CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Chuan 2 administration during 1997-2001 advocated the "Constructive Engagement" which tried to promote democracy and human rights protection in Myanmar.

The basic standing point of Chuan 2 administration was the "Constructive Engagement" adopted by ASEAN which will not isolate Myanmar and persuade with patience. Chuan 2 administration tried to avoid security risks and ruptures in the Thai-Burmese diplomatic-economic relations. However, Burmese SPDC Government did not cooperate for crackdown on the UWSA drug production near Northern Thai - Myanmar border areas because SPDC feared the affection to the SPDCUWSA ceasefire agreement which might lead to reopen fighting with UWSA. Chuan 2 administration and Thai army led by General Surayud decided to implement drastic and aggressive UWSA drug crackdown operation in Northern Thai- Burmese border areas even though it might affect to Thai-Burmese diplomatic relation.

Policy of Chuan 2 administration in processes of interaction with Burmese Government was decided in the same direction under the same definition of the above mentioned basic standing point by most of decision-makers. "Articulation of legitimate policies" by Chuan 2 administration and Army Commander Surayud won the support of majority Thai people who supported global democratization and have feelings of hostility against illegal drug producer such as UWSA which brought disaster spreading whole country. Chuan did not

behave as a dictator or even strong leadership performer and refrained from drastic severe criticism against or interference into personnel transfer of decisionmakers within his coalition government and other institutions such as Privy Council and military. Therefore, Chuan had no motivation tube top-down order issuer and tried to be a good coordinator who maintained "Communication and Information". It had no critical confrontation of "Spheres Competence" within the government or cabinet and other institutions under Chuan 2 administration. Chuan administration recognized the Thai society's Buddhism compassion-merit making reciprocal assistance based "Major Common Value Orientation" consist of interoccupational global democracy and human rights and also maintained the delicate balance of "Major Institute Patterns" of politics in Thailand, Royal family (Privy Council) - Government (Political Parties) - Military in the adoption to the globalization. The personality of Chuan should be classified as communicator who coordinated by go-between mediation within his administration decision makers including military. Burmese SPDC government responded Thai policy for Myanmar under Chuan 2 administration quite negatively by negligence for crackdown on UWSA, closure of borders opposite Northern Thailand and also ban of import of several kinds of Thai goods in opening borders. However, majority Thai people supported Chuan 2 administration's policy to suppress illegal drug producer in Myanmar as the right measure. The policy to stay within ASEAN's "Constructive Engagement" policy framework for Myanmar was also welcomed by Thai domestic social organizations. Thai economic sectors also wished Burmese democratization and ethnic autonomy in order to expel obstacles

for economic relation. Thai and Burmese private business sector demand expansion of trade and investment including tourism promotion. Thai-Burmese mutual social-private sectors relations have no factors to escalate as mutual hostilities. Thai reactions against Burmese dictatorship policy which caused refugee, migrant and drug rampant disaster problem in Thailand were assistance for refugees and democratic dissidents, drastic action against UWSA, and praise of SSA-South in their drug suppression. Burmese reactions against Thai policy were insistence of its own version of united and disciplined democracy, closure of border passes and ban of Thai good import by selecting China as economic-military partner.

Policy of Chuan 2 administration in processes of interaction with Burmese Government made the "Reward Payoff" in economic gain as market, labor and natural resources from Myanmar by allowing some "free riding" by Myanmar. Thailand had been patient for political problems such as suppression against democratic dissident, human rights abuse, refugees, illegal migrants, smuggling and human trafficking in and from Myanmar. Myanmar made "Reward Payoff" in economic gain as consumption goods, construction materials, refined petroleum, investment and tourists from Thailand by allowing some "free riding" by Thailand. Myanmar has been patient for political problem such as the existence of democratic dissident and minority activist in Thailand. At first, Chuan 2 administration and SPDC had the high capacity of "Limit of Power", "Inherent Flexibility of Cooperation" or "Margin of Safety" to tolerate for the above mentioned free-riding each other as a compromise for reciprocal economic payoff

in the "Win-Win Situation". However, later Chuan 2 administration estimated that the endless increasing of the illegal drug production and smuggling into Thailand mainly by UWSA and lack of SPDC's crackdown had exceeded the "Limit of Power" or capacity of tolerance while Myanmar could not accept drastic action against UWSA such as destruction of UWSA drug factories inside Myanmar and praise of SSA-South in their drug suppression by Chuan 2 administration. Both Thailand and Myanmar estimated the "Probability of Defection" was as high as almost exceeding the limit of the mutual credibility. The final decision of Chuan 2 administration was the drastic crackdown on UWSA drug facilities inside Myanmar while SPDC's decision was the attack of SSA-South bases from Thai territory. Therefore, in the last period of Chuan 2 administration, the "Degree of Conflict of Interest" was accelerated and Thai- Myanmar bilateral political relation was deteriorated even though Chuan 2 administration and SPDC still have some "Efficacy" or the rate of transfer of payoff each other.

Chuan 2 administration had the clear contract both in domestic and foreign policies. Chuan 2 promotes democracy and human right to Myanmar and support minority groups in Myanmar. That is why Thai Government has always given special attentions to the conflict between minority groups and Burmese army, thinking that if Thailand did not handle the situation properly, it could be escalated to be a bigger armed conflict between Thailand and Burmese. However, as politics in Thailand has not been so stable, different Governments might use different actions forward this conflict within Burmese border. So it is interesting to study different Thai Government's handling this sensitive issue.