

efforts towards implementation, because most of the ASEAN members had serious reservations about the proposal. Thailand and the Philippines saw their defence links with the US as a better guarantee for their security than an attempt at neutralization, and Singapore preferred to derive its security from the presence of a great power balance of forces. Indonesia, as the largest state in the grouping and with aspirations towards regional leadership, was opposed to Malaysia's concept of a guarantor role for the great powers, particularly if China was to be involved.²¹

While its formal co-operative projects were limited, and its members were divided on the major question of regional security, ASEAN had enabled a pattern of regular contacts to develop among regional leaders, which reduced the likelihood of inter-state conflict and which later provided a base for a more ambitious programme of consultation and co-operation.

A greater sense of urgency developed after the collapse of the non-communist regimes in Cambodia and South Vietnam in April of 1975. ASEAN nations were concerned that a political challenge from a united Vietnam would support communist-led revolutionary movements within their states.

The ASEAN response was a major emphasis placed on promoting economic development as the most reliable way of reducing internal support for revolutionary movements. It was felt that there could be no security without economic development because insurgency was the major cause of insecurity and would remain so for at least the next five to ten years.

The Bali Summit of 1976 produced two major agreements, the Declaration of ASEAN Concord and the Treaty of Amity and Co-operation. The Declaration stated that the members would consolidate the achievements of ASEAN and expand ASEAN's co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and political fields. This document was much more political in nature than the Bangkok Declaration had been. It also stated that the stability of each member state of the ASEAN region is an essential contribution to international peace and security. Hence each member state resolved to eliminate threats posed by subversion to its stability.²² Furthermore, it called for continuation of co-operation on a non-ASEAN basis between the member states in security matters in accordance with their mutual needs and interests. The most detailed provisions however, related to economic co-operation.

²¹ This issue will be discussed in more detail in Part II of this study.

²² Op Cit., Frost, "ASEAN since 1967: -Origins, Evolution and Recent Developments", pg. 8.