

CHAPTER IV

THAKSIN'S RETURN POLITICAL POWER AFTER COUP D'état 2006

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 election 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 military law. When military have known the people in Thailand or society have to been the movement. Have two dominant group UDD (Under fount for Democracy against Dictatorship) and DAD (Democracy Alliance against Dictatorship) are behind the Red Shirt movement.

A. The Consolidation of Thaksin Shinawatra's Supporters

The Supporters of Thaksin Shinawatra often known as the "Red Shirts" in popular media have varied in composition over the two different periods. When Thaksin was in power (2001-2006), the key composition of his support group was his family, the politicians of his Thai Rak Thai party, large business conglomerates such as telecommunication companies, finance, and real estate businesses whose rise from the collapse during the 1997 economic crisis relied on help and support from Thaksin and his government. The poor people have to the support him and the, establish of group Red Shirt they kept Thaksin's order as top priority. Key administrative posts such as permanent secretary in ministries with economic influence such as Ministry of Commerce, Ministry

of Finance, Ministry of Transport and the Office of National Economic and Social Development Board were reshuffled.³⁸

Thaksin is the first civil Prime Minister who exercised control over the military forces by appointing thirty of his classmates from cadet school to key military posts while transferring the then-Army Chief, Gen. Surayud Chulanont to the post of Supreme Commander (which is generally regarded as an inactive military position). This is thought to spring from a conflict in policy regarding relations with Myanmar, where Thaksin was pro-Junta, but Surayud was not. Thaksin also has several friends and loyal supporters in the Royal Thai Police, who he put into key positions in the board of the Government Lottery Office to facilitate the non-budget expenses of his government. Some of his former police subordinates were promoted into special posts overseeing problems in the Deep South or into the intelligence unit which had a huge secret budget. The core of this division is Thaksi's so called populism. It is important to understand where this come from. When he rose to power, Thaksin showed no real interest in the masses. He became a popular leader over the following years because of the demand for such leader this demand was a function of the social structure and polarization. The following diagram providers a sketch of Thai society in the 2000s. The formal working class meaning those with relative permanent jobs enterprises of some scale is very small, around 8 of the working population. The middle class, anyone with a white collar job including bureaucrats, professionals, and managers, is around 15 the majority of society about two thirds of the workforce are in agriculture of the urban informal sector working as vendors

³⁸ Library of Congress Federal Research Division, Country profile: Thailand, July 2007, Retrieved 10 October 2014.

in mom and pop stores service small enterprises and illegal between many jobs because people move back and forth between agriculture and the urban informal sector.

Thailand under the Thaksin politic, Economy, of Thailand become the good way and have to revolution about civil and have the middle class people and Thaksin his make the good policy for the poor people and him control over influential businesses, military and the police, Thaksin's political power is legitimized by his popularity, as evidenced by his outright victory in three general elections, in 2001, 2005, 2006. The elections in 2007 and 2011 were won by politicians widely regarded as his proxies, in 2007 through Samak Sudaravej because Thaksin have to reject by outside state but the People's Power Party (who called himself Thaksin's nominee), and in 2011, the group of Thaksin through the change the name Party and give Pheu Thai Party and his sister, Yingluck Shinawatra (who Thaksin described as his clone). His popularity largely derives from his populist policies, such as the 30 baht health scheme, schemes to assist citizens purchase their first car and home, schemes to ensure that children have access to technology, such as tablets, to support their education, and a scheme providing credit cards to farmers³⁹.

After the 2006 coup d'état, the composition of Thaksin's support groups changed, as some business groups and state officers distanced themselves from the ousted prime minister, have to begin the polarities of

³⁹ Ibid3

Thaksin by actively working (The United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship) (UDD).⁴⁰

B. The General Election and Return of Thaksin Party to Thailand

Politic

Thaksin's 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 tore up the constitution in order to undermine Thaksin's massive electoral support. 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.⁴¹ 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 than 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.

The situation of Thailand 2007 After the Thailand become the general election in 2007 have same of same New party to become the this general election and have many member of this party people power to become power

⁴⁰ The city of Bangkok is locally governed by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). Although its boundaries are at the provincial level, unlike the other 76 provinces Bangkok is a special administrative area whose governor is directly elected to serve a four-year term.

⁴¹ Council 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

party won a majority of This party wing the another part of Thailand to get the seats in the parliament and become the Leander party of Thailand government in 2007 and have the to set the new government.⁴² That he is Samak Sundaravaj to seclude of Thaksin party and establish himself is Pheu Thai Party the leader party, and become the 25 Prime Minister of Thailand. And this election victory led to a series of political demonstration by the royalist of the people Alliance for Democracy (Yellow Shirts). But the 25 prime minister of Thailand in 2 December 2008 the people's power party had been dissolved by the constitution Court over vote buying and the PPP's executive team was banned from politics for the 5 years and after the party's dissolution and all of the party's members of parliament had to join another party if they wished to retain their seat and majority of them transferred to the newly found Pheu Thai Party. Same representative defected to the Democrats, which enable the Democrat Party lendar is Abhisit Vejjajiva to be elected by Parliament as Prime minister the National United front of Democracy against Dictatorship (Red Shirt) was a pressure group that opposed the Thai Military's alleged influence in the formation of Abhisit Vejjajiva government.⁴³ It promptly organized several round of protests and call for general election. Abhisit Vejjajiva government, Finally ordered the military to crack down on the red shirt in 2009 resulting in several deaths and hundreds of injuries on both sides. The Red shirt launched a new round of protests in mid-2010 again demanding new election. The 14 March protested central around Phan Fah Bridge, were the in Thai history and were mostly peaceful (Thailand, 2010). in April and

⁴² "ประกาศ นายทะเบียนพรรคการเมือง เรื่อง รับจดแจ้งการจัดตั้งพรรคเพื่อไทย" (Political parties registrar announcement Re: Pheu Thai Party establishment register accepted) (pdf). Royal Thai Government Gazette (in Thai) 124 (special part 174 D): 23. 9 November 2007. Consulted 14 September 2014

⁴³ Patana Ginger Tangpianpant 2010, Thaksin Populism and Beyond: A Study of Thaksin's Pro-Poor Populist Policies in Thailand, Wesleyan University consulted 16 September 2014

May 2010 heavy Red shirt protests led to violent clashes and the military cracked down on the protest camp in the of Bangkok from 13 May 2010.⁴⁴

The first step towards such a stable system has to be an inclusive procedure for writing the rules. Whatever faults the resulting charter had, the 1997 process at least was an attempt such an inclusive procedure. The 2007 process was not and such will inevitably be false start. It is time to aim for an inclusive politics. Perhaps the most difficult task in Thai politics now the coup of 2006 to accept a political system which accommodates everybody fairly.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibid27

⁴⁵ Accepted February 1, 2009 by Roy Cavanagh <http://www.thaizer.com/politics/who-are-the-yellow-shirts-and-red-shirts/> and login 25 September 2014

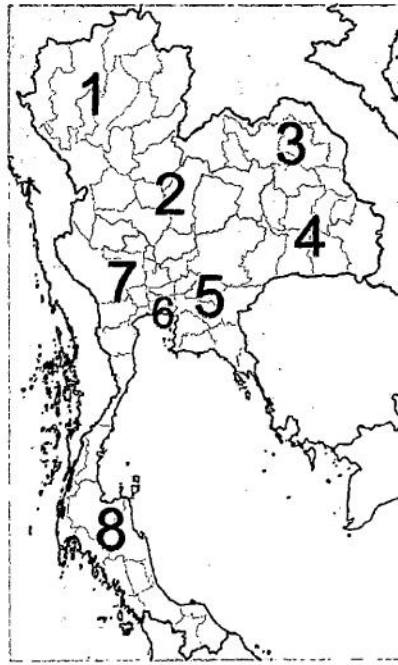


Figure 1

The eight electoral areas were designed such that they contain equal numbers of population⁴⁶.

- Area 1: 11 provinces with 7,615,610 population - Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Mae Hong Son, Phayao, Nan, Lampang, Lamphun, Phrae, Sukhothai, Tak, and Kamphaeng Phet
- Area 2: 9 provinces with 7,897,563 population - Nakhon Sawan, Uthai Thani, Phetchabun, Phichit, Phitsanulok, Chaiyaphum, Khon Kaen, Lop Buri, and Uttaradit
- Area 3: 10 provinces with 7,959,163 population - Nong Khai, Udon Thani, Loei, Nakhon Phanom, Sakon Nakhon, Nong Bua Lamphu, Kalasin, Mukdahan, Maha Sarakham, and Amnat Charoen
- Area 4: 6 provinces with 7,992,434 population - Roi Et, Yasothon, Ubon Ratchathani, Si Sa Ket, Surin, and Buri Ram
- Area 5: 10 provinces with 7,818,710 population - Nakhon Ratchasima, Nakhon Nayok, Prachin Buri, Sa Kaeo, Chachoengsao, Chonburi, Rayong, Chanthaburi, Trat, and Pathum Thani
- Area 6: 3 provinces with 7,802,639 population - Bangkok, Nonthaburi, and Samut Prakan
- Area 7: 15 provinces with 7,800,965 population - Kanchanaburi, Suphan Buri, Nakhon Pathom, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Chumphon, Ranong, Chai Nat, Sing Buri, Ang Thong, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, Saraburi, Samut Sakhon, and Samut Songkhram
- Area 8: 12 provinces with 7,941,622 population - Surat Thani, Phang Nga, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Krabi, Phuket, Trang, Phatthalung, Satun, Songkhla, Pattani, Narathiwat, and Yala

⁴⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thai_general_election,_2011



Figure 2⁴⁷

Key:

■ – Pheu Thai ■ – Democrat ■ – BhumjaiThai ■ – Chartthai ■ – Palung Chon ■ – no majority

Parties that won majority of seats per province. Each province consists of one or more single-seat constituencies; the color represents what party won the majority of seats in that province. This should not be interpreted as a winner-take-all result as some parties may have also won seats there.

⁴⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thai_general_election,_2011