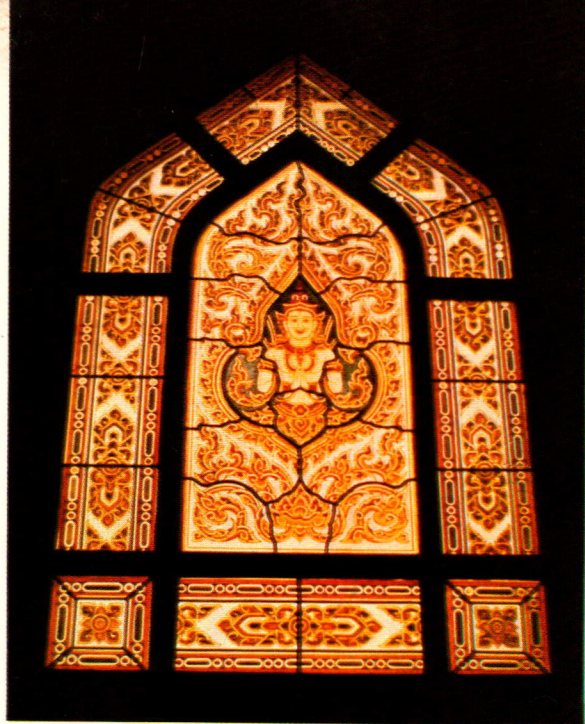




THAILAND

towards the 80's

A Survey of Problems and Prospects.

THAILAND
towards the 80's

A Survey
of
Problems and Prospects

"Thailand towards the 80's : A Survey of Problems and Prospects" was produced under the auspices of the National Identity Board with the invaluable cooperation from the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. It is hoped that this book will be of some value to people interested generally in Thailand and also to scholars and researchers involved in the study of Thailand's development effort.

*National Identity Board,
March, 1981.*

Table of Contents

I Introduction

Thailand	: Origin of a Nation	...	...	1
The Trilogy	: The Nation, the Religion and the Monarchy	...	...	3

II The Main Issues

Outlook on Domestic Issues	...	...	...	...	10
Impact of the Indochinese Conflicts	...	...	...	...	25
ASEAN and the World	...	...	...	...	29

III Outlook and Prospects

Prognosis of Problems and Trends	...	...	...	...	33
Thailand toward the 80's	...	...	...	...	36

IV Conclusion

...	...	...	...	...	38
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----

Appendix I

...	...	...	...	...	40
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----

Appendix II

...	...	...	...	...	45
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----

List of Tables

Table 1	: Kingdoms of the Thais 1238 A.D.-present	...	...	4
Table 2	: Religions in Thailand (1977-1979)	...	...	7
Table 3	: Ranking of Nations by Political Rights	...	...	12
Table 4	: Ranking of Nations by Civil Liberties	...	...	13
Table 5	: Estimated Levels of Political Terror	...	...	15
Table 6	: Poverty Indicators	...	...	18
Table 7	: Comparable Poverty Lines, Incidence and Trends	...	...	19
Table 8	: Number of Insurgents Voluntarily Surrendered to the Government	...	...	21
Table 9	: Cases of Selected Crimes per 100,000 Population	...	...	23
Table 10	: Population in Thailand	...	...	24
Table 11	: Displaced People in Thailand	...	...	28
Table 12	: ASEAN : Basic Indicators...	...	...	30

*“ In the water, there is fish.
In the field, there is rice . . . ”
(Sukhothai stone inscription,
early 14th century A.D.)*



I

Introduction

Thailand : Origin of a Nation

Thailand or Siam, as it was formerly known, is an old nation with a well established and distinctive culture, a governmental system, and other attributes of a civilized country. The word "Thai" means "free", with special emphasis on freedom from foreign domination. This is a conviction which the Thai people have upheld in the course of their long and proud history. Struggling against external enemy in long and bitter wars with their neighbour, Burma, the Thais managed to survive despite the destruction of their kingdoms. The old capital of Ayutthaya, for example, was sacked and burned to the ground by the invading Burmese troops. But the Thais, as a nation, continued in their resistance to foreign domination. In the Bangkok period, national leaders followed the heroic spirit of their forefathers; they attempted to steer the nation through the stormy seas of Western colonialism. Flanked by the British and the French, King Chulalongkorn worked strenuously to avoid falling prey to the two Western powers. Through an astute foreign policy, governmental and social reforms and an opportune geographical position of the buffer state between the two powers, Thailand was successful in maintaining her political independence. She is one of the very few Asian countries and the only Southeast Asian country which managed to escape the tide of Western colonialism.

Because of the long history of struggling against attempted foreign domination, the Thai people are endowed with a spirit of freedom. They treasure freedom and are prepared to die for such a cause. Time and again they have proven themselves and lived up to this freedom-loving spirit.

The fight for freedom against foreign domination has given rise to the people's love of liberty. While it is true that Thailand has a long tradition of authoritarian rule, be it in the form of absolute monarchy or military government in a later period, it is also true that, in the main, the basic freedom and liberty of the Thais have not been violated. Under a dictatorial regime, the Thais have always managed to remain free and pursue their lives in the manner of their forefathers. One may argue that such a statement is self-contradictory, i.e., one cannot have freedom and liberty under a dictatorial regime. At first glance, this would seem to be the case. But one important point which we cannot overlook is that while in form especially in the context of Western concept, the military government in Thailand is a dictatorship, there are no attempts, with a very few exceptions, to interfere with the normal lives of the people. The attitude of "live and let live" seems to prevail between the government and the people. While being dictatorial, the government is obliged to carry out three traditional basic functions of keeping law and order, alleviating domestic problems and warding off foreign dangers. Failing in these tasks would give excuse for some other political elites to seize power and change the government. There is thus a built-in checking system against excessive abuse of power of any regime.

Amidst the struggle against foreign domination which has given rise to the love of freedom and liberty among the Thai people as mentioned above, the Thai people, in peacetime, are no different from other nations. Nurtured by the fertile land, the relatively slow pace of life and Buddhism, the Thai people are noted for their generosity. The old saying "whoever comes to pay a visit at our home will be given a warm welcome," reflects such a spirit. The Thais

are easy-going, generous, and free from racial discrimination. Basically, the Thais are peace-loving people. They hold no ill feelings against people of other ethnic groups, and intermarriage with other ethnic groups is a common phenomenon. The Thais are also tolerant of different religious beliefs. Religious practices of all forms are tolerated and there has never been any religious persecution in the history of Thailand.

While it is debatable whether there is such a thing as national character, one can safely generalize that love of freedom and liberty, generosity, religious tolerance and absence of ethnic prejudices are the salient features of the Thai character. These characteristics of the Thais can be traced through their history and impressionistic evidence is available in their daily lives and social interactions.

The Trilogy : The Nation, the Religion and the Monarchy

The three national pillars which hold the forty-six million people together are concepts of the nation, the religion and the monarchy. The trilogy serves in a sense as national ideology for the Thais. It is a catchword which helps unite the people for a common purpose. An examination of each of the three institutions would further reveal the basic characteristics of the nation.

The Nation : The Government and the People

As already mentioned, the Thais are freedom-loving people. This particular characteristic has been the checking force within the Thai governmental system. A stone inscription of the Sukhothai period (1238-1350 A.D.) reads: "Whoever wants to trade in elephants, do so ; whoever wants to trade in silver, in gold, do so... In Sukho-

thai there is no tariff..." These passages have been interpreted by some historians as the constitution guaranteeing the people's freedom. Whether such an interpretation is tenable or not is subject to further research. What is more relevant is the existence in writing of the above passage, concerning particularly the free movement of trade, which tends to suggest that there was freedom among the people in legitimate pursuit of their livelihood. The stone inscription further recounts how a bell was hung at the palace gate for whoever wanted to voice his grievances. When the bell was rung, someone would come out to hear the appeal. During the Sukhothai era, the rulers were benevolent and the people were considered children under a patriarch. The governmental system was patterned upon that of a family with its paternalistic relationship. Thus, some scholars argue that although the Thai governmental system is not democratic in form, in substance there is democratic practice, notably freedom of action, dating back to the Sukhothai period.

Table 1
Kingdoms of the Thais 1238 A.D.-present

Kingdoms of the Thais	Period
Kingdom of Sukhothai	1238 — 1350
Kingdom of Ayutthaya	1350 — 1767
Kingdom of Thonburi	1767 — 1782
Kingdom of Chakri	1782 — present

Freedom of trade : the floating market.



In the later period of Ayutthaya, the Thais still enjoyed freedom, albeit more limited compared to that existing under the Sukhothai system. In 1767, the Kingdom of Ayutthaya fell to the invading Burmese armies. Once again, the freedom-loving spirit of the Thais was dramatically revealed in a series of successive fierce battles starting from that very year when King Taksin set up the new Kingdom of Thonburi in 1767. In 1775, the last remaining Burmese stronghold in Chiang Mai was recaptured by the Thai armies and freedom was, once again, restored in the land.

After the Chakri dynasty was set up in 1782, the capital was moved from Thonburi to Bangkok. The Thais still revered freedom and through this guiding spirit, they managed to survive the peak of the colonial era. However, Western ideas of democracy was gradually introduced to the country through education and communications. The seeds of democratic values found a fertile ground among the freedom-loving Thais. This attachment to democracy culminated in a bloodless change of the political system in 1932, from the traditional absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. Since then, democracy has become the rallying point for the Thai populace.

While the period after June 24, 1932 is considered to be the beginning of democracy in Thailand, the fact still remains that, strictly speaking, the country has been dominated mainly by governments backed by the military. However, it has to be pointed out also that, despite the dominant position of the military in Thai politics, the people, in the main, are left pretty much alone to themselves. Outright persecution or interference in the lives of the people is rare. Political freedom has increased; educational opportunity accompanied by social mobility is substantially magnified. Democratic convictions are deeply ingrained in the minds of the people.

“ Democratic system ” has become a catchword. Rights and freedom in the modern sense are an integral part of the Thai values.

The Religion : The Spirit of Freedom

The second pillar of the Thai society is the religion. The majority or about 95 percent of the Thais are Theravada Buddhists. Buddhist influence in the lives of the Thais can be immediately recognized. The prevalence of Buddhist temples, the saffron-robe clad monks etc. are concrete evidence of the existence of the Buddha's teachings. The spirit of freedom of the Thais is also reflected in their renowned religious tolerance. While Buddhism is the national religion, followers of other faiths enjoy complete freedom of worship. Furthermore, other religions with distinctive rules on activities and behaviours of their followers are allowed to institutionalize their special principles. For example, the Thai Muslims in the South enjoy complete freedom of religious worship in addition to having separate religious courts and institutionalized codes of conduct as dictated by the Koran. This, indeed, is a manifestation of the unique level of religious tolerance ever reached by any nation and a clear attestation of the Thai people's love of freedom. To guarantee freedom of faith, the King renders his royal patronage to all religions. Thus, one sees in Thailand Christian churches, Islamic mosques, Taoist shrines alongside Buddhist temples. The spirit of freedom of religious beliefs in Thailand reflects the Thais' mentality and attitudes in their ethnic relations. Thailand could be termed as the “ melting pot ” of different ethnic groups in Asia as the United States is in the Northern hemisphere. In Thailand, peace and freedom for the worshippers of all faiths have long been the cornerstone and pillar of the Thai society.

*Buddha images at Wat Pho,
Bangkok;
a rural ordination ceremony;
offering food to the monks
making their early-morning rounds.*



Table 2
Religions in Thailand (1977-1979)

Religions	1977		1978		1979	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Buddhists	41,095,133	95.04	42,494,761	94.95	43,333,097	94.95
Muslims	1,736,267	4.01	1,831,476	4.09	1,867,107	4.09
Christians	259,127	0.60	271,330	0.61	276,683	0.61
Others	150,526	0.35	158,000	0.35	161,398	0.35
Total	43,241,053	100.00	44,755,567	100.00	45,638,285	100.00

Source : Religious Affairs Department, Ministry of Education

The Monarchy : Pillar of National Solidarity

The last institution in the trilogy but by far the most important is the monarchy. This institution is as old as the Thai nation itself. Thai history has numerous records of heroic warrior-kings, who are the saviours and pride of the nation, without whom the Thai nation may not exist today. Thai kings in the past contributed tremendously towards the glory of the nation. In the modern era of the Chakri dynasty, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) accomplished the uphill task of preserving national sovereignty by brilliantly manoeuvring between the colonial powers, and, is widely remembered for his modernizing programmes which helped turn Thailand into a modern nation.

The present Monarch, His Majesty, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Rama IX, has descended from King Chulalongkorn. His Majesty the King is revered and well loved by his people to the extent that he enjoys a semi-divine status in the eyes of the people. His picture and those of other members of the Royal Family hang in almost every home, however humble, in the country. Whenever he goes out in public, he is greeted enthusiastically by throngs of people, many of whom have travelled on foot for two or three days to the meeting-points. His Majesty the King is not only devoted to the welfare of his people, but also works strenuously for national development in all aspects. He is the unquestionable spiritual leader and pillar of solidarity for the Thai people. Her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, Their Royal Highnesses the Princess Daughters have emulated His Majesty the King in the devotion to the country. In deed, it is rare, if not possible, to find such dedicated personalities of high birth who work incessantly for

His Majesty King Bhumibol.



the welfare of the commoners. The Royal Family, as a whole, provides the stabilizing factor for Thailand.

These three institutions, the nation, the religion and the monarchy together provide the pillars for the Thai society on the strength of which its socio-economic and political system has evolved through the ages. The complex and intertwining characters of the three institutions are woven into the delicate fabric of society and provide the much needed balancing forces. In other words, the strength and cohesiveness of the Thai society stemmed from the inherited and interconnected strength of the three institutions. The characteristic virtue of broadmindedness as evidenced in religious tolerance and reinforced by love of freedom and liberty renders the Thai society flexible and capable of adapting itself to weather the wind of changes throughout the history of the nation.

II

The Main Issues

The 1970's closed its curtain with many changes in Southeast Asia. One witnessed the changes in the political alignment of the region and the emergence of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN as a strong, cohesive regional bloc. The troubles in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, aggravated by the Sino-Vietnamese border clashes, have generated a massive outflow of people to neighbouring countries including Thailand. Among all these troubles and conflicts, ASEAN gradually takes shape as a united entity, a counterbalancing force in the region. This emergence of ASEAN and the solidarity of its member nations provide hopes for the countries in the area and for the world community for the eventual peace and prosperity in this part of the world. This chapter will cover three main aspects, that is, the outlook on domestic issues, the impact of the Indochinese conflicts, and ASEAN and the world.

Outlook on Domestic Issues

The Government : Structural Changes and New Trend

It is agreed upon among scholars that the democratic form of government in Thailand started on June 24, 1932 with the dissolution of the absolute monarchy system. However, the subsequent emerging form of government is not exactly a "democracy" in Western terminology. Influenced by the paternalistic administrative culture and endowed with democratic spirits and love of freedom and

liberty, the system of government evolved reflects a mixture of these factors. While the system is highly centralized in nature, the paternalistic governments and the spirit of freedom and liberty serve as guidance and foundation on which the system could function. Given the complexity and intertwining nature of the Thai character, particularly their love of freedom, it is not surprising that a recent survey, carried out in 1980 by Freedom House, an American organization, gave high scores to Thailand. Notwithstanding the highly centralized nature of government, Thailand outperformed some 90 nations in terms of the degree of freedom in the exercise of political rights. In terms of civil liberty, Thailand also ranked above as many as a hundred nations.

Table 3
Ranking of Nations by Political Rights

Most Free 1	2	3	4	5	6	Least Free 7
Australia	Botswana	Bangladesh	Brazil	Bhutan	Algeria	Afghanistan
Austria	Colombia	Bolivia	Conoco Is.	China (Taiwan)	Argentina	Albania
Bahamas	Dominica	Cyprus	Ghana	Egypt	Bahrain	Angola
Barbados	Dominican Republic	Djibouti	Grenada	El Salvador	Cameroon	Benin
Belgium	Ecuador	Guatemala	Guyana	Indonesia	Cape Verde Is.	Bulgaria
Canada	Fiji	Malaysia	Korea (S)	Iran	Chile	Burma
Costa Rica	Finland	Mexico	Lebanon	Kenya	China(Mainland)	Burundi
Denmark	Gambia	Morocco	Senegal	Lesotho	Central African Rep.	
France	Greece		Thailand	Nepal	Cuba	
Germany (W)	India		Western Samoa	Maldives	Gabon	
Iceland	Israel		Zimbabwe	Nicaragua	Guinea-Bissau	
Ireland	Italy		Rhodesia	Panama	Haiti	Chad
Luxembourg	Jamaica			Paraguay	Honduras	Congo
Netherlands	Japan			Peru	Ivory Coast	Czechoslovakia
New Zealand	Kiribati			Philippines	Jordan	Equatorial Guinea
Norway	Malta			Qatar	Kuwait	Ethiopia
Sweden	Mauritius			Sierra Leone	Liberia	Germany (E)
Switzerland	Nauru			South Africa	Madagascar	Guinea
United Kingdom	Nigeria			Sudan	Libya	Iraq
United States	Papua New Guinea			Swaziland	Malawi	Kampuchea
Venezuela	Portugal			Syria	Mauritania	Korea (N)
	St. Lucia			Tonga	Oman	Laos
	St. Vincent			Transkei	Pakistan	Mali
	Solomon Is.			United Arab Emirates	Poland	Mongolia
	Spain				Rwanda	Mozambique
	Sri Lanka				Sao Tome & Principe	Niger
	Surinam				Saudi Arabia	Rumania
	Trinidad & Tobago				Scyelles	Somalia
	Turkey				Tanzania	Togo
	Tuvalu				Tunisia	Vietnam
	Upper Volta				Uganda	
					USSR	
					Uruguay	
					Yemen (N)	
					Yemen (S)	
					Yugoslavia	
					Zaire	

Table 4
Ranking of Nations by Civil Liberties

Most Free	2	3	4	5	6	Least Free
1						7
Australia	Bahamas	Bangladesh	Bahrain	Argentina	Algeria	Afghanistan
Austria	Dominica	Bolivia	Comoro Is.	Bhutan	Benin	Albania
Barbados	Ecuador	Botswana	Cyprus	Chile	Burma	Angola
Belgium	Fiji	Brazil	Djibouti	China (Mainland)	Cameroun	Bulgaria
Canada	Finland	Colombia	Ghana	China (Taiwan)	Cape Verde Is.	Burundi
Costa Rica	France	Dominican Rep.	Guyana	Egypt	Central African Rep.	Congo
Denmark	Gambia	El Salvador	Kenya	Grenada	Chad	Czechoslovakia
Iceland	Germany (W)	Honduras	Kuwait	Guatemala	Cuba	Ethiopia
Ireland	Greece	Jamaica	Lebanon	Haiti	Equatorial Guinea	Germany (E)
Japan	India	Mexico	Malaysia	Hungary	Gabon	Guinea
Luxembourg	Israel	Nigeria	Mauritius	Indonesia	Iraq	Iraq
Netherlands	Italy	St. Lucia	Morocco	Ivory Coast	Guinea-Bissau	Kampuchea
New Zealand	Kiribati	Senegal	Nepal	Korea (S)	Iran	Korea (N)
Norway	Malta	Sri Lanka	Peru	Lesotho	Jordan	Laos
Sweden	Nauru	Thailand		Liberia	Libya	Malawi
Switzerland	Papua New Guinea	Tonga		Madagascar	Madagascar	Mongolia
United Kingdom	Portugal	Turkey		Nicaragua	Mali	Mozambique
United States	St. Vincent	Upper Volta		Panama	Mauritania	Somalia
	Solomon Is.			Paraguay	Niger	Vietnam
	Spain			Philippines	Onan	Yemen (S)
	Surinam			Poland	Pakistan	
	Trinidad & Tobago			Qatar	Rumania	
	Tuvalu			Seychelles	Rwanda	
	Venezuela			Sierra Leone	Sao Tome & Principe	
	Western Samoa			Singapore	Saudi Arabia	
				Sudan	South Africa	
				Swaziland	Syria	
				Tunisia	Tanzania	
				United Arab Emirates	Togo	
				Yemen (N)	Transkei	
				Yugoslavia	Uganda	
				Zambia	USSR	
				Zimbabwe	Uruguay	
				Rhodesia	Zaire	

Source : Freedom at Issue, January-February, 1980 Number 54

It is evident that although the nature of government in Thailand may not be democratic in form, it contains in substance high degrees of freedom and civil liberty, higher than those of many democratic regimes. With the guiding light of love of freedom and liberty, there are strong reasons to look forward to a full democracy, both in form and substance, in the not-too-distant future when the need for paternalism gradually diminishes through the process of socio-economic changes.

Internal Security

Most countries, developed and developing alike, are faced with internal security problems and Thailand is no exception. However, compared with other nations in terms of levels of political terror, Thailand still rated better than as many as 77 nations in 1980 (Table 5). In addition, internal security situations in Thailand have markedly improved in recent years as a result of a wider spread of benefit from socio-economic developments. A recent World Bank study has indicated a dramatic reduction in poverty in Thailand as the ratio of people living under the poverty line was reduced from 57 percent in 1962/63 to 31 percent in 1975/76. This reduction in poverty occurred in both the urban and rural sectors. In addition, the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986) has accorded the highest priority to eradication of poverty in Thailand with the goal of assisting the poor to meet their basic needs. Notwithstanding all these improvements, there are still some internal security problems which may be worthwhile to explore in some detail.

Table 5
Estimated Levels of Political Terror

Level A	Level B	Level C	Level D	Level E
Australia	Bahrain	Mauritania ⁵	Angola ⁶	Afghanistan ⁶
Austria	Bangladesh	Morocco	Argentina ³	Albania
Bahamas	Benin	Nicaragua ³	Bulgaria	Ethiopia ^{3/6}
Barbados	Bhutan	Niger	Chad ⁶	Kampuchea ⁶
Belgium	Botswana	Oman ⁵	Congo ^{3/5}	
Canada	Brazil	Pakistan	El Salvador ³	
Costa Rica	Chile ²	Philippines	Equatorial	
Denmark	Comoro Islands	Rumania	Guinea ^{3/5}	
Dominica ²	Dominican	Sierra	Guatemala	
Fiji	Republic	Leone ⁵	Guinea ³	
Finland	Ecuador	South Africa	Iraq	
France ¹	Gabon ⁵	Swaziland	Korea(N)	
Gambia	Guyana	Syria	Laos	
Germany(W)	Hungary	Tanzania	Lebanon ⁶	
Greece	India	Togo ⁵	Malawi ³	
Iceland	Italy ⁶	Transkei	Mongolia ⁵	
Ireland	Ivory Coast	Tunisia	Mozambique	
Israel ⁴	Jamaica	Turkey	Paraguay ³	

Table 5 (cont'd)

Level A	Level B		Level C	Level D	Level E
Japan	Jordan	Ghana	USSR	Somalia	
Kuwait	Kenya ²	Grenada	Yemen (N)	Uganda	
Luxembourg	Maldives	Guinea-Bissau	Yugoslavia	Uruguay	
Nauru	Malta	Haiti		Vietnam	
Netherlands	Mauritius	Honduras ⁵		Yemen (S)	
New Zealand	Mexico	Indonesia		Zaire	
Norway	Nepal	Iran		Zimbabwe	
Papua New Guinea	Nigeria	Korea (S) ³		Rhodesia ⁶	
Portugal	Panama	Lesotho ⁵			
Surinam	Peru	Liberia			
Sweden	Poland	Libya			
Switzerland	Qatar	Madagascar ⁵			
United Kingdom ¹	St. Lucia	Malaysia			
United States	Saudi Arabia	Mali			
	Senegal				
	Singapore				
	Solomon Islands				
	Spain ⁶				
	Sri Lanka				
	Sudan				

Table 5 (cont'd)

Level A	Level B	Level C	Level D	Level E
	Thailand			
	Tonga			
	Trinidad & Tobago			
	Tuvalu			
	United Arab Emirates			
	Upper Volta			
	Venezuela			
	Western Samoa			
	Zambia			
<i>Notes to the Table</i> <i>Countries for which information is insufficient to include in this table are: Cape Verde Island, Kiribati, Rwanda, St. Vincent, Sao Tome and Principe, and Seychelles.</i> <i>1. Special situations, cases of terror in the recent past or general political environment cast doubt on this rating.</i> <i>2. Recent improvements have moved the country up to this level.</i> <i>3. Recent improvements may have raised the country above this level.</i> <i>4. Does not include occupied territories.</i> <i>5. The current situation is very unclear.</i> <i>6. This rating is due in large part to anti-government terrorism or civil war.</i> —Level A : A life under a secure rule of law. —Level B : There is a limited amount of imprisonment for nonviolent political activities. —Level C : There is extensive political imprisonment, or a recent history of such imprisonment. —Level D : The practices of level C are expanded to larger numbers. —Level E : The horrors of Level D have been extended to the whole population.				

Table 6
Poverty Indicators

	1962/63 ^{a/}	1968/69	1975/76
Incidence of poverty (% of total population)	57	39	31
Rural	61	43	35
Urban	38	16	14
Distribution of poverty (% of poverty population)	100	100	100
Rural	88	94	90
Urban	12	6	10

^{a/} Due to classification of sanitary districts as urban in the 1962/63 Household Expenditure Survey, these results are not strictly comparable to the later surveys where the sanitary districts are more appropriately classified as rural. As a result, the urban and total poverty incidence and urban poverty distribution are somewhat overstated in 1962/63, and the rural incidence and distribution slightly understated.

Source : Income Growth and Poverty Alleviation in Thailand,
Report No. 2566-TH, June 1980

*The 1980 award-winning air -
craft rocket named “Hao Fa”
(or Air-cobra).*

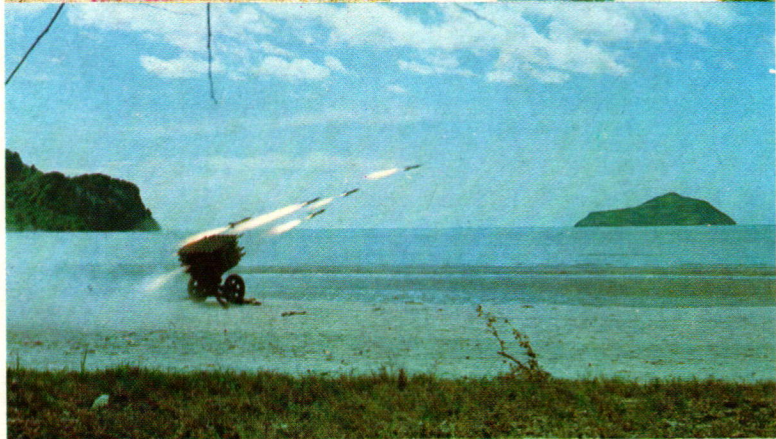


Table 7
Comparable Poverty Lines, Incidence and Trends

Poverty Lines, 1977	Indonesia		Korea		Malaysia		Philippines		Thailand	
	Java		Other islands							
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Comparable formal poverty lines										
(US dollars a year)	142	214	127	209	198	221	175	229	123	154
Informal poverty line (= 2/3)	95	143	85	139	132	147	117	153	82	103
Informal poverty line, as percentage of consumption per capita	47	70	33	55	30	36	39	51	25	31
Poverty Incidence										
Formal poverty incidence (percentages)	80	66	49	61	(14) ^{a/} (20) ^{a/}	55 ^{b/} 25 ^{b/}	59	60	43	17
Informal poverty incidence (percentages)	55	42	24	32	(7) ^{a/} (13) ^{a/}	33	42	35	20	6
Reduction in poverty incidence in 1960s	No	No			Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Reduction in poverty incidence in 1970s	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

a/ Very approximate (based on total household rather than per capita household distribution)

b/ Based on government estimates which probably contain a large element of estimation. Figures are for Peninsular Malaysia and are split agriculture-nonagriculture rather than rural-urban.

Source : Willem Busink, *Reflections on Socio-Economic Development and Poverty in Southeast Asia, 1980*

Firstly, the most important internal security problem that confronts Thailand, as well as many other developing nations, is the threat of communist subversion which dates back to the early decades of this century. Despite their long period of existence, communist insurgency in Thailand has never reached a menacing level. The peak of their strength came in the late 70's, when a number of student activists, dissatisfied with the then strict government's policies, left home to join the guerillas in the jungle. However, with the improvement of civil liberty, the realization of the true nature of the communist movement, and the Government's policy of amnesty, there has been a massive influx of the students out of the jungle. In fact, all of the student leaders of the 70's, have deserted the communist movement, disavowed their beliefs in communism and returned home to lead a normal life. In addition to the break-away of the student activists, the communist movement also suffers from the desertion in their own rank and file, who are fed up with communism after they have learnt the true colour of the movement. In 1979 and 1980, as many as 1,945 and 1,543 communist guerillas deserted the movement and surrendered to the government. Encouraged by the liberal policy of the government, as many as 466 guerillas gave up armed struggles on the first two months of 1981. Considering also the conflict between the communist powers and the subsequent rivalries between the followers of each within the Thai communist movement, the communist movement has lost whatever momentum it may have

Table 8
Number of Insurgents Voluntarily Surrendered to the Government

Year	Northeast	North	Central	South	Total
1976	328	50	22	60	460
1977	646	36	24	528	1,234
1978	641	41	36	110	828
1979	1,320	85	42	498	1,945
1980	751	248	37	507	1,543
1981 (Jan.-Feb.)	121	305	3	37	466

Source : Internal Security Operation Command.

had at the end of the Vietnam conflict, and its potential threat seems far remote. Consequently, with the communist movement being kept at bay and the fruits of socio-economic developments spread to a larger number of people, the internal security situation of Thailand is something to be optimistic about, especially when compared to that of many other developing nations.

Secondly, modern industrialization brought with it one major impact on public safety. The process of transformation from an agricultural society into an industrialized one puts tremendous pressures on the people's way of life. The farmer, long accustomed to being his own master, becomes a factory hand. Increasing

competition in a success-oriented society has brought with it psychological stress unknown to the old agricultural society. Rising crime rates involving robbery, burglary and rape incidents are signs of social ills which accompany rapid economic developments. Unhappy as this situation is, it should not be overdramatized. In comparison with crime rates in other nations, those in Thailand are still much lighter. There were only 12.38 cases of sex offence per 100,000 population in Thailand in 1974, compared to as many as 77.49 cases in the Federal Republic of Germany or 50.20 cases in the United Kingdom. On larceny, the picture is very much the same: there were only 146.21 cases per 100,000 population in Thailand in 1974, compared to as many as 2,954.73 cases in the Federal Republic of Germany, 3,419.77 cases in the United Kingdom, 922.58 cases in Japan and 479.01 cases in the Republic of Korea. On fraud and counterfeit, there were only 16.30 cases per 100,000 population in Thailand in 1974, compared to as many as 411.23 cases in the Federal Republic of Germany and 236.07 cases in the United Kingdom. While this may be the case of different magnitude of unreported crimes, the extent of the wide gap in the reported cases already attests to the fact that public safety problems in Thailand, though existing in reality, are not that serious in comparison with other nations. Although Thailand's trouble is relatively mild in this respect, serious attempts still have to be made to cope with the situation. For the first time in Thailand, the public safety issue will be incorporated in the Fifth Five-Year Plan where strategies and measures will be formulated to alleviate the problem. It is expected that, with increased attention and concerted actions of the governmental agencies concerned on top of the betterment of the poor through the poverty eradication scheme in the Fifth Plan, the crime rates will in time be reduced.

*From a rural to an urban society :
transformation from a passive
peaceful society to a competitive
modern one.*



Table 9
Cases of Selected Crimes per 100,000 Population

	Sex Offence		Larceny		Fraud & Counterfeit	
	1973	1974	1973	1974	1973	1974
Federal Republic of Germany	77.15	77.49	2,755.20	2,954.73	383.15	411.23
Japan	10.82	10.30	897.69	922.58	68.83	60.68
Malaysia	4.62	4.71	328.85	409.28	9.15	10.39
United Kingdom	52.34	50.20	2,235.49	3,419.77	223.1	236.07
Republic of Korea	14.06	13.99	452.96	479.01	126.16	111.69
Thailand	13.40	12.38	126.29	146.21	15.91	16.30

Note : Sex offences included rape and traffic in women, Larceny included robbery, burglary and theft, Fraud and counterfeit included swindling, embezzlement, misappropriation, forgery, false pretences and counterfeit currency offences.

Source : International Criminal Police Organization-Interpol, International Crime Statistics, 1973-1974

Table 10
Population in Thailand

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Growth Rate (%)^{1/}					
Whole Kingdom	2.74	2.67	2.61	2.51	2.14
Central	2.32	2.24	2.09	2.12	2.00
North	2.41	2.35	2.31	2.22	2.03
Northeast	2.89	2.74	2.70	2.54	2.37
South	2.70	2.57	2.48	2.25	2.09
Bangkok Metropolis	4.04	4.11	4.14	4.14	4.52
Birth Rate and Death Rate^{2/} (per thousand population)					
Birth Rate	29.3	27.1	27.9	26.5	24.6
Death Rate	6.1	5.5	5.6	5.4	5.2
Dependency Ratios*	95.6	94.4	93.0	91.4	89.6

*The Dependency Ratios is the number of persons under 15 years of age plus the number of 60 year-old persons and over per 100 persons aged 15 to 59 years.

Source : ^{1/} Estimation of Population 'by Regions by a working group of the National Economic and Social Development Board.

^{2/} Registration Division, Local Administration Department, Ministry of Interior.

All the available data point to a general improvement of the main domestic issues in Thailand. However, Thailand is a member of the world community and what happens in the region and the world also affects Thailand. Therefore, in addition to the domestic issues, other regional and global factors have to be explored in order to identify the nature and direction of their influences on the Thai society.

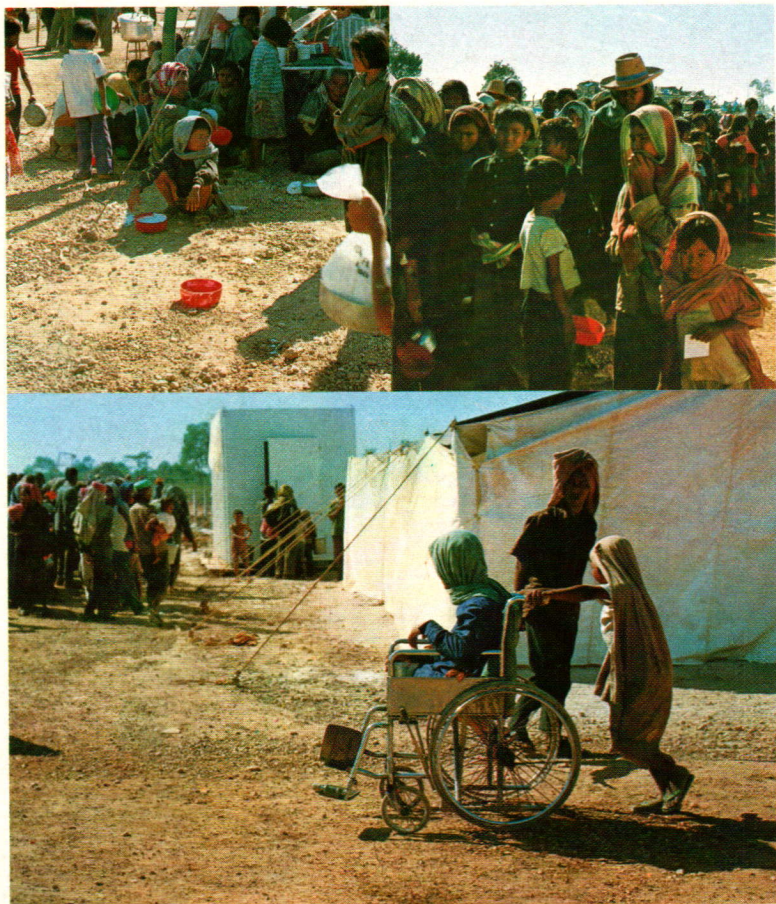
Impact of the Indochinese Conflicts

The invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam, which toppled the legitimate government of Cambodia, led to serious political conflicts. The continuing political conflicts between the two countries, if left unchecked, might escalate into regional conflicts. In the final analysis, the conflicts in Cambodia are of global magnitude since they are nurtured by the superpowers. It is generally accepted that Vietnam alone could not carry out sustained military operations against the Cambodian people. The American withdrawal from Southeast Asia has created a vacuum of power which, subsequently, led to aggression and armed intervention in the quest for supremacy in the region. The prolonged conflicts among the nations in Indochina have created tension and disrupted regional peace. It has led to increasing military actions in Cambodia between the Cambodians and the occupying Vietnamese troops whose armed clashes, at times, spill over the border. Time and again Thailand's territorial integrity has been violated by foreign troops. It is only natural that Thailand has to seek help and understanding from the world community. Thailand, along with other ASEAN members, views the situation in the context of international law and the United Nations Charter. Despite certain disagreement with the policies and practices of the Pol Pot

regime, Thailand believes in strict adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which call for "respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes". Consequently, Thailand as well as many peace-loving nations in the United Nations have called for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia and reaffirmed the right of the Cambodian people to determine their own future without outside interference (see appendix 1).

Besides the tension created by armed interventions of outside forces in Cambodia, the continued fighting in Cambodia has forced large numbers of Cambodians to flee to the Thai-Cambodian border in search of food and safety. The influx of these displaced persons into Thailand has aggravated the already grave situation of the gap between the requirements of the displaced persons from Laos and Vietnam and the ability of the Thai economy to answer them. Thailand, a developing nation without any surplus resources to spare, finds herself in a very difficult position of having to stretch whatever resources at her disposal to accommodate the basic needs of hundreds of thousands of innocent people from Indochina who have fled war, hunger and political persecution by crossing the borders into a more peaceful neighbouring country. As of 31 May 1981, there are 120,263 displaced persons in Thailand, comprising 4,388 Cambodians, 101,987 Laotians and 13,888 Vietnamese. The attempt to resettle them in third countries has met only with partial success since it involves a very large group of people. No one knows for certain how long these displaced persons will remain on Thai soil, and in what way Thailand can cope with this continuing burden in view of her own limited resources. The presence of such

*Cambodian displaced persons in
one of the holding centres in
eastern Thailand.*



a large number of displaced people has drained economic resources from local relief funds which the Thai government originally earmarked for the indigenous poor. Moreover, the sudden concentration of large numbers of displaced persons on various locations in Thailand has dealt a serious blow to the delicate human and resource balance in those regions as evidenced in a critical water supply problem in the East and a deforestation problem in the Northeast. Admittedly, these problems already existed before the influx of the displaced people, but the sudden introduction of large numbers of people on the already strained resource balance has generated a rapid deterioration of those resources and caused hardships for the local Thai residents and the displaced people alike. The influx of displaced people has further damaged farmland, properties and other local infrastructures to a great extent. Extra resources are needed to rehabilitate these affected local inhabitants, and provide them with a new opportunity to meet their basic needs. Therefore, despite vital international relief efforts, Thailand still has to cope with great economic, social and political burdens. While it is undeniable that, from the humanitarian point of view, these innocent people deserve sympathy and help, it is also fair to point out that the displaced people problems are certainly an unjust burden imposed on Thailand by the reckless policies of her neighbours. If only the parties concerned can come to their senses and abide by international law and international customary practices on a bona fide basis, these problems may be mitigated if not entirely solved. Thailand will then be spared of the unjust burden. To lessen the burden on Thailand, international aid is greatly appreciated, but at the same time, greater pressure must be brought to bear on the parties concerned to reach a peaceful settlement in conformity with the United Nations resolution.

Table 11
Displaced People in Thailand
(as of December 31, 1980)

Country of Origin	Incoming	Percent	Outgoing	Percent	Remaining in Thailand	Percent
Laos	259,424	67.70	154,488	58.75	104,936	87.28
Cambodia	58,584	15.29	52,195	19.85	6,389	5.31
Vietnam	65,168	17.01	56,268	21.40	8,900	7.41
Total	383,176	100.00	262,951	100.00	120,225	100.00

Source : **Refugee Bulletin UNHCR 1980**

ASEAN and the World

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN was established on August 8, 1967 by an ASEAN Declaration in Bangkok, signed by representatives of the five ASEAN member countries : Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The primary aims and objectives of the Association are to accelerate socio-economic and cultural developments through joint endeavours in the spirit of equality and partnership and to promote regional peace and stability in order to pave the way for a prosperous and peaceful community. Soon after its birth, ASEAN has become the cornerstone of Thailand's national foreign policy and ASEAN solidarity has become well-known in the world community. The successful cooperation among the ASEAN nations and henceforth the unity and solidarity of the community, stem from the common objective shared by the five nations in their pursuit of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in the area. ASEAN as a whole covers an area of 3.172 million sq.km., which is three times larger than the combined areas of the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany. On this vast stretch of ASEAN land there resided some 241.7 million inhabitants in 1979 which was more than the population of the United States (221.9 million) or Japan (114.9 million) in the same year. The ASEAN land is fertile and generously endowed with many important natural resources such as tin, rubber, oil and natural gas. In 1978, ASEAN alone exported as much as 3,459.7 million US dollars' worth of natural rubber, 13,678.7 million US dollars' worth of crude oil and petroleum products and 1,024.5 million US dollars' worth of tin and tin ore. All this evidence amply supports the assumption that ASEAN is a regional organization with a promising future in terms of socio-economic cooperation.

Table 12

ASEAN : Basic Indicators

	Indonesia	Malaysia	The Philippines	Singapore	Thailand
Population (million in 1978)	136.0	13.3	45.6	2.3	44.5
Area (thousand sq.km.)	2,027	330	300	1	514
Income per capita (US \$ 1978)	360	1,090	510	3,290	490
Income per capita growth rate (1960-1978) (%)	4.1	3.9	2.6	7.4	4.6
International Reserves (million US \$ 1978)	2,676	3,670	2,104	5,302	2,559
International Reserves as months of imports in 1975 (months)	2.6	5.5	4.0	4.6	4.9
Literacy rate 1975 (%)	62	60	87	75	84

Source : The World Bank, World Development Report, 1980

While ASEAN's key features are economic cooperation and cultural exchanges, the common goal and aspiration for peace and prosperity in the region have led the five member nations to assert their solidarity in the field of foreign policy, particularly in a joint endeavour to bring about peace in Indochina. ASEAN has pursued a policy of upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations of non-intervention in internal affairs of States. The ASEAN's resolution on Cambodia has received overwhelming support from all peace-loving and fair-minded nations at the United Nations General Assembly for two consecutive years. Guided by the spirit of freedom and solidarity, ASEAN has been the voice of conscience amidst political and military turmoil in the Indo-chinese states, particularly on the issue of armed conflicts between the Cambodian people and foreign occupying forces. It should be emphasized here that while ASEAN is a regional cooperation organization and its member countries have abided by their commitment to peace and prosperity of the region through cooperation, these member countries have by no means abrogated their national independence. While recognizing the strength of cooperation and solidarity, ASEAN is also willing to accept individual differences of each member country. In being so strong yet flexible, ASEAN is growing and will serve as the cornerstone for peace and prosperity in the region.

The basic foreign policy of ASEAN is to pursue friendly relations with all nations regardless of differences in ideology and political systems provided these nations share a common purpose. This basic policy guides Thailand's relations with the world powers both through the ASEAN and bilateral undertakings. Generally speaking, Thailand's relations with the world powers, namely the United

States, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, have been cordial and based on mutual respect and goodwill. Thailand also has very warm and close relations with other countries in Asia and the Pacific community, including, among others, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Other Western countries which enjoy a long history of friendship and cooperation with Thailand include all EEC member countries and Canada. As a member of the United Nations, Thailand maintains friendly relations with other member nations in the quest for world peace and cooperation for prosperity among mankind. In short, the foreign policy of Thailand is based on the basic principles of mutual respect, justice, friendship, inter-dependent cooperation and goodwill.

III

Outlook and Prospects

Prognosis of Problems and Trends

Thailand seems to have her fair share of problems normally associated with a developing country, particularly in the area of domestic issues and foreign relations. At first glance, one may be tempted to be negative about the country's future prospects. However, close scrutiny and review have revealed quite a different prognosis. Although the problems facing Thailand are numerous, they may be grouped into two basic areas for the sake of the discussion. The first is a structural problem of the political and administrative order. In this modern and complex world, a political system is needed in which grievances could be voiced, channels for remedy made available and conflicts peacefully settled through commonly accepted fundamental rules. The ideal system should be capable of accommodating various demands made by the people. In the case of Thailand, it is apparent that such a system is in the making. Having had their ups and downs under several regimes in the past fifty years, the traditional political values of freedom and liberty are in the process of merging with the modern democratic norms of freedom of expression and representation. This fusion of traditional and modern values is carried out under the framework and guiding influence of the three fundamental institutions—the nation, the religion and the monarchy. With all the three socio-cultural factors at work, a gradual evolution of the ideal governmental system in Thailand is taking place. While this evolution process takes its course, it will bring about the creation of a culturally appropriate system in which modern ideals are adapted to and blended with indigenous values. This system will have been tailored through the evolution process to suit the framework and the set-up of the three institutions.

To make the matter more complex, a system of government which has derived from the evolution process, is not in itself sufficient to guarantee the emergence of the ideal system which would be truly responsive to the people's needs. In order to bridge the gap between the rulers and the ruled, the system of government must be developed side by side with the administrative network or the civil service. Bureaucracy modernization is, however, an uphill task in itself since the bureaucratic circle is monolithic and resistant to change. However, there is one major factor that might have significant implications, that is, the impact of Western education system on the new generation of civil servants. The modern work ethics, particularly devotion to hardwork and principles, is adhered to by this new breed of civil servants. They have only recently made their presence felt. Their number is on the increase with the passage of time and as more and more new graduates enter the service. Before this decade is out, it is expected that the modern civil servants will reach the top echelon of the service and, consequently, be in the position to initiate changes and carry out the modernization of the system. In addition to changes within the bureaucracy itself, the rising importance of the private sector and the increasing prominence of the entrepreneurs have a disruptive effect on the cohesiveness and the strength of the bureaucracy. Faced with mounting rivalries from outside in terms of prestige and power, and undermined by the resurgence of this new breed of technocrats, the traditional conservative bureaucratic system seems destined for major revision and overhaul. It is reasonable to hope, therefore, that the modern form of civil service is in the offing. With the development and change in both the government and the bureaucracy, it is highly probable that a full-fledged form of democratic

government with a modern administrative system will be established in Thailand in a not-too-distant future.

The second major problem is how to continue the distribution of economic wealth and opportunities. Although Thailand has accomplished the remarkable task of alleviating poverty in the past two decades, as borne out by a rapid reduction in the number of people under the poverty line, the task ahead is still formidable. At present, about one-fourth of the population is living under the poverty line (compared to more than one-half two decades ago). This situation, if left unchecked, will lead to serious political and social tensions. However, it is fortunate for the country that all past successive governments have recognized this problem and various attempts have been made to remedy the poverty issue. So, while governments may differ in style in their rural development efforts, in substance, they have all been committed to poverty eradication. Since the regimes of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat and Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, rural development in Thailand has been receiving full attention. Since both Sarit and Thanom were from small up-country towns—one from an impoverished north-eastern town and the other from a quiet peaceful small northern town—they both devoted their efforts to the well-being of the rural poor. One of the more recent governments of M.R. Kukrit Pramoj, who is related to the Royal Family, also accorded the highest priority to rural development. Under Kukrit, a job creation programme was created to provide the much needed income for the rural poor in the dry season. A special budget was channelled to rural villages to finance their community development projects which, in turn, led to employment opportunities. Despite many shortcomings, this programme contributed significantly to the reduction in seasonal migration to urban areas. Rural villagers were enabled to earn their

living locally, while decentralization was encouraged through the strengthening of commune councils. Rural development continued to be the major policy of General Kriangsak's administration and has been adopted by the present one under General Prem Tinsulanonda. In his New Year message to the people, General Prem stated that, "The government is fully aware that the rural sector is the heart of the nation, if the rural sector can not survive, the nation will disintegrate. This government considers the task of rural development as the duty of every Thai, including those in the public and in the private sectors alike. It is the task that we all have to devote our efforts to tackling on a continuous basis in the next ten years, so that poverty eradication may be achieved. I am hoping that this new rural development strategy would open a new decade of rural development which will lay the foundation for stability and happiness for all of us and for our beloved nation."

Thailand towards the 80's

In the 1980's, Thailand is certain to encounter a number of inevitable problems but the future is by no means bleak. On the contrary, it is expected that political development in terms of increased political participation will continue to grow. When the "Thai style democracy" becomes institutionalized, the political system will be more stable. With the passage of time, the formation of a stable democracy is bound to take place. To be sure, there may be troubles at times, but this is only part of a complex society. Indeed, one can hardly find a society without conflicts since conflicts are part of human nature and human society. What counts is the existence of a political institution which would be capable of resolving conflicts in a peaceful way. It is most likely that this would be the trend in Thai politics.

*The luscious and peaceful
countryside.*



In the international arena, the situation is far more complex. Thailand will continue to abide peacefully by her basic principle of being friendly to all, to respect and observe international law and the United Nations Charter. Thailand will also continue to work for peace and cooperation in the region and to support efforts for world peace and peaceful settlement of disputes among members of the family of nations. However, it is still doubtful whether there would be a cessation of conflicts between the Indochinese states. In particular, if the hostilities in Cambodia do not come to an end, it is difficult to foresee with certainty that the spillover effects of the conflicts on the Thai society will be eliminated either in the form of intruding military operations or the influx of innocent civilians running away from the battle fields for their lives. Therefore, it is imperative that the United Nations' resolution on this issue be implemented in order to restore peace and tranquillity to the region.

In a broader context, Thailand and her ASEAN partners, will continue to work for peace and prosperity through the principles of solidarity and cooperation. ASEAN as a regional group will move ahead in terms of increased cooperation and cohesiveness of the Association. Socio-economic as well as cultural cooperation will be further encouraged. One could confidently envisage a greater role for ASEAN in Asia and the Pacific areas in the 1980's in seeking ways and means to fulfil the Association's goal of creating a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. In the global context, Thailand and her ASEAN partners will continue to adhere to the principles of neutrality and non-interference in internal affairs of states. In short, as a member of the civilized family of nations, Thailand will maintain her friendly relations with all nations which desire likewise in goodwill.

IV

Conclusion

The 1980's marks a departure point for Thailand from the old peaceful conservative society to a new and modern one, at once more complex and dynamic. The impacts of socio-economic changes, through the developments in the 60's and 70's, have accumulated to put pressure on the administrative structure. The old passive administrative structure is increasingly faced with the dilemma of having to cope with the demands from new breeds of technocrats and educated entrepreneurs. The decision-making process is under severe strain owing to the influx of new complex issues. Consequently, both the governmental system and its decision-making process have to be modernized to accommodate new demands of the modern sectors. Thailand is fortunate enough to have all the basic ingredients for a successful leap into the new society, including a relatively stable society under the three flexible and highly dynamic institutions, and the existence in the bureaucracy of a significant number of Western educated technocrats. There is a good chance that Thailand will be able to carry on with the much needed administrative reform which is the basis for her modernization process. Despite all the favorable factors on her side, Thailand is still faced with one major difficulty in the form of unjust burden created by the conflicts among the Indochinese states which in turn generates the massive influx of displaced people into Thailand. In other words, Thailand's dilemma is twofold: on the one hand, she has to accommodate the displaced people on humanitarian ground, while, on the other hand, suffers from severe drain on her limited resources.

The displaced people issue is also a political burden since the displaced people compete with the local inhabitants for critical domestic resources such as water supply and provide the seeds of trouble. Thailand and her ASEAN partners, together with many other nations, voted for the UN resolution to settle the conflict in Cambodia through the withdrawal of foreign forces. On the global front, Thailand's foreign policy objective is in conformity with the other ASEAN nations in seeking peace and prosperity in the region with the objective of creating a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

APPENDIX I

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[without reference to a Main Committee
(A/35/L. 2/Rev. 1 and Rev. 1/Add. 1)]

35/6. The situation in Kampuchea

The General Assembly

Recalling its resolution 34/22 of 14 November 1979,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/22,^{1/}

Deeply regretting that the foreign armed intervention continues and the foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus seriously threatening international peace and security,

Gravely concerned that the hostilities in Kampuchea have not ceased, but have on several occasions spilled over into Thailand, thus violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country,

Greatly concerned that the deployment of more foreign troops and weapons in Kampuchea near the Thai-Kampuchean border has heightened tension in the region,

Recalling the conclusions reached at the Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People held at Geneva on 26 and 27 May 1980, as contained in the report of the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly,^{2/}

^{1/} A/35/501.

^{2/} A/35/3/Add.34 (part II).

Recognizing that the assistance extended by the international community has reduced the widespread food shortages and health problems of the Kampuchean people but that, despite such assistance, hunger and disease continue to afflict them,

Gravely disturbed that the continued fighting in Kampuchea has forced large numbers of Kampucheans to flee to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food and safety, and that actions by outside forces in Kampuchea to seal the border have disrupted the cross-border flow of international relief aid,

Emphasizing that it is the inalienable right of Kampuchean people who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries to return safely to their homeland,

Emphasizing further that no effective solution to the humanitarian problems can be achieved without a just and lasting political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict,

Convinced that, to bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem which will ensure the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future free from outside interference,

Convinced further that, after the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question through peaceful means, the countries of the South-East Asian region could pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to lessen international tensions and to achieve lasting peace in the region,

Reaffirming the need for all States to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which call for

respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes,

1. Reaffirms its resolution 34/22 and calls for its implementation;

2. Decides, taking into account paragraph 12 of resolution 34/22, to convene early in 1981 an international conference on Kampuchea which should involve the participation of all conflicting parties in Kampuchea and others concerned, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem;

3. Decides further that the conference should negotiate with a view to reaching agreement on *inter alia*:

(a) Total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame to be verified by the United Nations;

(b) Measures by the United Nations to ensure law and order and the observance of the fundamental principles of human rights in Kampuchea;

(c) Measures by the United Nations to ensure non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea;

(d) United Nations-supervised free elections in Kampuchea;

(e) Guarantees against the introduction of any foreign forces in Kampuchea;

(f) Guarantees to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea;

(g) Guarantees that an independent and sovereign Kampuchea will not be a threat to its neighbours;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to take all appropriate steps for the convening of such a conference;

5. Calls for, pending the settlement of the conflict:

(a) The stationing of a United Nations observer team on the Thai side of the border in order to observe the situation along the border and to verify that only civilian Kampucheans obtain international relief aid;

(b) The establishment of safe areas under United Nations supervision in western Kampuchea for the uprooted civilian Kampucheans encamped near the Thai-Kampuchean border and those in Thailand who wish to return to their homeland;

6. Urges the countries of South-East Asia, once a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean conflict is achieved, to exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia;

7. Expresses its deep appreciation to donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and other national and international humanitarian organizations which have rendered relief assistance to the Kampuchean people; and appeals to them to continue on an urgent and non-discriminatory basis such assistance to the civilian population of Kampuchea, including persons who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries;

8. Deeply appreciates the efforts of the Secretary-General in co-ordinating relief assistance and in monitoring its distribution, and requests him to strengthen such efforts so as to ensure that the assistance reaches all those for whom it is intended;

9. Calls again upon all States to provide resettlement for the displaced Kampucheans who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries and who do not wish to return to their homeland;

10. Urges all parties to the conflict to co-operate fully in facilitating humanitarian relief efforts and in ensuring that the crossborder flow of international relief aid continues uninterrupted;

11. Reiterates its appeal to all parties to the conflict to observe fully the fundamental principles of human rights;

12. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution;

13. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-sixth session the item entitled " The situation in Kampuchea "

**44th plenary meeting
22 October 1980**

APPENDIX 2

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 neighbourliness 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 independence and freedom of States in the area or prejudice the orderly processes of their 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 endeavours in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of 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 or 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 Associaton 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 this Eighth Day of August in the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-Seven.

FOR INDONESIA :	(Sgd.) ADAM MALIK Presidium Minister for Political Affairs Minister for Foreign Affairs
FOR MALAYSIA :	(Sgd.) TUN ABDUL RAZAK Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Minister of National Development
FOR THE PHILIPPINES :	(Sgd.) NARCISO RAMOS Secretary of Foreign Affairs
FOR SINGAPORE :	(Sgd.) S. RAJARATNAM Minister for Foreign Affairs
FOR THAILAND :	(Sgd.) THANAT KHOMAN Minister of Foreign Affairs

**Published by the
Secretariat of the Cabinet Printing Office
March 1981**

