

overwhelmed the country. The ASEAN group was unprepared to fill the gap that a pullout might leave. Malik argued that Vietnam needed at least a decade for reconstruction, and this would give ASEAN time to set its own house in order. However, past performance in the region was not specially conducive to optimism with regard to political co-operation and, moreover, the Vietnamese Communist movement had been repeatedly underestimated. The time Hanoi needed for consolidation may, in fact, have been exaggerated, and ASEAN increasingly faces a regional political power in Vietnam that is destined to exert a major influence in Southeast Asia.

The Bali meeting of ASEAN members (February 23-24, 1976) marked what was hoped to be a new stage of unity within the region. To emphasize its importance, the heads of state came together and signed a Treaty of Amity and Co-operation. The decentralized approach of the past was abandoned and ASEAN established a central Secretariat. General Dharsono, an adviser to Adam Malik, was nominated Secretary-General.

There was a sense of urgency as members agreed on the need to prevent incipient insurgencies from becoming full-scale revolutions. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore called for ASEAN co-operation to accelerate in the face of the settlement of the Vietnam war, the U.S. policy of *détente*, and world economic problems. ASEAN now resembled the EEC in that it, too, faced competition from a bloc of Communist countries.

President Marcos told the ASEAN heads of state that their primary task was to "abolish the feelings of suspicion and mistrust among its members". He called for a better "quality of life", freedom from interference by outside powers, respect for territorial integrity and the rights of peoples to choose their own forms of government and social systems. He discounted the danger of external aggression in the near future, saying the principal danger was from internal subversion: "The best defence against insurgents is . . . economic development and social justice".

Premier Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand said that the Bali summit meeting marked a new chapter in regional co-operation and that, for ASEAN to continue as a meaningful vehicle for regional harmony, strong and close economic co-operation among the states was a vital necessity. Malaysia's orientation towards neutrality was continued by the new Premier, Datuk Hussein Onn, who declared ASEAN to be non-ideological and non-military — a rebuttal of Soviet charges that the organization was

merely a disguised defence alliance. Security, he said, depended on the "ability to provide the goods of life". Bilateral co-operation on security was necessary, but the organization should avoid the politics of confrontation.

### Closer to people

Indonesia's President Suharto stressed the need to bring ASEAN and its programs closer to the people. In this, he echoed the frequent criticism that the organization remained largely the creature of governments and was mostly the concern of a regional élite. He emphasized the need for national and regional stability and security, but a security that was "inward-looking, namely to establish an orderly, peaceful and stable condition within each individual territory, free from any subversive elements and infiltrations . . .". The gathered heads of state agreed on the need for security, but failed to reach consensus on how it was to be achieved.

The conference adopted a "Declaration of ASEAN Concord", which reiterated the goals of the organization. These included:

- (1) elimination of threats to political stability;
- (2) the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality;
- (3) elimination of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy;
- (4) mutual aid during natural disasters;
- (5) broadening the "complementarity" of respective economies;
- (6) the peaceful settlement of intra-regional differences;
- (7) creation of conditions of peaceful co-operation;
- (8) development of an awareness of regional unity and creation of a strong ASEAN community.

The Declaration continued with a framework for ASEAN co-operation:

A. *Political* — This section called for periodic meetings of heads of government, the signing of a Treaty of Amity and Co-operation (see below), a study on how to develop judicial co-operation, including the possibility of an ASEAN extradition treaty, and other means of co-ordinating actions and views among members.

B. *Economic* — Co-operation on basic commodities, especially food and energy, was called for, with assistance in critical circumstances, and "priority to the acquisition of exports from member states". Member states "shall co-operate to establish large-scale ASEAN industrial plants, particularly to meet regional requirements of essential commodities". In addition, priority was to be given "to projects which

*Need to prevent incipient insurgencies lent sense of urgency*