

ASEAN NEWSLETTER

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ASEAN News Updates

ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT)

(January 22, 2013)

All ten ASEAN member states have ratified the ACCT. The ACCT is a significant achievement of ASEAN's counter-terrorism efforts as it serves as framework for the region's strategic role in the global strategy on counter-terrorism. Considered a one-of-a-kind regional agreement on terrorism, the convention mandates ASEAN countries to cooperate in the prevention of terrorism, the enforcement of law and the rehabilitation of former terrorists.

The convention also requires that ASEAN countries share information and data from their intelligence agencies, stop the flow of funds to terrorists, cooperate in investigations and trials for terror attacks and extradite terrorist suspects.

(Source: ASEAN Secretariat & Xinhuanet News)

Celebrating 40 years of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation

(January 18, 2013)

Japan will continue to support the community building of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), visiting Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe made the remarks on the 40th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation Kick-off Reception. Premier Abe said for the last 40 years Japan has always supported the prosperity and stability for Southeast Asia, and Japan will continue to contribute to the region's infrastructural improvement and human resource development. (Source: China Daily)

ASEAN and Argentina to Enhance Closer Cooperation between ASEAN and MERCOSUR

(January 17, 2013)

The Secretary-General of ASEAN H.E. Mr Le Luong Minh and Foreign Affairs Minister of the Argentina Republic H.E. Mr Hector Timerman exchanged views on major aspects of cooperation between ASEAN and Argentin as well as within the context of ASEAN-MERCOSUR (Members of the Southern Common Market) cooperation, yesterday at the ASEAN Secretariat. The two leaders also discussed a variety of issues including developments in ASEAN, the needs of ASEAN, and future developments in ASEAN-Argentina relations.

(Source: ASEAN Secretariat)

20th ASEAN-EU Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) Meeting Convenes in Jakarta

(January 17, 2013)

The meeting marked 40 years of the ASEAN-EU friendship. This was the first JCC meeting since the adoption by ASEAN and EU Foreign Ministers, in April 2012, of the Bandar Seri Begawan Plan of Action to strengthen the ASEAN-EU enhanced partnership 2013-2017, the EU's accession to the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in July 2012 and Viet Nam's assumption of the Country Coordinatorship of the ASEAN-EU Dialogue Partnership. The two sides noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in ASEAN-EU cooperation. They identified priorities for implementing the new Plan of Action, agreeing operational steps for advancing their cooperation in crisis response and disaster preparedness; maritime issues; migration and mobility; science and technology; higher education, human rights and enhanced capacity on mediation and reconciliation. The EU looks forward to further cooperation with the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and with the ASEAN Committee on Women and Children (ACWC), whose members will visit the EU in February.

(Source: European Union)

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Brunei's Chairmanship of ASEAN: An Outsider's View

*By Steven C.M. Wong,
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Few could have been under any illusions whatsoever that 2013 would not be another testing year for ASEAN. Cambodia's chairmanship of the regional organisation in 2012 is something that many ASEAN officials might prefer to forget even if was not exactly the 'debacle' that some analysts have called it.

The responsibility now falls on Brunei Darussalam to prevent any further escalation of tensions in the South China/West Philippine Sea, make substantive progress in the negotiation and signing of the Regional Code of Conduct on the South China Sea (CoC), and still have time left over for the country to leave its own imprint in ASEAN's work programme. (In all likelihood, the latter will be in the area of energy.)

This is a tall order by any stretch of the imagination. It has not helped that, in a move that surprised the other ASEAN capitals, the Philippines last month filed a case for binding arbitration in the United Nations on its dispute with China. Such a provision is allowed under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), of which both Philippines and China are signatories. It is also in line with the Six Point Principles on the South China Sea that ASEAN agreed to in 2012. Philippine's move has nevertheless been vehemently opposed by China.

Brunei may be small but the idea that it is a push-over when it comes to leadership of ASEAN is unwarranted. Like all ASEAN Chairs, Brunei gets to set the agenda for meetings, as well as issue the Chairman's statements of ministerial meetings and the leaders' Summit. These statements are powerful instruments because they are frequently quoted and referred to by officials, scholars and the media.

Brunei will be working hard to ensure that there is no repeat of last July, when the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Phnom Penh failed to produce a statement due to a lack of consensus. This was the first time in ASEAN's long history that this had happened and it reflected badly on both the organisation and the Chair. In particular, the integrity of the Chair was called into question.

At minimum, therefore, Brunei will be hoping for incident-free meetings and Summits. To this end, it is actively engaging in diplomatic efforts with high-level visits being made to the main protagonists of the South China Sea conflict so as to get some form of interim agreement or understanding. This would enable the work of ASEAN to once again be focused and the Chair would not be in the position of embarrassed again.

A great deal will depend on the countries concerned, notably the Philippines, China and Vietnam. One way that it can do so is for Brunei to try and persuade these parties to restrict disputes to the bilateral level, thus leaving ASEAN room to continue to pursue its the CoC. Whether this approach will be successful remains to be seen, especially since this issue of the South China Sea is expected to surface in ASEAN meetings this year and will be the subject of hot debate.

The Philippines' filing of a case with a UN tribunal is only one obstacle to lowering tensions. Another is the fact that third parties are ramping up the stakes by pressuring China to accept UN arbitration, something which it has already totally rejected. Other countries are approaching ASEAN capitals to gain support in their own territorial disputes with China. It should be remembered that China does not even accept the role of ASEAN in the South China Sea dispute, insisting that it deal with each of the claimant states individually.

These are all significant obstacles which Brunei must circumvent if it is to have a successful tenure as Chairman. The South China Sea dispute is not the only source of friction. Following their final submissions in April, the International Court of Justice is expected to come out with a ruling concerning the disputed land surrounding the PreahVihear Temple by October this year. Irrespective of whether Thailand or Cambodia wins the case, emotions are expected to run high.

For its part, Brunei has been demonstrating a form of consultative diplomacy that is rarely seen in ASEAN. For the ASEAN Summit this April, it is believed to have done away with much of the time-consuming official ceremony so as to allow more substantive discussion. It has also broached the idea of working with the next two Chairs of ASEAN so that there is continuity at least until 2015, when the ASEAN Community will (hopefully) be announced.

All these show beyond a doubt that Brunei's chairmanship will be anything but reticent and passive. Whether this will be sufficient for what promises to be a tumultuous year for ASEAN is the 64 dollar question.

North Asia's Three Leaders and the ASEAN+3

By Yookyung Lee, (Email: julep13@korea.ac.kr)
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The second half of 2012 saw the establishing of new governments all over the world. The Kremlin leader, Vladimir Putin stepped into office last May, American President, Barack Obama also took the oath of office for the second time. Japan welcomed extreme rightist Prime Minister Shinzo Abe late last year. Also, Geun-hye Park will officially be installed as the Eighteenth President of Republic of Korea (ROK) at the end of February while China's Xi Jinping is also preparing for his term beginning March.

What can we expect of the new leaders and their new governments? As China-Japan-Korea (CJK) actively moves towards regional integration under the trilateral talk, we expect a better platform of ASEAN+3. With all these leadership changes, will there be a shift in how CJK relates to ASEAN and its members?

Park's election victory was an influential event especially for South Korea and Northeast Asia at large. While Myung-bak Lee who is the current President of ROK is said to have pre-American and anti-Chinese sentiments, President-elect Geun-hye Park who is the first female president is basically a conservative person and she is known to not tow present policy line. Although the Saenuri Party is defiantly right-wing due to her tendency and her political experience, most experts feel that ROK and China will likely achieve reconciliation in the next five years.

With regards to her presidential election pledge, she advocated peace, cooperation and reinforced security in East Asia. Park's new administration will adopt an active and moderate diplomatic policy which will create an opportunity for regional peace and security. She defines their China partnership as a 'mutual strategic cooperative relationship' and she designates the USA as 'a comprehensive strategic alliance'.¹ This implies that she is concerning with ROK relationship with North Korea. Although during incumbent President Lee's administration, South Korea's hard-line policy toward Pyongyang increased tensions on the peninsula because he maintained a close relationship with only the USA and had kept a distance from China. In contrast, Park will work to find a balance between China and the United States.²

Madam Park believes that there are three big issues to deal with; firstly, the arms race in East Asia and territory conflicts with a history distortion, secondly, the increased importance of regional security as a source of strengthened cohesion against the power game between China and the USA, and lastly, the growing need to expand Asia regional integration. Although she tries to adamantly deal with North East Asian issues, she knows well that it is also important to increase the cooperation and reconciliation with neighboring countries. During a meeting late January 2013, with ambassadors of the ASEAN countries, she reiterated to the envoys the importance of ASEAN countries as cooperation partners with ROK. She will further strengthen diplomacy toward ASEAN and she hopes to expand their economic cooperation.³ Also, due to the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiation which was launched between ASEAN's FTA partners and ASEAN+6 countries last November,⁴ the relationship between ASEAN will be significantly increased for the next five years.

What then can we expect of China's next president? Touted as the most progressive President China has ever had, Xi Jinping is said to possess pro-American tendencies which looks good for ASEAN integration development. When we consider the situation that the ASEAN countries are divided between two big groups, pro-American and pro-Chinese, it could help to strengthen ASEAN integration. Due to the high percentage of official development assistance from China, Laos and Cambodia tend to be pro-Chinese by default whereas Vietnam and Philippines are pro-American due to their historic background. This is why ASEAN has not sung from the same hymn sheet on international disputes in particular that involving the Straits of the Philippines. However, we can expect for ASEAN to stand firm and join efforts without being extremely affected a situation under the new era.

Xi Jinping's open mindedness came through in a speech at the Ninth China-ASEAN Expo (CAEXPO) last September. He noted that ASEAN is the third largest trade partner and that the trade volume between China and ASEAN has increased from 7 billion US dollars in 2004 to more than 362 billion US dollars in 2011, with an annual growth rate of 20 percent. He emphasized the important relationship between China and ASEAN countries proposing four measures to move forward. First, he mentioned that China and ASEAN should further step up efforts to boost the development of the China-ASEAN

¹ "SBS NEWS", accessed January 21, 2013, http://news.sbs.co.kr/section_news/news_read.jsp?news_id=N1001542155.

² Ding Ying, "The Mission of Madam Park", *BEIJING REVIEW.com.cn*, JANUARY 3, 2013, accessed January 21, 2013, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/world/txt/2012-12/31/content_509750_2.htm.

³ jschang@yna.co.kr, "Park pledges closer cooperation with Britain, France over N. Korea SEOUL", *YONHAP NEWS*, January 14, 2013, accessed January 21, 2013, <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2013/01/14/22/0301000000AEN20130114009400315F.HTML>.

⁴ EDITORIAL, "Korea has a 97% of Dependence on Trade", *JeongukmaeilShinmun*, January 20, 2013, accessed January 21, 2013, http://www.jeonmae.co.kr/helper/news_view.php?idx=539065&path=&img_gubun+topnews&grpname=%EC%82%AC%EC%84%A4.

free trade area. Second, China hopes to further increase two-way investment. Acknowledging that accessibility of information is an important basis for economic and trade cooperation, China will improve communication and exchange. Fourth, they should deepen civilian and people-to-people exchanges.⁵

However, his basic motto of diplomatic policy is “The Rise of the Great Nations” and he believes that his responsibility is to achieve the greatest revival of the China. In this sense, some analysts predict that he will show a nationalist tendency toward international disputes and relations. If he uses nationalism to secure legitimacy of his Communist Party (CP) on international matters, it hampers cooperation and integration with other countries.⁶ If China hopes to succeed in satisfactory negotiation of the trilateral free trade agreement this year, China who has consistently increased influence needs to start being humble for the future.

Lastly, let’s look at Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s which having come into power last December already has five visionary principles on ASEAN foreign policy. Firstly, he vows to work with ASEAN to expand and enshrine universal values such as freedom, democracy and basic human rights. Secondly, protect the seas, which should be open, free and controlled by laws and rules. Thirdly, prospers together by promoting economic networks for enhanced trade, investment and exchanges of goods and people. Also, protect and nurture Asia’s diverse cultures and traditions. Lastly, actively promote mutual exchanges between young generations.⁷

Japan basically pursues the ASEAN+6 rather than ASEAN+3 against powerful China. Moreover, as Abe’s January visits lean towards three ASEAN countries; Vietnam, Thailand, and Indonesia, Japan makes a ceaseless effort to promote exchange among the ASEAN countries. Under the name of ‘diplomacy based on universal value’, he pledged to increase Japan’s exports of nuclear power technology to Vietnam.⁸ In addition, Thailand and Japan pledged to enhance cooperation in security and economic areas. Thailand is now Japan’s highly important automotive and electronics production base.⁹

However, the most important issue for Japan is the relationship between China. Due to its close economic and long historical ties between China and countries in the ASEAN region, Abe will have a challenging time persuading ASEAN countries that they should contain China. By boosting relations with Southeast Asia and building up connections with some Southeast Asian countries over maritime security issues, Japan is trying to contain China. This behavior is quite important to both countries because it presents the position taken by most Southeast Asian countries in their relationship with both China and Japan. For example, due to Indonesia’s potential market for both China and Japan, they are glad to see the competition between them as they continue to benefit from it.¹⁰

As Abe aims to provide Japan’s stagnant economy with a new source of growth and help counterbalance the economic and military strength of China by boosting relations with Southeast Asia, Japan should have a responsible attitude in order to benefit and stability and development of Asia.¹¹ ASEAN countries could maintain close relationships because they know they are small, they support one another, and they believe that national interests lead to the regional interests. However, the CJK countries have a lot of obstacles such as the ROK-Japan history distortions and China-Japan maritime dispute.

Although the present strained relations between China and Japan will not be the only biggest hurdle for their integration, regional economic cooperation faces many uncertainties,¹² CJK firstly needs a stronger will to alleviate their international conflicts among three countries for a stronger platform of ASEAN+3 and amicable cooperation. International relations are composed of multiple layers, and if one conflict becomes serious, the whole relationship is affected. Thus, CJK should find a middle ground to coexist through their international conflicts rather than pursuing national interests alone.

Furthermore, it is difficult to expect a powerful leadership that can work as a mediator among ASEAN. We should think about what is an effective leadership first. 2013 brings new challenges for ASEAN with Brunei as the new ASEAN chair, and Lee Luong Minh from Vietnam as the new Secretary General of ASEAN. Malaysia, Cambodia and Indonesia are on the brink of elections within the next 24 months. We cannot anticipate what will happen in the future. There is a possibility that

⁵ Editor: Wang Shuo, “Xi Jinping: China-ASEAN Cooperation Sees Growing Gains”, CCTV.COM, September 21, 2012, accessed January 21, 2013, <http://english.cntv.cn/program/newshour/20120921/104011.shtml>.

⁶ Gwancheol O, “[The Task of Xi Jinping] (3) Foreign Policy”, The KyunghyangShinmun, November 22, 2012, accessed January 21, 2013, http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201211202218545&code=970204.

⁷ “KYODO NEWS”, accessed January 21, 2013, <http://english.kyodonews.jp/news/2013/01/204887.html>. “Five Principles of PM Abe’s Vision on ASEAN Foreign Policy” Jakarta, January 18, 2013

⁸ EDITORIAL, “Abe’s S.E. Asia Tour Shows Weak Commitment to Values-based Diplomacy”, *The Asahi Shimbun*, January 19, 2013, accessed January 21, 2013, <http://ajw.asahi.com/article/views/editorial/AJ201301190031>.

⁹ Cheng Guangjin, “Abe Boosts ASEAN Trade with Visits”, *China Daily*, January 21, 2013, accessed January 21, 2013, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-01/21/content_16146448.htm.

¹⁰ Ibid,

¹¹ Ibid,

¹² Li Xiangyang, “Testing year for Asian Economies”, *China Daily*, January 15, 2013, accessed January 22, 2013, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-01/15/content_16117285.htm.

domestic political uncertainty is likely to hamper the process of ASEAN regional cooperation as these countries look more inward during the build up to the elections.¹³

Lastly, ASEAN integration started with the ASEAN+1 with ROK, China, and Japan. Through trilateral efforts, it became ASEAN+3. However, what about the current situation? Due to the complicated maritime dispute between China and Japan, the present trilateral situation is apparently not very promising. As the China-Japan confrontation is building up tensions, the interconnectedness of the ASEAN+3 is pulling out. When we think about the strained ties between these two countries, ASEAN+3 may evolve to become ASEAN+2(ROK, Japan)+1(China). While it does not matter anymore how much they are integrated, it might be important to consider how much China who possesses significant power within Asia, cares about the ASEAN.

¹³Ibid,

Putting ASEAN in Order: Contemplating the changing role of the Secretariat and the Secretary General

By Natalie Shobana Ambrose
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ASEAN has had 12 secretary- generals since 1976 and Dr. Surin Pitsuwan who held the post from 2008- 2012 has been deemed a 'hard act to follow'. His first 'challenge' in what he terms as his baptism into the position began when Cyclone Nargis hit Myanmar causing the immediate deaths of 140,00 people and leaving 4 million in need of help.

The Myanmar of 2008 was a very closed state and as Secretary General of ASEAN, Dr. Surin played a vital role in bringing the United Nations and other international organisations into the country at a time when it was a very isolated kingdom to help rebuild the devastated Irrawaddy Delta.

When asked what is the single most gratifying experience of his tenure, Khun Surin as he is affectionately known says without a doubt the opening up of Myanmar and how ASEAN contributed greatly through engagement and raising the level of comfort of the leadership and the people of Myanmarⁱⁱ.

In the five years of helming ASEAN, significant developments have taken place under his leadership such as the adoption of the ASEAN Charter, the implementation of the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) the launch of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and the establishment of the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA)ⁱⁱⁱ. He has also had to lead through the Thai-Cambodia conflict and sought to find amicable cohesion with the overlapping claims of the South China Sea^{iv}.

As a politician and a scholar by training, Dr. Surin's charismatic personality has also brought more international recognition of the grouping earning him the credit of being the most effective secretary general^v. Yet, he feels a bigger mandate is required to properly carry out this role. Quoted in an article in the Asia Pacific News^{vi}, Dr. Surin said: 'I don't have the space, the power, the authority to enter into even an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding). That's difficult to drive the place if it's going to be the nerve centre, if it's going to be the central mechanism of this place.'

Perhaps Dr. Surin was relating back to the limitations that caused the regional groupings failure to issue a joint communique – a first in its 45 year history and the initial dismissal of the statement at the ASEAN Summit that was later amended.

The question which we must then ask is should the ASEAN Secretary- General have a larger mandate and be given the responsibility to make decisions on behalf of the grouping as suggested by Dr. Surin?

Called the 'engine Room of global recovery' by Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard, ASEAN is finding itself in a more strategic position than ever before, prompting members to weigh the implication of whether the role of Secretary General should remain bureaucratic or be one close to that of a ministerial position. At present, according to article 11 of the ASEAN Charter^{vii} the Secretary General plays the role of Chief Administrative Officer of ASEAN giving him the mandate to attend facilitate and monitor progress of implementing ASEAN agreements and initiatives, participate in meetings including the ASEAN Summit and other relevant ASEAN Meetings. Surely such a highly visible position has the potential to be more than a glorified facilitator or messenger? This would also aid to progress the organisation in terms of efficiency.

Currently a consensus method is implemented where decisions come from the capitals – and this can take weeks going against the concept of an ASEAN community which is in the midst of being built. In the past years, ASEAN has become a much more significant and influential body attracting other nations into its forum, and these partners have indicated a desired change in the way the Secretary General functions but also how the Secretariat operates. This is not to say that the unity of members is not crucial, but in order to cope with the pressures and expectations of growth, the central mechanism of the organisation needs to evolve and manage its success well.

In his farewell speech, Dr. Surin mentioned a report that he has prepared titled "ASEAN's Challenge: Some Reflections and Recommendations on Strengthening the ASEAN Secretariat". The report has sought for certain changes to be included, one of which is for Permanent Representatives to not only focus on political security matters but also address the two other integral pillars of the envisaged ASEAN Community - economic and socio-cultural matters^{viii}. Currently critical observations have been made to the lack of responsibility accorded to Permanent Representatives which cause them to focus on less passive issues of internal administrative and budgetary affairs. Further to that, it is reported that Dr. Surin's report calls for the beefing up of the legal division of the ASEAN Secretariat and for competitive remuneration to be provided which will be challenging as the Secretariat accounts for a modest annual budget of US\$15.763 million^{ix} in 2012. Such institutional reform however is necessary as there is a lack of clarity within the ASEAN institutions which will affect efficiency. He had also suggested for a more accurate use of Article 20.2 which states 'Where a consensus cannot be achieved, the ASEAN Summit may decide how a specific decision can be made'^x allowing for the use of a majority voting

method in cases of routine and operational issues. He also suggests that open recruitment and not alphabetical rotation should determine who holds the positions of two of the 4 Deputy Secretaries General.^{xi}

Khun Surin found that the setbacks of dealing with ASEAN countries not moving fast enough a great challenge^{xii}. The fear is that a “two- tiered ASEAN” seems to be growing affecting ASEAN integration at the moment and can only be sorted by fulfilling the creation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by the end of 2015^{xiii}. In order to do so, a more efficient Secretariat and increased authority needs to be approved.

Perhaps then the role of the rotating Chair also needs to be strengthened and as controversially (unconventionally) suggested by some scholars to form a tripartite leadership structure which includes outgoing, present and in-coming chairs to work together allowing for a smooth transition and continuation. As smaller states Brunei (2013), Myanmar (2014) and Laos (2016) take turns as Chair, it might be worth considering this tripartite suggestion not as a power-sharing leadership troika but rather one that provides linear support to the designated Chair.

Being the only organisation of its kind in the region, it is natural for various interested parties to gravitate towards the alliance as is interpreted not just by the groupings of ASEAN +3, ASEAN +6, the East Asian Summit and the interest of external major powers such as Russia and the United State, but also through the multiple free trade agreements, the setting up ASEAN Centres& Facilities, and the growing number of non-ASEAN Member States appointment of Ambassadors to the organisation. In order to accommodate ASEAN’s growing influence perhaps members need to seriously heed the call of the outgoing Secretary General for a stronger more empowered Secretariat and a greater mandate at the helm.

ⁱ New ASEAN Secretary General takes office <http://investvine.com/new-asean-secretary-general-takes-office/>

ⁱⁱ Surin Pitsuwan reflects on his time as ASEAN Secretary General <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvCfMHs-nqo>

ⁱⁱⁱ ASEAN Secretary –General Surin Pitsuwan bids farewell

<http://www.tempointeractive.com/hg/nasional/2012/12/21/brk,20121221-449591,uk.html>

^{iv} Sec-Gen Surin seeks bigger mandate to represent ASEAN

<http://www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/southeastasia/view/1239660/1.html>

^v New ASEAN Secretary-General takes office <http://investvine.com/new-asean-secretary-general-takes-office/>

^{vi} Sec-Gen Surin seeks bigger mandate to represent ASEAN

<http://www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/southeastasia/view/1239660/1.html>

^{vii} The ASEAN Charter <http://www.asean.org/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>

^{viii} Dr. Surin Sums Up "ASEAN’s Challenge" in His Valedictory Briefing <http://aseanec.blogspot.com/2012/11/dr-surin-sums-up-aseans-challenge-in.html>

^{ix} Asean Secretariat must be empowered <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/opinion/Asean-Secretariat-must-be-empowered-30182419.html>

^x The ASEAN Charter <http://www.asean.org/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>

^{xi} Dr. Surin Sums Up "ASEAN’s Challenge" in His Valedictory Briefing <http://aseanec.blogspot.com/2012/11/dr-surin-sums-up-aseans-challenge-in.html>

^{xii} Editorial: Thank you Khun Surin <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/12/28/editorial-thank-you-khun-surin.html>

^{xiii} Words of Wisdom from Outgoing ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan <http://thediplomat.com/the-editor/2012/12/19/outgoing-asean-chiefs-farewell-tour/>