

effected in 1951. The Armistice Agreement was not, however, signed until after two years in July, 1953.

Only a year after the armistice was signed, the war in Indo-China broke out and posed an urgent call for the establishment of a machinery to draw a line against Communism and to counter-attack, if it be necessary. In April, 1954, Dien Bien Phu fell. Simultaneously, much of the northern portion of Tonkin had been taken and the Vietminhs had already advanced to Laos threatening the independence and territorial integrity of Thailand.

At this juncture, Thailand appealed to the United Nations to send a team of observers to report on the developments along her common borders with Laos. As expected, the motion was vetoed in the Security Council by Russia and thus, no action could be taken. Because of the crucial veto in substantive questions requiring the unanimity of the five permanent members, a deadlock almost always exists.

Prince Wan of Thailand moved for the adoption of a collective defence arrangement within the framework of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter as the only possible alternative to escape the inevitable Russian veto in the Security Council.

The war in Indo-China ended up with the Geneva Conference and agreements were drawn up providing for the

withdrawal of French and Communist troops to zones north and south of the seventeenth parallel. Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were declared independent states.

On September 8, 1954, in response to these fateful events, eight nations<sup>113</sup> met in Manila and organized a military defense alliance to maintain peace, stability and security, particularly in the "treaty area".<sup>114</sup> The late John Foster Dulles, then Secretary of State of the United States said in a news conference:

The lesson which should be learned is that agreements for collective defence need to be made in advance of aggression, not after it is under way.

We should bear in mind that the problem is not merely of deterring open armed aggression but of preventing Communist subversion, which, taking advantage of economic dislocations and social injustice, might weaken and finally overthrow the non-Communists governments.<sup>115</sup>

Dulles further said in the conclusion of the conference in Manila:

This treaty recognized also the danger of subversion and indirect aggression. It deals

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<sup>113</sup>Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Great Britain and the United States of America.

<sup>114</sup>According to Article VIII, the treaty area is the "general area of Southeast Asia, including also the entire territories of the Asian Parties and the general area of the Southwest Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude."

<sup>115</sup>SEATO, 1954-1959, A SEATO Publication, Bangkok; p.4.

with this difficult problem more explicitly than any security treaty that has been made. In this respect, the Treaty represents an important forward step, because subversion and indirect aggression have been principal tools of international Communism.<sup>116</sup>

The government of the Philippines has

.....agreed with other like-minded governments that situation in Southeast Asia calls for the consideration of the establishment of a collective security arrangement, in accordance with the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom in the general area of Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific.<sup>117</sup>

Earlier, President Magsaysay proposed a joint declaration of guarantee of the security in Southeast Asia and suggested that the declaration should be sort of an equivalent of the Atlantic Charter. It should be recalled that the Philippines was for a time beset with the Huk problem which was fortunately suppressed by the government. Magsaysay, a Huk fighter himself, said that the only means to vanquish Communism in "Asia or anywhere else is to give the people something to fight for, not merely to fight against."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>117</sup> Quoted by Roger M. Smith in his paper entitled "The Philippines and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization," from the Manila Times, August 5, 1954, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> Romulo, Crusade in Asia, p. 282. Underscoring is mine.

The Pacific Charter, a part of the Manila Pact<sup>119</sup> was first drafted by Magsaysay and later on announced publicly in April, 1954. The final draft was later on subscribed to by the right signatory states to the defense agreement. Carlos P. Romulo, in his book entitled "Crusade in Asia" said the following about the Pacific Charter:

The Pacific Charter, a historic document which by pledging the colonial powers to withdrawal and to the granting of freedom to peoples not self-governing is the final and clinching repudiation of Communist charges against the West. Made after a decade of constant Communist aggression and constant retreat on the part of the ebbing forces of democracy, it is really the first diplomatic offensive taken against Communism in Asia. It is the most devastating answer that has been given to the Communistic lies by the free world.<sup>120</sup>

In principle, it upholds the self-determination of the small nations and the pledge of the big powers to respect and guarantee it.

#### Objectives

The objectives and purposes of the organization are set forth in the Pacific Charter and in the preamble and elaborated in the different articles of the defense agreement. While it was conceived as a military defense alliance to

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<sup>119</sup>The SEATO Defense Agreement is otherwise known as the Manila Pact.

<sup>120</sup>Romulo, op. cit.

counteract subversion and open aggression, it also hopes to establish economic, social and cultural collaboration among the partners. Article II states:

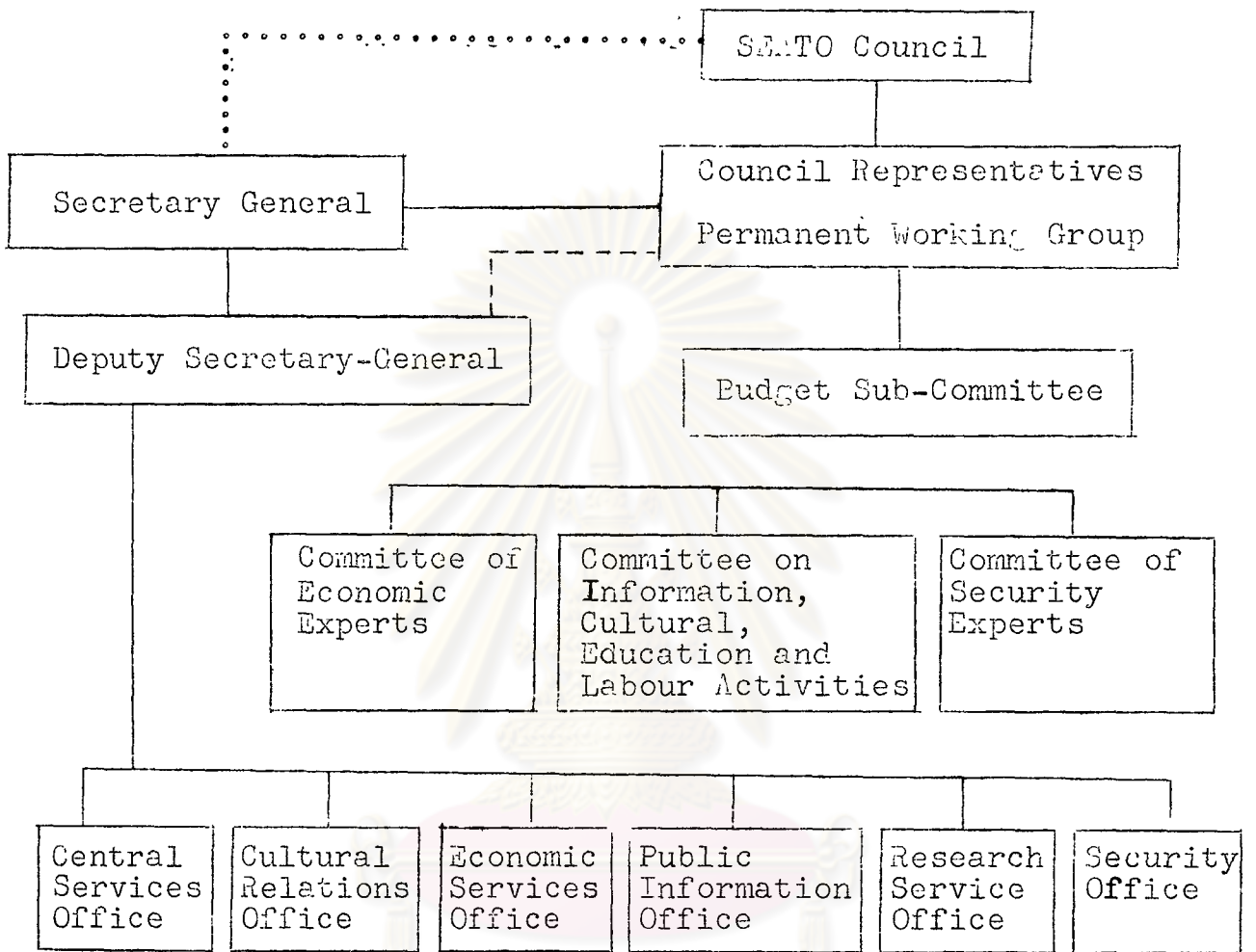
In order more affectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability.

Article IV provides for the unanimous agreement of the Parties in designating any state or territory to which attack may endanger their open peace and safety but no action can be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the government concerned.

Article III explicitly deals with economic co-operation and should be given equal emphasis. It states:

The Parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to co-operate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments towards these ends.

The question may be asked whether in the face of aggression S.M.A.T.O should take collective action, even if such aggression is directed against a non-member country; in other words may protection be extended to non-member countries? Action in response to aggression by armed attack or a threat



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 ..... When Council is in session  
 ----- Chairman of P.W.G.

to the political and territorial integrity of any member country may also include and be extended to designated territories like the protocol states of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. However, as stipulated in the treaty, no action can be taken by member countries unless invited to do so or with the consent of the government of that particular country.

To sum up, the SEATO objectives are to achieve peace, security and freedom and the development of the socio-economic well-being of the treaty area.

#### Structure and Organization

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization functions through a Council of Ministers which sets the general policies of the organization. The creation of this Council is explicitly provided for in the agreement. Article V stipulates that

The parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this treaty. The Council shall provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the Treaty Area may from time to time require. The Council shall be so organized as to be able meet any time.

The member countries are represented by their respective foreign ministers or their equivalent. The Foreign Minister of the host country is usually the chairman of the council. Decisions are carried out by unanimous vote, each

representative being entitled to one vote. Representatives to this Council are appointed and act upon the advice of their respective governments. Likewise, they are responsible to the state which they are representing.

The Council of Ministers meets annually and considers the activities of the organization during the previous year. The nature and scope of decisions and recommendations made range from the military to the non-military threat to member countries within the Treaty Area. Future programmes of the organization are based on the evaluation made of preceding years. It also determines the size of the staff to carry out the activities of the organization and considers and approves the annual budget.

The over-all political direction of the organization is handled by the Council Representatives with the rank of ambassador or its equivalent. In the case of Thailand, the council representative is a senior official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Council takes charge of all non-military activities of the organization when the SEATO Council is not in session.

This Council meets once a month or more often as the situation requires. It makes decisions and recommendations on matters of policy affecting the organization.



The Chairman of the Council is selected from the representatives of each country for each month by alphabetical rotation.

The Permanent Working Group considers proposals and policy matters before they are taken up by the Council Representatives. The PWG functions under the direction and supervision of the deputy-secretary general and meets several times a week. In other words, the Permanent Working Group supplies the Council Representatives with background information and usually accompanied with agreed recommendations on what action to be taken.

The representatives to the Permanent Working Group are senior members of the diplomatic staff of each Council Representative. These representatives have alternates who sit for them when they are unable to attend the group's meeting and who also constitute the members of the Budget Sub-Committee. The Budget Sub-Committee advises the Secretary-General on matters dealing with financial procedures and with the over-all budget.

The Secretariat-General headed by the Secretary-General administers and co-ordinates the non-military task of the organization. The Secretary-General attends all the meetings of the SEATO Council and the Council of Representatives. He

is aided by a Deputy Secretary-General who is also the Chairman of the Permanent Working Group.

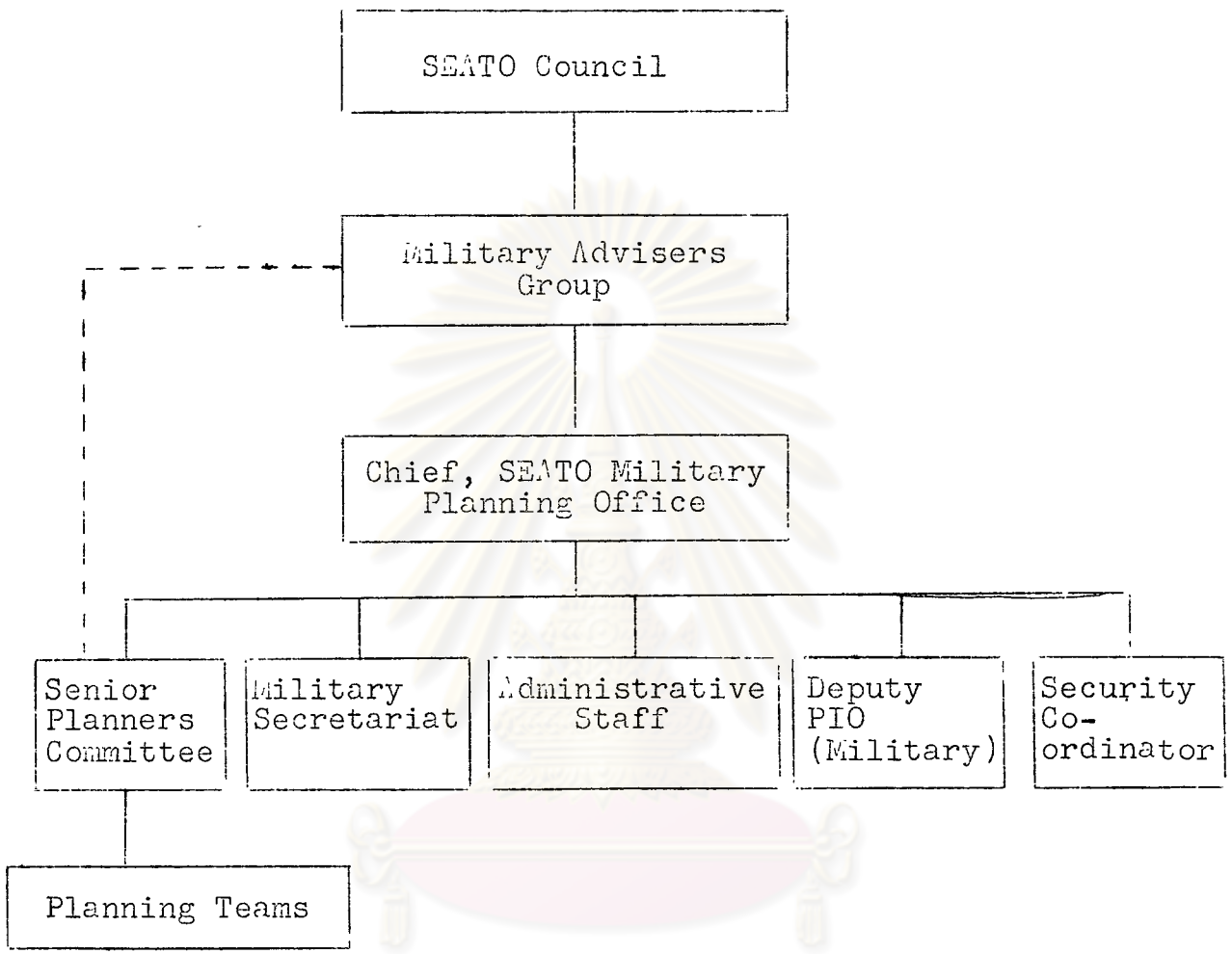
The Secretary-General has six principal offices, each dealing with a specific work.

The Central service takes charge of administrative and financial matters and makes arrangement for all meetings of the organization. The latter task is handled by a conference secretariat.

The Cultural Relations Office directs and supervises the organization's cultural programmes in order to assist member nations to preserve and enrich their cultural heritage.

The Economic Services Office collects broad information on contemporary economic development and problems and the economic activities of Communist Countries, particularly those situated within the treaty area. The other phase of its work is to make reports periodically on actions taken by member states on the recommendations of the SEATO Council to the member governments in the economic field.

Propaganda through the radio, the press and publications of the activities of the organization is taken care of by the Public Information Office. One important aspect of its task is the exposition of the different types of subversion and infiltration being undertaken or being contemplated to be accomplished towards the treaty area.



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----- Senior Planners also act as the representatives in the Military Planning Office of their respective Military Advisers.



In connection with the latter task of the Public Information Office, it is the Research Services Office which supplies the Public Information Office with materials already evaluated on the contemporary development of Communist tactics and techniques. Researches on this subject-matter is also the basis for a background paper published and distributed regularly to member states.

The civil security measures of SEATO are handled by the Security Office.

The organization has three expert committees composed of national delegates from each member Government.

The military aspect of the activities of SEATO is supervised and directed by the Military Advisers Group which like the Secretariat-General is responsible to the SEATO Council.

Among the most significant functions of the Military Advisers Group is the analysis of the strength and striking power of the existing armed forces of the member states and the recommendation of ways and means to increase their respective military strength based on the analysis previously made. The means of increasing striking power generally includes standardization, effective and efficient disposition of armed forces and intensive training.

This Group consists of a representative from each signatory state usually its Chief of Staff or that one of Theater

Commander in rank. The Military Planning Office supports the activities of the Advisers Group.

The vital point to stress here is that Thai and Filipino representatives come into organized contact within the administrative framework of SEATO and thus the administrative set-up, for one, accounts for the development of institutional co-operation.

The question of the selection of a new Secretary-General vice Nai Pote Sarasin who resigned to assume the portfolio of Minister of National Development in the newly created cabinet of Premier Thanom Kittikachorn may be raised as a point where the Philippines and Thailand are presently vying together.

At the outset, the appointment of Pote as first Secretary-General was logical since the administrative head usually comes from the host country or in the case of SEATO, from the country which is the site of its headquarters. Moreover, the first chief of the Military Planning Office was a Filipino, Brigadier General Alfredo M. Santos and that made a split between the Thais and Filipinos. The head of the civil organization being a Thai and that of the military a Filipino.

Thailand is putting up Nai Konthi Supamongkhon, SEATO Council representative, as prospective successor to Pote.

The Philippines using the press as a channel, has sounded the candidacy of Jesus Vargas, retired general from the AFP. The Philippines wants acting Secretary William Worth from Australia to stay in the position until the next Council of Minister's meeting in April to be held in Manila.

Pre-election trend of voting seems that Thailand is sure to get five votes leaving three to the Philippine candidate.

While the Philippines and Thailand are both vying for the same position, it does not necessarily hold that they are not in accord. It is simply a manifestation of honest competition which is not the least destructive to co-operation.

#### Postscript

Nai Konthi Suphamongkhon was unanimously elected to succeed and complete the term of office of Pote. In a "gentlemen's agreement" among the SEATO nations, it was agreed that the Thai candidate for the position be elected and that in two years time, the Philippines will have the chance to occupy the seat. Konthi was installed as the new Secretary-General last February 19.

Aspects of Relations

Military

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization was conceived primarily as a machinery for collective security and thus, it follows that the most significant contact between the Philippines and Thailand so far as this regional organization is concerned is the military aspect of the broad SEATO activities.

It should be stated in passing that Thailand during the deliberations in Manila in 1954 strongly and staunchly advocated a NATO type alliance and thus suggested the creation of a permanent armed forces.

This suggestion met opposition but not from the Philippines. In fact, the Philippines pressed for the establishment of a NATO type alliance as an alternative in case the United States does not fully guarantee the political integrity of the Philippine when attacked from the outside.

As an alternative, Thailand being wary of its position in the heart of Indo-China proposed the holding of frequent military exercises.

The military exercises since the establishment of SEATO have followed three general lines of development: "maritime exercises involving sea and air forces: air ground, in which air units have given support to army units deployed in the field and sea-land, involving support of land operations by

naval forces." Twenty-five training exercises have been conducted since 1955.

The latest SEATO exercise was held in Thailand this year dubbed "Dhanarajata". So far this was the largest SEATO ground exercise with 24,000 troops participating.<sup>121</sup> The largest amphibious exercise was staged in the Philippines in 1962 called "Tulungan" where 37,000 crew and officers, 73 ships and more than 400 aircraft participated.<sup>122</sup>

Several bi-lateral exercises within the framework of SEATO had been made to improve "operational procedures and teamwork among the forces of SEATO nations." To date, there has been no joint exercise between Thailand and the Philippines that has been undertaken. It would be interesting to speculate how effective the joint forces of both Thailand and the Philippines can be in counter-acting aggression or subversion before their Western allies can come to their succor.

The exercises do not only display the combined mobility and striking capacity of the participating forces but also they develop deeper friendship and camaraderie among the participants. For instance, in the latest "Dhanarajata" exercise held in Thailand in the Northeast, the Filipino,

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<sup>121</sup> Sarasin, Pote, SEATO After Nine Years, "MFA Bulletin, Volume III, No. 1. August-September 1963, p. 25.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.



American and Thai forces helped build schoolhouses, roads and bridges to connect the hinterland with the towns.

Aside from these and which do not also fall directly under SEATO military activities are the various programmes being conducted by each member Government to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of their respective armed forces.

In 1960, SEATO's effectiveness and responsiveness to urgent situations requiring action was put to a test. The crisis in Laos flared up and caused alarm in the Indo-China Peninsula and neighboring countries.

Some of the member states were in agreement that such situation was aggression and subversion at the same time against the Treaty Area and prompt action should be taken. The rest believed that it did not directly involve a threat to the security of the Area and that the Geneva Conference would suffice to solve the problem.

In this connection, the Philippines and Thailand took a similar stand and dubbed SEATO a "Paper Tiger" should it not take any prompt positive action.<sup>123</sup>

The crisis in Laos continued unabated. The pro-communist factions flagrantly violated the terms of the cease-fire agreement of the Geneva Conference and were pushing through the southwestern part towards the Thai border.

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<sup>123</sup>Bangkok Post, November 2, 1960, pp. 1; 6.

Since SEATO did not take any action, Thailand saw the necessity of entering into an agreement with the United States of America by virtue of which some American troops were stationed in Thailand to defend its peace and safeguard its security. After the United States favorably responded to signing said agreement and following the sending of American troops to Thailand, a few members of SEATO decided to send forces also.

The Philippines decided to send some units of its armed forces. This was embodied in a communique issued on May 28, 1962. It read:<sup>124</sup>

As the public has already been informed through a series of communiques of the government, agreements have been reached by His Majesty's government with various members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization whereby those member countries would make contributions of forces available for co-operating with the Thai Armed Forces in the prevention of the communist threat to this country as a result of recent development in the Kingdom of Laos. The government of the Republic of the Philippines has now indicated its willingness to contribute to such SEATO forces in pursuance with the obligation assumed under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty.

This offer was actually accepted by the Royal Thai government but was not carried out because tensions in said area subsided.

In 1962, the civil war in Laos broke out again with the Pathet Lao, pro-communist forces attacking the neutralist forces under General Kong Le. This was followed by the assassination of Quinin Polsena, Foreign Minister.

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<sup>124</sup>MFA Bulletin, Volume 1, No. 1, p. 33.

The fighting in the Plain of Jars continued and did not subside. At this instance, the United States expressed deep concern and the idea of sending SEATO forces again to Thailand was brought up.

In June, SEATO held "Exercise Dhanarajata" named after the late Prime Minister in the jungles of the Northeast. It might have been planned before the crisis erupted again but surely, it was an impressive and timely display of collective defense action that the Communists have to watch out from their side.

#### Economic

The defense of an area against any probable threat to the stability of the type of government established rests to a fairly large extent on economic prosperity. Thus, Article III of the agreement explicitly provides for economic co-operation.

Economic partnership under SEATO emphasizes mutual aid and co-operative effort such as the "studies of the impact of defense efforts on the economics of the member countries, obstacles or "bottlenecks" in defense production; and the problem of areas and social groups which are economically weak and susceptible to subversion."

In the consideration of some bilateral programmes, some aspects of technical assistance are analyzed and information on this matter is distributed among interested parties.

These functions are performed by a SEATO expert committee on economics which holds sessions periodically at the Bangkok headquarters. General special studies on the "shortage of skilled labor in the Asian members countries, on engineering workshops in West Pakistan and on maintenance and rebuilding capacities in defense industries" had been conducted.

The Philippines and Thailand are currently collaborating in community development projects and co-ordinating their efforts in apprenticeship training in order to improve and multiply skilled labor in their respective countries.

The Graduate School of Engineering in Bangkok while being more or less an economic aid program of the United States to Thailand, provides a field of co-operation in technology and engineering among the Thais and the Filipinos. There are about 81 engineers now enrolled in the school, 11 of whom are Filipinos and some 60 students of whom are Thais.

Co-operation among SEATO partners in the economic field is consultative in character and specific projects are financed by individual member states.

### Socio-Cultural

Thailand and the Philippines have also been co-operating and co-ordinating their efforts along the socio-cultural

field under the auspices of SEATO programmes. These activities are undertaken

.....to increase mutual confidence, goodwill and understanding among the peoples of the member countries and to create a better appreciation of the values they hold in common. There are four general types of such activities: (1) the encouragement of the member countries to spread knowledge and appreciation of the attitudes and activities of their peoples, their history and culture and achievements in education and social welfare; (2) the encouragement of cultural exchanges between the countries; (3) programmes which develop basic research and which, through their findings stimulate awareness among Asian peoples of their own problems vis-a-vis the modern world; and (4) the filling of gaps in existing programmes of cultural aid and exchange.<sup>125</sup>

Cultural activities under SEATO includes traveling lectureship, professorship, research fellowship, post-graduate scholarship and underscholarship programs. Others include the holding of round-table symposiums on "Traditional Cultures and Technical Progress", preparatory commission on university problems, conference of heads of universities and a conference on apprenticeship training.

List of Selected Participants from Thailand and the Philippines in SEATO Educational Conferences<sup>125</sup>

Round Table Symposium on Traditional Cultures and Technical Progress January 27--February 2, 1958, Bangkok, Thailand

Thailand: Professor H. H. Prince Prem Purachatra  
Head, Department of Foreign Languages,  
Chulalongkorn University  
Bangkok, Thailand  
(Director of the Round Table)

Thailand: H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat Kromamun  
Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn,  
President of the Privy Council and  
President of the Siam Society  
Bangkok, Thailand

Philippines: Dr. Bernabe Africa,  
Former Head of the Department of  
Political Science  
University of the Philippines,  
Quezon City, Philippines

Preparatory Commission on University Problems  
January 25--February 3, 1960, Bangkok, Thailand

Thailand: Professor Tab Milanidhi  
Deputy-Rector of Chulalongkorn University  
(Director of the Conference)

Dr. Adul Wichiencharoen  
Secretary-General of Thammasat University

Philippines: Dr. Jesus E. Perpnan  
Director of Private Schools,  
Department of Education

Dr. Vicente Sinco,  
President of the University of the  
Philippines,  
(Adviser)

The following are some selected participants from Thailand and the Philippines in various cultural programmes:<sup>127</sup>

Travelling Lectureship Programme

Professor Direk Jayanama  
Lectured on History, Political Science and  
Culture of Thailand in Pakistan and the  
Philippines,  
February to March 1959.

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<sup>125</sup>Collective Security: Shield of Freedom, A SEATO  
Publication, p. 106.

<sup>126</sup>SEATO Activities Under the Cultural Relations Pro-  
gramme, 1957-1962, pp. 11-21.

Senator Gil J. Puyat

Lectured on History, Political Science,  
Economics and Culture of the Philippines  
in Thailand and Pakistan,  
August and November 1959.

Professorship Programme

Dr. Kamol Janlekha (Thailand)

Professor of Economics  
at the University of the Philippines  
of the Government of the Philippines  
1959-62

Dr. Zacarias de Jesus (Philippines)

Professor of Veterinary Medicine  
at Kasetsart University  
of the Royal Thai Government  
--Founded the first veterinary ambulatory  
clinic in Thailand, July 1959  
1959-61

Post-Graduate Scholarship Programme

M. R. Suttiswat Kridakon, Dip. d'Etude Dipl.,  
Studies in Political Science (M.A.)

University of Manila  
--Received the degree of "M.A. in Political  
Science" on March 25, 1960

Norma D. Valerio Wilson, LL:B.

M.A. in Political Science  
Faculty of Political Science  
1962

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., pp. 29-56.

B. UNDER THE ASSOCIATION OF  
SOUTHEAST ASIA (ASA)

Origin

The idea of establishing an organization on a regional basis to foster closer co-operation in economic and cultural undertakings for the mutual benefit of its members is not new. The idea was not however formally crystallized until the official visit of Tunku Abdul Rahman to the Philippines from January 3 to 7, 1959. In an interview conducted by the editor of the Bangkok Bank Monthly Review, the Tunku admitted that the proposal was made by him in a speech in Baguio, Philippines.<sup>128</sup> The original plan however was presumably advanced by Garcia upon his return from a visit to Japan in December, 1958. The motive of the plan was suspected to lessen Philippine dependence on the United States.<sup>129</sup> It follows from this assumption that Japan must have been included in the original plan.

The Garcia-Rahman Joint Communique issued in Manila January 6, 1959 expressed agreement on the following:<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup>Bangkok Bank Monthly Review, April-May, 1962  
Bangkok Bank Ltd., Bangkok: Thailand, p. 20.

<sup>129</sup>Facts on File, World Digest, Volume XIX, No. 949.

<sup>130</sup>Department of Foreign Affairs Review, October 1959, Volume III, No. 2 (Manila: Philippines), p. 21.



1. The urgent need to seek ways and means to elevate the standard of living and improve the material welfare of their peoples and to invite other countries of this region to subscribe to this idea.
2. That as soon as practicable, representatives of the Republic of the Philippines and the Federation of Malaya (now Malaysia) will meet in either country to discuss ways and means of achieving the above mentioned goal.
3. The need for closer economic and cultural co-operation between the Philippines and the Federation of Malaya.
4. The need for forging closer cultural ties and closer collaboration among the countries of the region to solve common problems.
5. The need for frequent meetings among the leaders of the region for an exchange of views on matters of common interest to their peoples.
6. To give assurances to foreign investors of appropriate protection and adequate returns or their participation in the economic and industrial development of their countries, in accordance with the constitutional provisions of their respective States.

After the issuance of the above mentioned communique, the Philippine Embassy in Bangkok immediately took notice of the general Thai reaction.

The Philippine Embassy sent the DFA in Manila a communication entitled: "Thai Reaction to the Garcia-Rahman Joint Proposal for Cultural Links in Southeast Asia: Thailand not for Common Market." This opinion came from a radio commentary quoted as follows:<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Philippine Embassy File: Bangkok, Thailand, No. 338/59.

It is impossible to see how common tariff walls set-up along lines of the European Common Market would be beneficial when all countries in Southeast Asia, having an agricultural economy and not being industrial countries like in Europe, can not depend on themselves for industrial goods and must depend on industrial countries for materials for purposes of lifting themselves up from the present underdeveloped state. Therefore, it is inappropriate to set up a common market in Southeast Asia because the times are not suitable and no benefits will accrue from its practice.

While the general Thai reaction was pessimistic about an Asian Common Market, it expressed the readiness to support the proposal. In a visit to Manila in September, 1959, Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman endorsed regional co-operation in a joint statement issued with Foreign Secretary Felixberto Serrano.

From then on, the foreign ministers of the three nations kept exchanging views and information on this matter whenever opportunities permitted them to do so.

In February, 1961 information talks and initial preparations for the establishment of the associations were held in Kuala Lumpur. There, it was agreed that "each country would appoint officials and experts to make individual assessments of the matters which will be of immediate value to the countries concerned"<sup>132</sup> and that these national groups of officials would then combine in a joint working party to make a study of their findings and submit recom-

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<sup>132</sup> MFA Bulletin, Volume I, No. 1, August-September 1961, p. 32.

mendations for consideration to the Preparatory Conference of the Foreign Ministers to be held in Bangkok. It was further agreed that this meeting would serve "as a firm declaration of intention" of the three countries to establish said proposed organization.

The first meeting of the Joint Working Group composed of seven delegates each from Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand was held at Saranrom Palace, Bangkok from June 19 to 21, 1961. The work of this group was "to assess the scope of co-operation among the three countries and to recommend immediate, intermediate and long term projects in the economic and cultural fields."<sup>133</sup> The Joint Working Group also laid down the provisions for setting-up the administrative machinery, financial arrangements and drafted a provisional declaration which was to be the constitutional basis of the association.

On July 31, 1961,<sup>134</sup> in a document called the "Bangkok Declaration, the foreign ministers of Malaya (now Malaysia), the Philippines and Thailand announced the formation of the Association of Southeast Asia, now popularly known as ASA."<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>Sison, G. V., "What is the ASA?", Sunday Times Magazine, Volume XVI, No. 32, pp. 6-7.

<sup>135</sup>Before its birth, the Association was immediately known as ASAS, meaning Association of Southeast Asian States. However, later on it has been popularly called as ASA probably for phonetic reasons and most possibly because of its connotation in Malay and Tagalog. It means "hope and expectation."

ASA is a bold but modest attempt to foster and exploit co-operation in the economic and cultural fields and it has been so established against the modern contemporary trend of regional integration.

Vice-President E. Pelaez said in a speech during the opening of ASA Ministerial Conference in Kuala Lumpur:

The next two years will be crucial for all of us in regard to international trade policies. The European Economic Community has already caused a revolution in trade policies and alignment not only in Europe but throughout the world...In the face of these stresses our need for trade co-operation will be greater...Our energies and efforts must be focused on our struggle to retain and expand our export markets and strengthen our economics internally...We must therefore fully explore and exploit the possibilities and potentialities of greater intra-regional trade among the three ASA member countries. While it would be highly unrealistic to expect that these trade co-operation could be achieved overnight, the time to make a beginning no matter how modest is now.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup>Speech of Vice-President Emmanuel Pelaez at the opening of ASA Ministerial Conference, April 3, 1962.

ASA Objectives

The Bangkok Declaration sets forth the objectives of the Association. They are:<sup>137</sup>

1. To establish an effective machinery for friendly consultations, collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and administrative fields;
2. To provide educational, professional, technical and administrative training and research facilities in their respective countries for nationals and officials of the associated countries.
3. To exchange information on matters of common interest or concern in the economic, cultural, educational and scientific fields;
4. To co-operate in the promotion of Southeast Asian Studies;
5. To provide a machinery for fruitful collaboration in the utilization of their respective natural resources, the development of their agriculture and industry, the expansion of their trade, the improvement of their transport and communication facilities, and generally rising the living standards of their peoples;
6. To co-operate in the study of the problems of international commodity trade; and
7. Generally, to consult and co-operate with one another so as to achieve the aims and purposes of the Association, as well as to contribute more effectively to the work of existing international organizations and agencies.

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<sup>137</sup>MFA Bulletin, op. cit., p. 33.

ASA is no doubt the product of the Asian peoples and the possibility that its formation was "fathered" by a western country is definitely ruled out. His Excellency Tungku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj said the opening session of the First Meeting of Foreign Ministers on Economic and Cultural Co-operation on July 31, 1961.<sup>138</sup>

All of us here, who have taken the initiative to establish this organization know that our efforts in co-operation are not aimed against any country or group of countries but are designed to promote good-will and understanding and develop cultural and economic interests. As we have stated many times before, this organization is in no way intended to be anti-Western bloc or anti-Eastern bloc, or for that matter, a political bloc of any kind. It is not connected in any way with the various organizations which are in existence today; it is purely a southeast Asian Economic and Cultural Co-operation Organization and has no backing whatsoever from any foreign source. It is in fact in keeping with the spirit, and is in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ASA hopes to promote "through joint endeavors, the well-being and economic, social and cultural progress" of the Southeast Asian region.

To sum up, its objectives are two-fold in character: One, the economic well-being of the peoples of Southeast Asia; and Second, the social and cultural progress of the region.

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

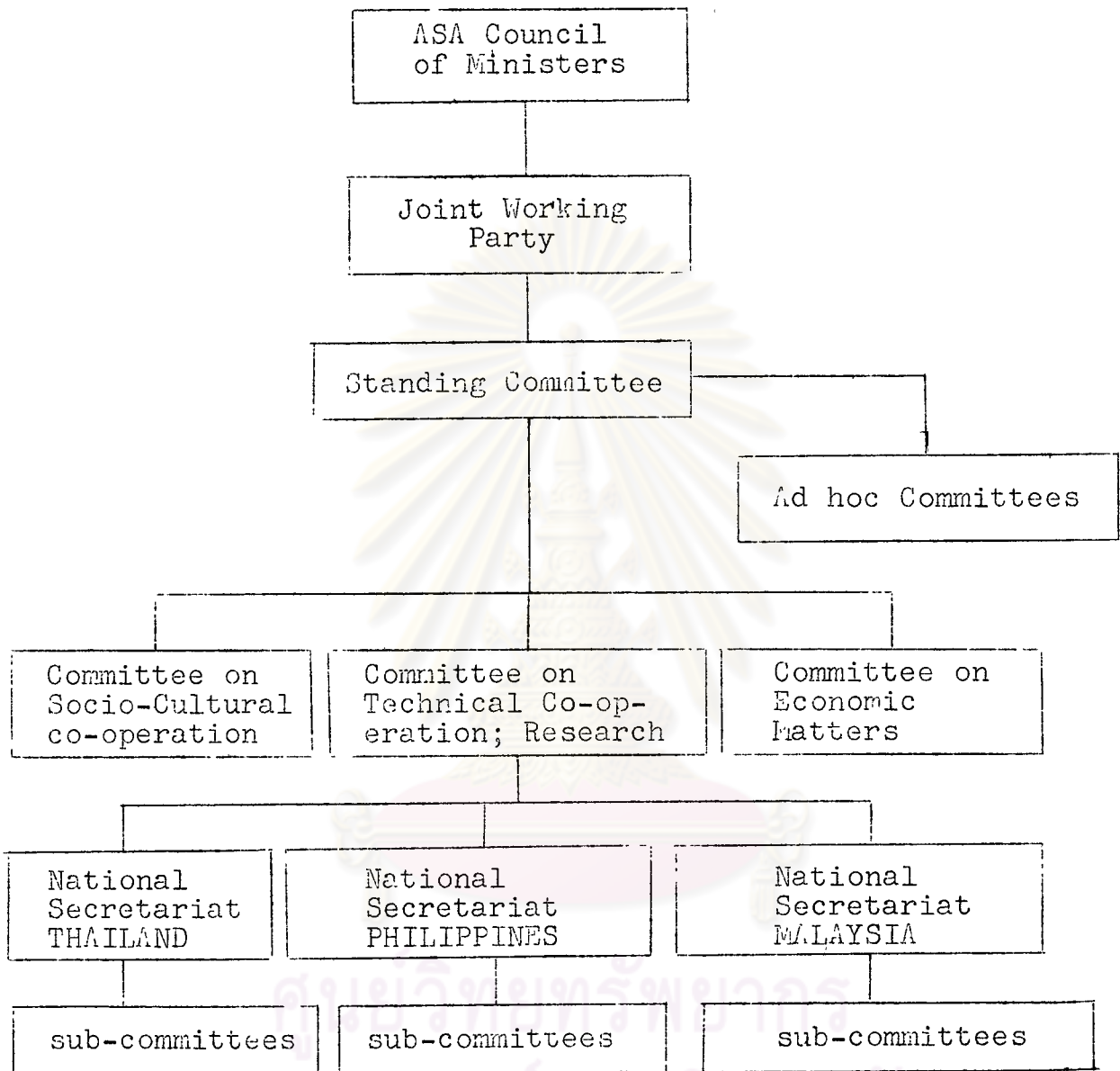
### Structure and Organization

The ASA Council of Ministers sets the broad and general policies of the Association. The three member countries are represented in this Council by their respective foreign ministers.

This Council meets annually and considers the reports of the meeting of a Joint Working Party consisting of delegates from each member country. The report generally covers programs of co-operation, progress reports of projects, recommended lines of action and other matters relevant to the Association. The voting should always be unanimous.

The bulk of administration is carried out by the national secretariats of Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, each national secretariat being immediately responsible to the foreign minister/secretary. Each foreign office usually has an exclusive or separate division which handles ASA matters. This constitutes the national secretariat. Each national secretariat provides the necessary assistance for the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Joint Working Party and the National Committees of Specialists.

ASA functions through a system of national sub-committees, each committee dealing or specializing on a specific subject. It has committees on economic co-operation, on technical co-operation and research and on socio-cultural



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co-operation. It has more specific committees as the ASA Committee on Airline and Civil Aviation, on higher learning and on tourism.

The ASA standing committee acts and makes a study of the recommendations and progress reports of the various national committees. In turn the deliberations of the Joint Working Party are based on periodic reports prepared by the National Committee of specialists created by each country. These periodic reports cover progress reports of projects undertaken and recommendations for new areas of collaboration.

Since up to this time of writing, there has not been established a central secretariat, the work of the national secretariats are co-ordinated by the diplomatic staff of each country in the capitals of the other two. For instance, the Philippine Embassy in Bangkok acts as liaison between DFA, ASA Affairs Division and MFA, ASA department.

The ASA standing committee serves as the executive arm of the Association. The site of its sessions are rotated among the three countries. The foreign minister/secretary of the host country is the chairman and the ambassadors of the other two to the host serve as members.

In the report of the Second Foreign Ministers Meeting, the setting up of a central ASA secretariat was recommended.

The establishment of an ASA Funds was also agreed upon with an equivalent of \$ 1,000,000 as initial contribution from each member nation.

Nature of Relations

Since the association of Southeast Asia was mainly created to promote economic and cultural collaborations, it is but logical that the relations of the Philippines and Thailand follow the same pattern.

Economic

The broad goals of ASA in achieving economic co-operation in the area includes consultation and co-operative ventures in the solution of common problems and the development of economic potentials of member countries; co-operation in fostering the development of agriculture, mining, manufacturing as well as in the establishment and expansion of basic facilities in support of them and the adoption of measures designed to protect the economic interests of the countries in the area. To accomplish these general goals a provision for the establishment of a machinery to co-ordinate these efforts should be present.

In this connection, we shall consider some specific projects which have been launched or proposed to achieve said general goals.

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<sup>139</sup>Report of the Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers, April 2-4, 1963. Manila, p. 8 paragraph No. 2.

a. Trade Policy and Promotion

An aspect of establishing economic collaboration is relaxing quantitative restrictions. Import restrictions constitute a hindrance to international trade.

A scheme on how to eliminate restrictions on the free flow of trade should be considered.

b. Free Trade of Selected Commodities

Steps are also being layed down to explore the possibility of establishing free trade especially of raw materials.<sup>140</sup>

Trade can be encouraged more by the removal of tariff barriers. This will result to the improvement of the competitive position and will reduce the cost of corresponding manufactured products.

c. Primary Commodities

Agreements were reached to intensify combined efforts to expand trade in primary commodities like rice, rubber, coconut and sugar.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>SCB/63/R-1, Items 6 (b) 3.

<sup>141</sup>Report of the Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers, p. 3 paragraph (7).

In this connection, the quality of export products should be standardized. This is mainly the concern of individual countries. The improvement of the quality and standardization of their export products will enable them to demand better prices with or without an international commodity trade agreement. Member countries may undertake joint efforts of improving the quality of identical export products.

d. Airline/Civil Aviation and Shipping

Intensive studies will be undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committees on the formation of an ASA airline and on all aspects connected with the formation of an ASA Shipping line.<sup>142</sup>

One of the difficulties met by member countries is the transporting of exports and imports in which they have often relied on foreigners to do the job for them. A study should be undertaken to determine the possibilities whereby ships of member countries may carry each other's freight involved in international trade at mutual beneficial terms.

Co-operation among national airlines should be explored.

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<sup>142</sup>ASA National Secretariat, Thailand, MFA No. (0503)  
29411/2505

e. Economic Survey

An annual survey of the economies of the ASA countries is to be undertaken by the ASA Economic Committee as a basis for determining the impact of the joint economic, socio-cultural co-operation projects in order to explore other possible areas of co-operation.

f. Technical Co-operation and Research

At the second meeting of the Foreign Ministers, it was agreed that the Philippines provide leadership in the field of research in coconut production, sugar and copra technology while Thailand, in Rastrelliger methods. It was further agreed that the Philippines and Thailand should intensify investigations on hemorrhagic fever with special reference to etiology and vector control.<sup>143</sup>

Along this field the Philippines and Thailand have started collaborations. The Philippines forwarded to the ASA National Secretariat of Thailand the following information:<sup>144</sup>

1. Seven reports on the utilization of vegetable oils published by the National Institute of Science and Technology;
2. Third, Fourth and Fifth Progress Reports on the status of coconut cadang-cadang research published by the University of Philippines;

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<sup>143</sup>Report of the Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers, p. 22 paragraph (110); p. 23 paragraph (114).

<sup>144</sup>MFA, No. (0503) 30603/2506. September 30, 1963. RP note of transmittal 357/63 and 358/63 September 18, 1963.

3. Two copies of the Annual Report of the Forest Products Research Institute; and
4. Communication from the Philippines coconut Administration concerning the establishment of Regional Coconut Research Institute.

On the other hand, Thailand transmitted to the ASA National Secretariat of the Philippines, two copies each of the following documents providing information:<sup>145</sup>

1. Annual Statement of Foreign Trade (1957, 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961);
2. Promotion of Industrial Investment Act B.E. 2505 (1962);
3. New law to promote Industrial Development; and
4. New Industrial Development Law--on article in Holiday Time on Thailand, November 1961 issue.

g. Tourism

The year 1963 was proclaimed as "Visit ASA Year." The first anniversary of the Bangkok Declaration witnessed the abolition of visa requirements for officials and waiving of visa fees for nationals of ASA countries. This was effected through an exchange of notes on July 31, 1962.

The first meeting of the ASA Committee on Tourism recommended the following projects to be implemented:<sup>146</sup>

.....that the national tourist promotion office of ASA countries co-operate and co-ordinate their efforts in the matter of supervision and

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<sup>145</sup>MFA, No. (0503)---, October/2505.

standardization of accommodation, facilities and other services and give special attention to the problem of making available to average-income tourist accommodations and facilities at moderate rates;

.....that the ASA countries avail themselves of the assistance and that foreign experts in plant development be invited to tour the ASA countries for the purpose of surveying and evaluating tourist potentials and assisting in the preparation of development plans.

#### The Draft of the ASA Agreement on Commerce

The Bangkok Declaration can be compared to a charter but if ASA should endure, a sort of a multilateral treaty should be concluded. The final conclusion of the ASA Agreement on Commerce may provide the association with the equivalent of a treaty in the sense that it will establish some legal obligations among the signatories.

A cursory perusal of the draft of the agreement will show that its essence lies in the principle of a "most-favored-nation treatment" embodied in one of its provisions. Article I, Section 1 states:

The contracting Parties undertake to accord to another unconditional most-favored-nation treatment in all matters with respect to customs, duties and charges of any kind imposed on or in

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<sup>146</sup>Recommendations of the ASA Committee on Tourism, Items A, 1 (i) and B, 1 (a).

Thailand was represented by Major General Chalermchai Charuvastr. Commissioner Teofilo Zosa represented the Philippines.

connection with importation or exportation or imposed on the international transfer of payments for imports or exports and with respect to the method of levying such duties and charges, and with respect to the rules and formalities connected with importation or exportation, and with respect to all internal taxes or other internal sale, offering for sale, purchase, distribution or use of imported goods within the territory of another contracting party.

In the first place, what is meant by the phrase "most-favored nation treatment?" It means, according to Oppenheim, that the nationals of one of the contracting parties shall be treated in the matter agreed upon in the territory of the other contracting party, just as if they were nationals of the second contracting party.

What is significant in Article I, Section 1 is the inclusion of the word unconditional. Reservations and conditions most of the time render the provisions meaningless.

Article I, Section 1 means to say, for instance, that products of the Philippines imported into Thailand

.....shall not be subject, with regards to the matters listed above, to any duties, taxes or charges higher, or to any rules of formalities more burdensome than those to which the like products of any non-contracting country and or may hereafter be subject.

Article VII provides for consultation of a contracting party with the other parties before accepting commodities offered by non-contracting parties from government stockpiles or under programmes of surplus disposal or other non-commercial arrangements.



The most-favored nation treatment is also extended in matters concerning merchant vessels, aircraft and generally the nationals of each contracting party who may wish to make a travel or establish residence in the territory of the others. However, this is not accorded unconditionally and thus subject to the laws and regulations generally applicable to foreigners alike.

Other countries who may wish to become parties to this agreement can do so by accession. However, the unanimous decision of Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines is necessary to make such accession valid. The terms of accession agreed upon between such governments and the contracting parties shall be attached to the agreement.

It should be emphasized that the agreement is still a draft and may still be subject to major alterations.

#### Socio-Cultural

The broad goals of ASA is to promote closer cultural collaboration among the member countries through exchange of personnel and educational and scientific facilities and consultations on socio-cultural and scientific information and to foster stronger ties among member countries by strengthening the field of Southeast Asian Studies<sup>147</sup> and specifically those of Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia.

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<sup>147</sup> SCB/63/WP-25, Draft of ASA Scholarship Programme.

In June, 1963 under the auspices of USA, the Philippine Chamber of Music Ensemble gave three performances in Bangkok, while it was undertaken to give Thailand a sample of Filipino music, the proceeds amounting to 12,750 bahts from the show went to the foundation for the Welfare of the Crippled under the Royal Patronage of HRH, the Princess Mother.<sup>148</sup>

The "Filipinescas" dance troupe performed typical Filipino dances at the Culture Auditorium the preceding year.

A Philippine Graphic Arts Exhibition was presented at TOT, (Tourist Organization of Thailand) in August, 1963.<sup>149</sup>

Thailand should also take the initiative to give the Filipinos a chance to appreciate unique Thai artistry, music and dance.

Along this field of joint endeavor, member countries are expected to exchange radio and television technical information and personnel. The Philippines and Thailand particularly have started to explore deeper and co-ordinate studies on the reception of telecast from the Philippines in certain parts of Thailand.<sup>149</sup> This aspect of co-operation is embodied in a formal agreement.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> SCE/63/WP-26.

<sup>149</sup> 138/62, EMPHIL.

<sup>150</sup> Interview with Dr. Manaspat Chuto, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 12, 1964.

There are a number of projects proposed and they include exchange of students on a scholarship basis, exchange of language and culture professors and exchange of lecturers on specialized fields of study.

The first significant concrete step taken by ASA in the cultural field was a survey on the accreditation and equivalence of degrees and units earned in universities and educational institutions of the ASA countries. The survey was conducted in order to be able to make arrangements for the admission of both undergraduate and post-graduate students for further studies in these educational institutions.<sup>151</sup>

For instance according to the survey, a bachelor's degree in Political Science in Chulalongkorn University is equivalent to Bachelor of Laws in the University of the Philippines.

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<sup>151</sup>ASA Meeting on Higher Education, April 3-6, 1962, KL/FL, Item No. 1.