

Some Limitations of ASEAN Organization in 55 Years of Operation

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Abstract

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (English : Association of South East Asian Nations, abbreviated as ASEAN) is a political , economic , cultural and social organization of countries in the Southeast region. Ah . ASEAN has a land area of 4.46 million km², accounting for 3% of the total land area of the Earth , and has a population of about 600 million people, accounting for 8.8% of the world's population . The waters of ASEAN are three times as large as land. Over 55 years of establishment and development, this is considered the most successful regional organization on earth. However, when it comes to ASEAN, people often talk about achievements, in the framework of this article, we would like to give some opinions on its limitations, as a basis for recommendations for leaders of the organization in this study.

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1. About the organization of Association of Southeast Asian Nations - ASEAN

The predecessor of ASEAN is an organization called the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), an alliance established in 1961 consisting of the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand. On August 8, 1967, when the Foreign Ministers of five countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand) in Bangkok issued the ASEAN Declaration, commonly known as the Bangkok Declaration, to merge the ASA together with ASEAN into the new ASEAN.

Initially, ASEAN was established with the overt aim of economic and socio-cultural cooperation, building a peaceful and prosperous Southeast Asia. But regional politics and security became particularly important, dominating ASEAN's activities for a long time. The real issue here was a political rally to deal with the impact of the war in Vietnam, which was escalating at the time, and to prevent communism from spreading throughout the island Southeast Asia. includes both arising from the endogenous and from the outside in.

On the issue of the Vietnam War: on February 27, 1950, US President Truman officially recognized the Bao Dai government created by the French, starting the process of intervention in Vietnam. In 1955, the US set up the government of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN), and at the same time sent the Military Advisory Mission (MAAG), 10 years later officially sent troops into Vietnam. From then to 1973, the US sent more than 6 million soldiers to Vietnam, at its peak there were more than half a million and when returning there were more than 58,000 soldiers lying in body bags.

On the spread of communism (CS): In the late 1950s, China planned to entice communist parties in Asia to dominate the Eastern Communist bloc.

A prominent case can be found in Malaysia: The persistent and brutal guerrilla war. Since 1948, the Communist Party of Malaya (mostly Chinese) led by General Secretary Tran Binh (Chin Peng, 1924-2013) launched a guerrilla war to drive out the British and build a communist Malaya. In 1960, the communist guerrillas were defeated, and Tran Binh withdrew to Beijing. In 1968, China brought Tran Binh back to Malaysia to launch the second war. Until 1989, when the Eastern European Communist Bloc collapsed, China cut off funding, communist guerrillas in Malaysia dropped their weapons. Tran Binh was banned from returning to China, had to go to Thailand in exile and died in Bangkok.

In the Philippines, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was re-established on December 26, 1968, coinciding with Mao Zedong's 75th birthday (founded in 1930). Immediately after its re-establishment, the Party cooperated with other forces, carried out ideological and political propaganda, mass work and political-military training. On March 29, 1969, "New People's Army" was established; On April 24, 1973 "National Democratic Front (Philippines)" was also established. Along with that is "prolonging the people's war" according to the strategic line led by Mao Zedong. However, the results did not develop much, until 1980 it was considered to have cut ties with the Chinese Communist Party.

And in Indonesia: Seeing President Sukarno have pro-Communist ideology, the Chinese Communist Party has invested heavily in the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in economic and military equipment to help PKI launch a revolutionary coup. Being operated openly, PKI developed rapidly, in 1965 there were 3.5 million Party members and 3 million Communist Youth Union members, becoming the third largest Communist Party in the

world. On September 30, 1965, Indonesia broke out “event 930”. PKI members launched a coup d'etat, arresting and killing 6 top commanders of the Indonesian army. The army general at the time, Suharto, criticized the PKI's intention to kill political enemies to gain power, and immediately reorganized the right wing, launching a massive purge against the PKI.

On the night of September 30, 1965, when Sukarno went abroad, the PKI carried out a coup. But the CIA was more advanced, after only 24 hours, General Suharto (1921-2008) turned the tide. To stir up public opinion, the CIA revealed to the press Zhou Enlai's statement at a conference of Communist parties: “Southeast Asia has so many overseas Chinese, China is able to establish a democracy through them. communist meaning, can make Southeast Asia change color overnight”. At that time, Indonesia had more than 20 million overseas Chinese. The reaction of the people led to the Chinese Embassy in Jakarta being destroyed by the people, more than half a million overseas Chinese died unjustly. Although Sukarno was innocent because he was an alibi, he lost all his real power. On this day of that year, he was deposed, and General Suharto took over. Since then, the Chinese were forbidden to speak Chinese, to use their Chinese names and to enter the government payroll. As for the PKI alone, it was fiercely searched, nearly 2 million party members and related people (there are also documents saying 500,000 people) were shot, beaten to death, buried alive or strung on a chain to be dropped into the sea or imprisoned. held until a few years later, including General Secretary Aidid. The American press called it “one of the most terrible massacres of the 20th century”.

And in Thailand, the Thai Communist Party (Siamese Communist Party), founded on October 1, 1942, the party following Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, after 1960, completely leaned towards China. In 1965, “Thailand People's Liberation Army” by the Thai Communist Party was established. Armed struggle became the official means of struggle with the support of communist countries in the region. In 1969 this party established the “Patriotic Front of Thailand”. They received the support of a large number of people and students, especially after two student riots in Bangkok were brutally suppressed by the Thai government on October 14, 1976 and October 6, 1979.

Another problem related to the region is: After the Geneva Agreement, a “new initiative” as the US calls it to deal with this agreement and prevent CS is the formation of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization). In September 1954, the SEATO Alliance was born. This organization includes the United States along with the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan. The predecessor of SEATO was the Manila Treaty- “Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty”, also known as the “Manila Treaty”, in the Philippine capital Manila. The US wants to make SEATO become the Southeast Asian version of NATO, while SEATO has the goal of hindering the expansion of communism, especially China, to change the political map of Southeast Asia.

The remaining Southeast Asian countries refused to join SEATO for a variety of reasons, among which Indonesia and Myanmar refused to join because they wanted to maintain an independent position in the “Non-Aligned Movement” rather than align with any faction. any during the Cold War. Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore already have defense treaties and military cooperation relations with Britain, so they see no reason to join a military alliance. The Republic of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos also did not join this organization due to commitments in the Geneva Agreement. Only Thailand, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia.. are more eager to participate because of US aid relationships and the risk of pressure from the CS than because of the organization itself. The countries all joined to keep closer ties with the United States and the capitalist camp, rather than having specific or important goals. Only the United States has a clear purpose to make SEATO a key front line in the policy of preventing communism. The Mixed Alliance SEATO is in fact a very loose organization. The signatories of the treaty only pledged to consult with each other in the event of an external threat from CS. Therefore, SEATO is just an excuse for the US to mobilize mixed international elements to fight in Vietnam in case it has to resort to military solutions. When the United States officially entered the Vietnam War fully in 1965, it called for help from its SEATO allies. Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand responded by sending several thousand troops and other aid. This clearly demonstrates that the driving force behind SEATO is the US. In April 1975, the resistance war ended successfully, South Vietnam was liberated. The following year, the reunification of Vietnam was completed with the renaming of the country to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. At the same time, the Democratic Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic were established. Thailand asked the US government to withdraw its military base on its territory. The Philippines also asked the US Government to review the military treaties signed in 1971. American troops withdrew from Indochina, SEATO organization dissolved itself (June 30, 1977).

Facing the new situation of a peaceful Southeast Asia, both Vietnam and ASEAN are considering adjusting regional policies. In February 1976, the first ASEAN Summit was held in Indonesia, announcing the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC, commonly known as the Bali Treaty) and the Declaration of ASEAN Concord. However, after that, countries were drawn into a new whirlwind from the “Cambodia issue” that the ASEAN reconciliation process took more than 20 years to become a reality. ASEAN today has become an intergovernmental regional cooperation organization including all 10 Southeast Asian countries (five more are

Brunei (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos, Myanmar (1997) Cambodia (1999). There are currently two countries applying for the observer mechanism: the Independent State of Papua New Guinea (observer since 1976) and the Democratic Republic of East Timor (observer since 2015).

Thus, after 55 years of establishment, ASEAN is an important political-economic entity in the Asia-Pacific and an indispensable partner in regional policies of major countries and important centers. In the world. Currently, ASEAN is moving to a new stage of development with the overarching goal of forming the ASEAN Community and operating on the legal basis of the ASEAN Charter.

2. Limitations over 55 years of existence and development of ASEAN organization

The division from confrontation to cooperation of ASEAN organization can be taken as 1991 when the Cambodia issue was resolved within Cambodia, the knotting elements were removed. The parties involved have trusted, no longer doubted each other, and come together to negotiate and cooperate.

2.1 The period before 1991

One is: Some countries in the region were directly involved in the Vietnam War, pushing the climax to Indochinaization of the war

Of the five founding members of ASEAN, four are members of the anti-Communist military alliances: Thailand and the Philippines are members of the SEATO military bloc, and Malaysia and Singapore are members of the Defense Treaty. FPDA country led by the UK. The four countries mentioned above all supported the US imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam.

Although ASEAN countries have jointly drafted and come up with a number of solutions to establish a peaceful, free and neutral region in Southeast Asia. The basic content of this issue is reflected in the Declaration that Southeast Asia is a region of peace, freedom and neutrality (ZOPFAN Declaration), which was adopted at the ASEAN five foreign ministers' meeting on November 27, 1971, but some countries for their own interests actively participated in the SEATO bloc (the Philippines and Thailand) as allies of the US in the war in Vietnam, leading to strained relations and direct sending of troops. fight in Vietnam.

Thailand is affected by many sides (the US factor and the Thai Autonomous Region of Vietnam and China, as well as the support of communist guerilla fighters in Southeast Thailand) so the conflict is tense and tense. actively helped the Vietnamese soldiers, sending the whole army to join the war On September 29, 1964, the first group of Thai soldiers arrived in Saigon, including 16 air force technicians. At the end of 1967, the Queen's Cobras regiment consisting of 4,400 soldiers was sent to fight and sweep in Dong Nai province and part of Binh Duong province. Headquarters at Nuoc Trong base and set up outposts everywhere, making fences and carrying snakes - small snakes the size of a chopstick, naked black, extremely poisonous - raised in the protective fence. In mid-1968, the Regiment of the Snake King returned home, and was replaced by the Black Panthers division, consisting of 2 infantry brigades, 3 105mm artillery battalions and 1 cavalry unit (tank-armored). In early 1969, Thailand sent 6 more battalions with 11,586 more troops. Then the Black Panther division changed its name to the Royal Thai Army Volunteer Force (August 1970). Implementing the Vietnamization of the war, on December 21, 1969, Thailand began to withdraw its troops, in early 1972, it was completed with the conclusion: 351 people lost their lives, 1,358 were injured.

The Philippine Civil Action Group-Vietnam (PHILCAG-V), which landed in Vietnam in September 1966, established operations at a military base in Tay Ninh province. This force consists of a civil engineering battalion, rural community and medical community development groups, a security battalion, a field artillery battery, and a logistics and headquarters unit. main. By 1969, an army of 1,350 people, belonging to the Philippine Army, withdrew from South Vietnam.

Thus, as a fledgling regional organization, under the strong influence of the domestic political situation as well as the domination of external powers in the context of the Cold War, ASEAN's activities in the period (1967-1975) just laid the foundation for common awareness and unity among member countries, or in other words, "the period of building trust and learning to reconcile".

Two is. A number of ASEAN countries confront and engage directly in the Cambodia issue

On March 18, 1970, Lon Nol and his associates Sirik Matak, In Tam were pulled by the US to make a coup to overthrow Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, while Sihanouk went abroad, establishing the government of the Khmer Republic. President Lon Nol demanded that the Viet Cong withdraw all troops from Cambodia. In order to provide support, the US mobilized B52s to drop carpet bombs and then send 50,000 ARVN troops across the border to Cambodia to destroy the "Viet Cong holy land" and destroy the rear. That situation forced China to rescue the weak Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot to support the fight against the US.

In 1975, taking the opportunity of the United States to abandon Indochina, the Khmer Rouge jumped to rule the land of pagodas and towers. Immediately, Pol Pot practiced "radical communism": no schools, no markets, no money, no cities... Immediately after that, hostile forces began to subsidize Khmer Rouge encroaching on the border. , massacred Vietnamese people with the slogan "Where palm trees grow, Cambodia is there".

Responding to the call of the “United Front for National Salvation of Cambodia”, and at the same time to protect its national interests, on January 7, 1979, the Vietnamese army helped the Cambodian people overthrow the regime. Pol Pot genocide established the People's Republic of Cambodia. Pol Pot and his gang escaped to the Thai border to assemble a guerrilla war force against the Vietnamese Volunteers and the new Cambodian government.

In 1982, Vietnam began to withdraw its troops but had to stop because they realized that the Cambodian army could not shoulder the task alone. The Vietnamese army launched major raids in 1983. Especially in the dry season of 1984-1985, the Vietnamese army smashed Pol Pot's strongholds along the border with Thailand from Oda to Chamkachrau. The Khmer Rouge army was almost completely annihilated. From 1984 to 1987, the Cambodian people and Vietnamese troops built an 800 km long Cambodia-Thailand border defense line (K5) to prevent the enemy from entering the country from Thailand. In 1989, under pressure at home and abroad and the trend of world peace, Vietnam withdrew its troops from Cambodia, the following year (1990) had the Chengdu Conference. From then on, Vietnam and China went into “normalization” and the Khmer Rouge was completely abandoned. Thus, Vietnam has 12 days to destroy the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime, but must stay for up to 10 years to help Cambodia stand and revive with the help of the US, China and some other ASEAN countries. This is also the cause of the prolonged confrontation between ASEAN and the three Indochinese countries.

By this time, the brief atmosphere of peace in Southeast Asia had come to an end. Southeast Asia is divided into two groups of rival countries around Cambodia, one is the Indochinese countries and the other is the ASEAN countries. It was only when Vietnam withdrew its troops that ASEAN countries began to resume bilateral relations with Vietnam and welcomed Vietnam's participation in regional cooperation. Along with the end of the Cold War and the reduction of tension in relations between world powers, in October 1991, the Peace Agreement on Cambodia was signed, marking the end of the Cambodian crisis, opening the ushered in a new era - the period of cooperation and development in Southeast Asia.

Third, the interests of the parties in the "strategic triangle" affect the situation in Southeast Asia

The withdrawal of US troops in Southeast Asia has encouraged major countries to pay more attention to this region. The US government also took advantage of the conflict between the Soviet Union and China to isolate the Soviet Union, improve relations with China and step by step promote the “strategic triangle” of the US - Soviet Union - China. By the end of 1976, the situation in Southeast Asia had favorable developments through bustling diplomatic activities between the Indochinese group of countries and ASEAN. However, the subsequent developments of the regional situation, especially the emergence of the Cambodian issue, broke those initial bases. Instead of confrontational relations, friendly relations stagnated.

Entering the 1970s, China wanted to get rid of the status quo and needed to shake hands with the US to ask the “paper tiger” to help it fight the “no. 1 enemy” of the Soviet Union. In November 1978, Vietnam completely leaned towards the Soviet Union when it signed the “Treaty of Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation” with the Soviet Union. In December 1978, Vietnam moved to Cambodia, making China lose face to the world. Hearing the news of the fall of Phnom Penh, Deng Tieu Binh declared: “*Vietnam is a thug, must teach Vietnam a lesson*”. In January 1979, Deng went to the United States to give advice on his love for Vietnam. The green light was given by President Carter, so on February 17, 1979, 600,000 Chinese troops attacked six northern border provinces of Vietnam. After that, the war lasted until 1988 with events in Vi Xuyen, the East Sea... making the situation in the region always tense.

The fact that Vietnam helped the Cambodian people to overthrow the genocidal Pol Pot regime and revive the country was misjudged by some ASEAN countries and used it as a reason to gather forces with China and the US to besiege. Embargo Vietnam and Indochina countries and support the Khmer Rouge forces who are taking refuge in Thailand. This is considered a blow to “beat Vietnam to bleed” or the 3rd Indochina war, seriously hindering ASEAN's goal of harmony. In particular, in the East-West corridor, hostile forces trained armed groups from Thailand (Operation Dong Tien 1, 2) to infiltrate the border junction area, in Kon Tum province, Vietnam. Here, the delegations will set up bases, conduct ambushes on vehicles, lay mines to break bridges, attack Vietnamese border posts to resonate, create opportunities for forces staying on the US side to call on Vietnam overseas support... Combined with FULRO, Phi Lao.... armed riots, putting pressure on Indochina countries.

2.2 The period after 1991

Vietnam fell into a state of crisis and underdevelopment. Slow economic development forced Vietnam to open up, including how to expand exchange relations with foreign countries. In particular, the trend of détente in the world has affected the foreign policy of Vietnam and other countries around the world, shifting from confrontation to dialogue. It is the need for renewal that has contributed to promoting Vietnam to solve the Cambodia problem, draw closer to China, open relations with ASEAN countries and later normalize with China and the US, becoming a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Studying this period in the 55-year history of ASEAN can see some limitations of this organization.

Firstly: Some big countries impose on some problems of ASEAN countries or solve the South China Sea issue is still influenced by many factors

The East Sea has important geostrategic importance and position not only for the surrounding countries and territories, but also for East Asia and the world. The East Sea area also has important straits for many countries such as: Malacca, Luzon, Lombok, Sundan, Makascha, Ombai-Wetar... with the throat position of maritime traffic. The fact that Beijing includes the East Sea in the concept of “core interest”, while the US and Japan consider the issue of “freedom of navigation” has pushed the East Sea into the “Hot Sea”, creating a high risk of conflict. From this confrontation quickly pushed Washington to adjust its policy in the region. Thus, the “East Sea issue” mainly concerns three aspects: one is the issue of territorial sovereignty over the islands; the second is delimiting maritime boundaries and adding overlapping continents; the third is freedom of navigation, with two specific contents: uninterrupted sea lanes of commercial vessels; and the movement and operation of warships, including intelligence gathering. This is the most complex dispute over islands and maritime interests in the world.

ASEAN will play a mediator role for issues vital to its littoral member states: Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam and Brunei- in their overall disputes with China. The East Asia Summit (EAS) comes amid growing tensions in the East and South China Seas. The East Sea crisis has brought to light the limitations of ASEAN before China ignored the “cow's tongue” ruling of the international arbitration tribunal; illegal reclamation and construction of many artificial islands; encroaching on the exclusive economic zones of other countries... **On June 14 2016, ASEAN foreign ministers in a meeting with Chinese foreign ministers in Kunming, Yunnan province issued a joint statement expressing "deep concern" sharp" about the growing tension in the South China Sea. But the bloc's rare show of solidarity before Beijing seemed to have collapsed just hours later, when the declaration was withdrawn because Laos, Cambodia and Burma had not yet agreed on the declaration. this.**

Thus, with the operation based on the principle of consensus, ASEAN has repeatedly struggled to find a common voice on issues related to the South China Sea disputes. Some members of the bloc favor a tougher response to Beijing, while others prefer not to touch their huge economic partner. These disagreements culminated in 2012, when the ASEAN foreign ministers' meeting in Cambodia for the first time in history failed to produce a joint statement, mainly because the host was strongly affected. strong from China. This further increases the risk of armed conflict with relevant countries and threatens the principle of freedom of navigation and overflight in the region.

In particular, by December 2002, ASEAN countries and China had reached consensus on ratifying the Declaration on the Conduct of States claiming sovereignty in the disputed area in the East Sea. At the 18th ARF Conference in Indonesia (2011), the views and policies on the East Sea were supported by countries through the adoption of “Guidelines for the conduct of parties in the East Sea” and agreed to compile a set of “Rules on the conduct of parties in the East Sea”. However, the East Sea issue has not been seriously and fully implemented by relevant parties according to the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the East Sea (DOC) and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

Vietnam and the Philippines are the two countries that have the most friction with China over the East Sea, so both countries are the most active countries to call for ASEAN unity in the East Sea issue. Malaysia and Brunei are not directly threatened by China at sea, and they often focus more on their relationship with China. Singapore and Indonesia have neutral positions, they do not support the claims of either side. Particularly, Laos, Thailand and Myanmar have no direct interests in the South China Sea, so they rarely express their views. Cambodia has economic and political ties with China, so it supports China's bilateral negotiating position on the East Sea to some extent. Thus, it was within the bloc that there was no common voice. Countries with disputes in the South China Sea want to promote multilateralization and internationalization of this issue, but countries that do not have direct sovereignty disputes, have economic and commercial interests with China, often support the establishment of an international law. China's market for security, economic and trade benefits. This easily causes suspicion, lack of mutual trust and ignores the legitimate interests of other countries.

Second: There is a problem with ASEAN's operation and cooperation mechanism that needs to be changed

The ASEAN Way is a dead end, with the principles of consensus and gradualism, comfort, flexibility, voluntary and non-interference. The consensus mechanism will lose opportunities for many countries, with the motto of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states making joint actions almost impossible.

Institutionalization with bureaucratic rituals, led by diplomatic reticence, is afraid of discord and political trouble. So, ministers and heads of state meet, often wearing flashy, ceremonial clothes and make announcements and then go home. Even the DOC is not legally binding, so it leads to a lack of political will of the parties involved, a lack of agreement in applying the terms, and not an effective legal commitment to resolve the issues. The actual situation has not yet created the premise to form a mechanism to effectively control and manage security threats to peace, stability and development in the East Sea.

Another problem is that ASEAN-centered multilateral arrangements such as the ASEAN Regional Forum

(ARF) or the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN+... also play a secondary role in the political order and regional security. This bilateral and multilateral cooperation increasingly adds to the urgent patchwork of strategies to balance China. For example, maritime patrols between Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, joint military exercises, defense relations between Japan and Vietnam and the Philippines, even defense relations between India and Vietnam...

Thirdly: The gap in economic development level, the difference in political regimes and ideology hinders opportunities for other countries

Even between Vietnam and ASEAN countries, there is still a large gap, especially compared to the founding members of ASEAN. In addition, the transition from a subsidized economy to a market economy also revealed many shortcomings in terms of infrastructure, legal system, policies, human resources, etc. Large disparities in development level, management level, economic organization, capacity of staff and living standards will lead to disadvantages for our country in the integration process.

Differences in political regimes and ideologies between Vietnam, Laos and ASEAN countries can also lead to different views on security - politics and approaches to solving security issues. , social economic development. Differences of opinion on security and development issues in the context of increasing conflicts and different interests among major countries in the region may be the risk of internal disagreements and conflicts. ASEAN countries. At the same time, conflicts over ethnicity, religion and secessionist tendencies in some Southeast Asian countries also have a negative impact on the regional political and security situation in general and Vietnam in particular during the process. regional integration.

Culturally, ASEAN ranges from Muslim-majority countries like Indonesia and Malaysia, to Buddhist-majority countries like Thailand. Most of the other countries in the bloc are multi-ethnic, multi-religious, borderline ethnic groups have transnational connections... this creates potential risks of regional conflicts.

Loose alliances between different countries, economies and cultures would be unrealistic expectations. Member countries include Singapore, a dynamic city-state that resembles Los Angeles with a GDP per capita of US\$56,000, to small, backward countries like Cambodia and Laos and democracies like Indonesia and Philippines or military like Myanmar. Intra-ASEAN trade accounts for only 30% of total turnover (total intra-Asia trade is 53%). Therefore, it is not surprising that some ASEAN countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Vietnam have separately participated in the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Although, the group has declared the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community starting from January 1, 2016. Although ASEAN has eliminated 95% of import and export taxes in the bloc, other aspects of the community should include the harmonization of regulations on free movement of labor, and a common market for goods and services...

Fourth: The exploitation of the Mekong River is not rational, effective and sustainable

In this regard, belonging to water security, non-traditional security, is of great concern in the present and in the future. The Mekong River, known in Chinese as the Lancang, is the 7th longest river in Asia, providing a source of life, sediment, silt that accompanies its flow and habitat for riparian communities and wildlife. wild nature along its course from China and Myanmar to Laos and Thailand, down to Cambodia and Vietnam before emptying into the sea.

China's damming on the upper Mekong has long been seen as a geopolitical risk for downstream riparian countries. When the drought is severe, and the saltwater is deeply intrusive, China has just announced that it will release water from the Jinghong dam (Jinghong) upstream. For example, before the opening ceremony of the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Summit (LMC) of the leaders of six Mekong countries, China released the dam for several days, acting as a kind of grace for the remaining countries. again. In particular, to date, China has completed 5/15 of the planned dams along the Mekong. The construction of a series of dams upstream and midstream to serve as a source of hydroelectricity for China shows the intention to impose rules of water management on the area it deems appropriate and the response of these practices. Impacts are very sporadic, especially in the middle river area.

Although before that, the countries in the region (Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam) in September 1957, together reviewed and approved the Charter and agreed to establish the "Coordinating Committee for Research on Surveys" (Mekong Commission), the predecessor of today's "International Mekong Commission" (MRC), to exploit, encourage and coordinate the integrated development of the Lower Mekong Basin. Mekong. The 1991 marked Cambodia's return to Mekong cooperation.

Faced with the increasing demand for water resources in the Mekong River for socio-economic development goals and urgent requirements on strengthening cooperation in management, sustainable development , and rational use of natural resources. water and other resources in the Mekong River Basin. In the context that the United Nations is also developing an institutional framework for cooperation among riparian countries in the use, management and protection of international water sources (Convention on the Law on the Use of International Water Resources), the four countries of the Lower Mekong Basin have agreed to develop a new Cooperation Framework. After nearly 4 years of negotiations (1991-1994), with the support of international experts, on April 5, 1995, in Chiang Rai, Thailand, authorized representatives of 4 countries (including

Cambodia), Laos, Thailand and Vietnam) has made a historic mark by signing the “Agreement on Cooperation for Sustainable Development of the Mekong River Basin” (Mekong Agreement 1995) and the Protocol on the Establishment of the Mekong River Basin (MRC). The main role of the MRC is to “*Promote, support, cooperate and coordinate coordination in the development of its full potential for the sustainable benefit of all riparian countries and the prevention of wasteful use of water in Mekong River Basin...*”. The mission of the MRC is to “*promote and coordinate the sustainable development and management of water and related resources for the common benefit of Member States and the welfare of the people*”.

However, the LMC Cooperation Summit includes five points: from infrastructure connectivity, industrialization, to border trade, water management, agricultural cooperation and poverty reduction, aiming to establish institutions and your rules of the game. The LMC initiative also competes with the International Mekong River Commission (MRC), which was established by Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam in 1995 with professional and financial support from international organizations to manage river resources through international protocols and conventions governing major global river routes. Myanmar and China are dialogue partners of the MRC, but China has deliberately sidelined the MRC to achieve its own ends.

Fifth: Global issues that have not been solved by the bloc's own hands

The existing global problems for countries in the region are traditional and non-traditional security issues (poverty, epidemics - recently such as Covit-19, terrorism, environment, natural disasters, etc.), it is very necessary for countries to join hands to solve on the basis of sharing information, experience, support, settlement, overcoming consequences...

In 1997, Southeast Asian countries had to deal with a “double” crisis - a financial crisis and a currency crisis. Starting from the currency crisis in Thailand, then spreading to Southeast Asian countries. Due to reduced economic activity, poverty and the number of people in poverty doubled in a short time, incomes of the majority of the population fell sharply, nearly two years of crisis and poor weather conditions. The disadvantage has caused some ASEAN countries to fall into food shortages, the most serious being Indonesia and the Philippines.

Besides favorable changes, in the region, there are still many uncertain and potential factors that threaten the security and sustainable development of countries such as separatism, terrorism, ethnic conflicts, etc. religion, disputes over land borders and islands, especially the risk of exploding disputes in the East Sea. Meanwhile, the calculations about the interests of major countries in the region are still major challenges that Southeast Asian countries have to solve, requiring countries in the region to adjust their road map. foreign policy to find a mechanism to ensure security, an optimal development direction for themselves and the common development of the whole region.

Southeast Asia is home to hundreds of rebel groups, these groups often conduct violent and terrorist activities, including famous terrorist organizations such as: Abu Sayyaf terrorist group, this is the an Islamic separatist military group based in Bangsamoro (Jolo and Basilan) in the southern Philippines. The terrorist group Jemaah Islamiah, commonly abbreviated as JI. Jemaah Islamiah has its roots in Darul Islam (DI, meaning “Islamic Dynasty”), a radical anti-colonial Islamic movement in Indonesia; Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) group is an Islamic group..., The most fundamental cause for the emergence of these terrorist groups in the region is the conflict of interests between the groups. members, communities in society are not guaranteed. However, the main cause of violence and terrorism in the region is religious and cultural issues. The central government also has little interest in the region, with very high rates of unemployment, poverty, and illiteracy; This is the main cause of terrorist activities, violence against local authorities and the government like in Thailand during the past decades in the area. southern region of this country. In Indonesia, the same is true of the southern Philippines, western Myanmar's Rakhine state and Sabah state on the Malaysian island of Borneo.

3. Conclusion and recommendations

Thus, from a 5-member organization, ASEAN has developed into a community of 10 Southeast Asian countries and has extended beyond Southeast Asia, ASEAN has expanded its relationship with many partners in the region. and beyond the region, including the world's leading powers. ASEAN has become the driving force of cooperation and dialogue processes for peace, security, stability and development in the Asia-Pacific and in the world. internationally with three core pillars. Besides the achievements, ASEAN has always faced many challenges in terms of traditional and non-traditional security. Two hot issues here are terrorism caused by radical Islamic forces and China's “cow's tongue line” ambitions in the East Sea.

The first problem: going through a long historical process, along with the consequences of colonialism, the policy mistakes of local and central governments in some countries, the Muslims are not guaranteed, they are unfairly discriminated against religious groups. This is a huge loophole for international IS terrorists to actively exploit and exploit. Therefore, ASEAN countries need more than ever to be “united and resilient” to deal with the growing threat of terrorism. In addition, it is necessary to soon narrow the development gap between countries and the gap between rich and poor in the country, between regions, towards sustainable development will be one of the effective measures to ensure regional security environment. To fight against terrorism, it is

necessary to have cooperation on the basis of equality between nations, to ensure equality in enjoying the common achievements of human civilization at both regional and world scale. gender. The world community at large, first of all the industrialized countries, need to help poor countries get out of poverty, disease and underdevelopment.

ASEAN member countries regularly exchange and discuss experiences and measures to combat crime in member countries, strengthen ASEAN cooperation in combating transnational crime and strengthen cooperation between countries. ASEAN members in the fight against transnational crime; Declaration on Cooperation against Terrorism for Border Security and Joint Declaration on Combating Piracy. Information sharing and mutual assistance in dealing with natural disasters, earthquakes, tsunamis, epidemics, especially infectious diseases, etc.

The second problem: China believes that the South China Sea issue is a matter of sovereignty disputes, so only countries with disputes have the right to negotiate with each other and point fingers. Vietnam and the Philippines are the two countries that have the most friction with China over the East Sea, so both countries are the most active countries to call for ASEAN unity in the East Sea issue.

The third problem is that with the “ASEAN way” based on consensus and avoiding controversies, in order to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of that consensus, the issues discussed and concluded need to be decided by consensus. Or to be less divisive, the decision should be based on the two-thirds vote rule. This is considered a sanction for members to implement instead of just a formal activity.

The fourth issue of security openness in the region requires a broader security organization including ASEAN countries, and other countries in the region such as India, Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand..., The US may be included, but ASEAN can play a leading role, and (operate) in a way that is not by consensus, but by majority.

Together with ASEAN member countries, Vietnam participates in accelerating the process of regional integration and building the ASEAN Community by actively contributing to the process of building and implementing the Roadmap for ASEAN Community Building (the the master plan to build the three pillars of the ASEAN Community and the Work Plan for the implementation of the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), contributing to maintaining peace, stability and development in the region and in the world.

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