

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Thailand, officially the Kingdom of Thailand, formerly known as Siam, is a country located at the center of the Indochina peninsula in Southeast Asia. It is bordered to the north by Burma and Laos, to the east by Laos and Cambodia, to the south by the Gulf of Thailand and Malaysia, and to the west by the Andaman Sea and the southern extremity of Burma. Its maritime boundaries include Vietnam in the Gulf of Thailand to the southeast, and Indonesia and India in the Andaman Sea to the southwest.

The country is a constitutional monarchy, headed by King Rama IX, the ninth king of the House of Chakri, having reigned since 1946, is the world's longest-serving head of state and the longest-reigning monarch in Thai history.¹ The king of Thailand is titled Head of State, Head of the Armed Forces, Adherent of Buddhism, and Upholder of religions.²

Thailand was never formally colonized by any colonial powers. The conventional perspectives attribute this achievement to the efforts made by the

¹"A Royal Occasion speeches". Worldhop.com Journal. 1996. Retrieved 5 July 2006. Consulted 21 July 2013

²The Secretariate of the House of Representatives (November 2007). "*Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E 2550*". The Secretariate of the House of Representatives. Consulted 21 July 2013

monarchs of the Chakri Dynasty³, particularly Rama IV⁴ and Rama V⁵, to 'modernize' the Siamese polity, and also to the relative cultural and ethnic homogeneity of the Thai nation. Rama IV (King Mongkut) was credited with opening up Siam to European trade and starting the process of 'modernization'. Rama V (King Chulalongkorn) consolidated state control over his vassal states and created an absolute monarchy and a centralized state. The Kingdom of Thailand was one of the first Southeast Asian countries to experiment with democracy and the only nation in the region which never to have been colonized by a European power. Thailand, its transition to the Siamese Revolution of 1932 or the Siamese Coup of 1932 (2475)⁶ was a crucial turning point in Thai history in the 20th century. The revolution, or more accurately the coup, was a nearly bloodless transition on 24 June 1932, in which the system of government in Siam was changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. The revolution was brought about by a comparatively small group of military and civilians, who formed Siam's first political party, Khana Ratsadon (Peoples' Party). The revolution ended 150 years of absolutism under the Chakri Dynasty and almost 700 years of absolute rule of Kings over Thai history. The Revolution was a product of global historical change as well as social and political changes

³ The Chakri Dynasty (Thai: ราชวงศ์จักรี; RTGS: Ratchawong Chakkri, Thai pronunciation, Pronunciation http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chakri_Dynasty. Consulted 23 July 2013

⁴ Majesty King Monkut, or Rama IV, was the first Chakri King to embark seriously on reforms based on Western models in which he concentrated largely on the technological and organizational aspects of reform. <http://www.soravij.com/kings.html> Consulted 23 July 2013

⁵ Ibid, King Monkut's son, His Majesty King Chulalongkorn, or Rama V, came to the throne at the age of 16 and died as one of Siam's most loved and revered kings, after a remarkable reign of 42 years.

⁶ Robert B. Albritton and Thawilwadee Bureekul, Developing Democracy under a New Constitution in Thailand PDF (319 KB), National Taiwan University and Academia Sinica Asian Barometer Project Office Working Paper Series No. 28, 2004. Consulted 5 August 2013.

domestically. The revolution also resulted in the people of Siam being granted their first Constitution.

Thai politics took a significant turn on 24 June 1932, when a bloodless coup took place, ending the country's absolute monarchy and introducing a constitutional monarchy, at the beginning just only a small group of civil servants and military officers staged a bloodless coup and demanded a constitution. Prior to this event, there had been an increased political awareness among the middle ranking military officers and civilian officials who were to become the major of Thai people in the coup party, which called "the People's Party." There had also been a degree of discontent within the military and civilian bureaucracy resulting from the royal government's retrenchment program, which, in turn, had been dictated by the worldwide economic depression. These factors were instrumental in motivating the coup members of 1932 to begin a new system of government. Therefore, Thailand thus became a constitutional monarchy without any bloodshed or wholesale changes in its society and economy. At that time, King Prajadhipok (Rama VII, 1925-1934)⁷ was in any case already thinking along such lines himself and had already drafted a constitution, which was debated in the Supreme Council of State. It was only a matter of waiting for the right time. He also agreed to grant the first constitution to the Thai people, and a National Assembly was set up after the promulgation of the constitution in 1932. After that,

⁷ Op.cit Majesty King Prajadhipok, or Rama VII, was also the son of Rama V and the younger brother of Rama VI. He was a liberal and a conscientious man. He was well aware of the desirability of establishing Siam in the international political community as a country with a modern and liberal constitutional system of government.

two years later Thai people happy with some of the results, because he decided to abdicate.

Until 1957, June 24 was observed as Thailand's National Day. At the beginning, the concept of democracy was alliance to the majority of Thai people. It was a period of transition, of trying to balance new political ideals and expectations with the pragmatism of power politics. After 24 June 1932, Thailand experimented with various forms and degrees of democracy, and several constitutions were promulgated. The first two years of democratic administration in Thailand came under the reign of King Prajadhipok. The subsequent period of 12 years was under the reign of King Ananda Mahidol (Rama VIII, 1934-1946) .⁸

The present monarch, King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX, since 1946),⁹ has reigned under the democratic system for 67 years now, faithfully enacting the constitutional role written for him. According to the Constitution, the King exercises three fundamental powers: legislative, executive, and judicial, through the National Assembly, the Cabinet, and the Courts.

The politics of Thailand nowadays is conducted within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, by the Prime Minister as the head of government and a hereditary monarch as head of state. The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislative branches. Thailand's new constitution of 2007 (B.E. 2550)¹⁰

⁸ Ibid Majesty King Ananda Mahidol, or Rama VIII, then a ten-year-old grandson of Rama V.

⁹ Ibid King Ananda's younger brother, His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej became Rama IX, who is the present king of the Thai kingdom.

¹⁰ [รัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย พุทธศักราช 2550] “the 2007 Constitution of Thailand” chapter 3 Rights and liberties of the Thai people the 2007 constitution of Thailand. Consulted 5 October 2013

set down new rules and a framework for various fundamental changes in the Thai political and administrative system. Great hopes for political reform towards sustainable democracy have been pinned on it. In particular, elections, as a necessary condition for democracy, have changed significantly. The intention is to have more open, fair and meaningful elections, as well as recruit qualified. The new electoral system serves to establish a standard for clean and fair elections, while the outcome of the elections that have taken place, has contributed to several major changes in the Thai political system, such as a generation shift in the political sphere and the development of political parties.

Thailand have many Political parties from the past until now that join general election in Thailand, for example Khuang Aphaiwong comes from Democrat party, Mom Rajawongse Seni Pramoj comes from Democrat Party, Banharn Silpa-archa comes from Chart Thai Party, Chavalit Yongchaiyudh comes from New Aspiration Party, Chuan Leekpai comes from Democrat Party, Dr. Thaksin Shinawatra comes from Thai Rak Thai Party, Samak Sundaravej comes from People's Power Party etc. It means that the candidates come from multi party of Thai political party to be the prime minister of Thailand. But nowadays, the condition of Thai political party is changing from the past and there are many parties lose the voting. Because the people tends to see the other party to vote, that is why today just only two dominant parties in Thailand because they already dominate the people in society or make mind of the people to support or vote them in the general election. It means that the other parties just only the third parties or alternative parties of the general election of Thailand, because they just

only come from some groups or some interest groups to join general election for show them interest or what they need on it. So they just only have their members or their family to give the vote to their party in the general election. Therefore nowadays, Thailand just has only two big parties which have power in general election to have the candidate to be prime minister on Thai general election.

The first is Democrat party. This party was established from 1982. It means that the first party of Thailand after transition of the Siamese Revolution of 1932 or the Siamese Coup of 1932 (2475)¹¹, in which the system of government in Siam was changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy or to be democratic form of government with the King as Head of State. This party is an ancient party of Thai Political Party and there are many candidates of Democrat party to be prime minister of Thai general election, such as Khuang Aphaiwong prime minister in 1947, Seni Pramoj prime minister in 1975, Chuan Leekpai prime minister 1992 and 1997, Abhisit Vejjajiva prime minister 2008. It means that this party is very strong and always has their candidate to be the prime minister from the past until now and never collapsed. Because they already have big support from the members from generation to generation who become the members of this party or the supporter of this party in every general election of Thailand and the base area of the supporter of Democrat party is Southern Thailand and Bangkok, from the high and middle class supporter.

¹¹ Opcit.6.

The second is Pheu Thai Party is the new party in Thailand established in 20 September 2008. It is the new party to join general election on Thailand by showing the new ideology to develop Thai people especially the lower class and the meddle class of people in Thailand such as the economy of Thailand, the education etc. They have big support from the people in Thailand because most of the members of Pheu Thai Party come from Thai Rak Thai Party and People Power Party, but both of them have collapsed, therefore they establish the new Party, Pheu Thai Party, in 2007. The leader of Pheu Thai Party is Jarupong Ruangsawan and the candidate of prime minister is Yingluck Shinawatra by showing the lineages of Thaksin Shinawatra, former prime minister of Thailand. This is the first of Thai history, women became Prime Minister Candidate on Thailand 2011 general election. However the prime minister candidate is Yingluck shinawatra. But the reality is Thaksin was behind the scene.

The figure of Pheu Thai winning is presented as follows:

Table 1.1

2011 Prime Minister Election Result

Party's Name	Candidates	Voters	Percentage
Pheu Thai Party	Yingluck Shinawatra	15,752,470	48.42%
Democrat Party	Abhisit Vejjajiva	11,435,640	35.15%

Sources: Thai general election, 2011(accessed 3 July 2011), available from,

Election Commission of Thailand, available at [http://www.ect.go.th](http://www ect go th)

Thailand 2011 general election successfully brought Pheu Thai Party to the one uncontrollable executive system. And legislative board existed for Pheu Thai Party, and the rest were for Democratic Party and the minority parties.

B. Research question

Based on the background and the understanding of the background problem's above, the research question is formulated as follows,

Why did Pheu Thai Party win the legislative and prime minister Election in Thailand 2011 General election?

C. Objective of Research

The purposes of this research as follow:

1. As requirement to fulfill one of subject in international relations studies.
2. To describe the Democracy on Thai Political Party, especially Pheu Thai Party and Democrat Party.
3. To explain the winning of Pheu Thai Party over democratic Democrat Party on Thailand 2011 general election.
4. To describe how successfully of Pheu Thai Party to win Thailand general election of 2011 in executive and legislative system.
5. To implement the political theory that is relevant to the problem

D. Theoretical Framework

General Election Winning Strategy

To explain the ability of Pheu Thai Party in winning the legislative and prime minister Election in 2011, the writer uses theories about campaign, political party, and campaign strategy.

D.1. Campaign and Political Party

General election is one of the indicators in a country. Through the general election, constitutionally, there is a changing power, beside leader's replacement in its political system. In this routine agenda, political parties deliver issues that will become their next agenda in the governmental era. Campaign is a set of agenda to gain special goals and closely related to the general election.¹² Campaign can be conducted by group or more, they can do condition as long as they have the same passion and the same goal or interest. To conduct a campaign, the participant should physically and mentally prepare.

The political party is a political organization that seeks to influence government policy, by nominating their own candidates and trying to have them take a place in a political office. Their functions include developing and advancing particular ideological positions, facilitating political education and encouraging political participation of both party members and voters. They also play a major role in political elections at local, national and regional levels as they seek to represent the interests of their supporters who elect them to the Legislature.

¹² *Dorset And Baber*, “Webster Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary 2nd Edition”, (United State: New World Dictionaries, 1983)

D.2. Campaign strategy

Campaign Strategy is the road map for the campaign. It ensures that all campaign activities work to achieve the campaign's overall objectives; it is also the reference point for evaluating the progress and success of the campaign. Having a Campaign Strategy is also effective for communicating plans to other stakeholders, including fundraisers and other financial decision-makers, in order to gain their participation and support. The campaign communication refers to “planned, coordinated communication efforts by candidates or their parties”¹³, which includes e.g. party advertisements in newspapers or on television as well as party owned websites or blogs. Based on collected feedback from opinion polls or media monitoring about party controlled communication, parties and candidates constantly adjust their communication strategies.

The importance in shaping a candidate’s campaign strategy is the opponent and her behavior. Whether the opponent has prior political experience, has particular strengths on some issues or among specific segments of the constituency, or is expected to run a negative campaign are just a few examples of what might matter to candidates in formulating their own campaign plans. In fact, candidates may prepare multiple strategies in situations where the eventual

¹³ Asia update channel, voice TV channel, facebook, twitter, blogger etc, belong to Pheu Thai Party. Blue sky Channel, facebook, twitter, blogger etc, belong to Democrat Party. Consulted 20 September 2014.

opponent is not yet clear.¹⁴ While much of this information is available prior to the start of the general election campaign, much more will be learned during the campaign itself. So I examine how candidates interact with each other over the course of a campaign, focusing specifically on their TV advertising effort, specifically on how to promote their campaign strategy to the people in society.

Pheu Thai Party shows that this party has already patterned a tremendous strategy, ensured Thailand to believe in it and choose it in the 2011 general election, thus it can win over Democrat Party. When the Thailand 2011 general election took place, Pheu Thai Party bravely brought the internal and international issues being faced by Thailand such as the price of rice was declined or the decreasing of education in Thailand etc. Besides it also blew up the weaknesses of its rival, Democrat Party on their campaign. The strategy of wrapping the issues mentioned above seems successfully shift public awareness toward Pheu Thai Party. It means that Thai people believe and rely on Pheu Thai party to bring them into a brighter future.

E. Hypothesis

Pheu Thai Party has successfully made use Democrat Party failure in tackling up Thailand domestic politics. The people started to shift on their support to the Pheu Thai Party because they valued Democrat Party could not accommodate their interest. Pheu Thai showed the new ideology to develop

¹⁴

Thomas M. Carsey, '*Strategic Candidates, Campaign, Dynamics, and Campaign Advertising in Gubernatorial Races in 2002*', UNC Publisher, 2002 P1-2, Consulted on 6 April 2014.

society especially the lower class and the middle class. Pheu Thai used “Thaksin Think Pheu Thai act” strategy to win over Democrat Party, because key of Pheu Thai party is Thaksin Shinawatra.

F. Range of Research

Focusing more on the topic research, the writer limits the time, which the research is conducted. Thailand 2011 general election is the scope of discussion. This time limitation was used in order to ease the observation of the problem as well as to avoid the complexity of the further analysis.

G. Methodology of research

In this writing, the writer uses several ways to collect the data in order to discuss the campaigns, they are as follows:

- Media research, collecting the data from media like the internet in order to find references and sources to accomplish the explanations the campaigns.
- Library research, this method used to study the relevant sources in order to discuss the campaign and by using the qualitative research the writer also will get secondary data.
- Data analysis, the data gained from the internet and library (book), were checked for the relevancy in order to be used as the sources in the final paper arrangement.

- Proving hypothesis, derived from the meaning of the title, the discussion of the campaign, and data analysis.

H. System of writing

Chapter 1: will be explaining about the Problem Background, Research Question, Purpose of Research, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Method of Research, Objective of research, Scope of Research, and System of Writing.

Chapter 2: will discuss the general description of Thai political system, political party and the profile of Democrat Party and Pheu Thai Party, and I will explanation will elaborate the Democratic Party and it is lost in 2011 general election will be on the next discussion. This chapter will be ended with the elaboration of Phue Thai Party's.

Chapter 3: The dynamics of Thai political and election system. This chapter will explain the constitution reform and election law in Thailand and also the failure of Democrat party.

Chapter 4: the strategy comparison between Pheu Thai Party and Democrat Party in the domestic issues. This chapter will contain an introduction of Thailand status. And the last, I will answer the research question.

Chapter 5: will give the conclusion from all of the chapters and also give a suggestion.