

CHAPTER III

THE MILITARY COUP D'ÉTAT 2006 AND THE MILITARY OF THAILAND ON ELECTION 2007

The situation of Thailand politic after General Election 2007 and Coup D'état 2006 was for more than a simple case of military seizure of power. Rather, the coup was intimately connected to the monarchy in various respects. The royalist military, legitimate the coup by using the royalist discourse that was generated but the Anti- Thaksin movement.

A. Thailand's September 2006 Military coup d'état

In 2006 Political crisis started happened in Bangkok when more people opposed to Thaksin Shinawatra. On September 19, 2006, government under the control of Thaksin Shinawatra got coup from General Royal Thai Army Commander-in-Chief Sonthi Boonyaratglin. After that, General Surayut Chulanot, the new prime minister was appointed by Sonthi Boonyaratklin. He ended the Thansin's policy of open confrontation in Southern Province and too more conciliation approach to the insurgent. General Surayund Culanont announced the policy to Southern Province and the capital of Bangkok have the military junta have to the coup d'état led a bloodless military coup in Bangkok, ousting Thaksin and declaring martial law the King Bhumibol reportedly endorsed the takeover after it occurred. Under interim Prime Minister Surayud Chulanont, a former Army commander, the ruling military government struggled to establish credibility and legitimacy in the months that

followed. A series of economic policy moves unnerved investors.¹⁸ After the coup, the bureaucratic and military elite with the royal imprimatur controlled Thailand, while the political parties appeared marginalized and disorganized. In May 2007, a junta-appointed constitutional tribunal ruled that TRT must disband because it had violated election laws in the April 2006 polls and that Thaksin and 110 party executives were banned from politics for five years. The same day, the court acquitted the opposition Democratic Party of a series of other election violation charges. Many observers criticized the rulings as delaying the return to democracy by disenfranchising the most popular political party in Thailand. In August 2007, a nation-wide referendum on the constitution drafted by a junta-appointed committee passed narrowly amid tepid turnout.¹⁹

B. Thai Politics Beyond the 2006 Coup D'état

Thaksin Shinawatra was formerly policeman which had powerful enough to get support from the majority people and led his party to get high vote that could win the national election in 2001. After Thaksin Shinawatra become the Prime Minister of Thailand, and no one can stop power. On the hand, old elects rejected him for being authoritarian, for using political power threatening major long- standing institution though his headlong of rapid.

The constitution came under criticism for reversing many of the democratic principles enshrined in the 1997 charter. Under it, the number of parliamentary seats is reduced, nearly half of the Senate is appointed by a

¹⁸ Transparency International. 2009. Corruption perceptions index 2009 regional highlights: Asia-pacific. Corruption Perceptions Index 2009. Transparency International. 2010. Corruption Perception Index 2010. http://www.transparency.org/poli_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results. Accessed February 1, 2011.

¹⁹ ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างไทยกับพม่า (The relation between Thailand and Myanmar) <https://www.gotoknow.org/posts/15521>

panel of judges and bureaucrats, and the coup leaders are granted amnesty. The document, designed to prevent the re-emergence of a Thaksin-like strongman leader, suggested to some analysts that Thailand may return to a period of weak, unstable coalition governments.²⁰

Thailand politic, become unclear because the Military have the control in politic. Military have to more the control the politic arena in all of the politic position. In Thailand, the military wanted to revolution in Thailand political system. The military leader is Sonthi Booyaraklin. As we know the he position let of the military leader want to become too are the governments in Thailand. But the Sonthi Booyaralin wants the movement. And he establishes Mato Phon Party and he became the leader of this party.²¹

C. The Position of Military 2007

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²⁰ Ahuja, Ambika. 2010. Analysis: Thailand struggles against tide of corruption. *http://in. reuters. Com/article/2010/09/28/idINIndia-51782420100928*. Accessed January 12, 2011.

²¹ Ibid3 Limmanee, Anusorn, "Thailand," in Wolfgang Sachsenroder and Ulrike E. Frings, ed., *Political Party Systems and Democratic Development in East and Southeast Asia*, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, 1998. Consulted 13 April 2014

reportedly endorsed the takeover after it occurred. Under interim Prime Minister Surayud Chulanont, a former Army commander, the ruling military government struggled to establish credibility and legitimacy in the months that followed. A series of economic policy moves unnerved investors.²² After the coup, the bureaucratic and military elite with the royal imprimatur controlled Thailand, while the political parties appeared marginalized and disorganized. In May 2007, a junta-appointed constitutional tribunal ruled that TRT must disband because it had violated election laws in the April 2006 polls and that Thaksin and 110 party executives were banned from politics for five years. The same day, the court acquitted the opposition Democratic Party of a series of other election violation charges. Many observers criticized the rulings as delaying the return to democracy by disenfranchising the most popular political party in Thailand. In August 2007, a nation-wide referendum on the constitution drafted by a junta-appointed committee passed narrowly amid tepid turnout.²³

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²² Transparency International. 2009. Corruption perceptions index 2009 regional highlights: Asia-pacific. Corruption Perceptions Index 2009. Transparency International. 2010. Corruption Perception Index 2010. http://www.transparency.org/poli_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results. Accessed February 1, 2011.

²³ ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างไทยกับพม่า (The relation between Thailand and Myanmar) <https://www.gotoknow.org/posts/15521>

strongman leader, suggested to some analysts that Thailand may return to a period of weak, unstable coalition governments.²⁴

In 2006 political under the military junta coup d'état, and the position of military, make the people in society or middle class people disagree with the military, for the central political system, and public company. Thailand politic has to the bad way in democracy. People want Thaksin to coming in politic again because he is more popular. His populist trend had frightened the ruling elites, the military and a large segment of the middle class. There are three elements joined hands in the coup of September 2006. The army provided the force. The ruling elites provided traditional legitimation.²⁵

1 The Yellow and Red shirt have Movement in Anti- Military Coup D'état

The situation of Thailand after coup d'état the military have more power of Thailand democracy. The Red Shirts are angry that the former government that they supported was forced to relinquish power as a result of a legal ruling by the Thai courts. The Red Shirts have called this a 'judicial coup' and a 'silent coup' and they see the hand of Bangkok's traditional and elite power base at work including important figures in the army. They disagree with military of the control in political system in Thailand. And have the same group have the movement.²⁶ The (PAD) movements have powerful

²⁴ Ahuja, Ambika. 2010. Analysis: Thailand struggles against tide of corruption. <http://in.reuters.Com/article/2010/09/28/idINIndia-51782420100928>. Accessed January 12, 2011.

²⁵ Thaksin was a member of Class 10 in pre-cadet school. Gen. Sonthi Boonyaratklin who was considered responsible for the 2006 coup was of Class 7. It was new political conflict among many factions within pre cadet school, but highly intensified since Thaksin was Prime Minister: see Duncan McCargo and Ukrist Pathmanand, *The Thaksinization of Thailand* (Copenhagen : Institute of Asian Studies, 2005) Chapter 4

²⁶ Approved charter amendments pave way for Thai new election". – People's Daily. 11 February 2011. Retrieved 4 July 2011.

Thai PM likely to dissolve parliament before June: deputy PM". – People's Daily. 17 February 2011. Retrieved 4 July 2011.

friends in high places and the red shirts have been incensed by what they see as collusion between the new government and the PAD leaders who occupied Government House for months before another illegal sit-in resulted in the closure of Bangkok's two airports. When military have known the people in Thailand or society have to been the movement. Have two dominant groups – UDD (United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship) and DAD (Democratic Alliance against Dictatorship) are behind the Red Shirt movement. They have demanded that the new Democrat led parliament be dissolved because it has been democratically elected. They are also demanding legal action be taken against the leaders of the PAD movement.²⁷

2 The People Movement for Anti Government

In movement 2008, in Bangkok about the Yellow, Red, Shirt have a long been conflicting which depend on internal and external situation especially. On 2008, there has been an ongoing political crisis in Thailand in form of a conflict between the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) to become the protested the People's Power Party (PPP) the governments of Prime Ministers Samak Sundaravej, and Somchai Wongsawat, and after the (PAD) win for reject the Somchai Wogsawat government. Thailand Political have the new general election 2008, for the new Prime Minister, Abhisit Vejjajiva and the National United front of Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) disagree and march to the protested this government, wherein the (PAD) protested against the Thai Rak Tahi (TRT) party government of Prime Minister of Thaksin Shinawatra. As we know the (PAD) follow and support

Thai PM says parliament to be dissolved by first week of May". – People's Daily. 11 March 2011. Retrieved 4 July 2011.

²⁷ Ibid32

him usually dress in yellow called the Royal color of King Bhumibol Adulyadej and the Red Shirt widely called known as the supporters of the deposed Prime Minister.²⁸

Thailand Politic situation as instability especially after the 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 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.²⁹

Army Chief Sonthi Boonyaratglin said the military leadership had formed a council for the coup leaders say the cabinet and parliament have been abolished, but power will be returned to the people. Thaksin cancelled a speech he was due to give at the UN. It is unclear whether he intends to return home.³⁰

The status of Thaksin after coup d'état by the army Chief Sonthi Boonyaratglin the Leader for the coup 2006 Thaksin disagree with Thailand government because Sonthi Boonyaratglin said the military leadership had formed a council for the coup leader say the cabinet and parliament have been abolished, but he power to be returned to society again have to win and become the too politic and give the Thaksin are criminal people but Thaksin

²⁸ Ukrist Pathmanand, "Thaksin's Achilles' Heel : The Failure of Hawkish Approaches in the Thai South" *Critical Asian Studies*, 38:1 2006, 073-093

²⁹ Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, *Thaksin*, second edition (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), 195-196 289-290

³⁰ Analysis: Thailand struggles against tide of corruption. <http://in.reuters.com/article/2010/09/28/idINIndia-51782420100928>. Accessed January 12, 2011

canceled a speech he was due to give at the UN. He is not having the fairness in Thailand politic. He says that it is unclear whether he intends to return home.

Thaksin in power start 2001 until 2006. Thaksin Shinawatra was the 23 Prime Minister of Thailand. In the first period of Thaksin, he was accused that he corruption and they use the him power for the corralling oppress people and give them policy for give the benefit to himself and him family. The Finland plot the beginning are the same of group they disagree and want to protest Thaksin (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. At the time, this added to claims that Thaksin was anti-monarchy) that's why the Yellow Shirt (People's Alliance for Democracy/PAD) established. And lead by Sondhi Limthongkul-owned Manager Daily newspaper. The Red Shirt (United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship/UDD) establish in after coup d'état to against the coup d'état Red Shirt disagree with Thai Government Red Shirt lead by Thaksin Shinawat. In October the after Samak Sundaravej to drive out by the people and the parliament elected Somchai Wongsawat, brother-in-law of Thaksin, as prime minister.³¹

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

³¹ Thailand's royalist protesters rise up against democracy by ROAR Collective on December 4, 2013 <http://roarmag.org/2013/12/thailand-royalist-protesters-democracy/>

response to the unrest, the army called for new elections and the dissolution of the parliament. The Prime Minister rejected the request, and on December 2 he, like his predecessor, was removed from office by the Constitutional Court, and his party was dissolved.³²

The Abhisit Vejjajiva, leader of the opposition Democrat Party, was chosen by a special parliamentary voting to become the new Prime Minister of Thailand the after the Somchai and the just over time to are the prime ministry of Thailand in 2009 until 2010 just in early 2009 the supporters of Thaksin popularly called the “Red Shirts” for the color of their uniforms and mainly rural-based and from northern and northeastern to becoming the Capital city of Bangkok for the protested and to become the conflict whit government and make Red Shirt disagree with Abhisit government. But including urban-dwelling democracy activists formed a Populist movement called the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD). The UDD organized protests against this latest change of government, which in April 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 Shirted protesters to Bangkok City; ³³there 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 Abhisit government forces

³² The Election Commission of Thailand, 2011 <http://www.ect.go.th/th/> consulted 15 September 2014

³³ Ibid3

unsuccessfully attempted to oust the red shirts from their encampment. More than 20 died and hundreds were injured during the encounter.³⁴

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 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, and in early August Yingluck became the country's first female prime minister.³⁵

D. Thailand Democracy After coup d'état

The democracy of Thailand after Thaksin have coup d'état 2006 the Thailand politic under military have the more power in political system. In 2006 the military wan to control the people for the anti- military and more the this people more pro to Thaksin's and no want the coup d'état. However the military, they care about this problem. In Thailand politic under military have

³⁴ Pasuk Phogpaichit, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok The Keywords of Political debate of the 1990s, were terms like civil society, rights and freedoms, partition, and reform by contrast, the keywords of the 2000s have included, authoritarianism, exclusion, coup nominee, security, violence and reconciliation

³⁵ Chairat Charoensinolarn, Thammasat University, Military Coup and Democracy in Thailand, August 31, 2007. consulted 15 September 2014

the good way for to the clear the group of the corruption, and populism, the coup and managed democracy are strategies to exclude opponents from the democratic process. Thaksin hijacked the constitution in order to neutralize opponents to his political ambition. The coup d'état tore up the constitution in order to undermine Thaksin's massive electoral support.³⁶

The 2007 constitution has been written with the single-minded aim to prevent the return of Thaksin and the social forces he has come to represent. Political will only become stable when the political system reflects and accommodates all the important society. Competitive strategies of exclusion will only add to social division and political tension Democracy succeeds in societies where enough of the major social forces come to realize that elections, parliaments and public debate (for all their messy faults) are better ways to resolve the conflicts in society that power, repression Exclusion and violence. In such societies, everyone agrees to accept a set of rule and institution, and to play within them, rather than trying to subvert the rule or tear them, rather than up at the first opportunity.

E. Winning of Thaksin Party on the General Election 2007

The Red Shirts are angry that the former government that they supported was forced to relinquish power as a result of a legal ruling by the Thai courts. The Red Shirts have called this a 'judicial coup' and a 'silent coup' and they see the hand of Bangkok's traditional and elite power base at work including important figures in the army. The PAD movements have powerful friends in high places and the red shirts have been incensed by what

³⁶ Roy Cavanagh <http://www.thaizer.com/politics/who-are-the-yellow-shirts-and-red-shirts/> and login Accepted February 1, 2009 by 25 September 2014

they see as collusion between the new government and the PAD leaders who occupied Government House for months before another illegal sit-in resulted in the closure of Bangkok's two airports. This was further exacerbated by the appointment of controversial Foreign Minister, Kasit Piromya, who openly supported the PAD protesters during their occupation of Bangkok's airports.³⁷

Two dominant groups – UDD (United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship) and DAAD (Democratic Alliance against Dictatorship) are behind the Red Shirt movement. They have demanded that the new Democrat led parliament be dissolved because it hasn't been democratically elected. They are also demanding legal action be taken against the leaders of the PAD movement

³⁷Council for Democratic Reform (2006) prakat chabab thi neung (First Announcement) 19 September 2006
http://www.parliament.go.th/news_detail.php?prid=30298(downloaded 24January 20013)