

ข่าวพิเศษบริหารศาสตร์

บทความพิเศษ

1. AN ASSESSMENT OF WORLD SITUATION

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From various sources of information up to now, the following general assesment of the world situation is compiled. Barng Thailand as the background.

1. *In Communist China*, the struggle for power between "the moderates" and the "left" continues.

-- Just one day before the scheduled meeting with the United States at the ambassadorial level was to take place in Warsaw on February 20, 1969, Communist China declared that it would not attend the meeting.

-- This caused deep disappointment among the United States political circles and the press.

-- Communist China never stated the real reasons.

-- But one of them was because the Chinese Communist Charge'd' affaires at the Netherlands sought political refuge in the United States.

-- Almost without lifting a finger, Canada, Belgium and Italy have already said that they would recognize Red China. At a lower time talks between Red China and Canada in being constructed

-- The United States became more intimate in its relations with Russia so that the two countries have decided to hold political and military negotiations.

-- Asian countries, such as the Philippines also changed their attitude and became more friendly to Communist China.

-- The Chinese Communist diplomat in Burma called on General Newin in February, 1969 and they reached a better understanding.

-- The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand said that Thailand was not anti-Communist, etc.

-- All those were to the advantage of Communist China in international politics without it having to put any great investment.

-- All Communist China did was to say that it was willing to negotiate with the United States when Nixon had been in office for a month, and many countries in the Free World changed their attitudes and became more friendly towards Communist China.

2. *In China itself*, there was recently an internal problem because too great a number of people are migrating to stay in big cities.

-- The government is concerned that there will be more difficulties, such as in Calcutta where often there were public demonstrations.

-- Plans are, therefore, being made to move about 20 million inhabitants from the big cities to live in rural areas, in particular, from Shanghai and Canton.

-- The population of China is now almost 800 million inhabitants.

-- Birth control is totally ineffective.

-- The problem of population explosion may cause Communist China to think of "Volunteers" into neighbouring countries for activities as it did in the North South Korean war.

-- Conflicts between Red China and Russia erupted in the N.E. Frontier but was only localized.

3. *Influence of Communist China in Africa.* A comparison shows that only 14 countries recognize Communist China, whereas 21 countries recognize the Republic of China.

-- Nevertheless, the assistance given by Communist China to African countries is far greater than that given by the Republic of China, because Communist China has far more resources.

4. *Communist China and the United States.* An Ambassador told me in Washington that the United States should quickly become friendly towards Communist China so as to prevent cooperation between Japan and Communist China.

-- If these two countries can cooperate in their use of resources, technology, and managerial skill, it will become a grave danger to the Free World.

5. *Negotiations in Warsaw.* After Communist China declared that it would not negotiate with the United States in Warsaw on February 20, 1960 as originally planned, the U.S. Department of State stated that as a matter of fact, arrangements have been made to propose many topics to Communist China, such as the principle of peaceful co-existence, educational, scientific and cultural exchanges and the exchange of press personnel, etc.

-- Therefore, it was to be deeply regretted.

-- Such a declaration shows clearly that in the field of international relations, the United States is not in the same "horizon" as Communist China.

-- It seems that Communist China gains something continuously while the United States has not been able --- to obtain anything.

6. *Japan trades with Communists.* While the United States is fighting in Vietnam and to use up a great amount of resources, Japan is sending her people to trade with both North and South Vietnams, and as the same time, many Japanese trade missions are sent to Communist China.

7. *Canada and Communist China.* In February, 1969 initiate diplomatic actions in a Scandinavian Country with a view to recognizing Red China.

-- However it took 2 months for the latter to reply because of the problem of the recognition of Taiwan by Canada.

-- At first, Taiwan insisted that if Canada extended recognition to Red China, Taiwan would sever diplomatic relations with Canada at once.

-- The United States persuaded Taiwan not to do so, knowing that the United States one day she herself will also have to recognize Communist China and wants to see Taiwan continue to exist as an independent nation.

8. *Policy Concerning "Two Chinas"* At first many countries including Thailand objected to the "Two Chinas" policy.

-- However, it seemed that world public opinion has changed greatly on this subject.

-- In February 1969, U. Alexis Johnson, the Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs of the US Department of State replied to a question in a Committee of the Congress that the United States may not refuse to recognize Communist China provided that Taiwan is allowed to remain a member of the United Nations.

9. *In Pakistan.* In February, 1969, President Ayub Khan declared that he would not run for re-election in 1970 and released more than 30 political prisoners, thus easing the tense situation.

-- The public demonstrations and protests in big towns and cities gradually decreased, but later flowed up again and Ayub was forced to resign and handed power to general Yahya in March, 1969.

-- The situation seemed to have been relating normal.

10. *In East Pakistan,* which has a population of 80 million out of the total of 125 million, there are always some who think of secession.

-- Last year, the government arrested several persons whose cases are pending in court.

-- East and West Pakistan may have the same religion, but the languages and the standard of living are very far apart, and the two territories are distant from each other with India in between.

-- It is not yet certain that they will be able to combine as one solidified sovereign nation in the long run.

-- Geographically, we think of East Pakistan as also a part of South East Asia.

-- Therefore, whenever there is joint effort or action countries in South East Asia would like to include East Pakistan.

11. Reasons for Demonstrations and Riots in Pakistan.

-- According to American newspapers, it was because of Ayub Khan's deteriorating health, that he was not as youthful and active as he used to be, that he met only a few people, that his son, Gohar, became a millionaire when his father was in power.

-- Thus all the good deeds performed by Ayub Khan, in the great economic development of the country during the past 10 years have completely been forgotten.

-- In the end, Ayub Khan attempted to meet and negotiate with every leader of the opposition, but there were delays and postponements.

-- After his meeting with the three Chiefs of the Armed Services, Ayub Khan decided not to seek re-election, because they did not promise that they would continue to support him.

-- This is different from de-Gaulle of France.

-- When students and workers demonstrated in spring of 1969 in Paris, the military fully supported him.

-- De Gaulle was therefore able to use extremely strong measures successfully to deal with the demonstrators.

-- This serves as a lesson to show that in exercising powers during time of emergency, it is necessary for the government to have the support of the military, with perhaps the exception of Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian democracies.

12. In Burma which seemed three month ago to be more liberal than formerly, when some political prisoners were freed, a new constitution was drafted to give more rights to the people, later in the middle of February there came the report that the Chinese Communist diplomat called on General Newin, and later 218

expropriations of private individuals' property were made including 66 industrial plants, 9 plants making tools for farming, 2 crockery plants and others.

-- Communist China stopped temporarily giving support to a band of 3,000 White Flag Communist guerrillas who have been harrasing government troops in Shan States, etc.

-- Still according the lattest Peking Statement in early April 1969, Burma as well as other South East Asian governments were threatened to be overthrown with the help of Red Chinese military supports.

-- Economically, Burma calls herself "the Burmese way of Socialism".

-- Politically, she calls herself "Neutralism".

-- However, other countries tend to regard Burma as practising "Isolationism", because she has little contact with the outside world.

-- Burma is also different in recognizing foreign government of conflicting ideologies.

-- Ambassadors from North Korea-South Korea, North Vietnam-South Vietnam, East Germany-West Germany, Israel and Arab countries are all accredited to Burma.

-- Because of the fact that Burma is Thailand's neighbour, we ought to be closely interested in the changes of that country.

13. *In India*, the position of Prime minister Indira Ghândhi is -- still strong although there is struggle for power within the party.

-- As for the struggle between the palitical parties, in recent election in Wests Bengal, the Communists were elected.

-- The Soviet Union is attempting to play a greater role in India.

-- Besides sending some warships to the Indian ocean, the Soviet Union is using the press in Bombay and New Delhi as an instrument of instigation to incite Indians against the United States.

-- A Soviet radio station called "Peace and Progress" broadcasts in Hindi and in English accusing the Peace corps and the various American Foundations wich are assisting India as being secret agents for the CIA performing their duties as spics.

-- Rice which is given by the United States to assist the poor is said by Russian Radio to be poisoned, etc.

-- Instigations against the United States gradually showed result.

-- Within a period of just over 10 years, Russia has sent 700-1,000 military advisers to assist India, and 1,000 technical and economic abvisers.

-- In the Russian Embassy itself, there are up to 500 advisers.

-- This goes to show that Russian influence in India is on the increase although it may be gradual.

14. *Vietnam.* Negotiations in Paris have not shown any progress.

-- Secret talks are said to be conducted by U.S. and North Vietnam.

-- At the time Nixon was travelling to Europe on February 23, 1969, North Vietnam shelled some cities including Saigon and Danang as well as other bases and towns numbering about 50 in all, causing many deaths.

-- This was contrary to the "understanding" reached between the United States and North Vietnam, before the bombing halt of North Vietnam, that the latter would not shell towns in South Vietnam.

-- However, up to February 26, 1969, the United States had not yet made any decisions while reports and options are being forwarded to keep President Nixon informed in Brussels, London, and other Capitals.

-- This serves to show that the Communist did not keep their promise and we cannot believe in their words.

-- Vice President Ky declared that the South Vietnamese themselves should be sent to bomb North Vietnam because within February 1969 South Vietnam has received fighters, helicopters and gun boats in sufficient numbers, and that South Vietnamese troops have been much better trained.

-- However, it seemed that Ky was reluctant to give the order himself and might have liked to know the point of view of the United States on this matter.

-- South Vietnam deserves sympathy because it does not seem to have full freedom of action.

-- When I met an Assistant Secretary of State on February 25, 1969, I told him that if the allied side did not take any action in this matter, North Vietnam might be encouraged to do something else.

-- In this regard, North Vietnam is automatically sounding out President Nixon's attitude, in other words it aims at testing President Nixon's will.

-- Up to the second week of April 1969 towns in South Vietnam were still being shelled.

16. *The United States.* Nixon has been President for over 2 months and he has worked hard and well.

-- When he was on a tour of Europe to meet old friends in Nato and making preparations to negotiate with the Soviet Union he has received wide public admiration as well as the Congress. Ex Vice-President Humphrey said that during

his first month in office, the President has worked well to the satisfaction of everyone.

— — When I met the President at a diplomatic reception at the White House on January 31, 1969, he was very friendly and asked me to convey his regards to their Majesties the King and Queen, and also to Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn.

17. *Isolationism of the United States.* According to public opinion Gallup polls on February 22, 1969, the period from the year 1953 to 1969 the tendency of American people to see the United States become independent or isolated has increased from 15% to 23%.

— — If this trend should continue, the United States will become isolated in many years from now.

— — In fact this policy of isolationism has been on and off subject to the influence of events as well as of the opinion of those who called themselves intellectuals or the group of professors in universities, the voice of mass media e.g., the press, and some outspoken members of Congress, etc.

18. *Influence of the United States Abroad.* If we were to look at events from the year 1945 after the end of the Second World War onwards, it must be said that the United States' position has been contracted, or in other words, its influence has diminished gradually.

— — As for Russia and Communist China, their influence gradually increased.

— — For example, during that period, on the American continent itself, *Cuba* became communist and fell within Russia's influence.

— — At present, *Peru* has turned to Russia up to the point when the two countries have already concluded a trade agreement.

— — It is reported that *Panama's* leaders belong to the extreme left group.

— — *Canada* now wishes to extend recognition to Communist China and does not intend to be so closely associated to Nato.

— — In Asia, *India* is gradually receiving Russian influence.

— — *Pakistan* is becoming more friendly towards Communist China and Russia.

— — The *Philippines* appears to intend to accommodate Communist China and has already started to trade with Russia.

— — *Singapore and Malaysia* recently concluded a trade agreement with Russia.

-- *Japan* is so interested in trading, and has requested the return of the various bases from the United States.

-- At present, Japan is trading with both Communist China and North Vietnam.

-- The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand declared that Thailand is not anti-Communist.

-- In *the Middle East*, every Arab country such as Egypt has leaned towards Russia and everyone of them has become Russia's ally with the exception of Israel.

-- In this regard, an Ambassador from a Mediterranean country told me that in 1953 in the United Nations, no one thought that Russia would have influence in that region.

-- Recently in *Turkey*, a group of ten thousand leftists demonstrated and protested against the visit of the Warship belonging to the United States, and also demanded the departure of the American Ambassador.

-- On *the African Continent*, although there is not significant Russian influence, Communist China has found 14 nations as their allies which will certainly lead to a confrontation in the future in regard to the conflict of interests.

-- Taiwan itself last month allowed the Russian Communist press to interview a high ranking personnel in the government.

19. *Isolationist Policy of the United States, and Sphere of Influence.* It is worth noting that if the United States really turns to adopt isolationist policy, or the more it has a tendency towards isolationism, more countries will turn away from the United States.

-- Whether intentional or otherwise, the tendency must be that way.

-- And if that tendency gradually goes on, within a period of 20 years, Spheres of Influence of Great Powers may be divided into 3 parts, one belonging to *Russia* which will be over Eastern Europe and Arab countries.

-- It may extend to *Pakistan and India* and through the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian ocean with perhaps some influence in *South America* because there may be other countries which choose to follow Peru's action.

-- As for Communist China if she can combine with Japan technology and managerial skill, and is able to build up a navy gradually, she may be able to expand her naval power until it comes in contact with the *United States'* sphere of influence in the Pacific.

-- This, however, depends on how far the United States is able to maintain the Pacific defense line which forms up through bilateral agreements with Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Philippines.

-- As for the mainland, there is no doubt that Communist China will attempt to exert its influence over all of South East Asia--which includes East Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia and Singapore.

-- In this matter the same applies to, whether the United States, intend to stay on in Asia.

-- If there is no such intention and the nations in the area directly or indirectly rejects the American presence, the United States may have to withdraw.

-- How quickly the departure takes place depends on a few factors, namely, attitudes of countries in South East Asia themselves, the United States government, and the American intellectuals.

-- If those three groups exert a great deal of pressure, the influence will force the American government to make up its mind to depart.

-- If this occurs, the United States will lose her big South East Asian market which has a population of about 250 million inhabitants and also the loss of vast natural resources of that region.

-- The interest of Communist China and Russia over Indonesia may come into conflict at this juncture, because Indonesia comprises of islands, and she had enough of Communist China when the latter supported Sukarno in 1963.

-- Russia is now trying to replace Communist China in Indonesia even though the United States is giving a great deal of economic assistance.

-- However, in the long run, if the United States has to withdraw from South East Asia and lacks influence on the Indian Ocean, then the influence of the United States over Indonesia will also disappear.

20. *Australia and New Zealand* try to assist in maintaining the security of Malaysia and Singapore in political and military fields.

-- They officially declared on February 25, 1969 to that effect.

-- However, these two nations are not sufficiently strong, economically and militarily, to stand up against the influence of Communist China if the present tendency continues.

21. *Will the tendency be as I said above?* The answer depends on a number of factors, such as how far or whether nations in South East Asia are able to combine into a solid group becoming a power in economics, social, political and military.

-- Will the United States continue to lend support to such a grouping, and how great is this support?

-- If there is full cooperation and strong support, the tendency as stated will vary proportionately to the strength of the cooperation of the allies.

22. *Thai people ought to be more interested in international relations.* Thailand in South East Asia will in the future have to face many international problems.

-- Those who are interested in this matter whether as students of Political Science or as common people interested in the change of events, number only a few.

-- We ought, therefore, to wake up and be more interested in international politics so as to be able to help one another.

-- The study of Political Science as a discipline in the university ought to change its approaches and aim at sharpening the mind of the students instead of equipping them to become district officers as in the past.

-- The study of International Law ought also to include International Relations.

-- If more people are interested and devote their time to study this matter as well as follow it closely, and are able to give options to the government now and then, whether by the government itself appointing a Foreign Affairs Committee or by private institutions.

-- All these will be most beneficial to the country.

-- Thailand belongs to 34 million Thai people.

-- Therefore, it ought not to be the monopoly of any single man or a few people to deal exclusively in foreign policies.
