

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Thailand and Cambodia are neighboring countries in Southeast Asia with a long common border and a history of wars and dispute between them. The latest border dispute into violence in October of 2008 and April of 2009, as troops from both nations exchanged fire over ownership of an ancient temple and the surrounding land. (Lee, 2011) The dispute faced by both countries is not only in the border term. Since November 2009, Thailand and Cambodia have bad relationship because there is conflict about the appointment of Former Prime Minister of Thailand Thaksin Shinawatra as an economic adviser of Cambodian government that led by Prime Minister Hun Sen on November 4th 2009. (Radio Netherland Worldwide, 2009)

In the beginning, Thaksin Shinawatra was a fugitive of two-year jail term for corruption. In 2006 he got coup d etat which was Thailand's first non-constitutional change of government in fifteen years, followed by a year-long political crisis involving Thaksin. Many initial reasons stated by the Junta were the Thaksin government's alleged creation of an "unprecedented rift in society", corruption, nepotism, interference in independent agencies, and insults to the King (Guthrie, 2009). Another reasons stated by the Junta leaders included Thaksin's alleged vote

Shinawatra did not have any power to control Thailand government and switch his power to be an economic adviser, therefore, Cambodia government appointed him become their economic adviser. The appointment of Thaksin Shinawatra as Cambodia economic adviser was allegedly becomes the root of this problem. Thailand stated that Thaksin Shinawatra was belongs to Thailand and he didn't have right to become one of Cambodia government.

To avoid this appointment, the Thai government planned to contact the Cambodian government about extradition of ousted Premier Thaksin Shinawatra. Thailand had been preparing extradition documents, but those documents must be approved after they received a request from Foreign Ministry or police. Thai Government said they would try to extradite Thaksin as soon as he stepped foot in Cambodia.

But, Cambodia's government considers that they would not extradite the Former Prime Minister of Thailand Thaksin Shinawatra as fugitive in Thailand if he wanted to refuge in Cambodia. They also considered that based on the agreements between both countries, they could reject any such request to extradite Thaksin because the agreements was made based on "political crime" reasons. Besides, this appointment was a domestic affair for Cambodia to appoint anyone to be their member of government. Therefore, no one could interfere their right to appoint anyone, moreover, Thaksin Shinawatra was the best friend of Prime Minister of Cambodia and he had been prosecuted unfairly for political reasons.

asking Cambodia to extradite Thaksin. According to the national law of Thailand, Thaksin was considered a fugitive and was sentenced to prison.

This agreement was strengthened by bilateral agreements on extradition. Bilateral extradition treaty between Thailand and Cambodia was signed in 1991 (The Treaty between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Kingdom of Thailand on Extradition). Extradition treaty laid the legal obligations of both countries to give more attention to the extradition request, for example if a person becomes a victim of political crimes, and etc.

Based on the Article 3 of the Extradition Treaty year 1991, one state could refuse an extradition request if the offense crimes are motivated by political reasons. This Article reflected the principle of extradition law emerged by International custom.

It is the same as Thailand and Cambodia case about the appointment of Thaksin Shinawatra. Thailand government asked Cambodia to extradite Thaksin Shinawatra as soon as possible, but this extradition was refused by Cambodia government because he just became a victim of political crime and should be protected, moreover, Cambodian government appointed him as an economic adviser.

B. Research Question

Will the Thai government appoint Thaksin Shinawatra as Cambodia's

C. Theoretical Framework

1. National Interest Concept

National Interest is the aims that be achieved to fulfill the national demand.

Actually, the national interest is relatively fixed and equal among all states, which is security and prosperity. National interest also known as “national aim” is also a part of International politics. National interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements that constitute the state’s most vital needs. These include self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well-being. (Jack & Olton, 1969)

According to Morgenthau National Interest is a part of International politic which is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of International politics, power is always the immediate aim. Statesmen and peoples may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity, or power itself. They may define their goals in terms of a religious, philosophic, economic, or social ideal. They may hope that this ideal will materialize through its own inner force, through divine intervention, or through the natural development of human affairs. They may also try to further its realization through nonpolitical means, such as technical cooperation with other nations or International organizations. But whenever they strive to realize their goal by means International politics, they do so by striving for power. (Morgenthau, 1985)

Morgenthau also stated that *“when we speak of power, we mean man’s control over the minds and actions of other men. Whatever the material objectives of*

control over the minds and actions of other men. Whatever the material objectives of

sea lanes, or territorial changes, they always entail control of the actions of others through influence over their minds."

Therefore, whenever economic, financial, territorial, or military policies are under discussion in international affairs, it is necessary to distinguish between their own sake and policy that is the instruments of a political policy. When the objectives of these policies serve to increase the power of nation pursuing them with regard to other nations, these policies and their objectives must be judged primarily from the point of view of their contribution to national power.

2. Strategy Concept

The term of strategy is now generally used to describe the use of available resources to gain any objective. The Etymology of strategy is from Greek, which is *strategia*, which the science and art of employing the political, economic, psychological, and military forces of a nation or group of nations to afford the maximum support to adopted policies in peace or war.

According to J.C. Wylie, strategy is a plan of action designed in order to achieve some ends, a purpose together with a system of measures for its accomplishments (Wylie, 1989). He prefers this definition because it accommodates time of peace as well as war, and because it embraces both ends and means.

Another definition of strategy offered by Basil H. Lidell, as the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfill the ends of policy. Lidell suggests that the role of strategy is to coordinate and direct all the resources of a nation or band

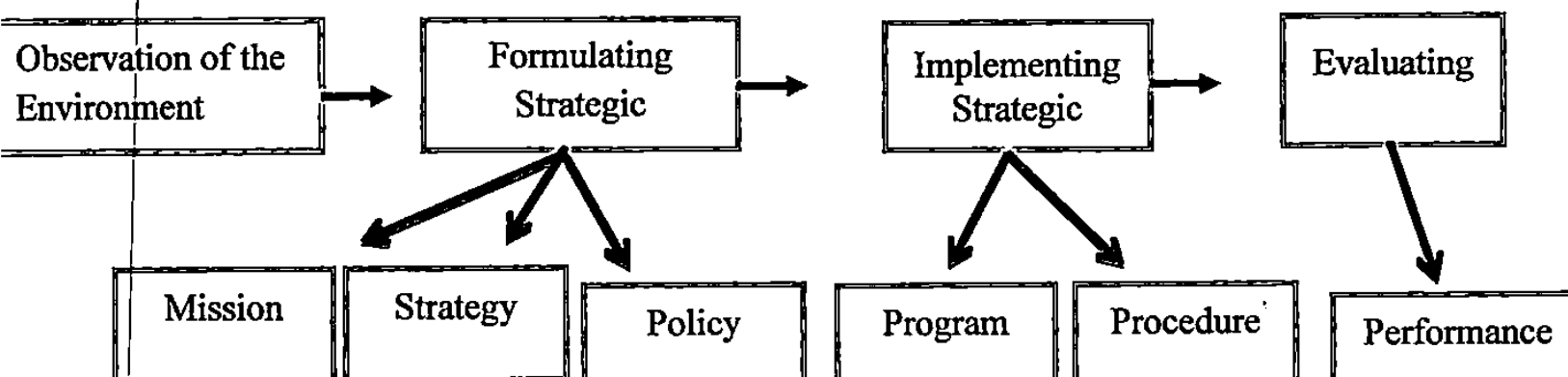
...and the attainment of the political object of the war the goal defined by

fundamental policy.

In traditional sense, the strategy is military commander, thus one which takes account of the part which is played by force, or threat of force, in the international system. It is descriptive in so far as it analyses the extent to which political units have the capacity to use or to threaten the use of armed force to impose their will on their units, whether to compel them to do something, to deter them from doing others, or if need to be destroy them as independent communities together. It is prescriptive in so far as it recommends policies which will enable such units to operate in an international system which is subject to such conditions and constraints.

According to Michael Porter the model of strategic management are divided into four (4) elements: First, the observation of environment; second is strategic formulation; the implementation of strategic; and the last is the strategic control and evaluation. (Porter, 1991)

Figure 1.1: Model of Strategic Planning Management



According to Michael Porter the model of strategic management in scheme above are divided into four (4) elements: First, the observation of environment; second is strategic formulation; the implementation of strategic; and the last is the strategic control and evaluation. (Porter, 1991). The mission or the purpose of Cambodia explained in Cambodia Constitution in 1st Line "*Being the heirs of a great civilization, a prosperous, powerful, large and glorious nation whose prestige radiated like a diamond;*" The strategy of Cambodia government to appoint Thaksin as their economic adviser is try to develop the economic in every sector and to reduce the conflict in Preah Vihear in order to maintain the sovereignty of Cambodia and also the people in that area can develop their economic well.

The appointment of Thaksin Shinawatra to become Cambodia's economic adviser on 2009 becomes a mean to get Cambodia's ends through political power. In this case, the national interest of its state gives the fixed measure to make national policy. In the beginning, Thaksin as Former Prime Minister of Thailand has fugitive for 2 years jail for corruption case. Cambodia through Hun Sen as Prime Minister had known as Thaksin's best friend and has good relations with him, gives the protection to Thaksin to visit Phnom Penh and take the role as Cambodia's economic adviser. The appointment considered as a strategy for Cambodia to reduce the tension between both countries in Preah Vihear Temple, as we know that, Thaksin has big power in Thai Parliament and also have major supporter known as red-shirts.

Minister of Thailand Prime Minister, which is Samak Sundaravej, Somchai

Wongsawat, and Yingluck Shinawatra are Thaksin's family who would continuing the policy of Thaksin toward Preah Vihear Temple.

D. Hypothesis

From the theories above the writer argues that the reasons about the appointment of Thaksin Shinawatra as Cambodian economic adviser were because:

1. Thaksin Shinawatra is a big investor in Cambodia and Thailand became one of the biggest countries had the investment during his administration.
2. Thaksin is still having power in Thailand politics to reduce the conflict of Preah Vihear Temple between Thailand and Cambodia.

E. Aim of the Research

This research aims at:

1. Explaining the Thaksin's investment in Cambodia, especially the investment in Cambodia under his take position as Thailand Prime Minister.
2. Understand how the influences of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thailand Politic could reduce the tension between Thailand and Cambodia in Preah Vihear Temple.

F. Scope of Research

To make the discussion more focus, the researcher limited the time in order to prevent the subject from being expanded. This researcher focused on the discussion

Minister, on 2008 when the escalation of conflict between Thailand and Cambodia getting worse in Preah Vihear Temple, on November 2009 when Thaksin Shinawatra was appointed as the Cambodia's economic adviser by Prime Minister of Cambodia, and 2011 when Yingluck Shinawatra has chosen as Thailand Prime Minister and also her Foreign policy toward this conflict.

G. Method of Research

This research worked based on the deductive logic. In the science, there are two important elements: logical integrity and empirical verification. In the deductive logic, the theoretical expectations were borne out by empirical reality.

To describe the problems and verify the hypothesis based on the empirical reality, this research used library research method. The data collected was secondary data. The researcher got data and information from some references in the forms of books, newspaper, journals, encyclopedia, internets and the other source in line with the topic of this research.

H. System of Writing

The outline of this research is described as follow:

1. CHAPTER I discusses about the background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, scope of research, aim of the research, method of research, and system of writing.

CHAPTER II discusses about the background of Thaksin Shinawatra and the

development of Thailand Economic under his administration, and also the development of Cambodia's economic during Thaksin Shinawatra as Economic Adviser.

3. CHAPTER III discusses about the investment that had been done by Thaksin in Cambodia, and Thailand's Investment in Cambodia under Thaksin's Administration, and comparison with the other country in ASIA.
4. CHAPTER IV discusses about the influences of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thailand Politic toward Preah Vihear Temple conflict, the background of Preah Vihear Temple conflict, timeline of Preah Vihear Conflict, the involvement and agreements to resolve this conflict, and the purpose of appointment of Thaksin Shinawatra as Cambodia's economic adviser to reduce the tension of Preah Vihear border dispute, including the foreign policies that had been done by Thai Prime Minister.
5. CHAPTER V is the closing part of the session that consists of conclusion. This chapter discusses the contents of the paper conclusions that have been mentioned in