

utilize the available materials in the member states, contribute to the increase of food production, increase foreign exchange earnings or save foreign exchange and create employment". In trade co-operation, members were called upon to "progress towards the establishment of preferential trading arrangements as a long-term objective...". Expansion was to be facilitated through co-operation on basic commodities. Members would work jointly for improved access to markets outside the ASEAN area for their raw materials and finished products by "seeking elimination of all trade barriers in those markets, developing new uses for these products and adopting common approaches and actions in dealing with regional groupings and individual economic powers". ASEAN supported efforts towards establishing the new economic order, and requested members to co-operate on international commodity problems, the reform of the international trading system, the reform of the international monetary system and the transfer of real resources. Priority should be given to "the stabilization and increase of export earnings of these commodities produced and exported by them through commodity agreements including buffer-stock schemes and other means".

**C. Social** — The ASEAN declaration sought to implement social development in a variety of ways. There should be emphasis on low-income groups and the rural population, with the expansion of "opportunities for productive employment with fair remuneration". Involvement of all sectors of communities, especially women and young people, should be supported in development efforts. Problems of population growth had to be solved, and there had to be intensified co-operation among members states and relevant international bodies in the prevention and eradication of narcotic abuse and the illegal drug traffic.

**D. Cultural and information** — This section sought the introduction of the study of ASEAN and national languages into school curricula. Also, there should be greater support for "ASEAN scholars, writers, artists and mass-media representatives, to enable them to play an active role in fostering a sense of regional identity and fellowship". Southeast Asian studies should also be promoted through collaboration among national institutes.

A single sentence on security merely approved "continuation of co-operation on a non-ASEAN basis [my emphasis] between members states in security matters in accordance with their mutual needs and interests".

The final section of the declaration was concerned with improvement of ASEAN machinery, and noted the signing of an agreement establishing the Association's Secretariat. There was also to be regular review of ASEAN organizational structure in order to improve effectiveness.

The Treaty of Amity and Co-operation in Southeast Asia had been worked out before the Bali meeting, and was signed by the ASEAN leaders on February 24, 1976. The five nations agreed to seek peace and justice through co-operation, respect for territorial integrity and peaceful settlement of disputes. Most of the treaty expressed the ideals of co-operation and dispute conciliation, while leaving implementation and concrete application to the various states and their foreign ministries. Article 14 established a "high council comprising a representative at ministerial level from each of the high contracting parties to take cognizance of the existence of disputes or situations likely to disturb regional peace and harmony". "In the event no solution is reached through direct negotiations," says Article 15, "the high council shall take cognizance of the dispute or the situation and shall recommend to the parties in dispute appropriate means of settlement such as good offices, mediation, inquiry or conciliation."

#### **Sense of urgency**

A sense of the urgency of strengthening political unity in the face of an uncertain future seemed to pervade the Bali meeting. If the unity could not be positively achieved, then at least obstacles such as intraregional disputes could be minimized. Economic co-operation was the subject of a special meeting of ASEAN economic ministers in Kuala Lumpur (March 8-9, 1976). Opening the meeting, the Malaysian Prime Minister called for a shift from generalities to specific measures. The ministers reviewed a natural rubber-price stabilization scheme that was to be the basis of an international agreement within the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries. Rice and oil were identified as commodities that should come under preferential trading arrangements. The delegates agreed that negotiations on the prices of these commodities should be bilateral but also in the spirit of strengthening ASEAN economic resilience. In energy production, the ASEAN Council on Petroleum was to be used for co-operation.

The conference established a group of experts to review the industrial co-operation program and directed them to consider the feasibility of establishing ASEAN industrial plants for urea, superphosphates,

*Treaty expressed ideals*

*Commodities identified for preferential arrangements*