परिशिष्ट
THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA (ASA)

BANGKOK DECLARATION

The Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand:

Upholding the ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being;

Believing that these ideals can best be attained by fostering good understanding, good neighbourliness and active co-operation among nations;

Desiring to establish a firm foundation for common action to further economic and social progress in Southeast Asia;

Convinced that mutual co-operation in the economic field and cultural relationship will greatly contribute to their endeavour to enhance the welfare of their respective nations and promote better understanding and mutual appreciation among their peoples;

Do hereby declare:

First, the establishment of an association for economic and cultural co-operation among the countries of Southeast Asia to be known as ASA - Association of Southeast Asia.

Second, that the aims and purposes of the Association shall be:

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 cooperate in the promotion of Southeast Asia 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 raising the living standards of their peoples;

6. To cooperate in the study of the problems of international commodity trades; and

Generally, to consult and cooperate 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.

Third, that this association is in no way connected with any outside power or power bloc and is directed against no other country, but is essentially free association of countries of Southeast Asia having as its objectives the promotion, through joint endeavour, of the well-being and the economic, social and cultural progress of this region.

This declaration, made at Bangkok this thirty-first day of July, nineteen hundred and sixty-one, shall be known as the Bangkok Declaration.

For the Republic of the Philippines

(Sgd) FELIXBERTO M. SERRANO
Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines

For the Kingdom of Thailand

(Sgd.) THANAT KHOMAN
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand

For the Federation of Malaya

(Sgd.) TENGKU ABDUL RAHMAN
Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya

Joint Communiqué

The Prime Minister and the Minister for External Affairs of the Federation of Malaya, His excellency Tunku Abdul Rahman
Putra Al-Haj, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, the Honorable Felixberto M. Sta. Ana, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, His Excellency Mr. Thanat Khoman met in Bangkok on July 31 and August 1, 1961, to consider the formation of an association for economic and cultural cooperation among Southeast Asian countries. The Meeting was opened by the Prime Minister of Thailand, His Excellency Field Marshal Srisdi Dhanarajata.

They deliberated on and adopted the report and recommendations of the Joint Working Party which met in Bangkok on June 19 to 21, 1961. Having decided to form the ASA -- Association of Southeast Asia -- the Foreign Ministers issued on July 31, 1961, the Bangkok Declaration embodying the aims and purposes of the Association.

To carry out these aims and purposes, the Foreign Ministers agreed on the following --

(a) Annual meeting of foreign Ministers, which shall be by rotation;

(b) Annual meeting of the Joint Working Party, which shall take place about a month prior to the meeting of Foreign Ministers;

(c) Establishment of a Standing Committee under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of the host country or his designated representative and having as its members accredited Ambassadors of the other member countries, to carry on the work of the Association in between meetings of the Foreign Ministers;

(d) Setting up of a number of ad hoc and permanent committees of specialists and officials on specific subjects; and

(e) Creation of a national Secretariat in each member country to carry out the work of the Association on behalf of that country.

By way of implementing the objectives set out in the Bangkok Declaration, the Foreign Ministers approved diverse projects in the fields of activities envisaged in the Declaration.
The full details of these actions taken by the Foreign Ministers will be published simultaneously in the capitals of the three countries on a date to be fixed as soon as they have been approved by their respective governments.

The Foreign Ministers decided to set up the Standing Committee in Kuala Lumpur and to hold a Special Meeting of Foreign Ministers in that city on December 1, 1961. It was also decided to convene the next Annual Meeting of Foreign Ministers in the Philippines in August, 1962.

Throughout the sessions the deliberations were conducted in an atmosphere of perfect harmony and cordiality with the result that all accords were reached expeditiously.

The Foreign Ministers expressed their gratitude to His Majesty's Government and the people of Thailand for the warm hospitality and cordial welcome accorded them and also their appreciation of the efficient arrangements made for the meeting. The meeting ended with a warm vote of thanks to its Chairman, His Excellency Mr. Thanat Khoman.

Bangkok, August 1, 1961.
MANILA ACCORD

1. The Governments of the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines, prompted by their keen and common desire to have a general exchange of views on current problems concerning stability, security, economic development and social progress of the three countries and the region and upon the initiative of President Diosdado Macapagal, agreed that a Conference of Ministers of the three countries be held in Manila on 7th June 1963 for the purpose of achieving common understanding and close fraternal cooperation among themselves. Accordingly, Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya; Dr. Subandrio, Deputy First Minister/Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia; and Honorable Emmanuel Pelaez, Vice-President of the Philippines and concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs, met in Manila from 7 to 11 June 1963.

2. The deliberations were held in a frank manner and in a most cordial atmosphere in keeping with the spirit of friendship prevailing in the various meetings held between President Soekarno of the Republic of Indonesia, and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra of the Federation of Malaya, and President Diosdado Macapagal. The Ministerial Conference was a manifestation of the determination of the nations in this region to achieve closer cooperation in their endeavour to chart their common future.

3. The Ministers were of one mind that the three countries share a primary responsibility for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their respective national identities, and to ensure the peaceful development of their respective countries and of their region, in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples.

4. In the same spirit of common and constructive endeavour, they exchanged views on the proposed Confederation of nations of Malay origin, the proposed Federation of Malaysia, the Philippine claim to North Borneo and related problems.

THE MACAPAGAL PLAN

5. Recognizing that it is in the common interest of their countries to maintain fraternal relations and to strengthen cooperation among their peoples who are bound together by ties of race and culture, the three Ministers agreed to intensify the joint and individual efforts of their countries to secure lasting peace, progress and prosperity for themselves and their neighbors.
6. In this context, the three Ministers supported President Macapagal's plan envisaging the grouping of the three nations of Malay origin working together in closest harmony but without surrendering any portion of their sovereignty. This calls for the establishment of the necessary common organs.

7. The three Ministers agreed to take the initial steps towards this ultimate aim by establishing machinery for frequent and regular consultations. The details of such machinery will be further defined. This machinery will enable the three governments to hold regular consultations at all levels to deal with matters of mutual interest and concern consistent with the national, regional and international responsibilities or obligations of each country without prejudice to its sovereignty and independence. The Ministers agreed that their countries will endeavour to achieve close understanding and cooperation in dealing with common problems relating to security, stability, economic, social and cultural development.

8. In order to accelerate the process of growth towards the ultimate establishment of President Macapagal's plan, the Ministers agreed that each country shall set up its own National Secretariat. Pending the establishment of a Central Secretariat for the consultative machinery, the National Secretaries should coordinate and cooperate with each other in the fulfillment of their tasks.

9. The Ministers further agreed to recommend that Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers meet at least once a year for the purpose of consultations on matters of importance and common concern.

MALAYSIA AND NORTH BORNEO

10. The Ministers reaffirmed their countries' adherence to the principle of self-determination for the peoples of non-self-governing territories. In this context, Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided the support of the people of the Borneo territories is ascertained by an independent and impartial authority, the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative.

11. The Federation of Malaya expressed appreciation for this attitude of Indonesia and the Philippines and undertook to consult the British Government and the Governments of the Borneo territories with a view to inviting the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative to take the necessary steps in order to ascertain the wishes of the people of those territories.

12. The Philippines made it clear that its position on the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia is
subject to the final outcome of the Philippine claim to North Borneo. The Ministers took note of the Philippine claim and the right of the Philippines to continue to pursue it in accordance with international law and the principle of the pacific settlement of disputes. They agreed that the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia would not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder. Moreover, in the context of their close association, the three countries agreed to exert their best endeavours to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration.

13. In particular, considering the close historical ties between the peoples of the Philippines and North Borneo as well as their geographical propinquity, the Ministers agreed that in the event of North Borneo joining the proposed Federation of Malaysia the Government of the latter and the Government of the Philippines should maintain and promote the harmony and the friendly relations subsisting in their region to ensure the security and stability of the area.

MEETING OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

14. The Ministers agreed to recommend that a Meeting of their respective Heads of Government be held in Manila not later than the end of July 1963.

15. The Ministers expressed satisfaction over the atmosphere of brotherliness and cordiality which pervaded their meeting and considered it as a confirmation of their close fraternal ties and as a happy augury for the success of future consultations among their leaders.

16. The Ministers agreed to place on record their profound appreciation of and gratitude for the statesmanlike efforts of President Macapagal whose courage, vision and inspiration not only facilitated the holding of this historic Meeting but also contributed towards the achievement for the first time of a unity of purpose and a sense of common dedication among the peoples of Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines.

APPROVED AND ACCEPTED.
MANILA, JULY 31, 1963

SOEKARNO
President of the Republic of Indonesia

DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL
President of the Philippines

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ
Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.
The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, assembled in a Summit Conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963, following the Meeting of their Foreign Ministers held in Manila from June 7 to 11, 1963;

Conscious of the historic significance of their coming together for the first time as leaders of sovereign States that have emerged after long struggles from colonial status in independence;

Desiring to achieve better understanding and closer cooperation in their endeavour to chart their common future;

Inspired also by the spirit of Asian-African solidarity forged in the Bandung Conference of 1955;

Convinced that their countries, which are bound together by close historical ties of race and culture, share a primary responsibility for the maintenance of the stability and security of the area from subversion in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their respective national identities and to ensure the peaceful development of their respective countries and their region in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples; and

Determined to intensify the joint and individual efforts of their countries to secure lasting peace, progress and prosperity for themselves and their neighbors in a world dedicated to freedom and justice;

DO HEREBY DECLARE:

First, that they reaffirm their adherence to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as enunciated in the United Nations Charter and the Bandung Declaration;

Second, that they are determined, in the common interest of their countries, to maintain fraternal relations, to strengthen cooperation among their peoples in the economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote economic progress and social well-being in the region, and to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another;

Third, that the three nations shall combine their efforts in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations and for the eradication of the vestiges thereof in the region in particular and the world in general;

Fourth, that the three nations, as new emerging forces in the region, shall cooperate in building a new and better world based on national freedom, social justice and lasting peace; and
Fifth, that in the content of the joint endeavours of the three nations to achieve the foregoing objectives, they have agreed to take initial steps towards the establishment of Maphilindo by holding frequent and regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo.

Manila, August 3, 1963

(Sgd.) SOEKARNO
President of the Republic of Indonesia

(Sgd.) DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL
President of the Philippines

(Sgd.) TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ
Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya

JOINT STATEMENT

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the President of the Philippines, and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya met at a Summit Conference in Manila from July 30 to August 5, 1963.

1. Moved by a sincere desire to solve their common problems in an atmosphere of fraternal understanding, they considered, approved and accepted the Report and Recommendations of the Foreign Ministers of the three countries adopted in Manila on June 11, 1963 (hereafter to be known as the Manila Accord).

2. In order to provide guiding principles for the implementation of the Manila Accord the Heads of Government have issued a declaration known as the Manila Declaration, embodying the common aspirations and objectives of the peoples and governments of the three countries.

3. As a result of the consultations amongst the three Heads of Government in Accordance with the principles enunciated in the Manila Declaration, they have resolved various current problems of common concern.

4. Pursuant to paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Manila Accord the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative should ascertain prior to the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia the wishes of the people of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak within the context of General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV), Principle 9 of the Annex, by a fresh approach, which in the opinion of the Secretary-General is necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination with the requirements embodied in Principle 9, taking into consideration:
(i) the recent elections in Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak but nevertheless further examining, verifying and satisfying himself as to whether

   a) Malaysia was a major issue, if not the main issue;
   b) electoral registers were properly compiled;
   c) elections were free and there was no coercion; and
   d) votes were properly polled and properly counted; and

(ii) the wishes of those who, being qualified to vote, would have exercised their right of self-determination in the recent elections had it not been for their detention for political activities, imprisonment for political offenses or absence from Sabah (North Borneo) or Sarawak.

5. The Secretary-General will be requested to send working teams to carry out the task set out in paragraph 4.

6. The Federation of Malaya, having undertaken to consult the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak under paragraph 11 of the Manila Accord on behalf of the three Heads of Government, further undertake to request them to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to extend to him the necessary facilities so as to enable him to carry out his task as set out in paragraph 4.

7. In the interest of the countries concerned, the three Heads of Government deem it desirable to send observers to witness the carrying out of the task to be undertaken by the working teams, and the Federation of Malaya will use its best endeavours to obtain the cooperation of the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak in furtherance of this purpose.

8. In accordance with paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, the three Heads of Government decided to request the British Government to agree to seek a just and expeditious solution to the dispute between the British Government and the Philippine Government concerning Sabah (North Borneo) by means of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. The three Heads of Government take cognizance of the position regarding the Philippine claim to Sabah (North Borneo) after the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia as provided under paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord, that is, that the inclusion of Sabah (North Borneo) in the Federation of Malaysia does not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder.

9. Pursuant to paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the Manila Accord and the Fifth Principle of the Manila Declaration, that is, that initial steps should be taken towards the establishment
of Maphilindo by holding frequent regular consultations at all levels to be known as Mushawarah Maphilindo, it is agreed that each country shall set up a National Secretariat for Maphilindo affairs and as a first step the respective National Secretariats will consult together with a view to coordinating and cooperating with each other in the study on the setting up of the necessary machinery for Maphilindo.

10. The Three Heads of Government emphasized that the responsibility for the preservation of the national independence of the three countries and of the peace and security in their region lies primarily in the hands of the governments and the peoples of the countries concerned, and that the three governments undertake to have close consultations (mushawarah) among themselves on these matters.

11. The three Heads of Government further agreed that foreign bases—temporary in nature—should not be allowed to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence of any of the three countries. In accordance with the principle enunciated in the Bandung Declaration, the three countries will abstain from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

12. President Sukarno and Prime Minister Abdul Rahman express their deep appreciation for the initiative taken by President Macapagal in calling the Summit Conference which, in addition to resolving their differences concerning the proposed Federation of Malaysia, resulted in paving the way for the establishment of Maphilindo. The three Heads of Government conclude this Conference, which has greatly strengthened the fraternal ties which bind their three countries and extended the scope of their cooperation and understanding, with renewed confidence that their governments and peoples will together make a significant contribution to the attainment of just and enduring peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

MANILA, August 5, 1963.
The ASEAN Declaration

The Presidium Minister for Political Affairs/Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand:

Mindful of the existence of mutual interests and common problems among the countries of South-East Asia and convinced of the need to strengthen further the existing bonds of regional solidarity and cooperation;

Desiring to establish a firm foundation for common action to promote regional cooperation in South-East Asia in the spirit of equality and partnership and thereby contribute towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region;

Conscious that in an increasingly interdependent world, the cherished ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being are best attained by fostering good understanding, good neighborliness and meaningful cooperation among the countries of the region already bound together by ties of history and culture;

Considering that the countries of South-East Asia share a primary responsibility for strengthening the economic and social stability of the region and ensuring their peaceful and progressive national development, and that they are determined to ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples;

Affirming that all foreign bases are temporary and remain only with the expressed concurrence of the countries concerned and are not intended to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national development;

Do Hereby Declare:

First, the establishment of an Association for Regional Cooperation among the countries of South-East Asia to be known as the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Second, that the aims and purposes of the Association shall be:

1. To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community in South-East Asian nations;
2. To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter;

3. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;

4. To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres;

5. To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the living standards of their peoples;

6. To promote South-East Asian Studies;

7. To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes, and explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves.

Third, that, to carry out these aims and purposes, the following machinery shall be established:

(a) Annual Meeting of Foreign Ministers, which shall be by rotation and referred to as ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. Special Meetings of Foreign Ministers may be convened as required.

(b) A Standing Committee, under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of the host country of his representative and having as its members the accredited Ambassadors of the other member countries, to carry on the work of the Association in between Meetings of Foreign Ministers.

(c) Ad Hoc Committees and Permanent Committees of specialists and officials on specific subjects.

(d) A National Secretariat in each member country to carry out the work of the Association on behalf of that country and to service the Annual or Special meetings of Foreign Ministers, the Standing Committee and such other Committees as may hereafter be established.
Fourth, that the Association is open for participation to all States in the South-East Asian Region subscribing to the aforementioned aims, principles and purposes.

Fifth, that the Association represents the collective will of the nations of South-East Asia to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity.

Done in Bangkok on August 8, 1967
ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM, AND NEUTRALITY DECLARATION
KUALA LUMPUR DECLARATION

27 November 1971

We the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and the Special Envoy of the National Executive Council of Thailand:

Firmly believing in the merits of regional cooperation which has drawn our countries to cooperate together in the economic, social and cultural fields in the Association of South East Asian Nations;

Desirous of bringing about a relaxation of international tension and of achieving a lasting peace in South East Asia;

Inspired by the worthy aims and objectives of the United Nations, in particular by the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, abstention from threat or use of force, peaceful settlements of international disputes, equal rights and self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of States;

Believing in the continuing validity of the "Declaration of the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation" of the Bandung Conference of 1955 which, among others, enunciates the principles by which States may coexist peacefully;

Recognizing the right of every state, large or small, to lead its national existence free from outside interference in its internal affairs as this interference will adversely affect its freedom, independence and integrity;

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, freedom and independence unimpaired;

Relieving in the need to meet present challenges and new developments by cooperating with all peace and freedom loving nations, both within and outside the region, in the furtherance of world peace, stability and harmony;

Cognizant of the significant trend towards establishing nuclear-free zones, as in the "Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America" and the Lusaka Declaration proclaiming Africa a nuclear-free zone, for the purpose of promoting world peace and security by reducing the areas of international conflicts and tensions;
Reiterate our commitment to principle in the Bangkok Declaration which established ASEAN in 1967, "that the countries of South-East Asia share a primary responsibility for strengthening the economic and social stability of the region and ensuring their peaceful and progressive national development, and that they are determined to ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples".

Agreeing that the neutralization of South East Asia is a desirable objective and that we should explore ways and means of bringing about its realization; and

Convinced that the time is propitious for joint action to give effective expression to the deeply felt desire of the peoples of South East Asia to ensure the conditions of peace and stability indispensable to their independence and their economic and social well-being,

Do hereby state:

(1) that Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand are determined to exert initially necessary efforts to secure the recognition of, and respect for, South-East Asia as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers;

(2) that South-East Asian countries should make concerted efforts to broaden the areas of cooperation which would contribute to their strength, solidarity and closer relationship.

Dore at Kuala Lumpur on Saturday, the 27th of November, 1971.

On behalf of the Republic of Indonesia: ADAM MALIK
Minister for Foreign Affairs

On behalf of Malaysia: TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSEN
Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs

On behalf of the Republic of the Philippines: CARLOS P. ROMULO
Secretary of Foreign Affairs

On behalf of the Republic of Singapore: S. RAJARATNAM
Minister for Foreign Affairs

On behalf of the Kingdom of Thailand: THANAT KHOMAN
Special Envoy of the National Executive Council
TEXT OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF MALAYSIA

(Hsinhua News Bulletin, i June 1974)

At the invitation of His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Tun Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein, Prime Minister of Malaysia, visited the People's Republic of China from May 28 to June 2, 1974. His Excellency Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak was accompanied by representatives of political parties in the government and government officials.

During his visit, Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak called on Chairman Mao Tse-tung and conveyed to him the best wishes of the Malaysian Government. They had a friendly and frank talk.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak had wide-ranging talks on various subject matters of bilateral, regional and international nature. These talks were held in a frank and friendly atmosphere. The two Prime Ministers agree that in recent years the situation in Asia has undergone deep changes favourable to the people of all countries. It is in conformity with the interests of the peoples of China and Malaysia to normalize the relations between the two countries. To this end, the two Prime Ministers have decided to announce the normalization of relations between their two countries by issuing this joint communique.

1. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the government of Malaysia, with a view to promoting the traditional friendship of the two peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations as from the date this communique is published.

2. The two governments held that although the social systems of the People's Republic of China and Malaysia are different, this should not constitute an obstacle to the two governments and peoples in establishing and developing peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. The two governments consider all foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion to be impermissible. They hold that the social system of a country should only be chosen and
decided by its own people. They are opposed to any attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.

3. The government of Malaysia recognizes the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, and acknowledges the position of the Chinese Government that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Malaysian Government decided to close down its consultate in Taipei.

4. The government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the government of Malaysia and respects the independence and sovereignty of Malaysia.

5. The government of the People's Republic of China takes note of the fact that Malaysia is a multi-racial country with peoples of Malay, Chinese and other ethnic origins. Both the government of the People's Republic of China and the government of Malaysia declare that they do not recognize dual nationality. Proceeding from this principle, the Chinese Government considers anyone of Chinese origin who has taken up of his own will or acquired Malaysian nationality as automatically forfeiting Chinese nationality. As for those residents who retain Chinese nationality of their own will, the Chinese Government, acting in accordance with its consistent policy, will ensuring them to abide by the law of the government of Malaysia, respect the customs and habits of the people there and live in amity with them. And their proper rights and interests will be protected by the government of China and respected by the government of Malaysia.

6. Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak agree that the two governments, in conformity with international practice, will provide each other with all necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of embassies in their respective capitals, and that ambassadors will be exchanged as soon as practicable.

(signed)                      (signed)
Chou En-lai                    Tun Abdul Razak bin
Premier of the State Council  Prime Minister of Malaysia
of the People's Republic of China

Peking, 31 May 1974
TEXT OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
(Hsinhua News Bulletin, 10 June 1975)

i

The government of the People's Republic of China and the government of the Republic of the Philippines, desiring to promote the traditional friendship between the Chinese and the Filipinos peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level effective from the date of signature of this communique.

ii

The two governments hold that the economic, political and social system of a country should be chosen only by the people of that country, without outside interference. They maintain that the difference between the economic, political and social systems of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Philippines should not constitute an obstacle to peaceful co-existence and the establishment and development of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries and peoples in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The two governments agree to settle all disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the above-mentioned principles without resorting to the use or threat of force.

The two governments agree that all foreign aggression and subversion and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to interfere in its internal affairs are to be condemned. They are opposed to any attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.

The two governments agree to cooperate with each other to achieve the foregoing objectives.

The Philippine Government recognizes the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China fully understands and respects the position of the Chinese Government that there is but one China and that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory, and decides to remove all its official representations from Taiwan within one month from the date of signature of this communiqué.
The government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the government of the Republic of the Philippines and agrees to respect the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines.

The two governments recognizes and agrees to respect each other's territorial integrity.

iv

The government of the People's Republic of China and the government of the Republic of the Philippines consider any citizen of either country who acquires citizenships in the other country as automatically forfeiting his original citizenship.

v

The two governments agree to adopt active measures for the development of trade and economic relations between them. They have agreed to negotiate and conclude a trade agreement based on their respective needs and on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

vi

The two governments noted the importance of cultural exchanges in developing mutual understanding and friendship between their two peoples.

vii

The government of the People's Republic of China and the government of the Republic of the Philippines have agreed to exchange mutually accredited ambassadors as soon as practicable and to provide each other with all the necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals in accordance with international practice and on a reciprocal basis.

(signed)

Chou En-lai
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

(signed)

Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Republic of the Philippines
TEXT OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND
THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND
(Hsinhua News Bulletin, 2 July 1975)

1. The government of the People's Republic of China and the government of the Kingdom of Thailand, desiring to revive and strengthen further the traditionally close and friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and in conformity with the interests and common desires of the two peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations as from 1 July 1975.

2. The two governments reaffirm that only the people of each country have the right to choose their own political, economic and social systems, without outside interference. They also share the conviction that, in spite of the differences in the political, economic and social systems of the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Thailand, there should be no obstacle to the development of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries and peoples in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

3. The two governments agree to settle all disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the above-mentioned principles, without resorting to the use or threat of force.

4. The two governments agree that all foreign aggression and subversion and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to interfere in its internal affairs are impermissible and are to be condemned.

5. The two governments are also opposed to any attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.

6. The government of the Kingdom of Thailand recognizes the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, acknowledges the position of the Chinese Government that there is but one China and that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory, and decides to remove all its official representations from Taiwan within one month from the date of signature of this communiqué.
I. The government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the government of the Kingdom of Thailand and agrees to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand.

8. The government of the People's Republic of China takes note of the fact that for centuries Chinese residents in Thailand have lived in harmony and amity with the Thai people in conformity with the law of the land and with the customs and habits of the Thai people. The government of the People's Republic of China declares that it does not recognize dual nationality. Both governments consider anyone of Chinese nationality or origin who acquires Thai nationality as automatically forfeiting Chinese nationality. As for those Chinese residents in Thailand who elect to retain Chinese nationality of their own will, the Chinese Government, acting in accordance with its consistent policy, will enjoin them to abide by the law of the Kingdom of Thailand, respect the customs and habits of the Thai people and live in amity with them. Their proper rights and interests will be protected by the government of China and respected by the government of the Kingdom of Thailand.

9. The two governments agree to pursue policies for the development of trade, economic and cultural relations between them.

10. The government of the People's Republic of China and the government of the Kingdom of Thailand agree to exchange mutually accredited ambassadors as soon as practicable and to provide each other with all the necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals in accordance with international practice and on a reciprocal basis.

(signed)                               (signed)

Chou En-lai                                     Mom Rajwongse Kukrit Pramoj
Premier of the State                            Prime Minister of the
Council of the People's                            Kingdom of Thailand
Republic of China

Peking, 1 July 1975
DECLARATION OF ASEAN COORD
A COMMON COND EXISTING AMONG THE MEMBER STATES OF THE
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS

Denpasar, Bali, 24 February 1976

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, the Prime
Minister of Malaysia, the President of the Republic of the
Philippines, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore
and the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand:

Reaffirm their commitment to the Declarations of
Bandung, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur, and the Charter of the
United Nations;

Endeavour to promote peace, progress, prosperity and the
welfare of the peoples of member states;

Undertake to consolidate the achievements of ASEAN and
expand ASEAN cooperation in the economic, social cultural
and political fields;

Do hereby declare:

ASEAN cooperation shall take into account, among others,
the following objectives and principles in the pursuit of
political stability:

1. The stability of each member state and of the ASEAN
region is an essential contribution to international peace
and security. Each member state resolves to eliminate threats
posed by subversion to its stability, thus strengthening
national and ASEAN resilience.

2. Member states, individually and collectively, shall
take active steps for the early establishment of the Zone of
Peace, Freedom and Neutrality.

3. The elimination of poverty, hunger, disease and
illiteracy is a primary concern of member states. They shall
therefore intensify cooperation in economic and social
development with particular emphasis on the promotion of
social justice and on the improvement of the living standards
of their peoples.

4. Natural disasters and other major calamities can
retard the pace of development of member states. They shall
extend, within their capabilities, assistance for relief of
member states in distress.
5. Member states shall take cooperative action in their national and regional development programmes, utilizing as far as possible the resources available in the ASEAN region to broaden the complementarity of their respective economics.

6. Member states, in the spirit of ASEAN solidarity, shall rely exclusively on peaceful processes in the settlement of intra-regional differences.

7. Member states shall strive, individually and collectively, to create conditions conducive to the promotion of peaceful cooperation among the nations of Southeast Asia on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

8. Member states shall vigorously develop an awareness of regional identity and exert all efforts to create a strong ASEAN community, respected by all and respecting all nations on the basis of mutually advantageous relationships, and in accordance with the principles of self-determination, sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations.

And do hereby adopt

The following programme of action as a framework of Asean Cooperation.

A. Political

1. Meeting of the Heads of Government of the member states as and when necessary.


3. Settlement of intra-regional disputes by peaceful means as soon as possible.

4. Immediate consideration of initial steps towards recognition of and respect for the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality wherever possible.

5. Improvement of ASEAN machinery to strengthen political cooperation.

6. Study on how to develop judicial cooperation including the possibility of an ASEAN Extradition Treaty.

7. Strengthening of political solidarity by promoting the harmonization of views, coordinating position and, where possible and desirable, taking common actions.
B. Economic

1. Cooperation on Basic Commodities, particularly Food and Energy

i) Member states shall assist each other by according priority to the supply of the individual country's needs in critical circumstances, and priority to the acquisition of exports from member states, in respect of basic commodities, particularly food and energy.

ii) Member states shall also intensify cooperation in the production of basic commodities particularly food and energy in the individual member states of the region.

2. Industrial Cooperation

i) Member states shall cooperate to establish large-scale ASEAN industrial plants, particularly to meet regional requirements of essential commodities.

ii) Priority shall be given to projects which 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.

3. Cooperation in Trade

i) Member states shall cooperate in the fields of trade in order to promote development and growth of new production and trade and to improve the trade structures of individual states and among countries of ASEAN conducive to further development and to safeguard and increase their foreign exchange earning and reserves.

ii) Member states shall progress towards the establishment of preferential trading arrangements as a long term objective on a basis deemed to be at any particular time appropriate through rounds of negotiations subject to the unanimous agreement of member states.

iii) The expansion of trade among member states shall be facilitated through cooperation on basic commodities, particularly in food and energy and through cooperation in ASEAN industrial project.

iv) Member states shall accelerate joint efforts to improve access to markets outside ASEAN for their raw material and finished products by seeking the elimination of all
trade barriers in those markets, developing new usage for these products and in adopting common approaches and actions in dealing with regional groupings and individual economic powers.

v) Such efforts shall also lead to cooperation in the field of technology and production methods in order to increase the production and to improve the quality to export products, as well as to develop new export products with a view to diversifying exports.

4. Joint Approach to International Commodity Problems and Other World Economic Problems

i) The principle of ASEAN cooperation on trade shall also be reflected on a priority basis in joint approaches to international commodity problems and other world economic problems such as the reform of international trading system, the reform of international monetary system and transfer of real resources, in the United Nations and other relevant multilateral fora, with a view to contributing to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

ii) Member states shall give priority to the stabilisation and increase of export earnings of those commodities produced and exported by them through commodity agreements including bufferstock schemes and other means.

5. Machinery for Economic Cooperation

Ministerial meetings on economic matters shall be held regularly or as deemed necessary in order to:

i) Formulate recommendations for the consideration of Governments of member states for the strengthening of ASEAN economic cooperation;

ii) review the coordination and implementation of agreed ASEAN programmes and projects on economic cooperation;

iii) exchange views and consult on national development plans and policies as a step towards harmonizing regional development; and

iv) perform such other relevant functions as agreed upon by the member Governments.

C. Social

1. Cooperation in the field of social development, with emphasis on the well being of the low income group and
of the rural population, through the expansion of opportunities for productive employment with fair remuneration.

2. Support for the active involvement of all sectors and levels of the ASEAN communities, particularly the women and youth, in development efforts.

3. Intensification and expansion of existing cooperation in meeting the problems of population growth in the ASEAN region, and where possible, formulation of new strategies in collaboration with appropriate international agencies.

4. Intensification of cooperation among member states as well as with the relevant international bodies in the prevention and eradication of the abuse of narcotics and the illegal trafficking of drugs.

D. Cultural and Information

1. Introduction of the study of ASEAN, its member states and their national languages as part of the curricula of schools and other institutions of learning in the member states.

2. Support of ASEAN scholars, writers, artists, and media representatives to enable them to play an active role in fostering a sense of regional identity and fellowship.

3. Promotion of Southeast Asian studies through closer collaboration among national institutes.

E. Security

Continuation of cooperation on a non-ASEAN basis between the member states in security matters in accordance with their mutual needs and interests.

F. Improvement of ASEAN machinery

1. Signing of the Agreement on the Establishment of the ASEAN Secretariat.

2. Regular review of the ASEAN organizational structure with a view to improving its effectiveness.

3. Study of the desirability of a new constitutional framework for ASEAN.
Done at Denpasar, Bali, this Twenty-fourth Day of February in the year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Six.

For the Republic of Indonesia:
SOEHARTO
President

For Malaysia:
DATUK HUSSEIN ONN
Prime Minister

For the Republic of the Philippines:
FERDINAND E MARCOS
President

For the Republic of Singapore:
LEE KUAN YEW
Prime Minister

For the Kingdom of Thailand:
KUKRIT PRAMOJ
Prime Minister
TREATY OF AMITY AND COOPERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Denpasar, Bali, 24 February 1976

PREAMBLE

The High Contracting Parties:

Conscious of the existing ties of history, geography and culture, which have bound their peoples together;

Anxious to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule or law and enhancing regional resilience in their relations;

Desiring to enhance peace, friendship and mutual cooperation on matters affecting Southeast Asia consistent with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Ten Principles adopted by the Asian-African Conference in Bandung on 25 April 1955, the Declaration of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations signed in Bangkok on 8 August 1967, and the Declaration signed in Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971;

Convinced that the settlement of differences or disputes between their countries should be regulated by rational, effective and sufficiently flexible procedures, avoiding negative attitudes which might endanger or hinder cooperation;

Believing in the need for cooperation with all peace-loving nations, both within and outside Southeast Asia, in the furtherance of world peace, stability and harmony;

Solemnly agree to enter into a Treaty of Amity and Cooperation as follows:

Chapter I

Purpose and Principles

Article 1

The purpose of this Treaty is to promote perpetual peace, everlasting amity and cooperation among their peoples which would contribute to their strength, solidarity and closer relationship.

Article 2

In their relations with one another, the High Contracting Parties shall be guided by the following fundamental principles:

a. Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations;
b. The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion;

c. Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another,

d. Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means;

e. Renunciation of the threat or use of force;

f. Effective cooperation among themselves.

Chapter II

Amity

Article 3

In pursuance of the purpose of this Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour to develop and strengthen the traditional cultural and historical ties of friendship, good neighbourliness and cooperation which bind them together and shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed under this Treaty. In order to promote closer understanding among them, the High Contracting Parties shall encourage and facilitate contact and intercourse among their peoples.

Chapter III

Cooperation

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties shall promote active cooperation in the economic, social technical, scientific and administrative fields as well as in matters of common ideals and aspiration of international peace and stability in the region and all other matters of common interest.

Article 5

Pursuant to Article 4 the High Contracting Parties shall exert their maximum efforts multilaterally as well as bilaterally on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and mutual benefit.

Article 6

The High Contracting Parties shall collaborate for the
acceleration of the economic growth in the region in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of nations in Southeast Asia. To this end they shall promote the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade and the improvement of their economic infrastructure for the mutual benefit of their peoples. In this regard, they shall continue to explore all avenues for close and beneficial cooperation with other States as well as international and regional organizations outside the region.

Article 7

The High Contracting Parties, in order to achieve social justice and to raise the standards of living of the peoples of the region, shall intensify economic cooperation. For this purpose, they shall adopt appropriate regional strategies for economic development and mutual assistance.

Article 8

The High Contracting Parties shall strive to achieve the closest cooperation on the widest scale and shall seek to provide assistance to one another in the form of training and research facilities in the social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.

Article 9

The High Contracting Parties shall endeavour to foster cooperation in the furtherance of the cause of peace, harmony and stability in the region. To this end, the High Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts and consultations with one another on international and regional matters with a view to coordinating their views, actions and policies.

Article 10

Each High Contracting Party shall not in any manner of form participate in any activity which shall constitute a threat to the political and economic stability, sovereignty, or territorial integrity of another High Contracting Party.
Article 11

The High Contracting Parties shall endeavour to strengthen their respective national resilience in their political, economic, socio-cultural as well as security fields in conformity with their respective ideals and aspirations, free from external interference as well as internal subversive activities in order to preserve their respective national identities.

Article 12

The High Contracting Parties in their efforts to achieve regional prosperity and security, shall endeavour to cooperate in all fields for the promotion of regional resilience, based on the principles of self-confidence, self-reliance, mutual respect, cooperation and solidarity which will constitute the foundation for a strong and viable community of nations in Southeast Asia.

Chapter IV

Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Article 13

The High Contracting Parties shall have the determination and good faith to prevent disputes from arising. In case disputes on matters directly affecting them shall refrain from the threat or use of force and shall at all times settle such disputes among themselves through friendly negotiations.

Article 14

To settle disputes through regional processes, the High Contracting Parties shall constitute, as a continuing body, 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.

Article 15

In the event no solution is reached through direct negotiations, 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. The High Council may however offer its good offices, or upon agreement of the parties in dispute, constitute itself into a committee of mediation, inquiry of conciliation. When deemed necessary, the High Council shall recommend appropriate measures for the prevention of a deterioration of the dispute or the situation.

Article 16

The foregoing provision of this Chapter shall not apply to a dispute unless all the parties to the dispute agree to their application to that dispute. However, this shall not preclude the other High Contracting Parties not party to the dispute from offering all possible assistance to settle the said dispute. Parties to the dispute should be well disposed towards such offers of assistance.

Article 17

Nothing in this Treaty shall preclude recourse of the modes to peaceful settlement contained in Article 33(1) of the Charter of the United Nations. The High Contracting Parties which are parties to a dispute should be encouraged to take initiatives to solve it by friendly negotiations before resorting to the other procedures provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

Chapter V

General Provision

Article 18

This Treaty shall be signed by the Republic of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Singapore and the Kingdom of Thailand. It shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each signatory State.

It shall be open for accession by other States in Southeast Asia.

Article 19

This Treaty shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of the fifth instrument of ratification with the Governments of the signatory States which are designated Depositories of this Treaty and of the instruments of ratification or accession.
Article 20

This Treaty is drawn up in the official languages of the High Contracting Parties, all of which are equally authoritative. There shall be an agreed common translation of the texts in the English language. Any divergent interpretation of the common text shall be settled by negotiation.

In faith hereof the High Contracting Parties have signed the Treaty and have hereto affixed their Seals.

Done at Denpasar, Bali, this twenty-fourth day of February in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy-six.

For the Republic of Indonesia:

SOEHARTO
President

For Malaysia:

DATUK HUSSEIN ONN
Prime Minister

For the Republic of the Philippines:

FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President

For the Republic of Singapore:

LEE KUAN YEW
Prime Minister

For the Kingdom of Thailand:

KUKRIT PRAMOJ
Prime Minister
TEXT OF PREMIER HUO KUO-FENG’S SPEECH
AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOUR OF
PRIME MINISTER LEE KUAN YEW OF SINGAPORE
ON 11 MAY 1976

(Hsinhua News Bulletin, 12 May 1976)

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister and
Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew,
Distinguished Guests from Singapore
Friends and Comrades,

We are very glad that the good-will delegation led
by His Excellency Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of the
Republic of Singapore, has come upon invitation to visit
China, bringing to the Chinese people the profound
friendship of the people of Singapore. On behalf of the
Chinese Government and people, I wish to express our warm
welcome to Prime Minister and Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew and the
other distinguished guests from Singapore and take this
opportunity to extend our cordial greetings to the people
of Singapore.

Singapore is a young country in Southeast Asia. Her
industrious and valiant people, working hard in a
pioneering spirit, developed the country and waged a
protracted and heroic struggle against colonial rule.
Since the independence of the Republic of Singapore, they
have carried on an unremitting effort to safeguard national
independence and state sovereignty. In international
affairs, Singapore opposes hegemonism and power politics,
stands for peace and neutrality of Southeast Asia, actively
develops relations with other Third World countries, and
has contributed positively to promoting economic exchanges
and trade among nations. We sincerely wish the people of
Singapore greater achievements on their road of advance.

Friends and comrades, at present, the international
situation is developing in a direction most favourable to
the people of all countries but unfavourable to imperialism
and hegemonism. The Third World countries and peoples,
strengthening their unity and supporting each other, have
scored one victory after another in the struggle against
imperialism and hegemonism and are playing an ever greater
role in international affairs. The superpowers are finding
it more and more difficult to muddle along. Their
intensified global rivalry for spheres of influence and
world hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity. But
no matter how desperately they may struggle, they will
not escape their ultimate doom. The people are the
masters of history. The future of the world belongs to
them, and it is very bright.
An excellent situation has emerged in Southeast Asia with the historic victories of the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries. The struggle of the peoples in Southeast Asian countries to safeguard independence and sovereignty and combat big-power hegemonism has continued to develop vigorously. The relations between these countries and other Third World countries have witnessed a heartening growth and reinforcement. After the defeat of one superpower in Southeast Asia, the other superpower is trying to take the chance to squeeze in, to carry out infiltration and expansion there. But as facts have proved where this superpower reaches its claws, the people there will better perceive its expansionist features. It has been strongly condemned by the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries for its scheming activities in this area. We are pleased to note that more and more countries in Southeast Asia have clearly stated their opposition to the practice of hegemony by any country in any part of the world. This is a far-sighted stand which conforms to the interests of the people of all countries. The first ASEAN Summit Conference held not long ago reaffirmed its positive proposal for the establishment of a Zone of Peace and Neutrality in Southeast Asia and achieved significant results in strengthening regional economic cooperation. We feel sure that so long as the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries uphold independence and strengthen their unity, they will steadily win new victories in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World. The Chinese Government and people have always maintained that all countries, big and small, should be equal. We are firmly opposed to big nations bullying small ones and strong nations bullying weak ones. We hold that the five principles of peaceful co-existence should guide relations between nations and that each people have the right to decide as they wish the social system of their own country. No country has the right to carry out aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying against other countries. China will never be a superpower, now or in the future. We will unservingly stand by all oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world and fight together with them against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

Comrades and friends, the struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has already won great victories. Marching victoriously along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and in high spirits, the Chinese people are launching a new upsurge of in-depth criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping to repulse the right deviationist
attempt to reverse correct verdicts and are persisting in grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war. The situation in China is getting better and better. The victory of the current struggle will no doubt greatly raise our people's revolutionary awareness, further consolidate our dictatorship of the proletariat and promote our socialist construction, making China stronger and more prosperous. The people of all nationalities in our country are determined to unite and carry this great struggle through to the end.

There is a profound traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Singapore. Sharing a similar historical experience, our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Our friendship has made new progress in recent years. Our friendly contacts, cultural exchanges and economic and trade relations have steadily increased. The current visit to China by the good-will delegation led by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew personally provides an opportunity for a direct exchange of views between leaders of our two countries on matters of common interest. This will certainly help enhance the mutual understanding and friendly relations between our two countries.

We wish His Excellency Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and the other distinguished guests from Singapore a successful visit.

Now I propose a toast

to the prosperity of the Republic of Singapore and the well-being of her people,

to the continuous growth of the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Singapore and the friendly relations between the two countries,

to the health of His Excellency Benjamin Henry Sheares, President of the Republic of Singapore,

to the health of His Excellency Prime Minister and Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew,

to the health of the other distinguished guests from Singapore, and

to the health of all friends and comrades present here.