (Yordanova, 2012), it cannot be denied that its role is more and more important in international relations' life (Owens & Nye, 1996). The magazines, with the updated information can bring the general information to the audience, that, as a result, can bring the very first perception of the international community about Vietnam's territorial integrity issue. On the other hand, the journals, written by prestigious scholars all over the world aims at providing the further research on the issue (Weber State University, 2014). Although these researches are the personal ideas of some scholars, but with their own prestige as well as the legacy of some journals, the articles in prestigious journals is quite influential among the international community. Therefore, if the issue of Vietnam's territorial integrity can appear in influential magazines and journals, it would be a great benefit to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. As a result, identifying how this issue appears in these discourses as an ASEAN issue can help to examine the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. However, it would be impossible to analyze all the magazines

and journals available about this issues. In term of magazine, the New York Times' issues since 1995, one of the most five influential magazines in the world, based on Nate Silver's analysis (Silver, 2011), would be selected for the study. In term of journals, there are three journals appearing as one of top prestigious journals in most analyses (SJR, 2014; Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations, 2014; McLean, Blais, Garand, & Giles, 2009) selected for this studies, namely the Foreign Affairs Journal, the World Politics Journal and the International Security Journal.

In conclusion, based on the analysis of the issue as well as the characteristics of each group of documents, there are four groups of documents selected for the study with the detail summarized in the Table 1 below:

	Name of discourse(s) chosen	Discourses' time of release	Analyzed part of the discourse
Official Statement from Vietnam	The Resolutions of VCP National Congress	Since 1995	Part (iv) “the goals and tasks for the coming period” of the Resolutions
Official Statements from ASEAN	ASEAN Charter	Since 1995	The whole documents related
	Statements in ASEAN’s summits		
	Statements in ARF		
Prestigious magazines and journals	The Foreign Affairs Journal	Since 1995	The whole documents related
	The International Security Journal		
	The New York Times		

Table 1: Summary of documents selected for the analysis

4.3.2 Data coding

For each group of documents, there would be different scheme for coding based on distinctive characteristics of them.

In term official statements from Vietnam, since 1995, there are four VCP National Congress taking place in Vietnam, including the 8th VCP National Congress in 1996; the 9th VCP National Congress in 2001, 10th VCP National Congress in 2006 and the 11th VCP National Congress in 2011. As a result, there are 4 Resolutions needing to be analyzed. For all those four documents, there should be three main units for this document: The words, the concepts and the semantics. Firstly, the study would analyze the appearance of the word “ASEAN” and “*territorial integrity*” in part (iv) “the goals and tasks for the coming period” of

Resolutions. Also, since Vietnam held the membership of ASEAN, this country has experienced a long process of reforming its own foreign policy, especially in terms of integrating into the international relations life (The Central Executive Committee, 2013). In that sense, the way VCP recognized and named ASEAN and other issues of foreign policy in their Resolution have been also developed time to time. Therefore, it is necessary to use another unit of coding for the analysis, the concept unit. According to this, the study would analyze any concept related to ASEAN (including *neighbor countries, regional organizations, etc.*) and territorial issue (namely the *sovereignty, independence, security, territory, etc.*). However, the appearance and repetition of these words and concept can just show the way Vietnam evaluate these two issues in the general context. Consequently, in order to see how Vietnam puts emphasis on the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection, it is necessary to take into consideration the third unit, the semantics. That is to say, the position of those words and concepts are very important. That the resolution implies the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity issue just makes sense if these codes are put together, or at least, in the same paragraph. Finally, it should be noted that the content of each CVP National Congress Resolution covers every aspect of the party and country's policy in the next five years. The part for foreign policy is often not really long, in the part iv, it is just around one to three paragraphs. Therefore, if those words, concepts appear in the Resolution together, it pa would be a strong expression that Vietnam strongly highlights the role of ASEAN in the country's territorial integrity protection.

In term of official statements from ASEAN, there would be two main units that need to be analyzed: The words, themes and the semantics. At first, the study would focus to examine the appearance of frequency of three main following words in ASEAN's statements: (i) *territorial*; (ii) *sovereignty* and (iii) *peace*. These three words, to some extent, are inclusive in term of meaning when territorial integrity is an indicator to ensure the sovereignty and

similarly, sovereignty is an indicator to ensure the peace in the region. The ASEAN's selection among these three words, therefore would show the level of their real concern to the territorial integrity of other member states in comparison with other issues. Secondly, the study would identify three themes in ASEAN's official statements: (i) the ASEAN member states' territorial integrity issue (ii) Vietnam's territorial integrity issue and (iii) the way in solving the issue. However, in order to identify clearly to what extent ASEAN can benefit Vietnam's territorial integrity protection, the semantic unit should be taken into account. According to that, the study would analyze the languages used in those themes to examine the attitude of ASEAN towards each issues. There are two main focuses in this unit for analyzing: At first, the study would analyze the verbs used for each theme in the senses that they would be the weak, neutral or strong verbs and secondly, the study would discover the tone of expression in those discourses, also at three level, weak, neutral and strong. Altogether, the study can help to find out in which field and how ASEAN can benefit Vietnam in the territorial integrity protection process.

The final group of documents that needs to be unitized is the group of news and articles in the prestigious magazines and journals, respectively. There are two main units coming from this group that the study would focus on: The first unit is the theme. In this unit, the study would find out the appearance and repetition of the ASEAN member states' territorial integrity issue theme and Vietnam's territorial integrity themes in the influential magazines and journals all over the world. However, this theme must be the one in which Vietnam is mentioned under the ASEAN's member state cover. This point is very important because if it were about Vietnam's territorial integrity issue only, it would be impossible to conclude that ASEAN was beneficial to bring Vietnam into the attention of the international community. Last but not least, the semantic unit would also be discovered in the study. In this unit, the study would analyze the position the Vietnam's territorial integrity issues appear in

news and articles. In term of news in magazines, the appearance of this issue as the headline would be focused. In term of journals in articles, the use of the issue as the main topic would be an important indicator.

In summary, for each group of documents, the coding scheme would be different based on its own characteristics, that scheme can be summarized in the Table 2 as followed:

Group of documents	Coding units	Indicators in each coding unit
VCP National Congress' Resolutions (part iv)	Words	ASEAN
		Territorial integrity
	Concepts	<i>ASEAN: neighbor countries, regional organizations region, etc</i>
		<i>Territorial issue: sovereignty, independence, security, territory, etc.</i>
Semantics	ASEAN and territorial issue concept put together	
Official Statements from ASEAN (ASEAN Charter, Statements in ASEAN's summits and Statements in ARF)	Word	Territorial
		Sovereignty
		Peace
	Themes	The territorial integrity issue of ASEAN member states
		The territorial integrity issue of Vietnam, as an ASEAN member states
	Semantics	Use of verb: <i>Weak, neutral, strong</i>
Tone of expression: <i>Weak, neutral, strong</i>		

Prestigious magazines and journals	Magazine <i>(The New York Times)</i>	Themes	The territorial integrity issue of ASEAN member states
			The territorial integrity issue of Vietnam, as an ASEAN member states
	Journals <i>(The Foreign Affairs, and the International Security)</i>	Semantics	Appearance as headline
		Themes	The territorial integrity issue of ASEAN member states
Semantics	Being the main topic		

Table 2: Summary of the coding scheme

4.3.3 Drawing conclusion from the data

The result from the coding step would help the study identify the aspects that ASEAN membership can benefit Vietnam in protecting this country's territorial integration. Each group of documents, with its own characteristics would be interpreted differently.

The analysis of the VCP National Congress' Resolutions would help to examine whether ASEAN has a role in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection or not. Specifically, that the words and concepts of ASEAN and Vietnam's territorial integrity appear in the Resolutions would show that ASEAN has the certain role. Also, if the frequency of these units in the Resolutions after four National Congress would express the process of increasing or decreasing the role of this organization. Finally, the way those terms and concepts are put together, beside other concepts related to the guidelines to the party and country's foreign policy in the next five coming years, in the Resolutions would the importance of ASEAN to Vietnam's territorial integrity in the comparison with other factors.

The analysis of ASEAN's official statements would help to identify the aspects that ASEAN can be beneficial to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process. Firstly, the

appearance frequency of the three words integrity, sovereignty and peace would show ASEAN's concern and ability to have positive effects in protecting its state members' territorial integrity. On the one hand, the appearance of one of these three words would show that ASEAN has its certain role in protecting the peaceful external environment for its member states, which, to some extent, can positively influence Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process. On the other hand, the difference in the times ASEAN choose among these three words would show to what extent ASEAN can directly provide support (at all level, the support in principle to that in specific) to its state members, Vietnam is one of which, in protecting their own territorial integrity. Secondly, the appearance of the themes related to the territorial integrity issue of ASEAN member states would: (i) Creating a stable external environment as well as a more solid foundation for Vietnam to protect its own territory; (ii) Contributing to taking the larger attention from the international community to Vietnam's territorial integrity issue, from that, attracting more help from outside and (iii) Giving Vietnam more creditability to share and discuss this issue in regional and international forums, from that get more helps from other countries and (iv) Making Vietnam's territorial integrity issue a more critical one, a regional issue, to other countries, especially the countries that are interested in the region architecture, from that, the support to Vietnam would be boosted. Also, whether that theme is mentioned as the territorial integrity issue of ASEAN in general or of Vietnam as an ASEAN member states, in particular, in addition to the use of language in these discourses would, to some extent express level of benefit that Vietnam can get from ASEAN. However, that level, as mentioned before, are determined by many factors, so those analysis, can surely bring the idea of the aspects to help, but just be a reference to the question how far the benefit can be.

Finally, the analysis of prestigious magazines and journals would show how ASEAN membership could provide Vietnam the chance of appearing in the means of media that can

influence the perception of the mass people as well as the elite in consulting and making policy in the international community. This benefit can be explored through three main level: (i) Providing the knowledge of the international community to Vietnam's territorial integrity issues; (ii) Providing Vietnam with the forums to introduce and discuss with the international community about its issue in the most objective and persuasive way and (iii) Attracting the help from outside to Vietnam's territory protection in both way, creating the stable external environment in the Southeast Asia region (can be seen the through the appearance of the theme related to the territorial integrity issue of ASEAN member states) and providing the direct support to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection (from the speech to the specific assistance in terms of financial, legal... support). However, it is essential to take into account that, not all the journals or magazines have the positive effects on Vietnam's territorial integrity issues. In some cases, those journals can express the ideas that are against Vietnam's arguments on the territory issues. In that point, support from ASEAN can have the counter-effect. Therefore, paying attention to the semantic units about the tone of authors' voice in those discourses is very important.

In conclusion, from the result of the discourse analysis, it would be possible to see the aspects that ASEAN membership can benefit Vietnam's territorial integrity process. However, the analysis is just able to answer the question of what are the fields of benefit and provide some references for discovering the level them for other studies. The specific result and the discussion about these benefits would be clearly presented in the following chapter of this study.

CHAPTER 5: STUDY RESULTS, CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Applying all the contents describing above, this chapter would describe the result collected from the steps of discourse analysis on documents selected. From that, the chapter would jump into the conclusion about the benefits that ASEAN membership can bring to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. Finally, based on all those findings, the chapter would recommend some points that Vietnamese foreign policy makers should take into consideration when planning the Vietnam-ASEAN policy to make use of its ASEAN membership in solving the territory issue.

5.1 Study results

After conducting all steps of the discourse analysis, the result of the study on each group of documents would be presented in detail as followed:

5.1.1 Result from analyzing the VCP National Congress' Resolutions (part iv)

The result from the coding the VCP National Congress' Resolutions (part iv) would be presented in the Figure 4 as followed:

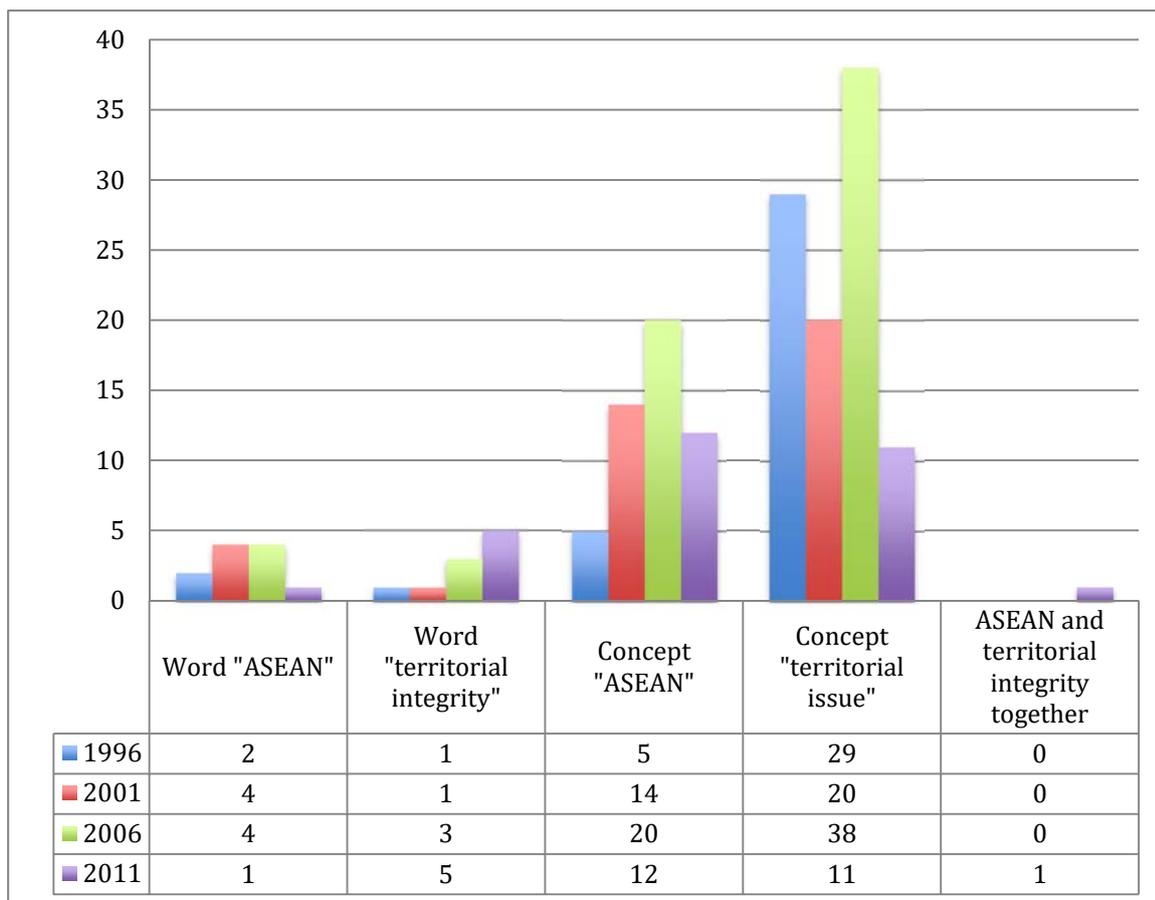


Figure 4: Result from coding the VCP National Congress' Resolutions

There are two main points that can be concluded from the chart above: At first, Vietnam has put more and more emphasis on the role of ASEAN and territorial integrity protection issue in its policy in general. This fact can be seen from the increasing number that the word and the concept of ASEAN have been increasing year by year. The only exception is the case of the 11th VCP's National Congress Resolution when the number of word ASEAN, the concepts of ASEAN and territorial integrity issue went down. However, this decrease is the result of the change in the perception of Vietnam policy makers in finalizing the Party's documents. According to that, all of the documents have tendency to be shortened. And the length of the 11th VCP's National Congress Resolution is about 4 times shorter than that of the 8th, 9th and 10th VCP's National Congress Resolution (Communist Party of

Vietnam Online Newspaper, 2001). Therefore, the slight decrease in the number of repetition of these words and concepts does not reflect any counter argument to the increasing emphasis of Vietnam in the role of ASEAN and territorial integrity issue in general.

Secondly, not until the 11th VCP's National Congress Resolution, Vietnam acknowledged the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's national territorial integrity protection. In fact, although the words and concepts of ASEAN and territorial integrity issues have been increasingly repeated, they have been put together just once in 2011 Resolution. However, based on the analysis mentioned above about the length of the 11th VCP's National Congress Resolution, that the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection has been mentioned for the first time shows that Vietnam highly appreciates the role of ASEAN in its territorial integrity protection and also put considerable hope in ASEAN's assistance in the future.

In brief, from the analysis on the VCP's National Congress Resolutions, it can be seen that Vietnam started acknowledging the role of ASEAN in its national territorial integrity protection. This acknowledgement is also an indicator that ASEAN showed some positive gesture to support Vietnam's national territorial integrity protection and earned its trust after that.

5.1.2 Result from analyzing ASEAN's official statements

The result from coding the ASEAN's official statements would be presented in the Table 3 as followed:

Coding units	Indicators	Frequency		
		ASEAN Charter (01)	Statements from ASEAN's summits (569)	Statements from ARF (21)

Themes	The territorial integrity issue of ASEAN member states	01	76	21
	The territorial integrity issue of Vietnam, as an ASEAN member states	0	0	0
Word	Territorial	03	34	9
	Sovereignty	03	46	11
	Peace	9	1082	360
Semantics	Use of verb: <i>Weak (0), neutral (5), strong (10)</i>	05	05	5
	Tone of expression: <i>Weak, neutral, strong</i>	05	05	05

Table 3: Result from coding the ASEAN’s official statements

The result from coding the ASEAN’s official statements above leads to three main aspects that ASEAN can have positive effects in Vietnam’s territorial integrity protection since 1995:

Firstly, ASEAN contributes to creating the peaceful environment in the region that can benefit Vietnam in protecting its own territorial integrity. In fact, the word “peace” is repeated many times in the ASEAN’s statements of all types (averagely 2.5 times/statement). According to that, the peaceful region would be one of the most important aims of every ASEAN’s activities. As a result, ASEAN would try to settle any kind of dispute, including the territorial one that can threat that peace. This is a rather favorable condition for Vietnam when he is involved in any conflict over the territorial issues.

However, it would be necessary to take note that, the emphasis of “peace” in every ASEAN’s activities can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it benefit Vietnam’s

territorial integrity protection as mentioned above. But on the other hand, it could bring about some negative effects. Actually, the peace that most ASEAN statements mention is the “regional peace” which also means that if any country threatens to break that harmony, even with the reason of “protecting the territorial integrity issue”, it is likely that, ASEAN would calculate the way to ensure the mutual peace of the majority and whether this way can benefit or hinder Vietnam’s territory protection depends on many other factors. Also, that the time the word “peace” mentioned critically outnumber the time that the more specific words like “sovereignty” or “territorial” appears again reflects the tendency of choosing of “mutual peace” over on single member’s territory.

Secondly, ASEAN creates the forums for Vietnam to share and discuss about its territorial issues. From the table above, it can be seen that, the territorial issue theme is always mentioned in every ARF statements, which also means that ASEAN has considered that issue the regular point in its working agendas. Also the words “territorial” and “sovereignty” are also mentioned in many ASEAN’s official statements, especially the ones from ASEAN summits. This points show that, the territorial issues have been raised quite frequently in ASEAN meetings. Vietnam can take this chance to express its own arguments about the issue to emphasize its own stance as well as persuade and attract the help from outsides.

Finally, ASEAN can contribute to increasing the creditability of Vietnam in the territorial integrity issue protection when transform it into the regional issue. In fact, by repeating the words and themes related to territorial integrity issue in its important statements, ASEAN, to some extent, turn the territorial integrity issue from the national concern into the regional one. Thanks to that, the international community would pay more attention to this issue. Especially, ASEAN’s strategic importance is strongly rising recently. As a result, other powers all over the world (both big and middle power) would take more consideration in this

region's issue. As a result, Vietnam would be able to attract more attention, which can lead to important helps from outside to solve is territorial issue.

As can be seen, the discourses from ASEAN show the benefits that this organization can bring to Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. However, it also indicates that these benefits are not really powerful because ASEAN just mentioned the issue in a quite neutral way. In addition to the pros and cons of the emphasis on peace in every ASEAN's statements, it can be concluded that the support from ASEAN does not go beyond a talk show for emphasizing and protecting the ideas of territorial integrity which just can be supported if it does not break the mutual peaceful environment in the region.

5.1.3 Result from analyzing prestigious newspaper and journals

The result from coding the ASEAN's official statements would be presented in the Figure 5, 6, 7 as followed:

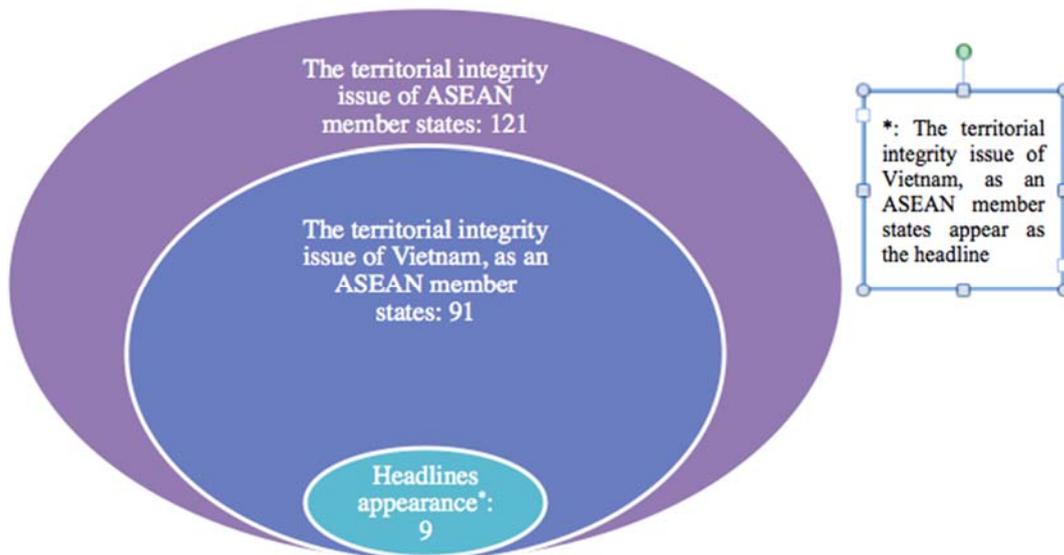


Figure 5: Result from coding the New York Times Magazines

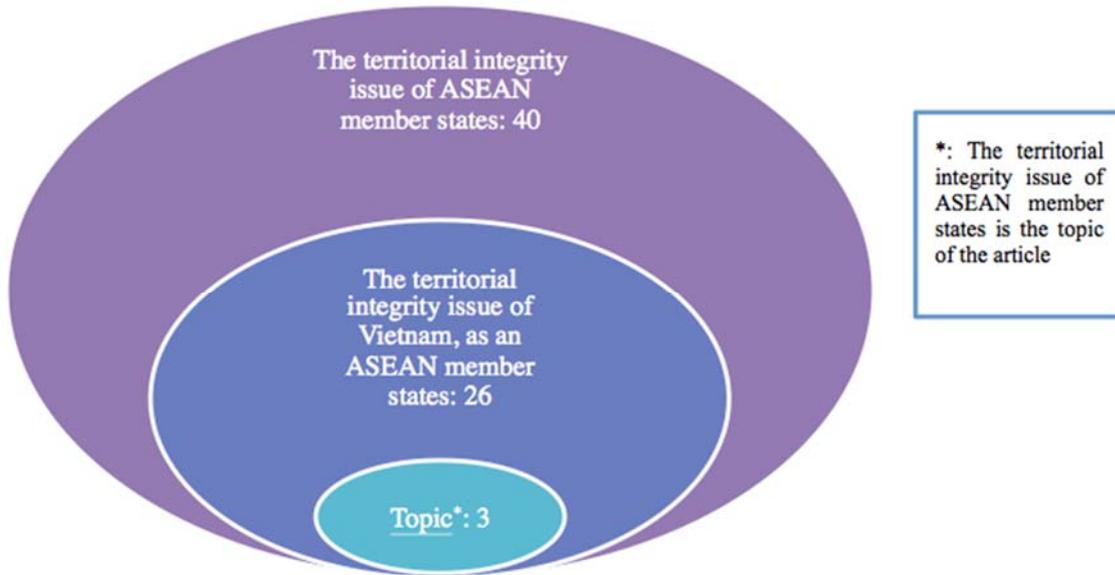


Figure 6: Result from coding the Foreign Affairs Journals

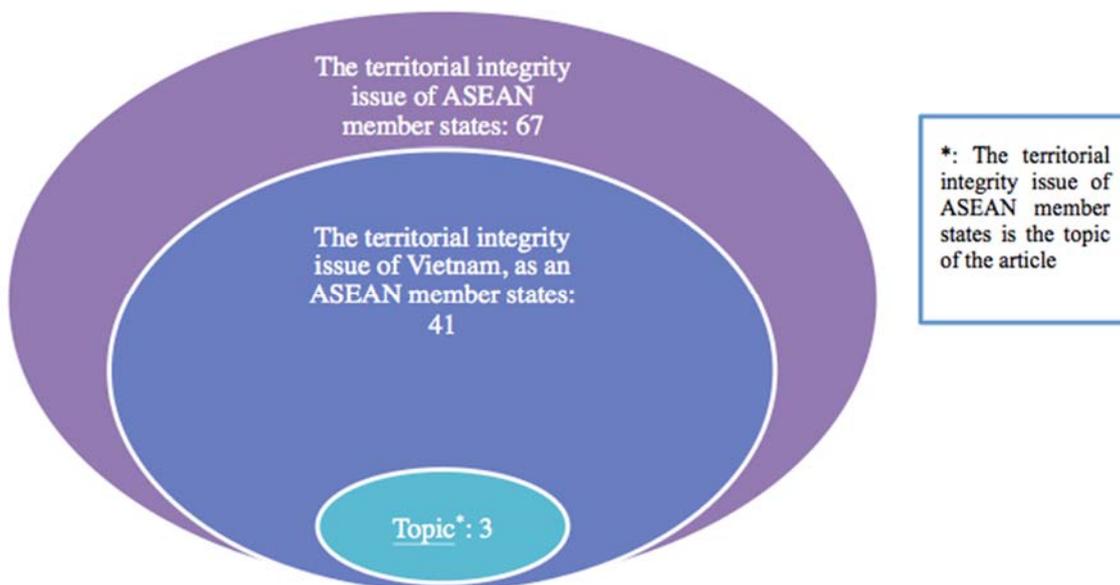


Figure 7: Result from coding the International Security Journals

Three figures about results from coding influential magazine and journals above shows three main aspects that ASEAN membership can benefit Vietnam's territorial integrity protection:

At first, ASEAN contributes to raising the awareness of the regional territorial integrity issue in general and Vietnam's territorial issues in particular to the international community. From the coding results above, it can be seen that, thanks to ASEAN, the territorial integrity issue in South East Asia region can appear in prestigious magazines and journals. Thanks to this, the perception of that issue can occur to the mind of the international community whose voice is more and more important in the international relations life. Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process can benefit from this in various terms, namely the pressure of the international community to solve the issue in accordance with the international law to support from other countries as well as non-state actors to solve the problems.

Secondly, ASEAN play an important role in giving Vietnam the chance of bringing its issue to the means of mass media in the way benefit its process of protecting the national territorial integrity. Indeed, as an ASEAN issue, Vietnam's territorial integrity issue has more chance to appear as the headline of influential magazines. As can be seen from the Figures above, Vietnam's territorial integrity issues have 9 times directly being the headline of the New York Times magazine and 3 three times being the topic of both Foreign Affairs Journal and International Security Journal under the cover of ASEAN's territory issue. If Vietnam can make use of this chance, he can find the way to promote the articles and news whose contents are favorable to Vietnam to get the positive reaction from the international community. That is the way Vietnam can develop its soft power in the process of protecting the territorial integrity.

Finally, ASEAN membership can give Vietnam some favorable conditions to collect the intellectuals from the international scholars for the solutions to the territorial integrity issues. As mentioned above, under the cover of ASEAN's issue, Vietnam's territorial integrity issue has more chance to be studied by famous scholars. Also, the appearance in the

prestigious journals would attract the attentions of prestigious thinkers all over the worlds. Thanks to that, Vietnam can gather more information and ideas for the solutions to the issues. Also, the prestige of those journals can, to some extent, influence the policy making process of many governments. Therefore, the appearance (either direct or indirect) of Vietnam's territorial integrity in these journals can help it to get more positive supports from other countries.

Given these points, ASEAN can do well in assisting Vietnam to make use of the power of the media. This is not only about broadcasting the issue but also about collecting the intellectuals, from that, the issue can be solved effectively.

5.2 Conclusion

All things considered, ASEAN membership can provides Vietnam some certain benefits in its efforts to protect the territorial integrity since 1995. Those benefits can be seen under five main aspects:

Firstly, ASEAN contributes to creating the peaceful environment in the region a part of which is inclusive with Vietnam's national territorial integrity protection process. Thanks to this, a lot of ASEAN's resource in maintaining the peace in the region can become Vietnam's resource in protecting its own territorial integrity.

Secondly, ASEAN involves the territorial integrity issues in its own working agendas. Thanks to that, Vietnam can have the mechanisms to share the ideas as well as about territorial integrity issues ASEAN has created the chances for Vietnam to directly discuss with important countries, organizations that are ASEAN's partners about the territorial integrity issue. As a result, Vietnam can raise the perception of the outside about the issues and from that, attract more external help to solve the problems.

Thirdly, ASEAN gives Vietnam's territorial integrity issue more creditability in attracting the attention and helps from outside through means of media. Thanks to ASEAN, Vietnam's territory issue becomes a regional issue. With the increasing importance of ASEAN in the international area, this issue, therefore, can easily become the focus of the international media. As a result, Vietnam can get more attention from the international community, which can turn into the pressure against its opponents in territorial dispute, the help from other non-state actors or even outside governments.

Fourthly, ASEAN membership helps Vietnam's territorial integrity issue attract more interests from prestigious thinkers all over the world through its appearance under the cover of ASEAN issue in influential journals. This interest can lead to good ideas on the solution to the issue as well as the positive influence on the international elite (both state and non-state actors) so that they are more motivated to support Vietnam's territorial integrity protection process.

Finally, ASEAN itself, to some extent, provides Vietnam with the direct support in accordance with its own principles. This benefit can vary from the supporting declarations to specific actions when Vietnam involves in the territorial conflicts with non-ASEAN member countries.

The above research demonstrates that Vietnam's interaction with ASEAN can give Vietnam various benefits, namely creating the peaceful external environment, providing Vietnam with the direct support in some aspects and bringing about the bridge through which Vietnam can attract the help from the outside.

5.3 Foreign policy recommendations

As mentioned above, the level of benefit that ASEAN membership can provide Vietnam depends on many factors. Among them, Vietnam's own foreign policy plays an

important part. Based on the analysis on the aspects that ASEAN membership can benefit Vietnam in protecting its national territorial integrity protection above, the general recommendations can be given to Vietnam's foreign policy makers is that the role of ASEAN in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection should be acknowledged in a rational way, neither too pessimistic nor optimistic. This point can be seen as a three subordinate policy recommendations as followed:

Firstly, ASEAN's role should not be treated a direct source of help in Vietnam's territorial integrity protection. In other words, Vietnam should be not too dependent on ASEAN in its policy making to solve the territory issue.

Secondly, ASEAN's role can be used as a lip service to benefit Vietnam in solving its territory issue. In fact, in the foreign policy making process, Vietnam can consider ASEAN an important channel of communication to broadcast its own issue to get the help and attention from outside.

Finally, Vietnam should make the best use of the benefits that ASEAN membership brings about. Particularly, it is necessary to have a strategy to take advantages of emphasizing Vietnam's territorial integrity issues in mechanism provided by ASEAN, including the ASEAN meeting, international journals, magazines, etc. All of those information and content of discussing used in those channels should be carefully calculated so that it can bring the highest effect in attracting the attention, agreeing and help from international community.

APPENDIX A

List of Statements from the ASEAN summits from 1995

1. Twenty-sixth ASEAN Summit, Kuala Lumpur & Langkawi, Malaysia, 26-28 April 2015

Statements

- Chairman's Statement of the 26th ASEAN Summit.
- Thirteenth AEM-EU Trade Commissioner Consultations 26 April 2015, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- Joint Statement Eleventh Brunei Darussalam – Indonesia – Malaysia – Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area Summit (11th BIMP-EAGA Summit) 28 April 2015 Langkawi, Kedah, Malaysia.
- Joint Statement Ninth Indonesia - Malaysia - Thailand Growth Triangle Summit (9th IMT-GT Summit) 28 April 2015 Langkawi, Kedah, Malaysia.

Speeches

- Opening Address of the 26th ASEAN Summit on 27 April 2015 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- Agreements and Declarations
- Declaration on Institutionalising the Resilience of ASEAN and its Communities and Peoples to Disasters and Climate Change.
- Kuala Lumpur Declaration on a People-Oriented, People-Centred ASEAN.
- Langkawi Declaration on the Global Movement of Moderates.

Press Releases

- ASEAN Leaders Meet in Malaysia for the 26th ASEAN Summit.
- Twenty-fifth ASEAN Summit, Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, 11-13 November 2014
- Statements
- Statement by H.E. U Thein Sein at the 25th ASEAN Summit Opening Ceremony
- Chairman's Statement of the 25th ASEAN Summit
- ASEAN Joint Statement on Climate Change 2014
- Chairman's Statement of 9th East Asia Summit (9th EAS) 13 November 2014
- Joint Statement/Declaration of the 9th EAS on regional response to outbreak of ebola virus disease
- EAS statement on Rapid Disaster Response
- EAS Statement on the rise of violence & brutality committed by terrorist/extremist org. in Iraq and Syria
- Chairman's Statement of the 17th ASEAN Plus Three Summit

- Joint ASEAN-Australia Leaders Statement on the 40th Anniversary of ASEAN-Australia Dialogue Relations Towards a Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit
- Chairman's Statement of the 12th ASEAN-India Summit, 12 Nov 2014
- Chairman's Statement Of The 6th ASEAN - United Nations (UN) Summit
- ASEAN-U.S. Joint Statement on Climate Change 2014
- Chairman's Statement of the 17th ASEAN-China Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 17th ASEAN-Japan Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 2nd ASEAN-U.S. Summit, 13 Nov 2014

Agreements & Declarations

- Nay Pyi Taw Declaration on the ASEAN Community's Post-2015 Vision
- Declaration on Strengthening ASEAN Secretariat and Reviewing ASEAN Organs
- EAS declaration on combating wildlife trafficking
- ASEAN-Japan Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat Terrorism and Transnational Crime

Press Releases

- ASEAN Leaders Gather in Myanmar for a 'Historic' Summit
- ASEAN Welcomes Principles for Public-Private Partnership Framework
- ASEAN Launches Communication Master Plan
- ASEAN, UNCTAD Launch ASEAN Investment Report 2013-2014

2. Twenty-fourth ASEAN Summit, Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, 10-11 May 2014

Speeches

- Statement by H.E. U Thein Sein at the 24th ASEAN Summit Opening Ceremony
- Statements
- 24th ASEAN Summit Chairman's Statement
- ASEAN Foreign Ministers Statement on the Current Developments in the South China Sea
- ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Statement on the Developments in Thailand
- Joint Statement of 8th Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT)
- Joint Statement of 10th Brunei Darussalam - Indonesia - Malaysia - Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area Summit (10th BIMP-EAGA Summit)

Agreements & Declarations

- Nay Pyi Taw Declaration - 24th ASEAN Summit

Press Releases

- Myanmar Hosts ASEAN Summit for the First Time

3. Twenty-third ASEAN Summit, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 9-10

October 2013

Statements

- Chairman's Statement of the 23rd ASEAN Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 16th ASEAN-Japan Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 16th ASEAN-Republic of Korea (ROK) Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 16th ASEAN-China Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 1st ASEAN-U.S. Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 11th ASEAN-India Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 5th ASEAN-United Nations (UN) Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 16th ASEAN Plus Three Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 8th East Asia Summit
- Joint Statement of the 16th ASEAN-China Summit on Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership

Agreements & Declarations

- Bandar Seri Begawan Declaration on the ASEAN Community's Post-2015 Vision
- Bandar Seri Begawan Declaration on Youth Entrepreneurship and Employment
- Bandar Seri Begawan Declaration on Non-communicable Diseases in ASEAN
- ASEAN Declaration on Enhancing Cooperation in Disaster Management
- ASEAN Declaration on Strengthening Social Protection
- The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and Elimination of Violence Against Children in ASEAN
- Declaration of the 8th East Asia Summit on Food Security

Press Releases

- 23rd ASEAN Summit in Brunei to reaffirm 2015 targets

4. Twenty-second ASEAN Summit, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 24-25

April 2013

Statements

- Chairmans Statement of The 22nd ASEAN Summit, "Our People, Our Future Together"
- Joint Statement Ninth Brunei Darussalam Indonesia Malaysia Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area Summit 9th BIMP EAGA Summit 25 April 2013 Bandar Seri Begawan Brunei Darussalam

Press Releases

- Highlights of 22nd Summit in Brunei in Latest “ASEAN Today”, 6 May 2013
- ASEAN Community 2015 is Top Priority at 22nd ASEAN Summit, Bandar Seri Begasan 23 April 2013
- ASEAN Summit Working Dinner, 25 April 2013
- Arrival of ASEAN Leaders and Representatives, 25 April 2013

5. Twenty-first ASEAN Summit, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 18 November 2012

Speeches

- Opening Statement By Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo HUN SEN Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia At the Opening Ceremony of the 21st ASEAN Summit Peace Palace, Phnom Penh, 18 November 2012

Statements

- Chairman’s Statement of the 21st ASEAN Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 10th ASEAN-India Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 15th ASEAN-China Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 15th ASEAN-Japan Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 15th ASEAN-ROK Summit
- Chairman's Statement of the 7th East Asia Summit (EAS)
- Leaders’ Statement on ASEAN Plus Three Partnership on Connectivity
- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on the Establishment of an ASEAN Regional Mine Action Centre (ARMAC)
- ASEAN Plus Three Leaders’ Joint Statement on the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the ASEAN Plus Three Cooperation
- Phnom Penh Statement on the Adoption of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD)
- ASEAN Human Rights Declaration
- Joint Statement of the 4th ASEAN-U.S. Leaders' Meeting
- Joint Statement of the 15th ASEAN-China Summit on the 10th Anniversary of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea

Agreements & Declarations

- ASEAN Agreement on the Movement of Natural Persons
- Joint Declaration on the Launch of Negotiations for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
- Guiding Principles and Objectives for Negotiating the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
- Declaration of the 7th East Asia Summit on Regional Responses to Malaria Control and Addressing Resistance to Antimalarial Medicines
- Phnom Penh Declaration on the East Asia Summit Development Initiative

Other Documents

- Bali Declaration on ASEAN Community in a Global Community of Nations “BALI CONCORD III” Plan of Action 2013-2017

- Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by the Federative Republic of Brazil
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia
- ASEAN-INDIA EMINENT Persons' Report to the Leaders

Press Releases

- Publications Launched to Help ASEAN Outreach to Businesses
- Aw Kun, Chum Reap Leah, Cambodia! A tribute to the lovely people of Cambodia
- INDONESIA'S Firm Commitment in Hosting ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta
- 9th ASEAN Business Investment Summit (ASEAN-BIS) in Phnom Penh Concludes Successfully
- ASEAN and FTA Partners Launch the World's Biggest Regional Free Trade Deal
- ASEAN Investment Promotion Agencies to Intensify Concerted Efforts to Promote the Region as a Single Investment Destination
- Submission to Leaders of ASEAN-U.S. Eminent Persons Group Report
- ASEAN Plus Three Commemorative Summit
- World's Biggest Consumer Market Deepens Commitment with Latest Protocols between ASEAN and China
- Cooperation with dialogue partners and strategic partners feature high on Summit
- First Latin America Country Accedes to the Treaty of Amity & Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) partnership.
- ASEAN Leaders Endorse Landmark Agreements in Phnom Penh as Cambodia Stay Tuned for Other Summits with Senior World Leaders
- 4th ASEAN-U.S. Leader's Meeting
- Outcomes of the 21st ASEAN Summit Phnom Penh
- 15th ASEAN-ROK SUMMIT Peace Palace
- 15th ASEAN-JAPAN SUMMIT Peace Palace
- 10th ASEAN-INDIA SUMMIT Peace Palace
- 15th ASEAN-CHINA SUMMIT Peace Palace
- ASEAN Senior Officials' Preparatory Meeting

6. Twentieth ASEAN Summit, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 03-04 April 2012

Documents adopted by Leaders

- ASEAN Leaders' Declaration on Drug-Free ASEAN 2015
- Phnom Penh Agenda For ASEAN Community Building
- Phnom Penh Declaration on ASEAN: One Community, One Destiny

Documents noted by Leaders

- ASEAN's Concept Paper on Global Movement of Moderates

Documents issued by the Chair/Co-Chair

- Statement by the Chairman of ASEAN On the 45th Anniversary of ASEAN: The Way Forward
- Chairman's Statement of the 20th ASEAN Summit
- Documents signed by Ministers

Instrument

- Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Association of Southeast ASIAN Nations (ASEAN) on Hosting and Granting Privileges and Immunities to the ASEAN Secretariat
- Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Association of Southeast ASIAN Nations (ASEAN) on Hosting and Granting Privileges and Immunities to the ASEAN Secretariat-(indonesia)
- ANNEX 6 Rules for Reference of Non-Compliance to the ASEAN Summit
- Instrument of Incorporation of The Rules for Reference of Non-Compliance to the ASEAN Summit to the Protocol to the ASEAN Charter on Dispute Settlement Mechanisms
- Rules of Procedures for the Interpretation of the ASEAN Charter

Joint Statements

- The 6th Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth-Triangle Summit
- Joint Statement Eighth Brunei Darussalam – Indonesia – Malaysia – The Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area Summit (8th Bimp-EAGA Summit)

ASEAN Secretariat News

- Surin Pitsuwan: Strengthening the Secretariat – the Heart of ASEAN , Phnom Penh, 4 April, 2012
- Cambodian Urges ASEAN to Focus on Integration, Especially on People-Centered Issues , Phnom Penh, 4 April, 2012

7. Nineteenth ASEAN Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 14-19 November 2011

Speeches

- Speech H.E. Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- Speech H.E. Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Opening Ceremony of the 19th ASEAN Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011 (Unofficial translation)

Documents adopted by Leaders

- Declaration of the 6th East Asia Summit on ASEAN Connectivity, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Declaration of the 6th East Asia Summit on the Principles for Mutually Beneficial Relations, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- ASEAN-Japan Plan of Action 2011-2015, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011

- Joint Declaration for Enhancing ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership for Prospering Together, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Cooperation in Flood Prevention, Mitigation, Relief, Recovery and Rehabilitation, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- Bali Declaration on ASEAN Community in a Global Community of Nations, "Bali Concord III", Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- Bali Declaration on the Enhancement of the Role and Participation of Persons with Disabilities in the ASEAN Community, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Climate Change to the 17th Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (COP17) and the 7th Session of the Conference of Parties serving as the Meeting of Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP7), Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- ASEAN Declaration of Commitment: Getting To Zero New HIV Infections, Zero Discrimination, Zero AIDS-Related Deaths, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011

Documents noted by Leaders

- ASEAN Roadmap for the Attainment of Millenium Development Goals, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- The ASEAN Framework for Equitable Economic Development
- ASEAN Framework for Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

Documents issued by the Chair/Co-Chair

- Chairman's Statement of the 6th East Asia Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Co-Chairs' Statement of the 4th ASEAN-UN Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Chairman's Statement of the 9th ASEAN-India Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Joint Declaration of Comprehensive Partnership between ASEAN and the UN, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Chairman's Statement of the 14th ASEAN-China Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Chairman's Statement of the 14th ASEAN-Japan Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Chairman's Statement of the 14th ASEAN-Republic of Korea Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Chairman's Statement of the 14th ASEAN Plus Three Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Chair's statement of the 19th ASEAN Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011

Documents signed by Ministers

- Declaration on ASEAN Unity in Cultural Diversity: Towards Strengthening ASEAN Community , Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- Agreement on the Establishment of the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre), Bali, Indonesia, 17 November 2011
- ASEAN Declaration of Consent to the Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by the Federative Republic of Brazil, Bali, Indonesia, 16 November 2011
- Declaration on Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by the Federative Republic of Brazil, Bali, Indonesia, 16 November 2011
- Rules of Procedures for Conclusion of International Agreement by ASEAN

Joint Statements

- Joint Statement of the 3rd ASEAN-U.S. Leaders' Meeting, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Joint Statement of the 14th ASEAN-China Summit to Commemorate the 20th Anniversary of Dialogue Relations, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011

ASEAN Secretariat News

- Photo Release: CPR and Obama Photo at 19th ASEAN Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Summits Close with Promises of Closer Cooperation, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- ASEAN Secretariat to Get More Space in Jakarta, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- Closer Cooperation between ASEAN, UN Secretariats, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- ASEAN-China Further Liberalises Trade in Services, Bali, Indonesia, 19 November 2011
- ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance Centre Launched, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Advancing Forestry Cooperation in International Year of Forest 2011, Bali, Indonesia, 18 November 2011
- Brazil Signs TAC, Bali, Indonesia, 16 November 2011
- Join the Secretary-General of ASEAN on the Internet to Discuss the Summits, Bali, Indonesia, 16 November 2011
- Thailand Deposits Instrument of Ratification of the Third Protocol to the TAC, Bali, Indonesia, 15 November 2011

8. Eighteenth ASEAN Summit, Jakarta, 7-8 May 2011

Speech

- Speech by H.E. Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Opening of the 18th ASEAN Summit, Jakarta, 7 May 2011

Documents adopted by the ASEAN Leaders

- ASEAN Leaders' Joint Statement on the ASEAN Community in a Global Community of Nations, Jakarta, 8 May 2011
- ASEAN Leaders' Joint Statement on the Establishment of an ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, Jakarta, 8 May 2011
- ASEAN Leaders' Joint Statement in Enhancing Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons in South East Asia, Jakarta, 8 May 2011

Documents issued by the Chair

- Chairman's Statement 18th ASEAN Summit, Jakarta, 8 May 2011

ASEAN Secretariat News

- ASEAN Leaders Welcome Proposal to Bid for FIFA World Cup, Jakarta, 9 May 2011
- “Yes, ASEAN is our roots, origin and success,” Says Youths, Jakarta, 8 May 2011
- ASEAN and AIPA to Continue Engagement, as Both Explore Best Ways to Complement Each Other, Jakarta, 8 May 2011
- ASEAN Governments and CSOs Set for Closer Partnership in March towards 2015, Jakarta, 8 May 2011
- ASEAN Must Be Nimble Enough to Face the Challenges and Seize Opportunities of New Century, Urged Indonesian President, Jakarta, 7 May 2011
- Ministers Discuss Implementation Progress of AEC Blueprint, Jakarta, 7 May 2011

9. Seventeenth ASEAN Summit, Ha Noi, 28-30 October 2010

Documents adopted by the ASEAN Leaders

- Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity
- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Human Resources and Skills Development for Economic Recovery and Sustainable Growth, Ha Noi, 28 October 2010
- Ha Noi Declaration on the Enhancement of Welfare and Development of ASEAN Women and Children, Ha Noi, 28 October 2010
- Ha Noi Declaration on the Commemoration of the Fifth Anniversary of the East Asia Summit, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity (2011-2015)
- Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-Republic of Korea Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity (2011-2015)
- Plan of Action To Implement the ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity (2010-2015)
- Joint Statement of the ASEAN-New Zealand Commemorative Summit, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- Joint Statement of the ASEAN -Australia Summit, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- Joint Statement of the Second ASEAN-Russian Federation Summit, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010

- ASEAN-China Leaders' Joint Statement on Sustainable Development, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Joint Declaration on ASEAN-UN Collaboration in Disaster Management, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Joint Declaration on ASEAN-Republic of Korea Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Co-Chairs' Statement of the Third ASEAN-UN Summit, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010

Documents noted by the Leaders

- Luang Prabang Joint Declaration on ASEAN Plus Three Civil Service Cooperation

Documents issued by the Chair

- Chairman's Statement of the East Asia Summit (EAS), Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- Chairman's Statement of the 8th ASEAN-India Summit, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- Chairman's statement of the 13th ASEAN Plus Three Summit, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Chairman's Statement of the 13th ASEAN-China Summit, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Chairman's Statement of the 13th ASEAN-Japan Summit, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Chairman's Statement of the 13th ASEAN-Republic of Korea (ROK) Summit, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Chairman's Statement of the 17th ASEAN Summit, Ha Noi, 28 October 2010

Documents signed/adopted/noted by the Foreign Ministers

- ASEAN Declaration on Cooperation in Search and Rescue of Persons and Vessels in Distress at Sea, Ha Noi, 27 October 2010
- Agreement on Cultural Cooperation between the Governments of Southeast Asian Nations and the Government of the Russian Federation
- Rules of Authorisation for Legal transactions domestic laws
- Rules of Reference of Unresolved Disputes to the ASEAN Summit
- Instrument of Incorporation of Rules for Reference of Unresolved Disputes

Remarks/Speeches

- Remarks by H.E. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung At the Closing Ceremony of the 17th ASEAN Summit and Related Summits, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- Statement By H.E. Mr. Nguyen Tan Dung at the Opening Ceremony of the 17th ASEAN Summit and Related Summits, Ha Noi, 28 October 2010

ASEAN Secretariat press releases/bulletins

- ASEAN Secretariat Hosts Post-Summit Briefing, ASEAN Secretariat, 4 November 2010
- Indonesia Unveils Theme and Logo for ASEAN Chairmanship 2011, ASEAN Secretariat, 2 November 2010
- US and Russia to Join EAS, Dialogue Partners Reiterate Support, Ha Noi, 30 October 2010
- UNSG Reasserts Support to ASEAN, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- ASEAN Meets Plus Three, Ha Noi, 29 October 2010
- Last Summit by Viet Nam Opens, Ha Noi, 28 October 2010
- 7th ACC Meeting Agrees on Documents, Advances Regional Cooperation, Ha Noi, 28 October 2010
- Businesses and Consumers to Profit from Better Connectivity, Says PM of Viet Nam, Ha Noi, 27 October 2010
- Dr Surin Engages with Civil Society Ahead of Summit, Ha Noi, 26 October 2010
- Viet Nam to Host its Final Summit as ASEAN Chair, ASEAN Secretariat, 22 October 2010

10. Sixteenth ASEAN Summit, Ha Noi, 8-9 April 2010

Remarks/Speeches

- Statement of the ASEAN Chair on the Signing of the Protocol to the ASEAN Charter on Dispute Settlement Mechanisms by the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN, Ha Noi, 8 April 2010
- Statement by H.E. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung, at the Opening Ceremony of the 16th ASEAN Summit, Ha Noi, 8 April 2010
- Speech by H.E. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung, at the Inauguration of the ASEAN Commission on Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC), Ha Noi, 7 April 2010

Declarations/Statements

- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Joint Response to Climate Change, Ha Noi, 9 April 2010
- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Sustained Recovery and Development, Ha Noi, 9 April 2010
- Chairman's Statement of the 16th ASEAN Summit "Towards the Asean Community: from Vision to Action", Ha Noi, 9 April 2010

Other Documents

- ASEAN Economic Community Scorecard

ASEAN Secretariat Bulletin

- Secretary-General of ASEAN Briefs Diplomatic Community on 16th Summit Outcomes, ASEAN Secretariat, 16 April 2010

- Post-Summit Briefing, Presented by Secretary-General of ASEAN, Ha Noi, 9 April 2010
- 16th ASEAN Summit Concludes, Ha Noi, 9 April 2010
- You are Invited: Post-Summit Briefing by ASEAN SG Surin Pitsuwan, Ha Noi, 8 April 2010
- From Vision to Action: 16th ASEAN Summit Kicks off, Ha Noi, 8 April 2010
- Protocol on Dispute Settlement Mechanisms Signed, Ha Noi, 8 April 2010
- Progress Achieved in AEC Implementation, Ha Noi, 7 April 2010
- Communication Plan for ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Adopted, Ha Noi, 7 April 2010
- Inaugurated: ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children, Ha Noi, 7 April 2010
- 16th ASEAN Summit to Convene This Week, ASEAN Secretariat, 5 April 2010

11. Fifteenth ASEAN Summit, Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 23-25 October 2009

Remarks/Speeches

- Statement by H.E. Abhisit Vejjajiva, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, at the Closing Ceremony of the 15th ASEAN Summit and Related Summits, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Speech by Haruhiko Kuroda, President of Asian Development Bank, at the 4th East Asia Summit -- “Crisis Opportunities and ADB's Role”, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Remarks by H.E. Abhisit Vejjajiva, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, on the Occasion of the Inaugural Ceremony of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR), Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 23 October 2009
- Statement by H.E. Abhisit Vejjajiva, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, at the Opening Ceremony of the 15th ASEAN Summit and Related Summits, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 23 October 2009

Declarations/Statements

- Cha-am Hua Hin Statement on East Asia Summit (EAS) Disaster Management, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Chairman’s Statement of the 4th East Asia Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Joint Statement - Sixth Brunei Darussalam – Indonesia – Malaysia – Philippines East Asean Growth Area Summit (6th BIMP-EAGA Summit), Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Chairman’s Statement of the 7th ASEAN-India Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- Cha-am Hua Hin Statement on ASEAN Plus Three Cooperation on Food Security and Bio-Energy Development, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- Chairman’s Statement of the 12th ASEAN Plus Three Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009

- Chairman’s Statement of the 12th ASEAN-ROK Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- Chairman’s Statement of the 12th ASEAN-Japan Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- Chairman’s Statement of the 12th ASEAN-China Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- ASEAN Leaders’ Statement on ASEAN Connectivity, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- ASEAN Joint Statement on Climate Change to the 15th Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the 5th Session of the Conference of Parties serving as the Meeting of Parties to the Kyoto Proto
- Cha-am Hua Hin Declaration on Strengthening Cooperation on Education to Achieve an ASEAN Caring and Sharing Community
- Chairman's Statement of the 15th ASEAN Summit -- "Enhancing Connectivity, Empowering Peoples", Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 23-25 October 2009
- Cha-Am Hua Hin Declaration on the Inauguration of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights

Other Documents

- Terms of Reference of the ASEAN Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC)
- Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of ASEAN
- Memorandum of Understanding between ASEAN and China on Strengthening Cooperation in the Field of Standards, Technical Regulations and Conformity Assessment, Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Memorandum of Understanding between ASEAN and China on Cooperation in the Field of Intellectual Property (English version)
- Memorandum of Understanding between ASEAN and China on Cooperation in the Field of Intellectual Property (Chinese version)
- Memorandum of Understanding on Establishing the ASEAN-China Centre
- Report of the ASEAN-Japan Eminent Persons Group
- Report of the ASEAN-Republic of Korea Eminent Persons Group: Vision for a Strategic Partnership – “Partnership for Real, Friendship for Good”

Press Releases

- ASEAN, Australia and New Zealand Leaders’ Statement: Entry into Force of the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Joint Press Statement of the 4th East Asia Summit on the Revival of Nalanda University, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- Joint Media Statement of the Mekong-Japan Economic Ministers’ Inaugural Meeting, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009

ASEAN Secretariat Bulletin

- Summits End with Community-Building on Course, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- EAS Closes Final Day of Summit, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- AANZFTA to Enter into Force 1 January 2010, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- ASEAN – China MOUs to Support FTA, Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, 25 October 2009
- ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights Launched by ASEAN Leaders during the 15th ASEAN Summit, Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 24 October 2009
- ASEAN Summit Gets Under Way, Cha-Am Hua Hin, 23 October 2009
- ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children to be Established, Cha-Am Hua Hin, 23 October 2009
- ASEAN's Newest Body Makes Its Debut, Cha-Am Hua Hin, 23 October 2009
- The Road Ahead for ASEAN Auto Industry, Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 22 October 2009
- Set for the Summit, Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, 22 October 2009
- Coming Up: The 15th ASEAN Summit, ASEAN Secretariat, 19 October 2009

12. Fourteenth ASEAN Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February - 1 March 2009

Statements

- Joint Statement of the Fifth Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area Summit (5th BIMP-EAGA Summit), Hua Hin, Thailand, 28 February 2009
- Chairman's Statement of the 14th ASEAN Summit, "ASEAN Charter for ASEAN Peoples", Cha-am, 28 February - 1 March 2009

Press Releases

- Press Statement on the Global Economic and Financial Crisis, Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- Joint Statement of the Fifth Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area Summit (5th BIMP-EAGA Summit), Hua Hin, Thailand, 28 February 2009
- Signing Ceremony of the Outcome Documents of the 14th ASEAN Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- 4th Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT) Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 28 February 2009
- Opening Ceremony of the 14th ASEAN Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 28 February 2009
- Signing of Economic Documents between ASEAN and Dialogue Partners, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- ASEAN Heads of State/Government Informal Meeting with ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) Representatives, Cha-am, Thailand, 28 February 2009

- ASEAN Heads of State/Government Informal Meeting with ASEAN Youth Representatives, Cha-am, Thailand, 28 February 2009
- Malaysia ready to cooperate with Thailand to resolve the situation in the Southern Border Provinces, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- ASEAN Foreign Ministers met to prepare for Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- The ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting with High Level Legal experts' Group on follow up to the ASEAN Charter (HLEG), Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- "ASEAN and World Food Security": A Video Launched in Conjunction with the 14th ASEAN Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- The ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting with High Level Panel on an ASEAN Human Rights Body (HL), Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- Joint Media Statement of the Inaugural ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Council Meeting, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- Joint Media Statement on the Signing of the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- Signing Ceremony of ASEAN Economic Agreements, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009

Agreements & Declarations

- ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint, Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- Blueprint for the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (2009-2015), Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- Cha-am Hua Hin Declaration on the Roadmap for the ASEAN Community (2009-2015), Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- Statement on Food Security on the ASEAN Region
- ASEAN Integrated Food Security (AIFS) Framework and Strategic Plan of Action on Food Security in the ASEAN Region (SPA-FS)2008-2013)
- Appendix 1 - AIFS Framework - Components and Conceptual Diagram
- Appendix 2 - Matrix of Strategic Plan of Action on SPA-FS
- Joint Declaration on the Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals in ASEAN, Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- ASEAN Petroleum Security Agreement, Cha-am, Thailand, 1 March 2009
- Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) Strategic Framework and IAI Work Plan 2 (2009-2015)
- Protocol on the Accession of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Agreement on Trade in Services Under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Among the Governments of the Member Countries of the ASEAN and the Republic of Korea
- Annexes to the Protocol on the Accession of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Agreement on Trade in Services Under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Among the Governments of the Member Countries of the ASEAN and the ROK
- Protocol on the Accession of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Agreement on Trade in Goods Under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive

Economic Cooperation Among the Governments of the Member Countries of the ASEAN and the Republic of Korea

- Annexes to the Protocol on the Accession of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Agreement on Trade in Goods Under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Among the Governments of the Member Countries of the ASEAN and the Republic of Korea
- Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- Annexes to the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area, Cha-am, Thailand, 27 February 2009
- Implementing Arrangement for the ASEAN-Australia-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area Economic Co-Operation Work Programme Pursuant to Chapter 12 (Economic Co-Operation) of the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area
- Understanding on Article 1 (Reduction And/Or Elimination of Customs Duties) of Chapter 2 (Trade in Goods) of the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area
- ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Medical Practitioners, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009
- ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement Framework on Accountancy Services, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009
- ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009
- Annexes of the ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009
- Protocol to Implement the Seventh Package of Commitments under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009
- Annexes to the Protocol to Implement the Seventh Package of Commitments under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009
- ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement, Cha-am, Thailand, 26 February 2009

Speeches & Remarks

- Opening Statement by Abhisit Vejjajiva, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand at the Opening Ceremony of the 14th ASEAN Summit, Cha-am, Thailand, 28 February 2009
- Speech by the Secretary-General of ASEAN, Dr Surin Pitsuwan at the 2008 ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, Bangkok, 26 February 2009

13. Thirteenth ASEAN Summit, Singapore, 18-22 November 2007

Statement

- Chairman's Statement of the 13th ASEAN Summit, "One ASEAN at the Heart of Dynamic Asia", Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Opening Plenary Remarks by Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong at the ASEAN Summit, Singapore, 20 November 2007

- ASEAN Chairman Statement on Myanmar

Press Releases

- ASEAN-Australia Joint Press Statement on the Adoption of the Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-Australia Comprehensive Partnership, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Joint Statement on the Conclusion of the Negotiations for the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement , Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Chairman’s Statement of the 11th ASEAN-Republic of Korea Summit, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the 6th ASEAN-India Summit , Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the 11th ASEAN-Japan Summit, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the 3rd East Asia Summit, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Chairman’s Statement of the 11th ASEAN Plus Three Summit, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Chairman’s Statement of the 11th ASEAN-China Summit, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation, “Building on the Foundations of ASEAN Plus Three Cooperation”, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Media Release - ASEAN Leaders Sign ASEAN Charter, Singapore, 20 November 2007

Agreements & Declarations

- Joint Declaration of the ASEAN-EU Commemorative Summit, Singapore, 22 November 2007
- Plan of Action to Implement the Nuremberg Declaration on an EU-ASEAN Enhanced Partnership, Singapore, 22 November 2007
- Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-Australia Comprehensive Partnership
- Singapore Declaration on Climate Change, Energy and the Environment, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Memorandum of Understanding on Establishing the ASEAN-Korea Centre between the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of Korea, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Agreement on Trade in Services under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation among the Governments of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of Korea, Singapore, 21 November 2007
- Schedule of Specific Commitments (For the First Package of Commitments) of ASEAN-Korea Agreement on Trade in Services
- Letter of Understanding among the Parties to the Agreement on Trade in Services under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic

Cooperation among the Governments of the Member Countries of the ASEAN and the RoK, Singapore, 21 November 2007

- Annex on Financial Services
- ASEAN Plus Three Cooperation Work Plan 2007 – 2017, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Memorandum of Understanding Between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Government of the People’s Republic of China on Strengthening Sanitary and Phytosanitary Cooperation, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Singapore Declaration on the ASEAN Charter, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Annex 1- ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies
- Annex 2 - Entities Associated with ASEAN
- Annex 3 - ASEAN Flag
- Annex 4 - ASEAN Emblem
- Declaration on the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint
- Strategic Schedule for ASEAN Economic Community
- Annex 1- Financial Services Sub-sectors Identified for Liberalisation by 2015
- ASEAN Declaration on Environmental Sustainability, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- ASEAN Declaration on the 13th Session of the Conference of Parties (COP) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the 3rd Session of the CMP to the Kyoto Protocol, Singapore, 20 November 2007
- Protocol to Implement the Sixth Package of Commitment under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Service, Singapore, 19 November 2007
- ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Architectural Services, Singapore, 19 November 2007
- ASEAN Framework Arrangement for the Mutual Recognition of Surveying Qualifications, Singapore, 19 November 2007

14. Twelfth ASEAN Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 9-15 January 2007

Statement

- Chairperson’s Statement of the 12th ASEAN Summit, H.E. the President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. “One Caring and Sharing Community”, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007

Press Releases

- Chairman's Statement of the Second East Asia Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 15 January 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the Tenth ASEAN-Republic of Korea Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the Tenth ASEAN Plus Three Summit , Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007

- Chairman's Statement of the Fifth ASEAN - India Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the Tenth ASEAN-China Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007
- Chairman's Statement of the Tenth ASEAN-Japan Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007
- Media Statement on ASEAN-China Agreement on Trade in Services
- 3rd Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines - East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA) Summit Joint Statement, Cebu, Philippines, 12 January 2007
- Joint Ministerial Statement of the ASEAN Economic Ministers – Republic of Korea Consultations for the ASEAN – Republic of Korea Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 11 January 2007

Speeches

- President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's Opening Statement During the 12th ASEAN Summit, Mactan Summit Hall, Lapu-Lapu City, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007

Agreements & Declarations

- Cebu Declaration on East Asian Energy Security, Cebu, Philippines, 15 January 2007
- Agreement on Trade in Services of the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007

Annexes

- Plan of Action to Implement the Beijing Declaration on ASEAN-China ICT Cooperative Partnership for Common Development, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat and the Ministry of Agriculture of the People's Republic of China on Agricultural Cooperation, Cebu, Philippines, 14 January 2007
- ASEAN Commitments on HIV and AIDS, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Cebu Declaration on the Acceleration of the Establishment of an ASEAN Community by 2015, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Cebu Declaration Towards One Caring and Sharing Community, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Cebu Declaration on the Blueprint of the ASEAN Charter, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007

- Declaration on the Deposit of the Instrument of Accession of the French Republic to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Cebu, Philippines, 13 January 2007
- Second Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China, Cebu, Philippines, 8 December 2006
- Protocol to Amend the Agreement on Trade in Goods of the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China, Cebu, Philippines, 8 December 2006
- ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Nursing Services, Cebu, Philippines, 8 December 2006
- Protocol to Implement the Fifth Package of Commitments under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services, Cebu, Philippines, 8 December 2006
- ASEAN Sectoral Integration (Amendment) Protocol for Priority Sectors, Cebu, Philippines, 8 December 2006
- ASEAN Framework (Amendment) Agreement for the Integration of Priority Sectors, Cebu, Philippines, 8 December 2006

Other Documents

- Report of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter
- The Secretary-General of the United Nations Message for the Opening of the 12th ASEAN Summit, Cebu, Philippines, 13-14 January 2007

15. Eleventh ASEAN Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 12-14 December 2005

Statement

- Chairman's Statement of the 11th ASEAN Summit, "One Vision, One Identity, One Community", Kuala Lumpur, 12 December 2005

Press Releases

- Chairman's Statement of the First East Asia Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 14 December 2005
- Chairman's Statement of the First ASEAN-Russian Federation Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005
- Chairman's Statement of the Ninth ASEAN-Republic of Korea Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005

- Chairman's Statement of the Fourth ASEAN-India Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005
- Joint Statement of the Ninth ASEAN-Japan Summit – Deepening and Broadening of ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005
- Chairman's Statement of the Ninth ASEAN Plus Three Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 12 December 2005
- Chairman's Statement of the Ninth ASEAN-China Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 12 December 2005
- The Report of the ASEAN-China Eminent Persons Group

Agreements

- Agreement on Dispute Settlement Mechanism Under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Among the Governments of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of Korea, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December
- Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Among the Governments of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of Korea, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005
- Annex : Economic Cooperation
- Agreement between the Governments of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Government of the Russian Federation on Economic and Development Cooperation, Kuala Lumpur, 10 December 2005
- Agreement to Establish and Implement the ASEAN Single Window, Kuala Lumpur, 9 December 2005
- ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Engineering Services, Kuala Lumpur, 9 December 2005
- Agreement on the ASEAN Harmonized Electrical and Electronic Equipment (EEE) Regulatory Regime, Kuala Lumpur, 9 December 2005

Declarations

- Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the East Asia Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 14 December 2005
- East Asia Summit Declaration on Avian Influenza Prevention, Control and Response, Kuala Lumpur, 14 December 2005
- Joint Declaration of the Heads of State/Government of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Head of State of the Russian Federation on Progressive and Comprehensive Partnership, Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005
- Comprehensive Programme of Action to Promote Cooperation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Russian Federation 2005-2015
- Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the ASEAN Plus Three Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 12 December 2005
- Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Establishment of the ASEAN Charter, Kuala Lumpur, 12 December 2005

- Terms of Reference of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter
- List of Members of the Eminent Person's Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter
- Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by Australia, Kuala Lumpur, 10 December 2005
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by Australia, Kuala Lumpur, 10 December 2005

16. Tenth ASEAN Summit, Vientiane, 29-30 November 2004

Press Releases

- Chairman's Statement of the 10th ASEAN Summit, Vientiane, 29 November 2004
- Vientiane Action Programme
- ASEAN Accelerates Integration of Priority Sectors
- Chairman's Statement of the 8th ASEAN + 3 Summit, "Strengthening ASEAN + 3 Cooperation", Vientiane, 29 November 2004
- Chairman's Statement of the 8th ASEAN + Japan Summit, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- Chairman's Statement of the ASEAN-Australia and New Zealand Commemorative Summit, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- Chairman's Statement of the 3rd ASEAN + India Summit, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- Chairman's Statement of the 8th ASEAN + Republic of Korea Summit, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- Chairman's Statement of the 8th ASEAN + China Summit, Vientiane, 29 November 2004

Declarations

- ASEAN-Republic of Korea Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Cooperation Partnership, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- Plan of Action to Implement the ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity
- ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Plan of Action
- APPENDIX A for ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Plan of Action
- ASEAN Security Community Plan of Action
- ANNEX for ASEAN Security Community Plan of Action
- Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity
- ASEAN-Japan Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism, Vientiane, 30 November 2004

- Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Cooperation Partnership between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of Korea, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- ANNEX: Core Elements of the Framework Agreement for ASEAN-Korea Free Trade Area
- Joint Declaration of the Leaders at the ASEAN-Australia and New Zealand Commemorative Summit, Vientiane, 30 November 2004
- ANNEX: Guiding Principles for Negotiation on ASEAN-Australia and New Zealand Free Trade Area (FTA)
- ASEAN Declaration Against Trafficking in Persons Particularly Women and Children, Vientiane, 29 November 2004
- ASEAN Protocol on Enhanced Dispute Settlement Mechanism, Vientiane, 29 November 2004
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by Russian Federation
- Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by Russian Federation
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by Republic of Korea
- Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by Republic of Korea
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Governments of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Transport Cooperation, Vientiane, 27 November 2004

Agreements

- Agreement on Dispute Settlement Mechanism of the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-Operation Between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China
- Agreement on Trade in Goods of the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-operation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China
- ANNEX I. Modality for Tariff Reduction and Elimination for Tariff Lines Placed in the Normal Track
- ANNEX II. Modality for Tariff Reduction/ Elimination for Tariff Lines Placed in the Sensitive Track
- ANNEX III. Rules of Origin for the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area
- ASEAN Framework Agreement for the Integration of Priority Sectors, Vientiane, 29 November 2004
- List of Related Documents of the ASEAN Framework Agreement for the Integration of Priority Sectors
- ANNEX I. Agro-Based Products
- ANNEX II. Air Travel
- ANNEX III. Automotives
- ANNEX IV. e-ASEAN
- ANNEX V. Electronics
- ANNEX VI. Fisheries

- ANNEX VII. Healthcare
- ANNEX VIII. Rubber-Based Products
- ANNEX IX. Textiles
- ANNEX X. Tourism
- ANNEX XI. Wood-Based Products
- ANNEX XII. List of Products

17. Ninth ASEAN Summit, Bali, 7-8 October 2003

Press Releases

- Press Statement of the Chairperson of the ASEAN + China Summit, the ASEAN + Japan Summit, the ASEAN + Republic of Korea Summit and the ASEAN - India Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 8 October 2003
- Press Statement by the Chairperson of the 9th ASEAN Summit and the 7th ASEAN+3 Summit, Bali, 7 October 2003
- Joint Statement Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-The Philippines-East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA) Leaders' Meeting, Bali, 6 October 2003

Speeches

- Speech by Indonesian President Megawati on the Presentation of a Farewell Gift to Malaysian Prime Minister DR. Mahathir Mohamad at the ASEAN Summit in Bali, Indonesia, 7 October 2003
- Remarks by the Prime Minister of Malaysia the Hon. Dato Seri DR. Mahathir Bin Mohamad in Response to Presiden Megawati's Farewell Remarks During the 9th ASEAN Summit, Bali, Indonesia, 7 October 2003

Declarations

- Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II), Bali, Indonesia, 7 October 2003
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia to India
- Instrument of Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by India
- ASEAN - India Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism
- Joint Declaration of the Heads of State/Government of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China on Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity
- Instrument of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia to China
- Accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia by China
- Joint Declaration on the Promotion of Tripartite Cooperation among the People's Republic of China, Japan and the Republic of Korea, Bali, 7 October 2003
- Recommendation of the High Level Task Force on ASEAN Economic Integration

Agreements

- Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-Operation Between the Association of South East Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China, Bali, 6 October 2003
- Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Between the Republic of India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Bali, 8 October 2003
- Framework for Comprehensive Economic Partnership between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and Japan, Bali, Indonesia, 8 October 2003

18. Eighth ASEAN Summit, Phnom Penh, 4-5 November 2002

Press Releases

- Press Statement by the Chairman of the 8th ASEAN Summit, the 6th ASEAN + 3 Summit and ASEAN-China Summit, Phnom Penh, 4 November 2002
- Press Statement by the Chairman of the ASEAN-Japan Summit, ASEAN-Republic of Korea Summit, the 1st ASEAN-India Summit and the South African President's Briefing, Phnom Penh, 5 November 2002
- Joint Statement of the First ASEAN-India Summit, Phnom Penh, 5 November 2002
- Press Statement by The Chairman of The 8th ASEAN Summit The 6th ASEAN +3 Summit and The ASEAN China Summit Phnom Penh Cambodia 4 November 2002

Declarations

- Joint Declaration of the Leaders of ASEAN and Japan on the Comprehensive Economic Partnership, Phnom Penh, 5 November 2002
- Joint Declaration of ASEAN and China on Cooperation in the Field of Non-Traditional Security Issues, Phnom Penh, 4 November 2002
- Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (2002)
- Declaration on Terrorism by the 8th ASEAN Summit, Phnom Penh, 3 November 2002

Agreements

- ASEAN Tourism Agreement, Phnom Penh, 4 November 2002
- Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Co-Operation Between ASEAN and the People's Republic of China, Phnom Penh, 5 November 2002
- Final Report of the East Asia Study group

19. Seventh ASEAN Summit, Bandar Seri Begawan, 5-6 November 2001

- Press Statement by the Chairman of the 7th ASEAN Summit and the Three ASEAN + 1 Summits, Brunei Darussalam, 6 November 2001
- 7th ASEAN Summit Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Brunei Darussalam, 5 November 2001

- Press Statement by the Chairman of the 7th ASEAN Summit and the 5th ASEAN + 3 Summit, Brunei Darussalam, 5 November 2001
- 2001 ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism
- Report of the East Asia Vision Group
- Forging Closer ASEAN-China Economic Relations in the 21st Century

20. Fourth Informal Summit, Singapore, 22-25 November 2000

- Chairman's Press Statement
- Report of the ASEAN Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on Vision 2020
- Protocol Regarding the Implementation of the CEPT Scheme Temporary Exclusion List
- Joint Press Statement on the Protocol Regarding the Implementation of the CEPT Scheme Temporary Exclusion List
- e-ASEAN Framework Agreement
- ASEAN leaders adopt e-ASEAN agreement

21. Third Informal Summit, Manila, 27-28 November 1999

Chairman's Press Statement

- Joint Ministerial Statement of the Special ASEAN Finance Ministers Meeting
- Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation
- Press Statement of the Chairman of the Special Joint Ministerial Meeting
- Press Statements of Secretary Pardo on the Special Joint Ministerial Meeting (SJMM)
- Press Statements by Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi
- Speeches of Premier Zhu Rongji of the People's Republic of China at the Third ASEAN+3 Informal Summit
- Speeches of Premier Zhu Rongji of the People's Republic of China at the Third ASEAN+1 Informal Summit
- Speeches of H.E. President Kim Dae-Jung of the Republic of Korea at the ASEAN+3 Informal Summit
- Speeches of H.E. President Kim Dae-Jung of the Republic of Korea at the ASEAN+1 Informal Summit
- Statements of Secretary Pardo at the Special Joint Ministerial Meeting (SJMM)
- Speeches of the Hon. Domingo L. Siazon, Jr., Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines As Co-Chairman of the Special Joint Ministerial Meeting (JMM)
- Speeches of His Excellency Joseph Ejercito Estrada, President of the Republic of the Philippines and Chairman of the Third ASEAN Informal Summit
- Speeches of Hon. Edgardo B. Espiritu, Co-Chairman of the Special Joint Ministerial Meeting

22. Sixth ASEAN Summit, Ha Noi, 15-16 December 1998

Keynote address, Welcoming and Opening Remarks

- Keynote Address by H.E. Mr. Phan Van Khai, Prime Minister of Vietnam
- Welcoming Remark by H.E. Mr. Phan Van Khai, Prime Minister of Vietnam

- Opening Remark by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam
- Opening Remark by H.E. Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia
- Opening Remark by H.E. B.J. Habibie, President of the Republic of Indonesia
- Opening Remark by H.E. Sisavath Keobounphanh, Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic
- Opening Remark by H.E. Dato' Seri DR. Mahathir Bin Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia
- Opening Remark by H.E. Senior General Than Shwe, Prime Minister of Myanmar
- Opening Remark by H.E. Joseph Ejercito Estrada, President of The Republic of the Philippine
- Opening Remark by H.E. Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore
- Opening Remark by H.E. Chuan Leekpai, Prime Minister of Thailand

Other documents

- Hanoi Declaration
- Hanoi Plan of Action
- 6th ASEAN Summit Statement on Bold Measures
- ASEAN Investment Climate and Policies
- ASEAN Framework Agreement on the Facilitation of Goods in Transit
- ASEAN Framework Agreement on Mutual Recognition Arrangements
- Protocol to Implement the Second Package of Commitments Under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services
- Closing Remark by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam
- Closing Remark by H.E. Mr. Phan Van Khai, Prime Minister of Vietnam

23. Second Informal Summit, Kuala Lumpur, 14-16 December 1997

- ASEAN Vision 2020
- ASEAN Economic Ministers Sign Protocol to Implement the Initial Package of Commitments Under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services
- Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of the ASEAN Foundation
- Newly Established Foundation Aims to Promote ASEAN Awareness
- ASEAN Citation Conferred on Signatories of 1967 Bangkok Declaration
- Joint Statement of the Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN on the Financial Situation
- Joint Statement of the Meeting of Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea
- Joint Statement of the Meeting of Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN and the Prime Minister of Japan
- Joint Statement of the Meeting of Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN and the President of the People's Republic of China
- Press Statement of the 2nd ASEAN Informal Meeting of Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN
- Mahathir Launches Bernama Book on ASEAN

24. First Informal Summit, Jakarta, 30 November 1996

Press Release

25. Fifth ASEAN Summit, Bangkok, 14-15 December 1995

Welcoming Remarks

- Welcoming Remark by His Excellency Banharn Silpa-Archa Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand

Opening Statements

- His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah of Brunei Darussalam
- His Excellency President Soeharto of Republic of Indonesia
- His Excellency Dato' Seri Mahathir Bin Mohamad of Malaysia
- His Excellency President Fidel V. Ramos of Republic of Philippines
- His Excellency Goh Chok Tong of Republic of Singapore
- His Excellency Banharn Silpa-Archa of Kingdom of Thailand
- His Excellency Vo Van kiet of Socialist Republic of Vietnam
- Closing Statements
- His Excellency Mr. Banharn Silpa-Archa of Kingdom of Thailand
- His Excellency Mr. Goh Chok Tong of Republic of Singapore
- His Excellency Mr. Vo Van kiet of Socialist Republic of Vietnam
- Speeches by CLM Leaders
- His Excellency Senior General Than Shwe of Union of Myanmar
- His Excellency Mr. Khamtay Siphandone of Lao People's Democratic Republic
- His Royal Highness Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh of Kingdom of Cambodia

Protocols Signed

- Protocol for the Accession of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the Framework Agreements on Enhancing ASEAN Economic Cooperation
- Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreements on Enhancing ASEAN Economic Cooperation
- Protocol to Amend the Agreement on ASEAN Preferential Trading Arrangements
- Protocol for the Accession of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the Agreement on the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) Scheme for the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA)
- Protocol to Amend the Agreement on the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) Scheme for the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA)
- Protocol Amending the Agreement on ASEAN Energy Cooperation

New Agreements Signed

- Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone
- ASEAN Framework Agreement on Intellectual Property Cooperation
- Bangkok Summit Declaration

- Bangkok Summit Declaration

APPENDIX B

List of Statements from the ARF from 1995

1. The Twentysecond ASEAN Regional Forum, 2014-2015, *Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 6 August 2015*
2. The Twentyfirst ASEAN Regional Forum, 2013-2014, *Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, 10 August 2014*
3. The Twentieth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2012-2013, *Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 2 July 2013*
4. The Nineteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2011-2012, *Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 12 July 2012*
5. The Eighteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2010-2011, *Bali, Indonesia, 23 July 2011*
6. The Seventeenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2009-2010, *Hanoi, Viet Nam, 23 July 2010*
7. The Sixteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2008-2009, *Phuket, Thailand, 23 July 2009*
8. The Fifteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2007-2008, *Singapore, 24 July 2008*
9. The Fourteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2006-2007, *Manila, Philippines, 2 August 2007*
10. The Thirteenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2005-2006, *Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 28 July 2006*
11. The Twelfth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2004-2005, *Vientiane, Lao PDR, 29 July 2005*
12. The Eleventh ASEAN Regional Forum, 2003-2004, *Jakarta, Indonesia, 2 July 2004*
13. The Tenth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2002-2003, *Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 18 June 2003*
14. The Ninth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2001-2002, *Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, 31 July 2002*
15. The Eighth ASEAN Regional Forum, 2000-2001, *Hanoi, Vietnam, 25 July 2001*
16. The Seventh ASEAN Regional Forum, 1999-2000, *Bangkok, Thailand, 27 July 2000*
17. The Sixth ASEAN Regional Forum, 1998-1999, *Singapore, 26 July 1999*
18. The Fifth ASEAN Regional Forum, 1997-1998, *Manila, Philippines, 27 July 1998*
19. The Fourth ASEAN Regional Forum, 1996-1997, *Subang Jaya, Malaysia, 27 July 1997*

20. The Third ASEAN Regional Forum, 1995-1996, *Jakarta, Indonesia, 23 July 1996*

21. The Second ASEAN Regional Forum, 1994-1995, *Brunei Darussalam, 1 August 1995*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acharya, A. (2007, August 15). *ASEAN at 40: Mid-Life Rejuvenation?* Retrieved September 03, 2015, from Foreign Affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2007-08-15/asean-40-mid-life-rejuvenation>

Acharya, A. (2011). *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. London: Routledge.

Acharya, A. (2011). Dialogue and discovery: In search of International Relations theories beyond the West . *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* , 39 (3), 619-637.

Acharya, A. (2005). Do norms and identity matter: community and power in Southeast Asia's regional order . *The Pacific Review* , 18 (1), 95-118.

Acharya, A. (2000). *The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Acharya, A. (2008). Theoretical Perspective on International Relation in Asia. In D. Shambaugh, & M. Yahuda, *International Relations of Asia* (p. 58). New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Alvesson, M. (1998). Discourses and Grand Discourse: Discourses and the Study of Organizations. *Organizational Discourse Conference*. London: University of London.

Alvesson, M., & Karreman, D. (2000a). Taking the Linguistic Turn in Organizational Research. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* , 36 (2), 136-58.

Amer, R. (2004). Regional Integration and Conflict Management: The Case of Vietnam. *Asia Europe Journal* , 2, 533-547.

ASEAN Regional Forum. (2011). *About The ASEAN Regional Forum* . Retrieved September 29, 2015, from ASEAN Regional Forum: <http://aseanregionalforum.asean.org/about.html>

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2007, December). *The ASEAN Charter*. Retrieved May 16, 2015, from Association of Southeast Asian Nations: <http://www.asean.org/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>

Association of SouthEastAsian Nations. (1976, February 24). *Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia Indonesia, 24 February 1976*. Retrieved May 14, 2015, from Association of SouthEastAsian Nations: <http://www.asean.org/news/item/treaty-of-amity-and-cooperation-in-southeast-asia-indonesia-24-february-1976-3>

Ayoob, M. (2005). *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub.

Ba, A. D. (2005). On norms, rule breaking, and security communities: a constructivist response' . *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* , 5 (2).

Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Macmillan Pub Co.

Berg, B. L. (2001). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* . Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Penguin Book.

- Bradley, J. (1993). Methodological Issues and Practices in Qualitative Research. *Library Quarterly* , 63 (4), 431-49.
- Busse, N. (1999). Constructivism and Southeast Asian security. *The Pacific Review* , 12 (1), 39-60.
- C.Kang, D. (2013). Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks. *International Security* , 4, 57-58.
- Caballero-Anthony, M. (1998). Mechanisms of Dispute Settlement: The ASEAN Experience. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* , 20 (1), 52.
- Chang, F. K. (2014). Economic and Security Interests in Southeast Asia . *Orbis* , 58 (3), 378-391.
- Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper. (2001). *Vietnamese Communist Party National Congress's Documents*. (C. P. Newspaper, Producer) Retrieved September 19, 2015, from http://dangcongsan.vn/cpv/Modules/News/ListObjectNews.aspx?co_id=30396
- Communist Party of Vietnam. (2011, 1 19). *Resolution of the 11th Party Congress*. Retrieved 10 18, 2014, from Communist Party of Vietnam online newspaper: dangcongsan.vn
- Dosch, J. (2006). Vietnam's ASEAN membership revisited: Golden opportunity or golden cage? *Contemporary Southeast Asia* , 28 (2), 234-258.
- Doyle , M., & Recchia, S. (2011). Liberalism in International Relations. *International Encyclopedia of Political Science* , 1434.
- Eaton, S., & Stubbs, R. (2006). Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia. *The Pacific Review* , 19 (2), 135-155.
- Emmers, R. (2005). Regional Hegemonies and the Exercise of Power in Southeast Asia: A Study of Indonesia and Vietnam. *Asian Survey* , 45, 645-665.
- Friedberg, A. (1993/1994). Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia,. *International Security* , 18 (3), 5-33.
- Frost, F. (1993). *Vietnam's Foreign Relations: Dynamic of Change*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies .
- Fulton, C. L. (2010). Plausibility. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe, *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* . Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications.
- Galnoor, I. (1995). *The Partition of Palestine: Decision Crossroads in the Zionist Movement*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Goldsmith, B. E. (2007). A Liberal Peace in Asia? *Journal of Peace Research* , 44 (1), 5-27.
- Gottmann, J. (1973). *The Significance of Territory*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Hall , S., & Foucault , M. (2001). Power, Knowledge and Discourse. In W. Margaret , S. Taylor, & S. Yates, *Discourse Theory and Practice* . London: Sage.
- Hall, P. A. (2006). Systematic process analysis: when and how to use it. *European Management Review* , 3.
- Higgott, R. (1994). Ideas, identity and policy coordination in the Asia-Pacific . *The Pacific Review* , 7 (4), 367-379.

Holsti, O. R. (1969). *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. New York: Addison-Wesley.

Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research* , 15 (9), 1277-1288.

Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations. (2014). *TRIP's 2014 Survey of International Relations Scholars* . Retrieved September 29, 2015, from Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations: <http://www.wm.edu/offices/itpir/trip/index.php>

Jackson, R. H. (1993). *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* . New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jetly, R. (2003). Conflict management strategies in ASEAN: perspectives for SAARC . *The Pacific Review* , 16 (1).

Johns, D. M., & Smith, M. L. (2007). Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order. *International Security* , 32 (1), 148-184.

Jones, L. (2007). ASEAN intervention in Cambodia: from Cold War to conditionality. *The Pacific Review* , 20 (4).

Katsumata, H. (2006). Establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum: constructing a 'talking shop' or a 'norm brewery'? . *The Pacific Review* , 19 (2), 181-198.

Katsumata, H. (2003). Reconstruction of Diplomatic Norms in Southeast Asia: The Case for Strict Adherence to the "ASEAN Way". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* , 25, 101.

Katzenstein, P. J. (1997). Introduction: Asian Regionalism in Comparative Perspective. In P. J. Shiraishi, *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (p. 5). New York: Cornell University Press.

Ken, D. W. (2006). Vietnam Laying the Path for the 10th National Congress. In L. Salazar , & D. Singh , *Southeast Asian Affairs 2006* (pp. 345-65). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies .

Kivimäki, T. (2001). The long peace of ASEAN . *Journal of Peace Research* , 38 (1), 5-25.

Koga, K. (2013, February 22). *ASEAN's Great Power Dilemma*. Retrieved May 14, 2015, from Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs: http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/publication/22784/aseans_great_power_dilemma.html?breadcrumb=%2F

Koh, D. (2008). Leadership Changes at the 10th Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party . *Asian Survey* , 8 (4), 650-672.

Krippendorff, K. (1989). *Content Analysis* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania .

Krippendorff, K. (2010). Content Analysis. In N. J. Salkind, *Encyclopedia of Research Design* (p. 233). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Krippendorff, K. H. (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications.

Lasswell, H. D. (1952). *The comparative study of symbols : An introduction*. Stanford : Stanford University Press.

Le, T. D., & Hoang, L. H. (2013). Vietnam in ASEAN and ASEAN in Vietnam. *Asia Pacific Bulletin* , 242.

Leifer, M. (1996). Special Issue: The ASEAN Regional Forum. *The Adelphi Papers* , 36 (302), 53-54.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills : SAGE Publications.

Machiavelli, N. (1998). *The Discourses*. London: Penguin Books.

Mastanduno, J. I. (2003). *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative Content Analysis. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* , 1 (2).

McLean, I., Blais, A., Garand, J., & Giles, M. (2009). Comparative Journal Ratings: A Survey Report. *Political Studies Review* , 7, 18-38.

Mely, C.-A. (2003). *Regionalisation of peace in Asia: Experience and Prospects of ASEAN, ARF and UN Partnership* (Vol. 42). Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University.

Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks : SAGE Publications.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam. (2014, March 17). *Political system*. Retrieved September 29, 2015, from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam: http://www.mofa.gov.vn/en/tt_vietnam/nr040810155159/

Moore, M. (1990). What Sort of Ideas Become Public Ideas? . In R. B. Reich, *Power of Public Ideas* (p. 79). Cambridge : Harvard University Press .

Morgenthau, H. (1985). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (6th edition ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill .

Morgenthau, H. (1946). *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nesadurai, H. E. (2009). ASEAN and regional governance after the Cold War: from regional order to regional community? . *The Pacific Review* , 22 (1), 91-118.

Nguyen, H. H. (2012, July 27). *Time to reinterpret ASEAN's consensus principle* . Retrieved May 14, 2015, from East Asia Forum: <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/07/27/time-to-reinterpret-asean-s-consensus-principle/>

Onuf, N. G. (1989). *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. Columbia: South Carolina Press.

Owens, W., & Nye, J. (1996). America's Information Edge. *Foreign Affairs* , 75, 24.

Paasi, A. (2003). Territory. In J. Agnew, K. Mitchell, & G. Toal, *A Companion to Political Geography* (pp. 109-122). Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Phillips , N., & Hardy, C. (2002). *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*. Newbury Park: SAGE .

Phillips, N., Lawrence, T., & Hardy, C. (2004). Discourse and Institutions. *The Academy of Management Review*, 29 (4), 635-52.

Pinhey, T., & Sanders, W. (1983). *The conduct of social research*. New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Rogan, J. (2013, September 17). *Success story of MMA: Joe Rogan*. Retrieved May 16, 2015, from CrosstrainFight Club: <http://www.crosstrain.in/success-story-of-mma-joe-rogan/>

Rother, S. (2012). Wendt meets East: ASEAN cultures of conflict and cooperation . *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47 (1), 49-67.

Rowman, C., & Hensel, P. R. (2012). *Territory: Theory and Evidence on Geography and Conflict*. In J. A. Vasquez, *What Do We Know About War?* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers; Second Edition edition.

Sack, R. D. (1986). *Human Territoriality Its Theory and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scheufele, B. (2008). *Content Analysis, Quantitative*. Retrieved August 6, 2015, from Blackwell Reference Online: http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405131995_chunk_g97814051319958_ss136-1

Schilling, J. (2006). On the Pragmatics of Qualitative Assessment Designing the Process for Content Analysis. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*, 22 (1), 28-37.

Severino, R. C. (2007). ASEAN Beyond Forty: Towards Political and Economic Integration . *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 29 (3), 406-423.

Sheldon W., S. (2007). *ASEAN and its security offspring*. Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College.

Silver, N. (2011, March 24). *A Note to Our Readers on the Times Pay Model and the Economics of Reporting* . Retrieved September 29, 2015, from The New York Times: <http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/03/24/a-note-to-our-readers-on-the-times-pay-model-and-the-economics-of-reporting/?scp=2&sq=nate%20silver&st=cse&r=0>

SJR. (2014). *Journal Rankings* . Retrieved September 29, 2015, from SCImago Journal and Country Rank: http://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?area=3300&category=3320&country=all&year=2014&order=sjr&min=0&min_type=cd

Slaughter, A.-M. (2011). *International Relations, Principal Theories*. Retrieved March 10, 2015, from Princeton University: http://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf

Solingen, E. (2008). The Genesis, Design and Effects of Regional Institutions: Lessons from East Asia and the Middle East . *International Studies Quarterly*, 52, 261-294.

Srinivasulu, K. (2004). Political Articulation and Policy Discourse in Elections: Andhra Pradesh, 2004. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39 (34), 3845-3853.

Stubbs, R., & Eaton, S. (2006). Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia . *The Pacific Review*, 19 (2), 29-52.

Stubbs, R. (2008). The ASEAN alternative? Ideas, institutions and the challenge to 'global' governance. *The Pacific Review* , 21 (4).

Sukma, R. (2010). ASEAN And Regional Security In East Asia. In W. Hofmeister, *Security Politics in Asia and Europe* (p. 109). Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Tamaki, T. (2006). Making Sense of 'ASEAN Way': A Constructivist Approach . *Annual Conference of the International Political Science Association* , (p. 11). Fukuoka.

Tesch, R. (1990). *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types & Software Tools* . Bristol : Falmer Press .

Thayer, C. (2015, July 06). *Is Vietnam Pivoting Toward the United States?* . Retrieved September 29, 2015, from The Diplomat: <http://thediplomat.com/2015/07/is-vietnam-pivoting-toward-the-united-states/>

The Central Executive Committee, C. P. (2013). *Patent No. 22*. Vietnam.

Tickner, A. (2003). Seeing IR differently: Notes from the third world . *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* , 32 (2), 295-324.

Tobias, N. I. (2000). Insights from ASEAN's foreign policy co-operation: The "ASEAN way", a real spirit or phantom? *Contemporary Southeast Asia* , 89-112.

Tung, N. V. (2007). Vietnam's membership of ASEAN: A constructivist interpretation . *Contemporary Southeast Asia* , 29(3).

United Nations. (1945, June 26). *Chapter I: Purposes and Principles*. Retrieved June 26, 2015, from Charter of the United Nations: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml>

Vasquez, J. A. (1993). *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vietnam National Assembly. (2001, December 25). *The Constitution of The Socialist Republic of Vietnam*. Retrieved May 16, 2015, from Ministry of Justice, Vietnam: http://moj.gov.vn/vbpq/en/Lists/Vn%20bn%20php%20lut/View_Detail.aspx?ItemID=10450

Vietnam Plus. (2011, January 19). *Resolution of the 11th Party National Congress* . Retrieved September 29, 2015, from Vietnam Plus: <http://en.vietnamplus.vn/resolution-of-the-11th-party-national-congress/25788.vnp>

Walt, S. M. (1998). International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy* , Spring, 29-46.

Wang, Y. (2010). Evolving Asian Power Balances and Alternate Conceptions for Building Regional Institutions. *ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration* , 68.

Weber State University. (2014). *Scholarly vs. Popular vs. Trade Publications*. Retrieved September 29, 2015, from Library Instruction Program : <http://library.weber.edu/il/libs1704/PDFs/scholarlyvspopular.pdf>

Weber, C. (2005). *International Relations Theory : A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis (Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences)*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Wendt, A. (1995). Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. In J. D. Derian, *International Theory: Critical Investigation* (pp. 129-77). New York: New York University Press.

Wendt, A. (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. *American Political Science Review* , 88 (2), 384-396.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wesley, J. J. (2010). Qualitative Document Analysis in Political Science . *T2PP Workshop* (pp. 4-6). Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam : University of Manitoba, Department of Political Studies .

Wever, B. D., Schellens, T., Valcke, M., & Keer , H. V. (2006). Content analysis schemes to analyze transcripts of online asynchronous discussion groups: a review. *Computer & Education* , 46, 6-28.

Whelan, C. G. (2012, October). *Does the ARF Have a Role in ASEAN's Pursuit of Regional Security in the Next Decade?* Retrieved May 14, 2015, from Australian Defence College:

http://www.defence.gov.au/ADC/Publications/Commanders/2012/10_CDSS%20SAP.pdf

Wildemuth , B., & Zhang , Y. (2009). Qualitative Analysis of Content. In B. M. Wildemuth, *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science*. Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited .

Wildemuth, B., & Zhang, Y. (2009). Qualitative Analysis of Content. In B. M. Wildemuth, *Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library science*. Connecticut: Westport.

Wilson, W. (1918). *President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points* . Retrieved July 26, 2015, from Our Documents: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=62>

Wodak , R., & Fairclough , N. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. Dijk, *Discourse as Social Interaction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258-84). London: SAGE .

Wolters, O. W. (1982). *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian* . Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Wood , L., & Kroger , R. (2000). *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Yale Law School. (1648, October 24). *Treaty of Westphalia: Peace Treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France and their respective Allies*. Retrieved June 26, 2015, from Lillian Goldman Law Library: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/westphal.asp

Yap, D. (2012, November 16). *Aquino to push for less Asean meetings at summit* Read more: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/308026/aquino-to-push-for-less-asean-meetings-at-summit#ixzz3mkHfE0lO> Follow us: @inquirerdotnet on Twitter | inquirerdotnet on Facebook. Retrieved September 25, 2015, from Philippine Daily Inquirer: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/308026/aquino-to-push-for-less-asean-meetings-at-summit>

Yordanova, T. (2012). *Media - International Relations Interaction Model*. The Institute for Security and International Studies . Sophia: The Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS) .

Zucker, L. G. (1991). The role of institutionalization in cultural persistence. In W. Powell , & P. DiMaggio , *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Vol. 42, pp. 83-107). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.