

สุนทรพจน์



พลเอก เปรม ติณสูลานนท์

ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ

SPECIAL ADDRESS - KEYNOTE SPEECH
H.E.General Prem Tinsulanonda
President of The Privy Council and Statesman



**GENERAL PREM TINSULANONDA
STATESMAN FOUNDATION**

วิเทศสัมพันธ์



“มูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ พลเอก เปรม ติณสูลานนท์” ได้ส่งเสริมกิจกรรมด้านต่างประเทศตลอดมา เพื่อส่งเสริมสัมพันธไมตรี แลกเปลี่ยนด้านวัฒนธรรม และส่งเสริมคุณธรรมความดีของไทยให้ประจักษ์ในนานาประเทศ ด้วยการที่ ฯพณฯ ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์ ไปแสดงปาฐกถาพิเศษและสุนทรพจน์ ในโอกาสต่าง ๆ กัน อันเป็นที่ประทับใจจากมิตรประเทศ เพื่อนในต่างแดน ซึ่งขยายผลในคุณธรรมความดี **“ซื่อสัตย์ สุจริต เสียสละ และจงรักภักดี”** โดยเฉพาะการเฉลิมพระเกียรติ และพระอัจฉริยภาพอันล้ำเลิศ ของพระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว และสมเด็จพระนางเจ้าฯ พระบรมราชินีนาถ

ในคราวฉลองมิตรภาพ ๑๐๐ ปี ไทย - รัสเซีย ฯพณฯ ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์ ได้รับเชิญให้เป็นหัวหน้าคณะผู้แทนประเทศไทย ไปเจริญสัมพันธไมตรี สืบเนื่องจากการเสด็จประพาสรัสเซีย ของสมเด็จพระปิยะมหาราช รัชกาลที่ ๕ ซึ่งได้จำลองแบบอย่างย้อนหลังเมื่อ ๑๐๐ ปีก่อน ทั้งน้ำพุ ดนตรี รายการอาหาร และจำนวนแขกที่รับเชิญ ๑๑๐ คน สะท้อนความหลังอันเข้มข้นระหว่างกันและกัน ไทย - รัสเซีย

การเดินทางไปยุโรปและเอเชีย สืบเนื่องกับภารกิจอื่น ๆ เช่น เข้าเฝ้า ฯ สมเด็จพระจักรพรรดิแห่งญี่ปุ่น การเยือนคารวะประธานาธิบดีฝรั่งเศส อดีตนายกรัฐมนตรีแธทเชอร์ ของอังกฤษ ซึ่งมีมูลนิธิที่จะแลกเปลี่ยนกิจกรรมระหว่างกันได้ตลอดจนเข้าเฝ้าพระราชินีแห่งนอร์เว ที่มีสายสัมพันธ์โยงไปทางองค์กรโนเบล ฟอรัม ที่สวีเดน จึงได้มีการประชุมแลกเปลี่ยนวิทยาการทางประสาทวิทยาศาสตร์

สุนทรพจน์

ของ

ฯพณฯ พลเอก เปรม ติณสูลานนท์
ในโอกาสเป็นประธานพิธีการประชุมนานาชาติ
เรื่องการศึกษาและครูศาสตร์ในศตวรรษหน้า

จัดโดย

คณะครุศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
เฉลิมพระเกียรติในมหามงคลสมัย
ทรงครองราชสิริราชสมบัติ ๕๐ ปี

ณ โรงแรมฮิลล์เรียล วิทญู วันที่ ๑๑ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๓๘



Opening Address

By

H.E. General Prem Tinsulanonda

Privy Councillor and Statesman

at the International Conference on

*“Teacher Education : Innovative Alternatives for
the Twenty – first Century”*

Bangkok, July 11, 1995

และสิ่งแวดล้อมที่กรุงเทพฯ ทั้งร่วมกับองค์การอนามัยโลกในการจัดประชุมนานาชาติเรื่องบริการสุขภาพผู้สูงอายุและการประชุมของสหประชาชาติในหลายโอกาส การเยี่ยมชมประธานาธิบดีจีนและเวียดนาม

ในวาระสำคัญปี ๒๕๔๔ ได้รับเชิญจากสมาคมเอเชีย ในกรุงวอชิงตัน เพื่อบรรยาย เรื่อง “พระมหากษัตริย์ไทยในยุคโลกาภิวัตน์” เป็นที่ประทับใจของบุคคลสำคัญที่ร่วมฟังปาฐกถาเกียรติยศ เช่นเดียวกับที่ ฮิสเวสต์ เซนเตอร์ ในฮาวาย และในกลุ่มอาเซียนที่ กรุงมนิลา สิงคโปร์

มูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ ได้ถือโอกาสในวาระอันเป็นมงคล คล้ายวันเกิด ๘๒ ปี ของ ฯพณฯ ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์ ได้เผยแพร่เอกสาร รวบรวมสุนทรพจน์ และปาฐกถาพิเศษ ชุดภาษาอังกฤษ มาเพื่อเผยแพร่อุดมการณ์สืบต่อไป

ในโอกาสนี้ ขอขอบคุณ คณะผู้ต้อนรับ กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ และสถานเอกอัครราชทูตไทย กงสุลไทยในนานาประเทศทุกแห่ง ที่เดินทางไปเยือนเพื่อปฏิบัติภารกิจ และการแลกเปลี่ยนทัศนะอันเป็น “กิจกรรมวิเทศสัมพันธ์ ของมูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ” ดังปรากฏส่วนหนึ่ง ในหนังสือเล่มนี้

ขอให้ทุกท่าน มีความเจริญสุข สมประสงค์ในสิ่งจ้านงหมาย จงทุกประการ



ประธานมูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ

Distinguished Participants,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to be invited by the Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn University, to preside over the opening ceremony of this international conference. To all the distinguished participants from overseas, I extend a very warm welcome to our country.

Distinguished Participants,

I am a firm believer in the value of education as a crucial factor for the development of individual and for national development. I am thus delighted and find it timely that we have here gathered today from all corners of the world, to share and exchange views on the important topic of teacher education in the context of the twenty-first century, to see what we can do together to prepare ourselves better for the improvement of teacher education.

The teaching profession plays the pivotal role in the molding of our children. Second only to our parents, our teachers have always been the ones we turn to for advice and encouragement, both in our pursuit of learning and

SPECIAL ADDRESS - KEYNOTE SPEECH

By

H.E. General Prem Tinsulanonda

President of The Privy Council and Statesman

Honorary President-Statesman Foundation



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personal problems. Some 15 – 20 years of our formative years are spent with people in the teaching profession at the various levels of education. Not only is the teaching profession important to the development of a child's intellect and individual personality, it is also, at the macro-level, the indispensable link in our effort to improve our societies and national economies.

Distinguished Participants,

How best can we prepare our teaching force to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century with all its economic and social implications ?

To me, the UNESCO "World Conference on Education for All", which Thailand was proud to host at Jomtien in 1990, may serve as a most appropriate point of reference. The Conference declared the last decade of the twentieth century to be the Decade for Basic Education for All with a view to inviting Member States to take actions to ensure the right to basic education for their peoples. The right to basic education, as defined by the World Conference, covers the most impressionable stage of our life span, from early childhood to primary education, and, in certain countries, up to the lower secondary level.

THE STATESMAN FOUNDATION

Founding Principles of the Statesman Foundation

- 1. Truth, Honesty, Sacrifice and Loyalty*
- 2. Dedication to your Home land-Thailand*

Objectives of the Statesman Foundation

- 1. To promote truth, Honesty, Sacrifice and Loyalty of the citizens of Thailand*
- 2. To promote and strengthen traditional Thai values and Thai customs.*
- 3. To support and promote Thai Culture to the People throughout the Kingdom of Thailand*
- 4. To vigorously support and promote traditional Practices-Thai Way of Life.*
- 5. To promote and support government agencies and private sectors that share similar goals.*
- 6. To cooperate and work with other charities to Enhance public benefits-Humanitarian Action.*

It is fair to say that the collective decision taken then, at the World Conference, by Member States has greatly contributed to the acceleration of the coverage of basic education at the global level.

In Thailand itself, I am happy to note that, as we are approaching the Mid-Decade for Basic Education for All this year, we have been able to achieve a highly gratifying result. Nevertheless, our task is far from over. The issue of basic education would still remain with us, although the emphasis of educational concerns would be placed more on the improvement of education quality. In this respect, teacher education in the twenty-first century must therefore be geared towards producing teachers of a caliber that would enable them to deliver education of high quality to the young generation.

In addition to the improvement of the quality of education, attention should also be given to the production of teachers who would be sufficiently equipped with special skills and knowledge to teach disadvantaged groups of people, such as, children of ethnic minority groups or handicapped children, addressing their specific problems. I single out for special mention the training of special education teachers since there is still an acute shortage of

special education teachers in Thailand, a dilemma which, I believe, is shared in many other places around the world.

Distinguished Participants,

Basic education aside, there are indeed other aspects of teacher education which are also fundamental for the improvement of the quality of life. Of perennial relevance, teacher education must seek to foster competent employment skills and technical know-how which suit the ever-changing demands of the labor market. We must make sure that those who have received schooling, be it at the primary, secondary or tertiary levels, obtain employment necessary for their livelihood.

More importantly, a strong component in our educational policy must be a teacher education which fosters positive human qualities. For the attainment of the desired quality of life, teacher education should aim at bringing out in every one of us the very best side of humanity to ensure that such qualities as integrity, honesty, social responsibility and caring for others are always with us, determining each and every one of our action. Only with this objective in mind can we hope to achieve progress in better society with

better environment and international understanding. In Thailand, we are indeed proud in this regard to find that His Majesty the King exemplifies the ideal quality where education and humanity meet.

I can well echo the view expressed by the President of Chulalongkorn University that this conference shows the unprecedented outpouring of public pride and personal affection that greets the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of His Majesty King Bhumipol Adulyadej's accession to the throne. The intensity of respect felt by all Thai people for His Majesty stems in large part from his strong determination to use his education and social position to improve public welfare, his way of fashioning a concept of kingship that meets the needs of a rapidly changing society, at once traditional and creatively modern, and also his never simply issuing a directive but letting the impetus come from the local population. All his dedication and manner, I feel, have truly defined one facet of his greatness as a ruler, being a model for all modern teacher educators, in this last decade of the Twentieth century.

Distinguished Participants.

As rapid social, economic, and political changes continue to escalate throughout the world, goals, concepts and practices of education should be redefined and reorganized accordingly. In response to these changing characteristics of education, teachers as the most important change agents in education should be trained adequately to cope with their changing roles in society. The challenging duty, therefore, is to improve teacher education that would lead to an educational reform while maintaining the balance combination of knowledge, attitude and teacher ethics. Teacher educators in an era of rapid change, I truly believe, should, therefore, follow His Majesty's pathway in meeting the needs arising from those far-reaching changes with a strong determination to apply the universal methodology and to set their own pattern that suits local situations.

Distinguished Participants.

I am confident that this conference will help forge new directions and strategies for teacher education to respond dynamically to the emergence of new educational challenges and cooperation among teacher educators,

administrators as well as policy makers of the public and private sectors and the academic community in the region, resulting in greater benefits for all concerned.

In wishing you every success in your deliberations, I now have much pleasure in declaring the Conference open.

“The Advent of the 21st Century : The Rise of Asia”

Speech

By

H.E. General Prem Tinsulanonda

November 26, 1996

Dusit Thani Hotel, Bangkok



Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Past Experiences

Over the last five decades, Asia has experienced political, economic, social and technological transformations great in substance and extensive in scale. At times violent and painful, at other times peaceful and incremental, these changes have nonetheless imbued us Asians with a sense of self confidence, a readiness to proceed to the 21st Century. The transformations herald Asia's success story, projecting it as a region of economic progress, wealth, security, peace and harmony.

Fifty years ago, Japan was in the midst of debris as a result of the Second World War; fierce confrontation went on between Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communists ; conflicts between Hindus and Muslims resulted in the division of India into two nations, India and Pakistan; and Indonesia's quest for independence was accompanied by a civil war. However, transformations since, have been of such a magnitude quite unimaginable then. We have indeed witnessed "the Asian Miracle".

To arrive where we are now, we Asians have had to endure violent struggles in the midst of these changes,. Politically, during the Cold War, Asia was the stage for power struggles between dictatorship, communism and democracy, ones which reflected ideological differences among political movements and elites in the region as well as conflicts between the Superpowers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, nationalist Asians had to engage in violent and unrelenting struggles to liberate their countries from Western colonialism and to institutionalize democratic government. This was clear in the cases of India, Myanmar, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore.

During the Cold War period, the major political problems facing the countries of Asia was connected with the search for a political system with the capacity to tackle problems of immediacy and importance including poverty, communist insurgency, ethnic differences and conflicts, nation-building, political instability and governmental inefficiency. However, discovery was not rapid. These problems generated a sense of insecurity in the Southeast Asian region. On the other hand, they encouraged the ASEAN member nations to become unified in their quest to deal with the problems. They tried to stand on their own feet rather than to look for assistance from Western powers. This generated a determination to fashion their own methods of problem-solving rather than to allow Superpowers to do so.

Toward the 21st century

Today many nations in the Asian region have encountered success in dealing with the aforementioned conflicts. They have demonstrated their abilities in engendering their own methods of conflict resolution based upon wisdom, intellect, lessons from history and non-adherence

to Western methods. Success was thus not a matter of chance or fortune.

It cannot be denied that immediately after the Second World War, the political institutions, ideologies thoughts or philosophies in many countries of the region were subject to Western influences. Since these political institutions were unfamiliar to the region and not linked to its history, they were not deeply rooted in Asian societies. They were as a result weak and fragile, incapable of being pillar institutions. The democratic governmental system emulated from the West thus failed. However, success came when leaders sought their own ways to strengthen and improve the democratic political systems of their respective countries. They paid due attention to their respective situations and environments. This was true in India, Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand. As can be seen in many cases, success in democratization came when democratic aspirations acquired global dimensions in the post Cold War era.

Democracy in these countries is actually quite diverse. This is true on a number of dimensions, namely the acceptable extent of political expression, as it applies to its ordinary people and the mass media alike, the degree

of integrity and honesty, the level of efficiency in problem solving, and also the strength of democracy itself. Singapore provides an example of efficiency and honesty in a democratic system but political expression remains limited there. In Thailand, citizens and the mass media are granted much freedom, yet government efficiency is low. Japan has been attempting to deal with the problem of "money politics" through reform of the election system by combining proportional representation and single-member constituencies methods. It will take a long time before one can be sure what results. These differences in democratic forms and achievements will remain as regional countries march into the 21st century.

It should be noted that not all countries have changed their political systems to democracy. China remains under Communist Party rule, as do Vietnam and North Korea. In Myanmar, the military regime remains powerful. However, China and Vietnam have at least opened up their countries to the outside world and are more accepting of the free market so as to catch up with other countries in the region which have been economically successful. Asian nations entering the 21st century with different political systems but with less conflict in many areas. Cooperation will increase.

Even though there is some concern that a future change in the Chinese leadership will affect the continuation of present policies of the Chinese government, this is mere conjecture. When the political environment and the free market economy are taken into consideration, China is unlikely to divert from present policies even if there is a change in the leadership.

A new phenomenon in Asia is regional integration and multi-lateralism. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN has proven itself successful in Southeast Asia, as seen in the resolution of the conflict in Cambodia. ASEAN has also initiated the ASEAN Regional Forum, or ARF, so that Asia Pacific countries, including India, can come together to consider security issues of the Asia Pacific. ASEAN is playing an important role in pressuring for the peaceful resolution of the South China Sea issue. The strength of ASEAN is well proven as it admits new members, with Cambodia and Laos joining next year and Myanmar, in due course. Southeast Asia is progressing toward the 21st century unified under the so-called ASEAN Ten or One Southeast Asia.

In future, ASEAN and the Asean Regional Forum (ARF) will remain fora for discussion and debate in search

of agreements on security issues in the Asia Pacific region. Superpower conflict and rivalry typical of the Cold War will not appear again but certain disputes will remain security issues for the region. These include the dispute over the Spratly Islands in the South China sea, the conflict between China and Taiwan, or between North Korea and South Korea. In addition there are arms build-ups engaged in by many regional countries. ASEAN and the ARF will surely develop mechanisms for multilateral agreements in halting and in resolving such tensions and conflicts, with a consequence that the nation state and national sovereignty diminish in importance.

It is now accepted that Asia, especially East and Southeast Asia, is experiencing the highest rate of growth which is likely to continue into the future. South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore have transformed themselves into newly industrialized countries, and are followed in this regard by China, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. Late comer Vietnam is close behind. All in all, this economic success is most spectacular considering that at the end of the Second World War, Asian countries except Japan had 80 percent of their populations in rural areas, living lives of scarcity.

In merely five decades, Asia has become the region with the highest rate of economic growth. According to World Bank data, between 1974 and 1993, East Asia and Southeast Asia had an average annual growth rate of 7.5 percent, and between 1994 and 2003, the figure of 7.6 percent is projected. In the year 2020, China will have the biggest economy in the world, and South Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, Japan, India, and Taiwan will be among the first fifteen countries with the largest economies.

In economic matters, ASEAN has set up the ASEAN Free Trade Area or AFTA so as to promote free trade in South East Asia. APEC was established to achieve the same objective for the Asia Pacific in the 21st century. All this demonstrates the progressiveness of Asian economies in accepting the free market system. In the past, they emphasized trade protectionism. As we approach the new century, the presence of economic interdependence will be felt in the region and economic issues will continue to dominate the region and the world. Economic interdependence will lead towards the development and the strengthening of regional economic institutions and mechanisms, with the consequence that each country's national sovereignty and the nation state will diminish in

importance. Such organizations and institutions will nonetheless not be dominant over national governments. They will become more accepted and will increasingly be allowed to play roles in the promotion of cooperation between regional states.

In addition to regional economic integration, there are economic projects in specific territorial areas arising from cooperation between neighboring countries in the development of economic zones straddling their respective territories. The economic growth triangle project between Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia is an example and these will multiply, making the Asian economy more clearly borderless and emphasizing that economic interdependence has become a necessity.

Problems to be confronted

Even though Asia has been successful in developing democracy, in maintaining peace, and in achieving economic progress, it is confronted with a number of challenges as it approaches the 21st Century.

A challenge faced by almost all Asian countries is the increasing diversity within, especially the growth of

what is called "civil society". To what extent can their political systems be opened up, is the question that needs to be asked. In the past, many countries in Asia used the authoritarian system, a closed system, in order to accelerate economic growth. South Korea, Taiwan and Indonesia provide examples. However, with economic growth has come the expansion of a number of social groups. Among these, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have worked to strengthen society and community, and have been in the forefront of struggles for the rights and interests of ordinary people and the disadvantaged. The political system thus has to adapt itself in response to demands. Thailand is facing the expansion of social groups and non-governmental organizations and they have increasingly gained acceptance. Economic development in Vietnam and China will force these two countries open up their political systems. Yet, the question remains as to the extent to which Asian political systems could adapt to respond to the growth of civil society.

As civil society becomes stronger, politics will become the business of the people than more before. The organizations and institutions, such as ASEAN, which we have set up have been at the behests of governments and

leaders. The people have not been involved much. However, the trend for the future is for the people to increasingly assume roles in these activities, with the consequence that governments and leaders will have to adapt in order to successfully of respond to these changes.

In not a few of the countries of this region, there continue to exist gaps between the rich and the poor, and between urban and rural areas. In China, India, Indonesia, disparities between urban areas with economic development and rural ones will become greater, In Thailand, we are very concerned about this, since rural poverty is most apparent. These disparities will encourage rural-urban migration. It is estimated that in the year 2000, Thailand's urban population will increase from 36.6 percent to 43 percent. Simultaneously, migration across national borders will also increase. Thailand is receiving more illegal migrant labor than ever before, to the tune of several thousand people, Malaysia the same. This is something most difficult to eliminate if economic disparities amongst neighboring countries persist. People from poorer lands will migrate to seek work in richer neighboring countries, spawning problems related to urban poverty and cultural differences.

International crimes have also been on the increase. Drug trafficking is a prime example. Thailand has been earnest and strict in its efforts to fight against this with some success. Yet, Thailand remains the passage way for drugs. Drug traffickers have become more sophisticated in their methods and have built up complex networks, making suppression more difficult. It is believed that the United States will continue to be concerned to assist Asian efforts aimed at suppressing drug production and trafficking. Such assistance would help us move closer to our goal.

Environmental degradation is another matter of importance which requires cooperation across national borders. Economic development has led to wasteful use of natural resources in some countries, with the effect of upsetting the ecological balance across borders. Rapid industrialization has led to pollution and environmental destruction. Many Asian countries have tried to remedy this situation. Japan is one which is progressive in environmental protection. Efficient use of natural resources and energy, effective pollution control, as well as recycling to minimize resource waste, are of interest to many Asian countries, but they differ in their capabilities. Thailand is very concerned and has done much to protect the environ-

ment. Yet environmental destruction continues to occur. For instance, in 1985 we has some 95,000 sq.kms. of forest cover but in 1993, only 82,600 sq.kms. remain. Though, forest conservation and reforestation projects are pursued continuously, replenishment has not been commensurate with destruction. India also has problems with wild life protection. There, the number of wild animals, such as tigers, has decreased to the extent that they are highly likely to become extinct.

As for regional security, the United States is likely to maintain an important role in fostering security in the Asia Pacific. Tension in the Korean Peninsula and the difficult relationship between China and Taiwan will remain significant security issues in the region. The United States would prefer to see regional states keeping the exercise a greater role in region secure such as Japan. Yet Japan itself is undecided and ambiguous about its own role. It wants the United States to maintain its presence at present day levels. Another consideration is that China's development of military capabilities may change the balance of power in the region. The direction of change in the balance of power remains unclear as Asia approaches the 21st Century.

Economic expansion and the adoption of new technology including telecommunications has promoted the flow of information including recreational and cultural traits. Borderlessness becomes more apparent. Therefore, as we approach the 21st century, change in values, with materialism and consumerism, are coming in to replace traditional values, undercutting long-standing ethical standards. Our peoples will become confused in their identities. This confusion will on the one hand lead to "localization" or the attachment of greater significance to their own ethnic and local cultures and traditions. On the other hand, it will also but differently lead to greater acceptance of universal or global norms. Therefore, we will encounter a contradictory trend. Attachment to the nation-state lessens as societies become borderless; but at the same time ethnic consciousness and the search for identity in ones own localities and regions will also mount as a defence against Western cultural which accompany technological progress.

The Diversity of Asian Ways

"Asian Values" or the "Asian renaissance", which looks back to cultural foundations passed on from the

past, has become the vogue for creating the identity of being Asian. It is an expression of confidence in the successes of states in this region and in entering the new century as equals with western states. However, Asia remains a region with internal diversity in religion, ethnicity, language and culture. "Asian Values" is therefore not the property of any one or two countries to proclaim at will. Asian Values are diverse, reflecting different cultural foundations, traditions and histories, even though borderlessness has become more apparent.

The Thai experience is an example of success born of certain strengths, different from those of other countries in the same region. It vies for a place in the strength of Asia. The characteristic value is the middle way, exhibited in the tolerance of differences and the willingness to assimilate and to adapt to differences. Should not this cultural trait be admitted as one of the Asian ways of problem solving in this region as we embark on the 21st century.

In the last five decades, Thailand has confronted numerous problems, from poverty, political instability, weak democratic governments, dishonesty of public figures, to the communist threat. Nonetheless, Thailand has cut through those obstacles and dealt with the problems with a certain

degree of success. Adherence to the middle way of moderation, perseverance, tolerance of differences and adaptation has been its strength. Thailand has successfully dealt with the communist threat not through the primary use of military force but through political means of achieving understanding and compromise, including the granting of amnesty together with the eradication of conditions conducive to communist insurgency. The conditions are, of course poverty, exploitation by the economic powerful and repression at the hands of public officials. In dealing with other kinds of political conflict, one can see tolerance of differences in thought and attitude and attempts to change so as to reduce differences. For instance, the Thai military has come to terms with civilian rule through the electoral process; Parliament has conceded that our new constitution will be drafted by a special council popularly constituted for the purpose. In economic sphere, the 1980s has seen the private sector able to respond to government policy of export-led growth. Thailand now has a diverse range of export goods in place of the previous dependence on a few commodities. This, of course, accounted for our economic success.

In social and cultural fields, Thailand is exemplary in its cultural assimilation. Tolerance of differences has ensured cultures coexisted. We do not oppose the diffusion of western culture, we are ready to learn about the best in Western culture, but we will only adopt those aspects which we can integrate with ours and which will not destroy what is good in ours. The issue now is how we can mix Western culture with our traditional culture.

This year is in Thailand the year for celebrating His Majesty the King's Golden Jubilee. Throughout the last 50 years, His Majesty has demonstrated himself to be most capable of conjoining the cultures and traditions of Thai society with the technologies of the West so as to develop the country and to assist the people, especially the rural poor. This has been most evident in agriculture, irrigation and water supply, and forest protection and rejuvenation. He is engaged in development with due recognition to Thainess, to promote self-help, and to achieve a balance between material and spiritual development.

An important objective of Asian countries in their march to the 21st Century will be good governance. They ought to be able to fashion a model of good governance which blends their unique heritage with material progress

in the midst of the changing environment. From this process may indeed ensue an alternative model to the Western one; a model which will demonstrate that Asia has come of age. Credibility will thus be lent to the belief that while the 20th Century is the Century of the West, the 21st Century will be the Century of Asia.

The 21st Century, the golden century for Asia, is arriving. Asian nations will determine how far this region will progress and in what direction. They will do so with intellect and understanding, and with friendly cooperation, so as to achieve sustainable development in Asia

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Thai Experience in Combating Insurgency

Manila, March 4, 1995



The Honorable Rafael M. Aluman

The Honorable Renato S. De Villa

General Arturo Enrile,

Officers of the AFP,

Distinguished Friends,

I count myself doubly fortunate: first, to be here in the company of distinguished friends of the Philippine Armed Forces with whom we in the Royal Thai Armed Forces have traditionally enjoyed close ties of friendship and fraternity; and, secondly, to be given the opportunity to share a few thoughts with you on this happy occasion. I am thankful to His Excellency President Fidel V. Ramos for his kind invitation to visit once more your great country. I also wish to thank General Arturo Enrile, Chief of Staff of the AFP, our gracious host, for his generous hospitality this evening.

Incidentally, visiting the Philippines this time around comes with a special bonus. This morning, I was with His Excellency the President attending the graduation ceremony at the Military Academy in Baguio. I found myself sharing the pride and excitement of the new graduates, reliving vividly the "moment of birth" of my own military career. At one stroke, I felt as if fifty years had been taken off my age. That, gentlemen, was the special bonus!

Distinguished Guests,

I understand that this audience may be interested in comparing notes on our respective experiences in combatting insurgency. Where the Thai experience is concerned, I do not think you would expect me to go through the technicalities of the formal provisions, by which I mean the relevant regulations and orders, in particular, Prime Minister's Order No. 66/23. Rather, it may be more useful if I could give an account, some of which would necessarily be from a personal angle, focussing on how we in Thailand perceived the problem of insurgency, how we set about addressing those problems as well as the underlying rationale for the policy and various measures we adopted. Of course, I would not be so presumptuous as to say that

our own experience might be applicable, or even relevant, to situations and problems found elsewhere. That's for others to say. Situations and problems do vary from place to place, both in their nature and magnitude.

Distinguished Friends,

For me, it began 22 years ago towards the end of 1973. I was assigned to the Second Army Region in the Northeast of Thailand, well-known then as the hot-bed of communist insurgency. Though I vaguely knew that the situation there had become critical, I had little or no true knowledge of the problem. On the second day of my arrival, I lost twenty-three of my men in one single ambush. The whole town barely had enough coffins to put them in. I was plunged into the depths of sadness – – lost for an answer.

It took us quite a while to grasp the nature of the problem. Suffice it for me perhaps to point out certain salient features.

First, communist infiltration into the local populace was so deep-rooted, so widespread that we had no means of knowing foes from friends. Every day, we would be fired

on by those whom we mistook as friends or we ourselves would be firing on people mistaken as foes. Unless this basic question could be resolved, there was not the remotest chance that we could be resolved, there was not the remotest chance that we could even begin to grapple with the situation.

Second, this had to do with the perception each side had of the other. In my early days, my own perception of the self-styled Communist Party of Thailand or CPT and their sympathizers was one of the invading enemies from some foreign land, people who must be put down at all cost. And certainly I was not alone in harboring that kind of an attitude which had over time been seeping into our collective mentality. Nor could I, at the same time, understand why local inhabitants were full of mistrust for the authorities in all the manifestations. As soon as we set foot in a village, their villagers would run away; at best, they would ignore our presence and instantly clamp up upon our approach. The misperception and the distrust were evidently mutual.

This leads me to my third point, that is, trying to identify the cause of this mistrust. Of course, we had heard of oppressive practices which officialdom in remote areas

were prone to. But to come across it at first hand made us intensely conscious of the intimidation, the harassment and exploitation which had become all too routine. Once we succeeded in getting the villagers to talk to us, we learned of extortions, of husbands and sons being summarily "put away" at the slightest suspicion or of daughters being abducted to satisfy the casual needs of someone or another. In short, officialdom was its own enemy, turning ordinary villagers into communist sympathizers determined to avenge the wrongs perpetrated.

Lastly, people in the rural Northeast at the time were so poor that they more or less became economic outcasts. They were living a hand to mouth existence at the very outer edge of society. For them, food was whatever could be gathered at large, day to day or moment to moment. They had no schooling, thus condemned to a similarly bleak future.

Generally, villages were inaccessible. One day, having covered some distance on foot on the way to a village, we came across coconut trees. Tired and thirsty, we asked the owner who was standing nearby if we could buy some coconuts. He happily brought over the coconuts, Asked how much we should pay for the coconuts, he said that he

didn't know because he had never sold a coconut in his life, To me, this showed the extent of the neglect, People were being abandoned to an existence beyond the pale of society.

I for one did not subscribe to the view that the insurgency was a question of ideological struggle. It was poverty and neglect that were the fertile soil on which the CPT could easily sow the seeds of discontent

Distinguished Guests,

As you can see, we were caught in a vicious spiral: mistrust beget mistrust, violence beget violence. The magnitude of the problem was such that we could not hope to solve it all at once, but a start had to be made somewhere. The first step was to win trust. We went in and offered to help: teaching children to read, tilling the fields, tending to the sick or doing whatever chores they would let us. I distinctly remember one village which was especially difficult. The first time our men went in they had to pitch camp outside the village because they would not be let in. Villagers just hurled insults and abuses at them. Luckily, the man we picked to lead that squad was a man

of understanding and perseverance. Thought repeatedly turned away, he would always be back the next morning offering help to villagers working in the fields. It took all of seven months before the villagers started to feel sorry for our men and agreed to join in the Self-defense Volunteers Program.

This Self-defense Volunteers Program was later to become the thrust of our counter-insurgency campaign in that it served as the organizational framework for dialogue and interaction with the villagers at grassroot level. The Program took on life from an initiative of a local District Officer whose commitment to his work was total. He went around recruiting local teachers, village leaders or just acquaintances, engaging them in discussion on how best to organize and train self-defense volunteers to resist the CPT. We simply amplified on his initiative and extended it to cover all other villages.

Volunteers began to trickle in and we also started to learn who our friends were. Even if there were CPT infiltrators among the volunteers, we would at least be able to keep an eye on them, to monitor their movements. We would know where they were and what they did at various times of the day and night. Some would vanish into the jungle at night and return to the village in the

morning. In truth, the villagers themselves already knew who these so-called "jungle people" were. It was a question gaining their trust and confidence before they were prepared to tell us what they knew.

It was within the framework of this Program too that we made sure the villagers could also distinguish between friends and foes, between the good and the bad elements within the bureaucracy. A mechanism was put into place enabling us to effect the instant removal of the bad elements from the scene once they were identified as such, with disciplinary action taken where needed, Justice had to be seen to be done for it to have any credibility.

What I have described were essentially measures to contain the CPT. By far the more formidable task was how to tackle the widespread poverty which we saw as the root cause of insurgency and indeed all social ills. The Second Army Region, despite being the unified command of military and civilian resources in the Northeast, had its obvious limitations. We had to do the best we could. We started by identifying three main areas in which we could be of help to the villagers: means of subsistence, schooling and health care. In all these areas, the aim was to "help them help

themselves". We simply did not have enough budget to give hand-outs, nor did we have enough manpower to carry out the work on that scale. If money was given out, it was for seeds, farming tools, poultry stocks or fish stocks for the ponds. Volunteers in each locality served as manpower; once trained, they were put to work applying and extending their newly acquired skills, be it in teaching or in rudimentary medical knowledge. The response we had from the volunteers, all of whom worked without pay or personal gain, went beyond anything I had expected or indeed had any right to expect.

Distinguished Friends,

The above account represents the separate pieces which came together forming the policy known as "politics before military." Experience gained in the Second Army Region was then extended to all other Army Regions when I became Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army.

Subsequently, "Politics before Military" became the underlying rationale of Prime Minister's Order No.66/23, which during my time as Head of Government, came to stand as the clear policy directive for all Government agencies in the country-wide effort to put an end to insur-

gency by peaceful means. Someone has rightly observed that it was a time when guns were replaced by words.

In retrospect, it may be asked, what made it work? In my mind, the most important thing was what we had together, call it "Shared conviction" or "common resolve" if you will, which cut across all barriers. From the Commanding General to the privates, from the Provincial Governor to the Village Heads, from the District Officer who was behind the Self-defence Volunteers Program, the platoon leader who never gave up despite seven months of insults and abuses to the young men and women who volunteered as teachers and medical trainees, all pulled together selflessly as Thais in the fight to win back their country and fellow countrymen from the clutches of the CPT.

Together, the Thai nation found the way—our way, to end the hatred and killing between brothers and compatriots. The result, as you know, made us all very proud. I know that the Phillipines also has her way; and in my heart, I know that your way will be rewarded with the success it deserves, and it too will become a source of pride for all the people of this great nation.

***“Sufficiency Economy : His Majesty's Philosophy
for Development”***

By

H.E.General Prem Tinsulanonda

*President of The Privy Council and Statesman
at the Leadership Forum 2001*

Imperial Queen's Park Hotel, Bangkok

March 15, 2001



***Mr.Chairman,
Excellencies,
Distinguished Participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen,***

Thailand now finds herself at another defining moment of her economic destiny. Swept over by tidal waves of the financial crisis nearly four years ago, we, luckily, are up, back on our feet – though still gasping for breath. As we pick up the pieces, some soul-searching may be in order, and along with it, a search for a new way.

It is, therefore, a great honor for me to be here among such a distinguished audience at the Leadership Forum 2001. It is even a greater honor for me to speak on the "Sufficiency Economy" as an enlightened way forward, as a feasible approach to achieving the common objective of a stable, equitable, and durable development for all the people and communities in our land. As you are aware, Sufficiency Economy is a philosophy, graciously bestowed on us by our beloved Monarch, His Majesty the King.

For three decades before the crisis, Thailand was one of the few economies growing at the fastest rates in the world. Income per head stood at almost 3,000 dollars in 1996, a big leap from less than 700 dollars in 1980. But the severity of the crisis went far beyond the bounds of our imagination and experience. Our people, our communities have suffered greatly especially those lacking the resources and social protection to fall back on – the unemployed, the poor, small businesses, and marginal farmers.

We have yet to recover fully from the painful loss and dislocations. We have yet to regain fully our sense of dignity, self-respect, and confidence which have severely diminished in the drawn-out process of adjustment.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since the crisis, globalization has often been seized upon by some as the ready scapegoat for the havoc in its wake. In this new era, borders have indeed become less significant. Trade, investment and capital are able to move virtually freely worldwide, creating a new international environment directed and driven by the more or less unfettered market forces. This has rapidly led to an increasingly integrated global economy, conferring benefits on countries that have proven adept at taking advantage of opportunities, but globalization, at the same time, carries with it great risks ready to exact heavy punishment from countries which are caught unprepared or treat it lightly.

Thailand, having benefited greatly during the previous three decades of rapid growth, let down its guard and left itself badly exposed to those risks. Market forces, whose purpose is the maximization of profits, could not care less who was to suffer or become bankrupt. Countries, large and small, can be highly vulnerable to external shocks, be it volatility in capital flows, contagion risk, export competitiveness, and exchange rate risk.

The severe over-reliance of our private sector on short-term, foreign currency denominated loans became our undoing. At the end of 1996, it reached the unprecedented height of 70 billion US dollars. The massive capital flows were attracted by the country's economic success and the enabling environment following the country's liberalization policy and the dismantling of capital controls. Such flows were a double-edged sword. While it fueled the burgeoning economic growth, it also engendered latent hazards in the mounting current account deficits. The exit of capital flows proved faster than its entry, following the "herd behavior" in the loss of investor confidence, which led to the severe liquidity and currency crises.

Globalization, in my mind, can be a force for good and is above all a stark reality that cannot be wished away, nor can it be stopped. The task of integrating ourselves into the new global environment makes it imperative for us to find a way to make the most of the opportunities while shielding ourselves from the negative aspects of globalization.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Domestically, the seeds of failure had already been sown well before the fateful month of July 1997. Economic growth, higher incomes, and material accumulation were being pursued increasingly as ends in themselves. The volumes, variety and speed of economic and financial activities and services expanded at a breakneck pace. Impressive sky-high buildings transformed the landscapes of many cities and towns in Thailand. Sky-high corporate profits and salaries, and conspicuous consumption were being confused with economic development itself, as were prestige projects and prestigious material trappings.

Thailand was living far beyond its means, with economic development being defined and understood too narrowly, which resulted in extremes and excesses. As I said, these were, for the greater part, financed by the huge flows of short-term foreign borrowings. Opportunities were squandered when borrowed capital was channeled into non-productive sectors. The needed sense of self-reliance and prudence as collective social values seemed to have been gradually cast aside.

I have long held the view that poverty is the root of all problems facing our nation, and most of my life in public service has been dedicated to the task of alleviating poverty, in the firm belief that it would help solving each and every one of those problems. But this crisis made the yawning gap between the haves and have-nots widen even further, against a background of searing costs and disappearing social warmth. Unrelenting quest for material wealth seemed to have undermined compassion and caring, which in turn weakened the social fabric, community bond, and traditional values.

Ladies and Gentlemen

On the brighter side, I fully agree with those who say that we have managed, with much personal sacrifices and despite the social costs, to achieve a turn-around from the 1997 crisis. But, clearly, we should draw some lessons from our unhappy experience. We simply cannot go on with our old ways and old habits as if nothing had happened.

Over the years, His Majesty the King has graciously reminded us constantly not to lose our bearings, not to be lured by the glitter of empty labels : being hailed as a “tiger economy” or a “newly-industrialized country”, as it turned out, had little meaning or substance. As the whole nation was laboring under hardships brought on by the crisis, his subjects derived consolation and encouragement from His Majesty’s observations on how to conduct oneself in the face of such adversity. Our Monarch gave us a number of principles contained in His philosophy on “Sufficiency Economy”

I do not pretend to have a full grasp of the principles involved in all their profundity and intended intricacies, but I do know that it is surely in our best interest to make the effort, however modest, to understand and draw inspiration from the wisdom of His Majesty.

Sufficiency Economy has as its thrust “the middle path as the overriding principle for appropriate conduct by the populace at all levels”. The middle path, when practiced at the level of the individuals, families and communities, as well as collectively in the choice of a balanced national development strategy, will provide a firm foundation for all in standing up to the trials and

challenges of today's world. It means moderation in all human endeavors, reining in expectations to within the bounds of self-support and self-reliance, having enough to live on. It lessens human proneness to the extremes and excesses, both in our insatiable appetite for wealth and wasteful consumption, which marked the period leading up to the crisis.

Sufficiency Economy does not advocate isolationism but presupposes the inevitable process of increasing global interdependence. What it does envisage and promote is the way towards a smoother, and more successful, integration of the Thai economy into the sweeping and stormy process of globalization. Moderation could be the means by which the sail of interdependence can be trimmed and adjusted so as to prevent the boat from being capsized by over-dependence. We all have seen how over-dependence made us extremely vulnerable to the whims of international capital which, on its part was not immune to the influence of herd behavior.

Knowledge is an integral component of Sufficiency Economy. Our successive Chakri Kings have over the centuries placed great importance on learning from the outside world in ensuring the survival and the modernization

of our country. Today the acquisition of knowledge, not just in the sciences and the technologies but also of other nations' experiences in development and reforms, continues to play a central role in capacity building and in charting the course of our own national development. Here, his Majesty urges prudence in the application of knowledge, "in particular, great care is needed in the utilization of untested theories and methodologies for planning and implementation". The question which I have often asked myself in this connection, albeit with the benefit of hindsight, is whether we have been a little too unquestioning and a little too fast in embracing forces of the market from outside? Could we have been more discriminate and selective in our approach?

Sufficiency Economy seeks to strengthen the symbiosis and harmony between man and his natural environment. The crisis has brought into sharp focus His Majesty's lifelong work in agriculture and conservation, built up over the years with a great number of the Royally-initiated projects. Agriculture, the mainstay of the majority of the Thai population who are still toiling in poverty, can serve as a buffer against external shocks, testifying to the value of "getting back to basics". For too long, the growth-

oriented strategy has led to the rapid depletion of environmental assets priced cheaply at below their replacement cost. Conservation is but an integral part of sustainable development. His Majesty has truly been teaching us by example, be they His projects to restore watershed areas through reforestation, or to reverse desertification or to harness the sometimes destructive forces of nature such as flooding, benefiting at the same time from power generation and irrigation.

Towering above all else as a constant in any overall equation is the need "to strengthen the moral fiber of the nation, so that everyone, particularly public officials, theorists and businessmen, adheres first and foremost to the principles of honesty and integrity". It is true that at times people were badly demoralized on being turned into paupers overnight. Each, out of necessity, went his own way, caring little, if at all, for his fellow men. Moral fiber gradually reinforced, contributed to the collective national resilience, and seemed to be the single most important factor that kept us afloat and pulled us through the crisis.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

His Majesty's "Sufficiency Economy" was timely in pointing the way forward. It gave heart to His people when they were in dire need, and was so well received that it now provides the foundation for the formulation, now in progress, of the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (2002-2006).

Beyond the national context, "Sufficiency Economy" has been acclaimed by the international community at the Tenth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in February 2000 which expressly recognized His Majesty as "the Developer King". There is perhaps no better way to conclude my presentation than to repeat the tribute paid to His Majesty in the Statement of the Conference, and I quote

"This remarkable resilience reflects the strength of the Thai nation. And that strength has been nurtured and developed by His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the King of Thailand, who is the soul of his nation. Through his caring leadership, His Majesty has earned the abiding love and profound respect of his people, and through his thinking he has laid the foundation for and inspired his country's

development strategy. His Majesty's philosophy of a "sufficiency economy" now lies at the heart of Thailand's development thinking.... The experience of Thailand offers fundamental lessons to all of us and the Thai nation is living testimony to the efficacy of the King's actions and boundless compassion."

Thank you

“Thailand - A Monarchy in a Globalized World”

By

H.E.General Prem Tinsulanonda

President of The Privy Council and Statesman

The Asia Society, Washington D.C.

May 24, 2001



Excellencies,

Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply honored to be here in Washington D.C. addressing this distinguished gathering of friends of Thailand. For this privilege, I wish to thank our gracious co-hosts and organizers for the occasion : the Asia Society, the Bank of America and UNOCAL.

Our co-hosts all stand, in their own admirable ways, as living testimony to the mutually rewarding partnership between two firm friends and allies, the United States and the Kingdom of Thailand, which has been thriving for well over a century.

The subject I have chosen for today is one close to my heart. I hope to shed more light, from my own perspective, on my country's path of progress-social, political and economic, under the wise guidance of our beloved Monarch, His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. These will be but some thoughts on what we, as a Nation, have achieved, how we fared in recent past and where are we heading for in the face of unprecedented challenges of the new global environment.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thailand has been able to keep a steady hand in steering a course through the devastating shocks of the recent financial crisis. Our social fabric has withstood the kind of forces and disruptions well capable of tearing it apart. Hard won democratic values and institutions, long and carefully nurtured, not only survived but became more firmly embedded and strengthened.

This resilience, tested and proven time and again, bodes well for the future development of our widely acclaimed open society and open economy. Ask any Thai you may come across, he or she will be emphatic in his or

her conviction that our society and its resilience draw their strength and sustenance from the unifying role of our Monarchy.

In keeping with the traditional ideals of Thai Kingship, His Majesty has always been a leader of compassion who is alert to the needs of his people and conscious of his duty to guide them. His Majesty carries out this royal responsibility through a remarkable degree of personal contact and direct personal involvement in activities carefully crafted to promote the livelihood of His Majesty subjects, particularly the rural poor.

During over fifty years of His reign, His Majesty ceaselessly travelled the length and breadth of His Kingdom, defying physical discomforts and inconveniences, to ascertain for himself local conditions even in the remotest corner of the land. Central in His Majesty's approach to rural development was the desire for the rural community to be self-supporting. This has been achieved through the provision of basic facilities necessary for agricultural production such as secure water supply and effective irrigation. In addition, the local villagers have been introduced to the practical knowledge and appropriate technology of production through successful demonstration

models. For the migratory hilltribes living in the mountainous region along Thai-Lao and Thai-Myanmar borders, His Majesty has initiated crop substitution programs to replace traditional cultivation of opium poppies, and located educational and medical facilities at their settlements. Through the successful Hilltribe Development Projects, His Majesty has given the hilltribes a real sense of belonging to the Thai society.

Indeed, the personal bonds of understanding and affection between the Royal Family and the Thai people never seem to wane but continue to grow closer and stronger. The modern Monarchy has proven to the Thai people its relevance and vitality. The Monarchy became the focal point that brings together people from all backgrounds and shades of political thought and gives them an intense awareness of their common heritage of being Thai.

It is this potent moral force residing in the person of His Majesty which has on many an occasion pulled Thailand out from the brink of disasters. The King has been the ultimate stabilizing force when the country faced critical moments of seemingly deadlocked political confrontation. The King granted advice that eased

tensions and prevented more bloodshed. He provided equally wise counsel during Thailand's struggle against the insurgency, suggesting solutions aimed at relieving rural poverty and inspiring confidence in the government's constructive efforts. Each of these personal contributions of His Majesty stands as true milestones in the evolution of Thai democracy.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

For the past three decades, Thailand was one of the few economies growing at the fastest rates in the world. Income per head stood at almost 3,000 dollars in 1996, a big leap from less than 700 dollars in 1980. Then in 1997, the crisis hit us with such a severity that went far beyond the bounds of our imagination and experience. As a nation, we were impoverished overnight. Hardest hit were those lacking the resources and social protection to fall back on - the unemployed, the poor, small business, and marginal farmers.

Much soul-searching followed the crisis, and, with it, also a search for a new way. We found inspiration in the philosophy of "Sufficiency Economy" which His Majesty

synthesized from his lifelong work and experience in development. For the Nation, Sufficiency Economy represents an enlightened way forward, as a feasible approach to achieving the common objective of a stable, equitable, and durable development for all the people and communities in our land.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since the crisis, globalization has often been seized upon by some as the ready scapegoat for the havoc created in its wake. In this new era, spurred on by information technology, borders have become less significant leading to an increasingly integrated global economy. Globalization confers benefits on countries adept at taking advantage of opportunities, but at the same time it exacts heavy punishment from countries caught unprepared or treating it lightly.

Countries, large and small, can be highly vulnerable to external shocks, be it volatility in capital flows, exchange rate risk, export competitiveness, and contagion risk. Thailand was no exception. Having benefits greatly during the previous three decades of rapid growth, Thailand

let down its guard and left itself badly exposed to those risks.

For Thailand, the severest external shock was the massive capital inflow. By the end of 1996, private sector short-term foreign loans reached the unprecedented height of 70 billion US dollars. Such flows were a double-edged sword. While it fueled the burgeoning economic growth, it also engendered latent hazards in the mounting current account deficits. The exit of capital flows proved faster than its entry, following the "herd behavior" in the loss of investor confidence, which led to the severe liquidity and currency crises.

Sadly, opportunities were squandered when borrowed capital was channeled into non-productive sectors. Economic development was defined and understood too narrowly, which resulted in extremes and excesses. Economic growth, higher incomes and material accumulation were being pursued increasingly as ends in themselves. Conspicuous consumption was being confused with economic development itself, as were prestige projects and prestigious material trappings. The needed sense of self-reliance and prudence as collective values were gradually cast aside.

In our headlong rush for overall growth, we downgraded the one key essential in economic and social development, namely, alleviation of poverty. I have long held the view that poverty is the root of all problems facing our nation, and most of my life in public service has been dedicated to the task of alleviating poverty, in the firm belief that it would help solving each and every one of those problems. But this crisis made the yawning gap between the haves and have-nots widen even further, against a background of searing costs and disappearing social warmth. Unrelenting quest for material wealth seemed to have undermined compassion and caring, which in turn weakened the social fabric, community bond, and traditional values.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let it be misunderstood, globalization, in my mind, can be a force for good and is above all a stark reality that cannot be wished away, nor can it be stopped. We have no choice but to integrate ourselves into the new global environment. In this task it is imperative for us to find a way to make the most of the opportunities while shielding ourselves from the negative aspects of globalization.

On the brighter side, I fully agree with those who say that we have managed, with much personal sacrifices and despite the social costs, to achieve a turn-around from the 1997 crisis. But, clearly, we should draw some lessons from our unhappy experience. We simply cannot go on with our old ways and old habits as if nothing has happened.

Over the years, His Majesty the King has graciously reminded us constantly not to lose our bearings, not to be lured by the glitter of empty labels: being hailed as a "tiger economy" or a "newly industrialized country", as it turned out, had little overindulgence in luxury, but enough. Sufficiency is moderation in all human activities, reining in craving and greed to within the bounds of self-support and self-reliance, having enough to live on. If one has less greed, one will not take advantage of others in the fulfillment of one's desires. It thus lessens human proneness to the extremes and excesses, both in our insatiable appetite for wealth and wasteful consumption, which marked the period leading up to the crisis.

"Sufficiency Economy" does not advocate isolationism but presupposes the inevitable process of increasing global interdependence. What it does envisage and promote is the way towards a smoother, and more successful, integration

of the Thai economy into the sweeping and stormy process of globalization. Moderation could be the means by which the sail of interdependence can be trimmed and adjusted so as to prevent the boat from being capsized by over-dependence. We all have seen how over-dependence made us extremely vulnerable to the whims of international capital which, on its part, was not immune to the influence of herd behavior.

Knowledge is an integral component of Sufficiency Economy. Our successive Chakri Kings have over the centuries placed great importance on learning from the outside world in ensuring the survival and the modernization of our country. Today the acquisition of knowledge, not just in the sciences and the technologies but also of other nation's experiences in development and reforms, continues to play a central role in capacity building and in charting the course of our own national development. Here, His Majesty urges prudence in the application of knowledge, "in particular, great care is needed in the utilization of untested theories and methodologies for planning and implementation". The question which I have often asked myself in this connection, albeit with the benefit of hindsight, is whether we have been a little too unquestioning and a little too fast

in embracing forces of the market from outside? Could we have been more discriminate and selective in our approach?

"Sufficiency Economy" seeks to strengthen the symbiosis and harmony between man and his natural environment. The crisis has brought into sharp focus His Majesty's lifelong work in agriculture and conservation, built up over the years with a great number of the Royally-initiated projects. Agriculture, the mainstay of the majority of the Thai population who are still toiling in poverty, can serve as a buffer against external shocks, testifying to the value of "getting back at basics". For too long, the growth-oriented strategy has led to the rapid depletion of environmental assets priced cheaply at below their replacement cost. Conservation is but an integral part of sustainable development. His Majesty has truly been teaching us by examples, be they His projects to restore watershed areas through reforestation, or to reverse desertification or to harness the sometimes destructive forces of nature such as flooding benefiting at the same time from power generation and irrigation.

Towering above all else as a constant in any overall equation is the need "to strengthen the moral fiber of the nation, so that everyone, particularly public officials, theorists and businessmen, adheres first and foremost to the principles of honesty and integrity". It is true that at times people were badly demoralized on being turned into paupers overnight. Each, out of necessity, went his own way, caring little, if at all, for his fellow men. Moral fiber, gradually reinforced, contributed to the collective national resilience, and seemed to be the single most important factor that kept us afloat and pulled us through the crisis.

His Majesty's "Sufficiency Economy." was timely in pointing the way forward. It gave heart to his people when they were in dire need, and was so well received that it now provides the foundation for the formulation, now in progress, of the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (2002-2006). And, beyond the national context, "Sufficiency Economy" has been acclaimed by the international community at the Tenth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in February 2000 which expressly recognized His Majesty as

“the Developer King”.

Permit me, here, to draw on the tribute paid to His Majesty in the Statement of the UNCTAD Conference, and I quote

“This remarkable resilience reflects the strength of the Thai nation. And that strength has been nurtured and developed by His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the King of Thailand, who is the soul of his nation, Through his caring leadership, His Majesty has earned the abiding love and profound respect of his people, and through his thinking he has laid the foundation for and inspired his country's development strategy. His Majesty's philosophy of a “Sufficiency Economy” now lies at the heart of Thailand's development thinking...The experience of Thailand offers fundamental lessons to all of us and the Thai nation is living testimony of the efficacy of the King's actions and boundless compassion.”

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It has always been-and, in my view, always will be, the case that Thailand's destiny is firmly tied to the wise leadership and unifying force of our Monarchy.

During the over fifty years of His reign, His Majesty has more than demonstrated the relevance and vitality of our supreme institution, guiding us through the difficult but steady transformation of Thailand into the modern nation that it is today.

Thank you





สถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์เป็นสัญลักษณ์ของชาติ เป็นศูนย์รวมแห่งจิตใจของประชาชนชาวไทย ทุกคน ซึ่ง ฯพลฯ พลเอกเปรม ติณสูลานนท์ ประธานองคมนตรี และรัฐบุรุษ ได้แสดงออกตลอดชีวิตว่า มีความเคารพเทิดทูนและจงรักภักดีในองค์พระมหากษัตริย์และพระราชวงศ์อย่างยิ่งยวด เป็นที่ประจักษ์แจ้งแก่บุคคลทั้งหลายทั่วไป



การปราศรัยในคติเตือนใจและแนวทางพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจและสังคมไทย ได้ส่งผลให้เกิดความสำนึก "เกิดมาต้องตอบแทนบุญคุณแผ่นดิน" และการรณรงค์ "คุณค่าของความเป็นไทย-นิยมไทย"



ฯพณฯ ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์ มุลงนิธิรัฐบุรุษ พลเอกเปรม ติณสูลานนท์ ร่วมประชุม คณะกรรมการอำนวยการในโครงการอันยังประโยชน์แก่สังคมไทยและชาติไทย ในการรณรงค์ "ความซื่อสัตย์ สุจริต เสียสละ และจงรักภักดี" โครงการพัฒนาชนบทยากไร้ทั่วประเทศ การส่งเสริมการศึกษาเยาวชน โครงการศูนย์สุขภาพผู้สูงอายุทุกภาค โครงการค่ายอาสาพัฒนาจากสถาบันการศึกษา เหล่าทัพ และอุดมศึกษา ในชุมชนชายแดนทุรกันดาร และส่งเสริม "ความรู้รักสามัคคี"



ด้วยความสัมพันธ์ไมตรีอันดียั้ง
ระหว่างประเทศ โดยเฉพาะ ไทย - ฝรั่งเศส
ประธานาธิบดี จาร์ก ชีรัก ได้มอบเครื่อง
อิสริยาภรณ์ชั้นสูงสุดแก่ ฯพณฯ ประธาน
องคมนตรี เมื่อ ๑๖ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๔๑
และได้รับแต่งตั้งเป็นสมาชิกของ สถาบัน
อิสรากรณ์อันมีเกียรติยิ่งนี้ ณ กรุงปารีส
ฝรั่งเศส ด้วย



ฯพณฯ ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ เป็นหัวหน้าคณะผู้แทนประเทศไทย ในการฉลองครบ ๑๐๐ ปี สัมพันธไมตรี ไทย - รัสเซีย ทั้งภาครัฐและเอกชน ที่กรุงมอสโก และเซนต์ปีเตอส์เบิร์ก



ฯพณฯ ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ เป็นประธานประชุมนานาชาติ เรื่อง "พัฒนาสมอง-พัฒนาคน" บรรยายโดย ประธานสหพันธ์ประสาทวิทยาโลก และผู้เชี่ยวชาญด้านหลอดเลือดสมอง ที่สถาบันประสาทวิทยา ด้วยการสนับสนุนจากมูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ



ประธานาธิบดีจีน เชิญ ฯพณฯ ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ เป็นแขกของ
รัฐบาลไปเยือนกรุงปักกิ่ง ซีอาน และเซี่ยงไฮ้ โดยประธานาธิบดี พาสม ระเบียบปรัชญา
ที่ผู้นำบริหารของจีนนั่งวางแผนเพื่อความผาสุกของประชาชนในประเทศที่ใหญ่ที่สุดในโลก



ในการเยี่ยมเยือนศึกษาวัฒนธรรมตะวันออกและตะวันตก ที่นครอิสตันบูล ตุรกี
มีคณะทัศนศึกษาไทยไปเยี่ยมชมพิพิธภัณฑ์สถานอันเป็นการเชื่อมโยงระหว่างเอเชียกับยุโรป



ฯพณฯ ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ เป็นประธานในการประชุมนานาชาติทางประสาทวิทยา โดย มูลนิธิศาสตราจารย์ประสพ รัตนากร ร่วมกับ สถาบันประสาทวิทยาจัดขึ้น ด้วยความสนใจจากนักวิทยาศาสตร์ในภูมิภาคเอเชียอย่างคับคั่ง



ฯพณฯ ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ เป็นประธานในการเปิดประชุมนานาชาติเรื่อง "เวชศาสตร์ผู้สูงอายุที่กรุงเทพฯ"



ฯพณฯ ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ และคณะ “มูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ พลเอกเปรม ติณสูลานนท์” เยี่ยมชม สถาบันโนเบเด และ ราชสภาวิทยาศาสตร์แห่งสวีเดน ที่กรุงสต็อกโฮล์ม เพื่อประชุมผลกระทบจากสิ่งแวดล้อมต่อสมอง ด้วยความร่วมมือของ องค์การยูเนสโก และองค์การอนามัยโลก



คณะกรรมการอำนวยการ “มูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ พลเอกเปรม ติณสูลานนท์” และ คณะ ๑๑ ร่วมแสดงความยินดีในวาระครบ ๘๐ ปี ของ ฯพณฯ ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์



ด้วยความ “ซื่อสัตย์ สุจริต เสียสละ และจงรักภักดี” เป็นที่ยิ่ง ๆ หนา ๆ รัฐบุรุษ เทิดทูนและจงรักภักดีในองค์พระมหากษัตริย์ อย่างยิ่งยวด เป็นที่ประจักษ์แก่บุคคลในชาติ

ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์มูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ เป็นผู้นำในความเป็นไทย-นิยมไทย และส่งเสริมคุณค่าของความเป็นไทย



คำกล่าวเปิดการสัมมนาเชิงอภิปราย
เรื่อง “รวมพลังสามัคคีสู้วิกฤต”

โดย

ฯพณฯ พล.อ.เปรม ติณสูลานนท์

ประธานองคมนตรีและรัฐบุรุษ

เมื่อวันจันทร์ที่ ๘ ก.ค.๕๕

ณ โรงแรม โซล ทวิน ทาวเวอร์ กรุงเทพมหานคร



ขอขอบคุณท่านผู้บัญชาการทหารสูงสุด ท่านเลขาธิการสภาความมั่นคงแห่งชาติ ที่กรุณาเชิญผมมาร่วมในพิธีเปิดการสัมมนา หัวข้อสำคัญของชาติบ้านเมืองของเราในวันนี้ ผมดีใจและภูมิใจมากที่ท่านทั้งหลายล้วนแต่เป็นผู้ใหญ่ในชาติบ้านเมืองของเรามีบทบาทสำคัญในการที่จะดูแลรักษาชาติบ้านเมือง ต่างได้เสียสละเวลา มาปรึกษาหารือกัน แลกเปลี่ยนความคิดเห็นกัน แลกเปลี่ยนความไม่เห็นด้วยซึ่งกันและกัน เพื่อแก้ไขสถานการณ์ เลขาธิการสภาความมั่นคงแห่งชาติ พูดถึงสถานการณ์วิกฤตของชาติบ้านเมืองในปัจจุบันนี้ ผมคิดว่าการกระทำของท่านทั้งหลายในคราวนี้จะเป็นตัวอย่างที่ดีให้กลุ่มอื่น ๆ ที่มีหน้าที่ดูแลชาติบ้านเมืองเหมือนกัน ได้กระทำอย่างนี้ เพื่อที่ว่าเราจะได้คำตอบที่ดีที่สุด ที่ตรงเป้าหมายที่สุด ในการแก้ไขสถานการณ์วิกฤตของชาติบ้านเมืองของเรา

หัวข้อการสัมมนาในวันนี้มีความหมายและมีความสำคัญมาก เพราะการรวมพลังเพื่อแก้ไขวิกฤตของชาติเป็นสิ่งเดียวที่ดีที่สุด ที่ง่ายที่สุด และตรงเป้าหมายที่สุดที่พวกเราทำได้ผู้ที่มาร่วมสัมมนาในวันนี้ก็ล้วนแต่เป็นผู้ที่มีความรู้มีประสบการณ์

เป็นที่ยกย่องนับถือของคนในชาติ ผู้บัญชาการทหารสูงสุด กิติ ผู้บัญชาการเหล่าทัพ กิติ ล้วนแต่เป็นผู้ที่คนไทยหวังว่าจะดูแลชาติบ้านเมืองของเราให้มีความสงบ ให้ประชาชนมีความสุข และให้ชาติของเราพัฒนาไปได้โดยไม่มีความขัดแย้งกัน ระหว่างคนในชาติ ฉะนั้นการสัมมนาวันนี้ผมหวังว่าเมื่อเราสัมมนาแล้วเราจะ ได้คำตอบ หรือทางทหารเรียกว่า **หนทางปฏิบัติ** หรือข้าราชการบางส่วนเรียกว่า **ทางเลือก** เพื่อที่จะก่อให้เกิดการรวมพลังสามัคคีผู้วิกฤตของชาติบ้านเมือง

ผมเคยร่วมสัมมนา เปิดสัมมนาหลายเรื่อง หลายครั้ง โดยมากการสัมมนาเป็นการดีมาก แต่เมื่อสัมมนาแล้วผลที่เราได้รับจากการสัมมนามักจะเป็น เอกสารสูงสัก ๑๕ เซนติเมตร หรือมากกว่านั้น และทุกคนก็เอาเอกสารเหล่านั้น ไปเก็บ เก็บไว้ที่ในลิ้นชักโดยไม่นำไปใช้ และวันดีคืนดีก็เอาหัวข้อที่เคยสัมมนา กันแล้วเอามาสัมมนากันอีกเพื่อให้เกิดเอกสารที่สูง ๑๐-๑๕ เซนติเมตรอีก เรื่องนี้เป็นเรื่องให้เห็นชัดเจนมาก เราเคยจัดสัมมนาในประเทศเพื่อการศึกษากันมาตั้ง ๑๐ กว่าปีแล้ว คุณหมอเกษม วัฒนชัย คงจะตอบคำถามนี้ได้ดี เราเคยสัมมนา เรื่องการขุดคอคอดกระดีหรือไม่ดี ป่านนี้ก็ยังไม่มียุติว่าดีหรือไม่ดี ควรทำหรือไม่ควรทำ เราเคยเสียเงินเสียทองไปเป็นจำนวนมาก เสียโอกาสไปก็มาก เสียเวลาไปก็มากแต่แล้วก็ “ยังไม่ได้คำตอบ” ยังไม่ได้คำสมัยใหม่ที่พวกเราเรียกกันว่า **ยุทธศาสตร์** ในการแก้ไขปัญหา เพื่อที่จะนำไปใช้ให้เกิดประโยชน์จริง ๆ ผมคิดว่า การสัมมนาครั้งนี้คงจะไม่เป็นอย่างที่เคยที่สัมมนามาแล้ว

พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรงพระราชทานพระบรมราโชวาทไว้หลายแห่ง หลายที่ หลายตอน หลายเรื่อง ว่าเรื่องหนึ่งที่พระราชทานมาก็คือให้คนไทย “รู้จัก สามัคคี” เรื่องของการ “รู้จักสามัคคี” นี้พอจะนำมาใช้ในการสัมมนาครั้งนี้ได้แน่นอน เพราะว่าถ้าคนไทย ไม่มีความรัก ไม่มีความรักตนเอง ครอบครัว สังคม และ ประเทศชาติ เราก็ไม่สามารถที่จะรวมพลังได้ เพราะความรักเป็นสิ่งจูงใจที่ดีที่สุด

สิ่งหนึ่งที่เราควรจะทำให้เกิดขึ้นในหมู่คนไทยของเรา ไม่ว่าจะนับถือศาสนาใดๆ ต้องรู้จักค่าของความเป็นไทย เพื่อเอาค่าของความเป็นไทยไปใช้ประโยชน์ให้แก่ประเทศไทยของเรา เพราะฉะนั้นผมคิดว่าเราน่าจะเริ่มต้นพูดถึงความรัก เมื่อมีความรักก็ต้องมีความสามัคคีแน่นอน พลังที่เรากำลังพูดถึงรวมพลังสามัคคีนี้ที่จริงคนไทยมีพลังอยู่แล้วทั้งนั้น แต่พลังเหล่านี้กระจัดกระจายไปอยู่บางที่บางแห่งไม่มารวมกันเป็นพลังของชาติเพื่อที่จะไปต่อสู้กับวิกฤต ทำไมพลังนั้นถึงกระจัดกระจายอยู่ตามที่แตกต่างกัน เช่น ในหมู่สถาบันทหาร ข้าราชการพลเรือน นักธุรกิจ นักวิชาการ เป็นต้น แต่ไม่มารวมกันเป็นหนึ่งพลังของชาติ อันนี้เห็นจะต้องพูดถึงเรื่องนี้ด้วยในการสัมมนา เรื่องปัญหาของชาติบ้านเมืองที่เรา กำลังจะพูดกัน สัมมนาในวันนี้ล้วนแต่มีความสำคัญ มีผลกระทบต่อชาติบ้านเมืองเป็นอย่างยิ่งทั้งนั้น จะไม่ต้องกล่าวว่าปัญหาคืออะไรบ้าง แต่เพื่อให้ชัดเจนว่า

ปัญหาที่สำคัญยิ่งของชาติบ้านเมืองของเราคือ

- ๑) ปัญหาความมั่นคง
- ๒) ปัญหาความยากจน
- ๓) ปัญหายาเสพติด
- ๔) ปัญหาคอร์รัปชันของคนในชาติบ้านเมืองของเรา

ฉะนั้นถ้าเราสามารถนำสิ่งเหล่านี้ขึ้นมาพูดจากันแล้วหายุทธศาสตร์ที่จะแก้ไขปัญหานี้อย่างไร ผมคิดว่าถ้าเราทำใน ๔ เรื่องนี้ได้สำเร็จจริง ๆ พวกเราจะเป็นผู้ที่ได้รับความยกย่องสรรเสริญจากคนไทยทั้งหมดว่า ได้ทุ่มเทเพื่อที่จะแก้ปัญหาให้แก่เขาแก่ชาติบ้านเมืองได้จริง ๆ

ความเห็นส่วนตัวของผม ผมว่าคนไทยมีข้อด้อยอยู่ ๒-๓ ประการ คนไทยไม่ค่อยสนใจเรื่องไกลตัว หรืออะไรที่ไกล ๆ ตัว คนไทยไม่ค่อยสนใจ นอกจากเข้ามาใกล้ตัวจริง ๆ คนไทยไม่ค่อยให้ความสนใจกับ เรื่องที่มีผลกระทบต่อส่วนรวม

แต่กลับไปให้ความสำคัญในเรื่องที่มีผลกระทบต่อส่วนตนมากกว่าส่วนรวม คนไทยไม่สนใจกับเรื่องที่ไม่มีส่วนได้ส่วนเสีย คนไทยมักจะอ้างว่าเรื่องนั้น เรื่องนี้ เป็นเรื่องของคนนั้น คนนี้ ไม่ใช่เรื่องของผม ชุระไม่ใช่ ผมไม่จำเป็นที่จะต้องเข้าไปยุ่งทำไมผมจะต้องเข้าไปยุ่งให้เปลืองตัว ให้เจ็บตัว นี่คือข้อด้อยของสังคมไทย ซึ่งผมคิดว่าถ้าเราพูดกันอย่างตรงไปตรงมาอย่างชัดเจน อย่างไม่กลัวเกรงว่าเขาจะโกรธเราน่าจะดีและน่าจะแก้ข้อด้อยเหล่านี้ได้

ผมขอเสนอแนะเป็นเรื่องส่วนตัวว่า วิธีที่จะแก้ไขสิ่งที่เป็นอยู่ต่อการรวมพลังสามัคคีสู้วิกฤต หรือจะพูดให้กว้างไปกว่านั้นว่า วิธีแก้ไขที่จะขจัดอุปสรรคที่จะเป็นอุปสรรคต่อการพัฒนาชาติบ้านเมือง อุปสรรคในการที่จะดำรงรักษาความมั่นคงของชาติบ้านเมืองที่ง่ายที่สุดไม่ต้องลงทุนเลย และทำได้ทุกเวลาดังแต่บัดนี้เป็นต้นไป คือ การประพฤติตนเป็นตัวอย่างที่ดีแก่สังคมของคนในชาติ ผมคิดว่าสังคมในบ้านเมืองของเรา ที่อยู่ที่นี่ ผู้บัญชาการทหารสูงสุด ผู้บัญชาการทหารบก ผู้บัญชาการทหารเรือ และผู้บัญชาการทหารอากาศ ท่านเหล่านี้เป็นที่ยอมรับของคนในชาติบ้านเมือง ถ้าคนที่คนยอมรับ คนในชาติบ้านเมืองยอมรับไม่ว่าจะเป็นใครที่โหนแสดงตัวอย่างที่ดีให้คนอื่นเห็นว่าคนที่รักษาชาติบ้านเมือง คนที่เห็นแก่ส่วนรวม คนที่ต้องการที่ จะเห็นความผาสุกของประชาชน คนที่ต้องการขจัดความยากจนของชาวบ้าน แสดงตัวอย่างว่าวิธีที่จะทำที่ดีที่สุดคือ ต้องทำอย่างนี้ ๑ ๒ ๓ ๔ ๕ ๖ ๗ ๘ ฯลฯ ผมคิดว่านี่คือสิ่งที่เราน่าจะปลุกฝังลงไปยังผู้ได้บังคับบัญชาของเราตามลำดับ ในกองบัญชาการทหารสูงสุดไปสู่เหล่าทัพต่างๆ เหล่าทัพไปสู่กองเรือ ไปสู่ข้าราชการพลเรือน กระทรวง ทบวง กรม จากปลัดกระทรวงไปสู่อธิบดี อธิบดีลงไปสู่ผู้อำนวยการกอง ทุกคนแสดงให้เห็นตามลำดับชั้นอย่างนี้ ผมคิดว่าคือคำตอบที่ง่ายที่ดีที่ถูกต้องที่สุดที่ไม่ต้องเสียงบประมาณเลย และเป็นความภาคภูมิใจของเราที่จะกระทำตนเป็นตัวอย่างที่ดีต่อผู้อื่นด้วย

ผมขอเสนอ ความคิดเห็นส่วนตัวอย่างนี้ต่อผู้มีเกียรติทั้งหลายที่กรุณามาในวันนี้ ก่อนจบผมขอขอบคุณ ท่านผู้บัญชาการทหารสูงสุด และท่านผู้มีเกียรติทุกท่าน ผมดีใจที่มีคนมากันมากเต็มห้องนี้ ผมคิดว่าวันนี้ น่าจะเป็นวันที่เราจะได้รับประโยชน์จากการสัมมนากันในครั้งนี้ เป็นวันที่ชาติบ้านเมืองของเราจะได้รับประโยชน์หรือกล่าวอีกนัยหนึ่งว่าเป็นวันที่เราได้มีโอกาส ได้กระทำการสิ่งที่จะ

ตอบแทนบุญคุณแผ่นดินที่เราอาศัยเกิดมา

ผมขอขอบคุณท่านทั้งหลายอีกครั้งหนึ่ง

ขอขอบคุณมากครับ

● **องค์คุณความดี** ●

หนึ่งจงรักภักดีศรัทธาศรัย
สองซื่อสัตย์สุจริต
สามรู้เสียสละพร้อมยอมอุทิศ
คือนิมิตมงคลของคนดี

ขอมงคลความดีศรีประเสริฐ
จงบังเกิดแก่ผู้รู้หน้าที่
จงเจริญเกียรติยศปรากฏมี
พระพรศรีโปรดประทานแต่ท่านเทอญ

๗๒

วัตถุประสงค์ของมูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ

๑. ส่งเสริมความซื่อสัตย์ สุจริต เสียสละ และจงรักภักดี ของคนในชาติ
๒. ส่งเสริมและปลูกฝังค่านิยมอันดีงามตามแบบฉบับวัฒนธรรมไทย
๓. สนับสนุนและส่งเสริมเผยแพร่วัฒนธรรมไทยไปสู่ประชาชนให้กว้างขวางยิ่งขึ้น
๔. สนับสนุนและส่งเสริมให้มีการปฏิบัติตามกฎหมายที่เกี่ยวกับวัฒนธรรม โดยเคร่งครัด
๕. ส่งเสริมและสนับสนุนหน่วยงานของราชการและเอกชนที่มีวัตถุประสงค์คล้ายคลึงกัน
๖. ร่วมมือกับองค์การการกุศลอื่นๆ เพื่อสาธารณประโยชน์

มูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ พลเอก เปรม ติณสูลานนท์

รายนามคณะกรรมการอำนวยการ

๒๕๔๓ - ๒๕๔๖



ฯพณฯ พลเอก เปรม ติณสูลานนท์ ประธานกิตติมศักดิ์

๑. ศ.นพ.ประสพ	รัตนากร	ประธานกรรมการอำนวยการ
๒. นายชาติตรี	โสภณพนิช	รองประธานกรรมการ (๑)
๓. พลเอก นพ	พิณสายแก้ว	รองประธานกรรมการ (๒)
๔. นายวิระ	รณะรูป	เหรัญญิก
๕. พล.ร.อ.ประเจตน์	ศิริเดช	เลขาธิการ
๖. พลเอก ณฑล	บุญทับ	กรรมการประชาสัมพันธ์
๗. ร.ท.ศุภี	มหาสันทนะ	กรรมการ
๘. พล.อ.อ.มรว.ศิริพงษ์	ทองใหญ่	กรรมการ
๙. พล.ร.อ.วิเศษรัฐ	การุณยวนิช	กรรมการ
๑๐. นายเจริญ	สิริวัฒนภักดี	กรรมการ
๑๑. ท่านผู้หญิงชนัตถ์	ปิยะอูย	กรรมการ
๑๒. ร.ต.ท.ฉัตรชัย	บุญยะอนันต์	กรรมการ
๑๓. ม.ล.ตรีทศยุทธ	เทวกุล	กรรมการ
๑๔. นายยงศักดิ์	คณาธนะวณิชย์	กรรมการ
๑๕. นางกัลยาณี	พรธนะเชษฐ	กรรมการ
๑๖. นายดิลก	มหาดำรงกุล	กรรมการ
๑๗. พลเอก เอกจิตต์	ติณสูลานนท์	กรรมการ



ด้วยความมุ่งมั่นในสัมพันธไมตรีระหว่างประเทศ และด้วยความ
จริงใจต่อมิตรประเทศ มหาวิทยาลัยสิงคโปร์ โดยประธานาธิบดี
ได้มอบปริญญากิตติมศักดิ์คุณวุฒิบัณฑิตทางกฎหมาย เป็นเกียรติยศ

หนังสือลำดับที่ ๔๒ สงวนลิขสิทธิ์ โดยมูลนิธิรัฐบุรุษ พลเอก เปรม ติณสูลานนท์
เผยแพร่โดย คณะอนุกรรมการส่งเสริมกิจการม
ศาลาพำนัก เลขที่ ๓๑๒ ถนนราชวิถี เขตราชวิถี กรุงเทพมหานคร ๑๐๕๐๐
โทรศัพท์ ๐-๒๒๕๕-๙๕๙๖, ๐-๒๒๕๔-๖๗๒๗ โทรสาร ๐-๒๒๕๖-๔๔๒๗, ๐-๒๖๔๒-๗๗๗๐