

REFERENCES

- Abuza, Zachary. 1996. "International Relations Theory and Vietnam". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 17, no. 4 (March): 410–15.
- . 1997. "Institutions and Actions in Vietnamese Foreign-Policy Making: A Research Note". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 19, no. 3 (December): 309–33.
- Acharya, Amitav. 1998. "Collective Identity and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia". In *Security Communities*, edited by Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2000. *The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- . 2001. *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. New York: Routledge.
- Ahmad, Zakaria Haji. 1993. "Question for Greater Communitality in Southeast Asia: A Political and Security Perspective". Paper presented at the Third International Symposium on Interaction for Progress: ASEAN-Vietnam All-Round Cooperation, Manila, 4–9 December 1993.
- Alagappa, Muthiah, ed. 1998. *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influence*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Amer, Ramses. 1991. *The Ethnic Chinese in Vietnam and Sino-Vietnamese Relations*. Kuala Lumpur: Forum.
- . 1999. "Sino-Vietnamese Relations: Past, Present, and Future". In *Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition*, edited by Carlyle Thayer and Ramses Amer. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Vecto.
- Anderson, Desaix. 2002. *An American in Hanoi: American's Reconciliation with Vietnam*. New York: EastBridge.

- Ang, Cheng Guan. 1998. "Vietnam-China Relations Since the End of the Cold War". *Asian Survey* XXXVII, no. 12 (December): 1122–41.
- . 2013. *Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodia Conflict, 1978–1991*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.
- Antolik, Michael. 1990. *ASEAN and the Diplomacy of Accommodation*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Ball, Desmond, ed. 1987. *Transformation of Security in the Asia/Pacific Region*. Portland: Washington University.
- Betts, Richard, et al. 1992. *Time for a Critical Decision on Vietnam: It Is Time for the US to End Its Economic Embargo on Vietnam and Establish Diplomatic Relations*. Columbia University: East Asian Institute.
- . 1995. "Vietnam's Strategic Predicament". *Survival* 37, no. 3 (Autumn).
- . 1995. "Wealth, Power, and Conflict: East Asia after the Cold War". *International Security* 18, no. 3: 3–47.
- , and Thomas Christensen. 2000/2001. "China: Getting the Question Right". *National Interests*, no. 62 (Winter): 17–29.
- Brown, Frederick. 1997. "U.S.-Vietnam Normalization: Past, Present, Future". In *Vietnam Joins the World*, edited by James Morley and Masashi Nishihara. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Bui Thanh Son, 2000. "50 Years of Sino-Vietnamese Relations". *The IIR Proceedings of the Seminar on 50 Years of Sino-Vietnamese Relations* (January), Hanoi.
- Bull, Hedley, ed. 1975. *Asia and the Western Pacific: Toward a New International Order*. Canberra: Thomas Nelson Publisher.
- Busse, Nicholas. 1999. "Constructivism and Southeast Asia Security". *Pacific Review* 12, no. 3.
- Buszynski, Leszek, 1983. *SEATO: The Failure of an Alliance Strategy*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Buzan, Barry, and Gerald Segal. 1994. "Rethinking East Asian Security". *Survival* 36, no. 2: 3–21.
- Cao Xuan Pho. 1990. *Cultural Similarity: Vietnam and Other Countries in South East Asia*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Chalmer, Malcom. 1996. "Openness and Security Policy in Southeast Asia". *Survival* 38, no. 3 (Autumn): 82–98.
- Chanda, Nayan. 1986. *Brother Enemy: The War after the War*. New York: Collier Book.
- Chapman, Nicholas. 2017. "Mechanisms of Vietnam's Multidirectional Foreign Policy". *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 36, no. 2: 31–69.
- Chen Jian. 1995. "China's Involvement in the Vietnam War, 1964–1969". *China Quarterly* 142.

- Christensen, Thomas. 2001. "Posing Problems Without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for US Security Policy". *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring): 5–40.
- Collins, Alan. 2000. *The Security Dilemma of Southeast Asia*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Constantine, Gus. 1995. "Vietnam Sees Boon in ASEAN". *Washington Times*, 3 August 1995, p. A17.
- CPV. 1991. *Documents of the VII National Congress*. Hanoi: Truth Publishing House.
- . 1996. *Documents of the VIII National Congress*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- . 2001. *Major Documents of the IXth National Congress*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- . 2006. *Major Documents of the Xth National Congress*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- . 2011. *Major Documents of the XIth National Congress*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Cronin, Bruce. 1999. *Community under Anarchy: Transnational Identity and the Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Da Cunha, Derek Martin. 1988. "Aspects of Soviet-Vietnamese Economic Relations, 1979–1984". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 12, no. 3 (December): 306–19.
- Dang Cam Tu. 2011. "Vietnam in ASEAN Community Building". Thesis submitted to the University of New South Wales in Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
- . 2020. "Vietnam in ASEAN: The Past 25 Years and the Way Forward" (Việt Nam trong ASEAN: 25 năm qua và chặng đường phía trước). *The Communist Review* 7, no. 321 (July): 8–17.
- Dao Huy Giam. 2000. "Swim without Life Vest". *Foreign Affairs Weekly*. Special Issues Marking the Fifth Anniversary of Vietnam's Joining ASEAN (July).
- Dao Huy Ngoc, and Matsunaga Nobuo, eds. 1994. *Asia-Pacific and Vietnam-Japan Relations*. Hanoi: Institute of International Relations.
- Dibb, Paul. 1995. "Toward a New Balance of Power in Asia". *Adelphi Paper*, no. 295. London: International Institute for Strategic Study.
- Dosch, Jorn, and Ta Minh Tuan. 2004. "Recent Changes in Vietnam's Foreign Policy: Implications for Vietnam-ASEAN Relations". In *Rethinking Vietnam*, edited by Duncan McCargo. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Duiker, William. 1986. *China and Vietnam: Roots of Conflict*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

- . 1987. “Vietnam Moves toward Pragmatism”. *Current History* 86, no. 519 (April): 148–51.
- East Asian Institute, Columbia University. 1991. *A Critical Year for Indochina: First-Hand Observations of American and Japanese Analysts*. Report no. 2, March.
- . 1993. *Vietnamese Reforms and Cambodia Peace: Concerns and Observations of American and Japanese Analysts*. Report no. 4, March.
- Elliot, David W. 2012. *Changing Worlds: Vietnam’s Transition from Cold War to Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emmerson, Donald K. 1984. “‘Southeast Asia’: What’s in a Name?”. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XV, no. 1 (March).
- Fifield, Russell H. 1973. *Americans in Southeast Asia: The Roots of Commitment*. New York: Thomas Crowell Company.
- Fisher, Charles A. 1964. *Southeast Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Friedberg, Aaron. 1995. “Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia”. *International Security* 18, no. 3.
- Frost, Frank. 1993. *Vietnam’s Foreign Relations: Dynamic of Change*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Funston, John. 1999. “Challenges Facing ASEAN in a More Complex Age”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 21, no. 2 (August): 217–18.
- , ed. 2001. *Government and Politics in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Gaiduk, Ilya. 1996. *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- Goodman, Alan. 1995. “Vietnam in 1994: With Peace at Hand”. *Asian Survey* XXXV, no. 1 (January): 92–111.
- . 1996. “Vietnam in 1995: It Was a Very Good Year”. *Washington Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (Spring): 137–50.
- Gregor, James. 1989. *In the Shadow of Giants: The Major Power and the Security of Southeast Asia*. California: The Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University Press.
- Ha Van Tan. 1992. *Ethnological Roots of the Ancient Viet Race*. Hanoi: Truth Publishing House.
- Hall, D.G.E. 1981. *History of South East Asia*. 4th ed. New York: Red Globe Press.
- Hanh Phuong. 2003. “The AFTA Roadmap: Challenges to the Vietnamese Economy”. *Lao Dong*, 4 January 2003.
- Heng, Russell. 1993. “Leadership in Vietnam: Pressure for Reform and Their Limits”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 15, no. 1 (June).

- Ho Chi Minh. 1985. *Selected Writing*, vol. 5. Hanoi: Truth Publishing House.
- Hoang Anh Tuan. 1994. "Vietnam's Membership in ASEAN: Economic, Political, and Security Implications". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 16, no. 3 (December).
- . 1996. "ASEAN Dispute Management: Implications for Vietnam and an Expanded ASEAN". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 18, no. 1 (June): 61–79.
- Holsti, K.J. 1991. *Change in the International System: Essays on the Theory and Practice of International Relations*. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar.
- Horn, Robert. 1987. *Alliance Politics between Comrades: The Dynamics of Soviet-Vietnamese Relations*. RAND/University of California: Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior.
- Huxley, Tim. 1983. *Indochina and Insurgency in the ASEAN States, 1975–1981*. Working Paper no. 67. Canberra: The Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- . 1985. *ASEAN and Indochina: A Study of Political Responses, 1955–1981*. Canberra: Department of International Relations, Australian National University.
- . 1996. "Southeast Asia in the Study on International Relations". *Pacific Review* 9, no. 2: 199–228.
- Jeshurun, Chandran, A. Terry Rambo, and Tunku Shamsul Bahrin, eds. 1981. *A Colloquium on Southeast Asian Studies*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. 1999. "The Myth of the ASEAN Way? Explaining the Evolution of the ASEAN Regional Forum". In *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions over Time and Space*, edited by Helga Haftendorn, Robert Keohane, and Celeste Wallader. London: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, Martin, and Michael Smith. 2001. "Is There a Sovietology of Southeast Asian Studies?". *International Affairs* 77, no. 4.
- Kang, David. 2003. "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks". *International Security* 27, no. 4 (Spring): 57–85.
- Katzenstein, Peter. 1996. "Regionalism in Comparative Perspective". *Cooperation and Conflict* 31, no. 2.
- Kim Ninh. 1998. "Vietnam: Struggle and Cooperation". In *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influence*, edited by Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kim, Shee Poon. 1980. *The ASEAN States' Relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*. Singapore: Chopmen Publisher.
- Kuah Guan Oo, ed. 1997. *ASEAN: One Region One Vision*. Kuala Lumpur: Bernama.

- Le Hong Hiep, and Anton Tsvetov, eds. 2018. *Vietnam's Foreign Policy under Doi Moi*. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Le Van Lan, and Pham Van Kinh. 1986. *Cultural Exchanges with Southeast Asia: Vietnam and the Region*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Le Viet Duyen. 2017. *The Development of the Foreign Policy of Viet Nam with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the Doi Moi Period (from 1986 to the present)*, Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam.
- Leifer, Michael. 1974. *The Foreign Relations of the New States*. London: Longman.
- . 1989. *ASEAN and the Security of Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge.
- . 1996. *The ASEAN Regional Forum*, Adelphi Paper 302. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lowe, Pete, ed. 1998. *The Vietnam War*. London: Longman.
- Luu Van Loi. 1998. *50 Years of Vietnamese Diplomacy, 1945–1995*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Lyon, Peter. 1969. *War and Peace in Southeast Asia*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Mahbubani, Kishore, and Jeffrey Sng. 2017. *The ASEAN Miracle: A Catalyst for Peace*. Singapore: Ridge Books.
- McCargo, Duncan, ed. 2004. *Rethinking Vietnam*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- McCloud, Donald G. 1986. *System and Process in Southeast Asia: The Evolution of a Region*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Menetrey-Monchau, Cecil. 2003. “The Changing US Strategy in Indochina”. Paper presented at the London School of Economics and Political Science Cold War Study Program Conference entitled “Tripartite Diplomacy and the Third Indochina War”, Cumberland Lodge, London, 14–16 May 2003.
- . 2006. *American-Vietnamese Relations in the Wake of War: Diplomacy after the Capture of Saigon, 1975–1979*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co.
- MOFA. 1980. *The White Book on the 30 Years of Vietnam-China Relations*. Hanoi: Truth Publishing House.
- . 1981. *Conferences of Foreign Ministers of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea: 1980–1981*. Hanoi: MOFA Information and Press Department.
- . 1994. *President Ho Chi Minh and Foreign Relations*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- . 1995. *Integrating into the World and Preserving Our Characteristics*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- . 2002. *The Vietnamese Diplomacy, 1945–2000*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.

- . ASEAN Department's Reports.
- . Asia 2 Department's Reports.
- . Southeast Asia and South Pacific Affairs Department's Reports.
- . Policy Planning Department's Reports.
- . Americas Affairs Department's Reports.
- MOFA Economic Affairs Department. 1999. *Globalization and Vietnam's Economic Integration*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Morley, James, and Bernstein Thomas. 1993. *Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Morley, James, and Masashi Nishihara, eds. 1997. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Morris, Stephen. 1999. *Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia: Political Culture and the Cause of War*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Morrison, Charles, ed. 2001. *East Asia and the International System: Report of a Special Study Group*. New York: The Trilateral Commission.
- , and Astri Suhrke. 1979. *Strategy of Survival: The Foreign Policy Dilemmas of Small Asian States*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Murphy, Ann Marie. 2002. *From Conflict to Cooperation in Southeast Asia, 1961–1967: The Disputes Arising Out of the Creation of Malaysia and the Establishment of the Association of Southeast Asia (ASEAN)*. Unpublished PhD dissertation submitted to the Political Science Department, Columbia University.
- Natalegawa, Marty. 2018. *Does ASEAN Matter? A View from Within*. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Nguyen Duy Trinh. 1978. *Taking Advantages of Favorable International Conditions and Contributing to the Construction of Socialism and Fulfillment of International Obligations*. Hanoi: Truth Publishing House.
- Nguyen Dy Nien. 2000. "Five Years after Joining ASEAN". *Foreign Affairs Weekly*. Special Issues Marking the Fifth Anniversary of Vietnam's Joining ASEAN (July).
- Nguyen Hung Son. 2010. "Việt Nam sau 15 năm là thành viên ASEAN: Hướng tới một Việt Nam chủ động, tích cực, và có trách nhiệm trong ASEAN". (Vietnam after 15 Years in ASEAN: Toward a Proactive and Responsible Member). In *Vietnam's Foreign Policy Orientations toward 2030*, edited by Pham Binh Minh, pp. 223–36. Hà nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, National Political Publishing House.
- Nguyen Huy Quyet. 2013. "Vietnam's ASEAN Strategic Objectives since the 1986 Doi Moi Reform". Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies.

- Nguyen Manh Cam. 1992. "On the Implementation of the New Foreign Policy". *Communist Review* (August).
- . 1994. Interview given to *Nhan Dan*, 29 July 1994.
- . 1997. "Two Years after Joining ASEAN". *Communist Review* (July).
- . 2010. "Vietnam's Membership in ASEAN: A Right Decision of History-Making Significance" (Việt Nam tham gia ASEAN – một quyết sách đúng đắn có ý nghĩa lịch sử quan trọng). *Vietnam and the World (Báo Thế giới và Việt Nam)* (July).
- Nguyen Nam Duong. 2010. "Vietnam Foreign Policy since Doi Moi: The Dialectic of Power and Identity". Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, UNSW@ADFA.
- Nguyen Ngoc Son. 2000. "Those Unforgettable Days". *Foreign Affairs Weekly*, Special Issues for the Fifth Anniversary of Vietnam's Joining ASEAN (July).
- Nguyen Phuc Luan, et al. 2001. *Contemporary Vietnamese Diplomacy for Independence and Freedom*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Nguyen Thi Que, and Nguyễn Hoàng Giáp. 2012. *Việt Nam gia nhập ASEAN từ 1995 đến nay: Thành tựu, Vấn đề và Triển vọng (Vietnam's ASEAN Membership from 1995 to the Present: Achievement, Issues, and Prospects)*. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, National Political Publishing House.
- Nguyen Vu Tung. 1991. "ASEAN: New Adjustments in Foreign Policy". *IIR Bulletin of International Relations* 2 (December).
- . 1993. "Vietnam-ASEAN Cooperation in Southeast Asia". *Security Dialogue* 4, no. 1 (March).
- . 1994. "On the ASEAN Activities since the Establishment". *IIR International Studies*, no. 3 (July).
- . 1997. "Vietnam's Perspective on Security". *CSCAP Working Paper Series on Comprehensive Security*. Institute of Security and International Studies, Kuala Lumpur.
- . 1998. "Coping with the United States: Hanoi's Search for an Effective Strategy". In *The Vietnam War*, edited by Peter Lowe, pp. 30–61. London: Longman.
- . 1998. "Interpreting Beijing and Hanoi: A View of Sino-Vietnamese Relations, 1965–1970". In *77 Conversations between Chinese and Foreign Leaders on the Wars in Indochina, 1964–1977*, edited by Odd Arne Westad et al., Cold War International History Project (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., May).
- . 2000. "Vietnam's New Concept of Security". In *Comprehensive Security*

- in Asia: Views from Asia and the West on a Changing Security Environment*, edited by Kurt Radtke and Raymond Feddema. Boston: Brill.
- . 2002. “Vietnam: ASEAN Cooperation after the Cold War and the Continued Search for a Theoretical Framework”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 24, no. 1 (April).
- . 2004. “The Paris Agreement and Vietnam-ASEAN Relations in the Early 1970s”. In *The Third Indochina War: Domestic, Regional, and International Aspects*, edited by Odd Arne Westad. London: Longman.
- . 2007. “Testing the Institutional Approach: Cooperation between Vietnam and ASEAN”. In *Vietnam’s New Order: International Perspectives on the State and Reform in Vietnam*, edited by Stephanie Balme and Mark Sidel, pp. 51–70. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- , ed. 2007. *Chính sách đối ngoại Việt Nam (Vietnam’s Foreign Policy)*, vol. 2. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Thế giới, World Publishing House.
- . 2007. “Vietnam’s Membership of ASEAN: A Constructivist Interpretation”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 29, no. 3 (December): 483–505.
- . 2010. “Vietnam-Thailand Relations after the Cold War”. In *International Relations in Southeast Asia: Between Bilateralism and Multilateralism*, edited by Ganesan and Ramses Amer, pp. 67–91. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- . 2017. “Vietnam-Cambodia Relations: An Analysis from a Vietnamese perspective”. In *Cambodia’s Foreign Relations in Regional and Global Context*, edited by Deth Sok Udom, Sun Suon, and Serkan Bulut, pp. 85–99. Phnom Penh: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- , and Dang Cam Tu. 2018. “Vietnam’s Decision to Join ASEAN: The South China Sea Disputes Connection”. In *Vietnam’s Foreign Policy under Doi Moi*, edited by Le Hong Hiep and Anton Tsvetov. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Nischalke, Tobias. 2002. “Does ASEAN Measure Up? Post-Cold War Diplomacy and the Idea of Regional Community”. *Pacific Review* 15, no. 1: 89–117.
- Odgaard, Liselotte. 2002. *Maritime Security between China and Southeast Asia: Conflict and Cooperation in the Making of Regional Order*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Osborne, Milton. 1985. *Southeast Asia: An Illustrated Introductory History*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.
- Palmer, Ronald, and Thomas Reckford. 1987. *Building ASEAN: 20 Years of Southeast Asian Cooperation*. New York: Praeger.
- Palmuljoki, Eero. 1999. “Ideology and Foreign Policy: Vietnam’s Marxist-Leninist Doctrine and Global Change, 1986–1996”. In *Vietnamese Foreign Policy in*

- Transition*, edited by Carlyle Thayer and Ramses Amer, pp. 38–39. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- . 1997. *Vietnam and the World: Marxist-Leninist Doctrine and the Changes in International Relations, 1977–1993*. New York: St. Martin Press.
- Pangestu, Mari Elka, and Rastam Mohd Isa, eds. 2017. *ASEAN Future Forward: Anticipating the Next 50 Years*. Kuala Lumpur: ISIS Malaysia.
- Peffer, Nathaniel. 1954. “Regional Security in Southeast Asia”. *International Organization*, vol. 8.
- Peou, Sorpong. 2002. “Realism and Constructivism in Southeast Asian Security Studies Today: A Review Essay”. *Pacific Review* 15, no. 1: 119–38.
- Pfennig, Werner, and Mark M. B. Suh, eds. 1984. *Aspects of ASEAN*. Munchen: Weltforum Verlag.
- Pham Binh Minh, ed. 2010. *Định hướng chiến lược đối ngoại Việt Nam đến 2020 (Vietnam’s Foreign Policy Orientations toward 2030)*. Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, National Political Publishing House.
- . 2015. “Việt Nam tham gia ASEAN: 20 năm qua và con đường đi tới” (Vietnam’s Participation in ASEAN: The Past 20 Years and Beyond). In *Ngoại giao Việt Nam: Quá trình triển khai đường lối đối ngoại đại hội toàn quốc lần thứ XII của Đảng (Vietnamese Diplomacy: On the Process of Implementation of Foreign Policy adopted by the Party’s XIIth Congress)*, by Pham Binh Minh, pp. 149–58. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, National Political Publishing House.
- Pham Duc Thanh, and Tran Khanh, eds. 2006. *Việt Nam trong ASEAN: Nhìn lại và hướng tới (Vietnam in ASEAN: Looking Back and Forward)*. Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội (Social Science Publishing House).
- Pham Gia Khiem, 2008. “ASEAN in a New Phase of Development and the Participation of Vietnam”. *International Studies* 78 (August): 7–10.
- . 2011. “Vietnam’s ASEAN Chairmanship in 2010: ASEAN’s Success and Vietnam’s Imprints” (Vai trò chủ tịch ASEAN của Việt Nam năm 2010: Những thành tựu của ASEAN và dấu ấn của Việt Nam). *Communist Review* 1, no. 217 (January): 15–18.
- Pike, Douglas. 1987. *Vietnam and The Soviet Union: Anatomy of an Alliance*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Porter, Gareth. 1990. “The Transformation of Vietnam’s Worldview: From Two Camps to Interdependence”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 12, no. 1 (June).
- . 1993. *Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Radtke, Kurt, and Raymond Feddema, eds. 2000. *Comprehensive Security in East*

- Asia: Views from Asia and the West on a Changing Security Environment*. The Netherlands: Brill Publishers.
- Robinson, Thomas, and David Shambaugh, eds. 1994. *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ross, Robert, ed. 1995. *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Rotter, Andrew, 1987. *The Path to Vietnam: Origins of the American Commitment to Southeast Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Roy, Denny. 1994. "Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security". *International Security* 19, no. 1 (Summer): 149–68.
- Segal, Gerald. 1996. "East Asia and the 'Constraintment' of China". *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring): 107–35.
- Short, Anthony. 1989. *The Origins of the Vietnam War*. London: Longman.
- Sidel, Mark, and Stephanie Balme, eds. 2007. *Vietnam's New Order: International Perspectives on the State and Reform in Vietnam*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Simon, Sheldon. 1979. "China, Vietnam, and ASEAN: The Politics of Polarization". *Asian Survey* XIX, no. 12.
- . 1995. "Realism and Neoliberalism: International Relations Theory and Southeast Asian Security". *Pacific Review* 8, no. 1: 5–24.
- Singh, Bilveer. 1989. *Soviet Relations with ASEAN: 1968–88*. Singapore: National Singapore University Press.
- . 1992. *Moscow and Southeast Asia since 1985: From the USSR to the CIS*. Singapore: Institute of International Affairs.
- Steinberg, David, ed. 1971. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tan See Seng, and Ralph Cossa. 2001. "Rescuing Realism from the Realists: A Theoretical Note on East Asian Security". In *The Many Faces of Asian Security*, edited by Sheldon Simon. New York: National Bureau of Asian Research.
- Tanham, George K., and Alvil Bernstein, eds. 1989. *Military Basing and the US/Soviet Military Balance in Southeast Asia*. New York: Crane Russak.
- Thai Quang Trung. 1989. "The Ties that Bind". In *Military Basing and the US-Soviet Military Balance in Southeast Asia*, edited by George K. Tanham and Alvil Bernstein. New York: Crane Russak.
- Thayer, Carlyle. 1985. "United States Policy towards Revolutionary Regimes: Vietnam (1975–1983)". In *U.S. Foreign Policy: Adjusting to Change in the Third World*, edited by Dick Clark. No. 85-W441, pp. 121–28. Wye Plantation, Queenstown, MD: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies.

- . 1987. “Vietnam’s Sixth Party Congress: An Overview”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 9, no. 1 (June): 12–22.
- . 1992. “Comrade Plus Brother: The New Sino-Vietnamese Relations”. *Pacific Review* 5, no. 4 (September): 402–6.
- . 1994. *The Vietnam People’s Army under Doi Moi*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- . 1997. “Force Modernization: The Case of the Vietnam People’s Army”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 19, no. 1 (June): 1–18.
- . 1998. “ASEAN and Indochina: The Trends toward Dialogue”. A monograph dated 13 May 1998.
- . 2007. “Vietnam’s Regional Integration: Domestic and External Challenges to State Sovereignty”. In *Vietnam’s New Order: International Perspectives on the State and Reform in Vietnam*, edited by Stephanie Balme and Mark Sidel, pp. 31–50. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2015. “Vietnamese Diplomacy, 1975–2015: From Member of the Socialist Camp to Proactive International Integration”. Paper presented at International Conference on Vietnam: 40 Years of Reunification, Development and Integration (1975–2015), Thu Dau Mot University, Binh Duong province, Vietnam, 25 April 2015.
- . 2017. “Vietnam’s Foreign Policy in an Era of Rising Sino-US Competition and Increasing Domestic Political Influence”. *Asian Security* 13, no. 3 (July): 1–17.
- , and Ramses Amer. 1999. *Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- , and Ramesh Thakur. 1992. *Soviet Relations with India and Vietnam*. London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Thu My. 1995. “ASEAN and the Regional Security”. *Southeast Asia Today*, September.
- Tinker, Hugh, 1980. “The Search for the History of Southeast Asia”. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XI, no. 2 (September): 369–82.
- Ton That Thien. 1989. *The Foreign Politics of the Communist Party of Vietnam: A Study of Communist Tactics*. New York: Crane Russak.
- Tønnesson, Stein. 2017. *Explaining the East Asian Peace: A Research Story*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Tran Nham, ed. 1996. *There Is Such a Country of Vietnam: Renovation and Development (Co Mot Viet Nam Nhu The: Doi Moi Va Phat Trien)*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Tran Quang Co. 1992. “The Post-Cold War World and Asia-Pacific”. *IIR International Studies Review* (December).

- Tran Uyen. 2003. "On Vietnam-ASEAN Relations". *Hanoi Moi*, 27 August 2003.
- Trinh Xuan Lang. 1995. "Some Reflections on Our Policies toward ASEAN Countries and the USA from 1975 to 1979". *Proceedings of the Seminar on 50 Years of Vietnamese Diplomacy*. Hanoi: The IIR.
- Turley, William, ed. 1985. *Confrontation or Coexistence: The Future of ASEAN-Vietnam Relations*. Bangkok: Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University.
- Turley, William, and Mark Selden, eds. 1997. *Reinventing Vietnamese Socialism: Doi Moi in Comparative Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Viet Chung. 2000. "The East-West Corridor Project". *Foreign Affairs Weekly*. Special Issues Marking the Fifth Anniversary of Vietnam's Joining ASEAN (July), pp. 34-35.
- Vo Hung Dzung. 2000. Vietnam's Foreign Trades from 1991 to 2000: Achievements and Problems". *Economic Studies*, no. 11 (294), November 2002.
- Vo Nguyen Giap. 2000. *The Headquarters in the Spring of Great Victory*. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Vu Duong Ninh. 2004. *Vietnam-ASEAN: Bilateral and Multilateral Relations (Việt Nam-ASEAN: Quan hệ song phương và đa phương)*. Hà nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị quốc gia, National Political Publishing House.
- . 2005. "Vietnam-ASEAN: Ten Years of Companion on the Path of International Integration". (Việt Nam-ASEAN: Mười năm đồng hành trên chặng đường hội nhập quốc tế). *Southeast Asian Studies (Tập chí nghiên cứu Đông nam Á)* 4: 22-40.
- Vu Khoan. 1994. "Vietnam and ASEAN". *Communist Review* (November).
- . 1995. "Security, Development, and Influence in Foreign Relations". In *Integrating into the World and Preserving Our Characteristics*, edited by MOFA. Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.
- Wanandi, Jusuf. 1990. *ASEAN and Security Cooperation in Southeast Asia*. October. Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Westad, Odd Arne. 2018. *The Cold War: A World History*. New York: Penguin Book.
- , et al. 1998. *77 Conversations between Chinese and Foreign Leaders on the Wars in Indochina, 1964-1977*. Working Paper no. 22, Cold War International History Project. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars.
- , ed. 2004. *The Third Indochina War: Domestic, Regional, and International Aspects*. London: Longman.
- William, Michael. 1992. *Vietnam at the Crossroad*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Wolters, W. 1981. "Culture, History, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspective". In *ASEAN Identity: Development and Culture*, edited by R.P. Anand and

- Purificacion V. Quisumbing. Hawaii: East-West Center Culture Learning Institute.
- Womack, Brantly. 1996. "Vietnam in 1995: Successes in Peace". *Asian Survey* XXXVI, no. 1 (January): 73–82.
- Wurfel, David. 1996. "The New World Order in Southeast Asia: Some Analytical Explorations". In *Southeast Asia in the "New World Order": The Political Economy of a Dynamic Region*, edited by David Wurfel and Bruce Burton. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- . 1997. "Doi Moi in Comparative Perspective". In *Reinventing Vietnamese Socialism: Doi Moi in Comparative Perspective*, edited by William Turley and Mark Selden. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.
- . 1999. "Between China and ASEAN: The Dialectics of Recent Vietnamese Foreign Policy". In *Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition*, edited by Carlyle Thayer and Ramses Amer. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- and Bruce Burton, eds. 1996. *Southeast Asia in the "New World Order": The Political Economy of a Dynamic Region*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Yahuda, Michael. 1998. *The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific, 1945–1995*. London: Routledge.
- Yeong Mike. 1992. "New Thinking in Vietnamese Foreign Policy". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 14, no. 3 (December): 257–68.
- Zagoria, Donald. 1967. *Vietnam Triangle: Moscow, Peking, Hanoi*. New York: Pegasus.
- . 1995. "The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region in the Post-Cold War Era". In *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order*, edited by Robert Ross. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- . 1997. "Joining ASEAN". In *Vietnam Joins the World*, edited by James Morley and Masashi Nishihara, pp. 154–72. New York: M.E. Sharpe.