

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Problem

Thaksin was in power from 2001 until 2006. Thaksin Shinawatra was the 23 Prime Minister of Thailand. In the first period of Thaksin, he was accused to do corruption and Finland plot (there were allegations that Thaksin Shinawatra and some of his Thai Rak Thai party colleagues had hatched a plan to create a republic in Thailand and this added to claims that Thaksin was anti-monarchy) that is why the Yellow Shirt (People's Alliance for Democracy / PAD) establishes and leads by Sondhi Limthongkul- owned Manager Daily newspaper. The Red Shirt (United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship) (UDD) establish after coup d'état. To against the coup d'état, the red shirt disagree with Thai Government.¹

The Thailand crisis that erupted in late 2005 and led to the military coup in 2006 ousting the elected government of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra has been unmistakably characterized as a color-coded conflict between two main factions in the political society. The Yellow Shirts who submit their loyalty to the traditional elite and the Red Shirts who represent a wide spectrum of the masses, from the low and middle classes and from the rural and urban areas. The aim of the Yellow Shirts is unambiguous maintaining the old status quo whereby the political power remains tightly in the hands of the elite, consisting of the palace, the military, senior bureaucrats and allied businesses.

¹ Thanet Aphornsuvan, "Nation-State and the Muslim Identity in the Southern Unrest and Violence" In Understanding Conflict and Approaching Peace in Southern Thailand, ed. Imtiyaz Yusuf and Lars Peter Schmidt, Bangkok: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2006, pp.92-127; Patrick Jory, ed., Ghost of the Past in Southern Thailand, Singapore : National University of Singapore, 2013; Duncan McCargo, Tearing Apart the Land : Islam and Legitimacy in Southern Thailand, New York : Cornell University Press, 2008, Introduction

The Political development leading to corruption and bad governance, In Thailand so as to show how good governance can be constrained by politics. By political development, and particularly refer to the recent power play rise to democratic deficit or retreat. This also led to corruption and bad governance in the country.

This research argues that the overthrowing of Thaksin Shinawatra's government by mean of coup d'état in 2006 by the military junta was to de-develop Thailand politics and created negative political governance. Furthermore, though the main reason of the coup d'état was to terminate corruption government, the coup and political ploys after the coup also led to coalition governance involving in corruption too. It seems to be true, in the case of Thailand,²

In this world there are many conflicts and violence's, almost all of the conflict are from the human itself. The political situation in Thailand known as instability especially after coup d'état, in 2006 Thai coup d'état took place on Tuesday 19 September 2006, when the Royal Thai Army staged a coup d'état against the elected caretaker government of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. Conflict begin to be see clearly after 19 September 2006 coup d'état. The military leaders in Thailand have staged a coup, suspended the constitution and declared martial law.

Army Chief Sonthi Boonyaratglin said the military leadership has form a council for the coup leaders and said that the cabinet and parliament have been abolished, but power will be return to the people. Thaksin cancelled a speech he was due to give at the UN. It is unclear whether he intends to return home.

² BBC News. (20 September 2006). Thai PM deposed in military coup .began 23 June 2013 days Wednesday, 20 September 2006, 00:43 GMT 01:43 UK : <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/5361512.stm>

The Red Shirt leads by Thaksin Shinawatra. In two year later since 2008, there has been an ongoing political crisis in Thailand in form of a conflict between the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) and the People's Power Party (PPP) governments of Prime Ministers Samak Sundaravej and Somchai Wongsawat, respectively, and later between the Democrat Party government of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva and the National United Front of Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD). It is a continuation of the 2005–2006 political crises, wherein the PAD protested against the Thai Rak Thai (TRT) party government of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.

The PAD's followers usually dress in yellow, called 'The Yellow Shirts', the royal color of King Bhumibol Adulyadej. The UDD's followers dress in Red, widely called '*the red shirts*', known as the supporters of the deposed Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. In September the Prime Minister and his entire cabinet were removed from office by order of a special Constitutional Court, and the parliament elected Somchai Wongsawat, brother-in-law of Thaksin, as prime minister. In October Thaksin, who by then was living in exile, was convicted in absentia on charges of corruption. Meanwhile, the PAD mobilized thousands of Yellow Shirt demonstrators against the selection of Somchai in large-scale protests that became increasingly violent. The country's two major airports in Bangkok were swamped, forcing temporary closure of both facilities. In response to the unrest, the army called for new

elections and the dissolution of the parliament (contemporary Southeasters Asia CSEA)

According Institute of Southeast Asian The Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat rejected the request, and on December 2, he was removed from office by the Constitutional Court, and his party was dissolved. Within two weeks, Abhisit

Vejjajiva, leader of the opposition Democrat Party, was chosen by a special parliamentary vote to become the new prime minister the fifth in a period of just over two years. In early 2009 until 2011 and after the Thailand Abhisit Vejjajiva government over time have to be the general election in 2011 have supporters of Thaksin, popularly called the “*red shirts*” for the color of their uniforms and mainly rural-based and from northern and southeastern Thailand also including urban-dwelling democracy activists formed a populist movement called the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD)³

The UDD organized protests against this latest change of government, which forced the cancellation of an ASEAN summit meeting outside Bangkok. Security forces were able to disperse the protesters, but antigovernment mass demonstrations by the Red Shirts erupted again later in the year and in early 2010. The 2010 action, which began in mid-March, drew tens of thousands of Red Shirts protesters to Bangkok.

There the demonstrators barricaded themselves in the heart of the city’s commercial district, demanding that the Abhisit government resign and new parliamentary elections be held. The situation remained calm until mid-April, when Government forces unsuccessfully attempted to oust the red shirts from their encampment. More than 20 died and hundreds were injured during the encounter. An attempt at a negotiated settlement with the Red Shirts failed in early May, and the Thai military soon began an operation to force out the protesters. This action culminated on May 19, when troops took the protesters’ camp by force and arrested

³ Thailand Politic and coop d’état, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (1 April 2004), existence, Contemporary Southeast Asia (CSEA). Accessed 6 Augustus 2013 from Journal Information: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/contemporary_southeast_asia_a_journal_of_international_and_strategic_affairs/summary/v026/26.1.ganesan.html

the red-shirt leaders. In all, several dozen people were killed and hundreds more were wounded during that action. About a year later, however, the red shirts scored a major victory. In July 2011 the Phak Puea Thai (PPT; “For Thais Party”) a pro-Thaksin party headed by Thaksin’s younger sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, won the majority of parliamentary seats in the country’s general elections. Until then, Yingluck, a new comer to politics, had been involved in the family’s business ventures.

The PPT quickly formed a coalition with several smaller parties to create an even larger majority in parliament; in early August Yingluck became the country’s first female prime minister. And Thailand's 2006 coup unleashed deadly political conflict as a conservative elite rallied against Thaksin Shinawatra and his red shirt supporters. Further strife was predicted in the wake of Yingluck Shinawatra's 2011 election victory.

B. Research Question

According to the problem background this research is going to answer the question on:

How does Thaksin’s strategy to consolidate his power after coup d’état by military finally Re-elected to be Prime Minister at Election2008?

C. Theoretical Framework

To explain the ability of Pheu Thai Party the new name Party of Thaksin group after Thaksin’s has coup d’état 2006 and win in the legislative and prime minister Election in 2008-2011, the writer use theory about campaign, political party, campaign strategy.

C. SWOT Analysis

SWOT analysis was found by Albert Humphrey S. He is a businessman. SWOT analysis is acronyms from strengths, weakness, opportunities, threat. Strengths and weakness are internal factor and Opportunities and Thereat is external factors. So, we will get the combination such as Internal Positive (Strengths), Internal Negative (Weakness), external positive (Opportunity) and external negative (Threat). The classification of course is very important to understand position of the subject. After we know all about subject position so it will be easy for us to take strategy planning. Hence, Thai's government faces Thaksin like this⁴

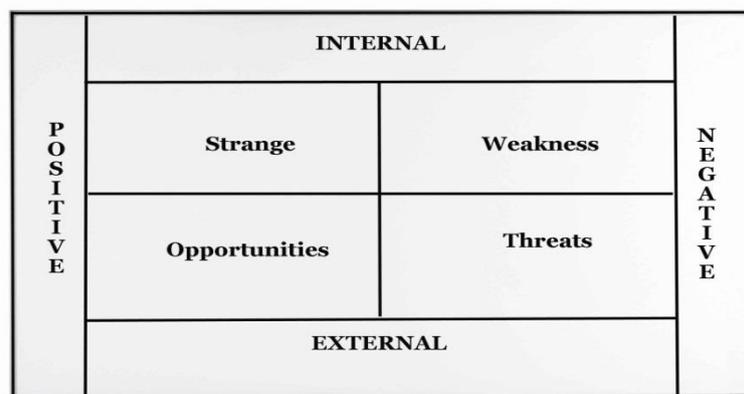


Diagram 1.3 SWOT analysis

After we have an understanding about the basic concept of SWOT analysis the next is to collect the data into their differences. We have to complete all of indicators by looking for valid data. First is strengths, what is

⁴ Alex Coman and Boaz Roneh, *Focused SWOT : diagnosing critical strengths and weaknesses*, Academic College of Tel Aviv-Jaffa Israel; Faculty of Management, 15 October 2009

Thaksin has in strange coeloms as indicator. Because strengths are internal factor so the indicator supposed to be in side. By putting all of strength what Thaksin has it make us understand how strong the Thaksin is the next step is identifying Weakness as internal factor By putting all of weakness what subject has it make us understand how dangerous the Thaksin positions are the success or failure of a Thaksin does not only come from internal factor that is ways here also we have to capture external factor to understanding stand of Thaksin. Identifying be completed opportunity and threat as external factor will be the data for analysis.

The completed data of strength, weakness, opportunities and threats will be mixed into a matrix model. In matrix models SWOT will combine one to another such as Strength-Opportunities, Strength-Threats, Weakness-Opportunity and Weakness-Threats. This result is very helping in to taking decision of what should Thaksin has to do. In other word matrix model will have result as internal positive – external positive (+ +), internal positive – external negative (+ -), internal negative – external positive (- +) and the last is internal negative – external negative (- -). Because subject know as well their power position so this analysis will be helpful for taking the right decision.

Strengths

Thailand politic after military coup d'état. Once again those already elected and in power were being asked to risk it all. Despite the overwhelming popularity of the government that allowed it to spend freely, they were being asked to acknowledge it was all for one overriding purpose—bring Thaksin back. Thaksin's return to Thailand would be a return to political power and a

long period of rule which would mean a shakeup of politics. Anyone with a place on the political ladder would risk seeing themselves pushed down a notch as the Thaksin clique reasserted itself—and that is assuming a coup or other conflict did not remove them from power long before Thaksin could return.

Weaknesses

The best interpretation of what happened is also Thaksin's biggest challenge—the reticence of MPs, already in power and able to spend money, to jeopardize their hard fought position and popularity by continuing to push for amnesty for Thaksin. This led to the courts once again dangling perilous legal consequences over the head of a Thaksin-directed political party—a threat that wholesale rewriting of laws that only increase a sitting government's power must not take place.

Opportunity

The Pheu Thai and the Red Shirts have tried hard to make sure the public sees the courts as a threat. Unlike when there are tanks on the streets, it has been more difficult to paint a pending and nebulous court judgment as an imminent threat to democracy. Court judgments against political parties are a way of the mainly unelected anti-Thaksin establishment to threaten the party if it goes ahead with wholesale constitutional amendments and amnesty that merely cement its power and allow a triumphant Thaksin return.

Threats

The protests take aim at Thailand's most divisive figure, Thaksin Shinawatra, a telecom billionaire who served as prime minister from 2001 until 2006. During that time, Thaksin lifted millions in the countryside from poverty with spending programs. But he also elbowed aside the dominant Bangkok elite, concentrating power in a group of cronies and family members while browbeating institutions that went against him. In doing so, Thaksin challenged a centuries-old power balance, creating new tensions between Thailand's mostly rural north and a more urban group of power holders. Even if Suthep's protest movement fades, those tensions remain unresolved and could spark renewed clashes Thailand has long stood apart in Southeast Asia, never communist, never colonized, and it has developed a turbulent brand of democracy — one often interrupted by bloodless coups. But the latest turmoil is particularly worrying because Thailand's revered king, long seen as a guarantor of relative order, now appears too old to intervene. The fear is not so much a coup but the division of the country.

D. Hypothesis

Thaksin's strategies to consolidate his power after coup d'état by military junta 2006 are:

1. The followers' consolidation in Thailand between Red and Yellow group for the Anti-government 2005-2006
2. Winning of Thaksin Party on the general election 2007

E. Scope of Discussion

In this thesis, the research emphasize on the discussion of the background which cause the conflict between the red shirt and yellow shirt insurgent movement in Thailand and the capital of Bangkok in the central government in general and will more focus during military coup d'état 2006-2008 related of Prime minister moreover. It also discusses the conflict in Thailand. And description of insurgent movement responds to Thai- government

F. System of writing

CHAPTER I the research explain about the problem Background, Research Question, purpose of Research, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Method of Scope of Research and System of Writing

CHAPTER II Will be discussing about the System of the Political in Thailand before and Thaksin' era

CHAPTER III Military 2006 position Consolidation

CHAPTER IV the Strategy of Thaksin's

CHAPTER V Conclusion