Reproduced from After the Coup: The National Council for Peace and Order Era and the Future of Thailand, edited by Michael J. Montesano, Terence Chong and Mark Heng (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2019). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of ISEAS Publishing. Individual chapters are available at <htp://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>.

Index

A

"ABAC" Poll, 262, 280n20 Abdulkarim Khalid, 150, 157, 160, 167n17 Abhisit Vejjajiva, 64, 118, 122, 147, 181, 210, 212–14, 322, 326–27 Adam Muhammad Noor, 151, 167n17 AFDD (Assembly for Defense of Democracy), 130 ageing index, 362, 380n4 ageing population, see population ageing ageism, 377, 379 Ahmad Chuwo, 156 Ahmad Zamzamin bin Hashim, 150-52, 155 Aksara Kerdpol, 155, 158 American occupation, 172 Amnesty Bill, 67–69, 72, 212–13, 223n29, 322 Ananda Mahidol, King, 14, 322 Anand Panyarachun, 309, 333n16 Anderson, Benedict, 25, 314 Anek Laothamatas, 26 Anglo-Siamese treaty, 142 "antipolitics", concept of, 179-80 anti-royalism, 14 "anti-state" orientation, 8, 59, 84 Anupong Paochinda, 248 Area-Based Inter-Agency

Coordination Working Groups, 155 Apisak Tantivorawong, 248 Army Cadet School, 292 Army Club, 20 Army Convention Hall, 132 Arom Meechai, 64 ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), 150, 338–39, 353 ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), 19, 91, 346 cross-border trade and, 353-55 Asian Development Bank, 337 Asian Financial Crisis, 10, 34, 38, 42, 57n13, 259-60, 276, 319, 335-36 "Asian values", 384-85 Assembly of the Poor, 96-97 Associated Press, 309, 324 Assumption University, 262 "attitude adjustment" programming, 101-2, 113n27 "authoritarian neomonarchism", 385 Awang Jabat, 156 Ayutthaya Period, 83

B

Baker, Chris, 4 Banchong Kositchiranan, 109 Banchong Nasae, 64 Bangkok Art and Culture Center, 106 Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 228 "Bangkok Shutdown", 58 Banharn Silpa-archa, 294 Bank of Thailand, 337 Ban Phra Athit Press, 263 barami, 230, 287-88, 290, 303, 304n6, 305n11 BBC, 316, 329 BBC Indonesian Service, 160 Bersatu (Barisan Bersatu Kemerdekaan Patani), 145, 166n10 Bhumibol Adulyadej, King, 2, 12–16, 47, 50, 118, 196, 270, 283–94, 296-302, 305n11, 305n14, 306n15, 306n17, 307n22, 307n23, 309-21, 325-30, 385 BIPP (Barisan Islam Pembebasan Patani), 142, 153, 155-56, 166n10 "Black May" uprising, 59-64, 225, 238, 256-57, 260, 279n6 Black Shirts, 324 Blue Sky Channel, 77, 264, 276 BNPP (Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani), 142 Board of Investment, Thailand, 340 Bogor Talks, 144–45, 148 Boonlert Kachayuthadej, 257 Bowornsak Uwanno, 309, 327-28 British Burma, 127 BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani), 140, 143-53, 156-63, 167n17, 167n20, 167n25 BRN Armed Forces, 152 BRN-Congress, 142–43, 166n10 BRN-Coordinate, 147, 150, 166n10 Brown, David, 111 Buddhism, 3-4, 83-84, 95, 143, 235, 304n6, 381, 386 Bunsanong Punyodhayana, 198, 200

Bupphesanniwat, television drama, 22n19 "bureaucratic polity", 232–33, 293, 385 Bureau of the Budget, Thailand, 239

С

car buyer programme, first-time, 48-49, 57n12, 137 censorship, Internet, 268-69, 275 Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre), 146-47, 166n15 Chakkraphop Penkhae, 329 Chakri dynasty, 14, 95, 315, 387 Chalat Hiransiri, 186 Chamlong Daorueang, 95–96 Chamlong Srimueang, 47, 59, 63, 210, 314, 320 chao pho ("godfathers"), political, 233-35 Charoen Pokphand group, 349 Chart Thai Party, 198 Chatchai Chunhawan, 38, 178, 322 Chatuphon Phromphan, 266, 281n34 Chiang Mai 51 Group, 122, 124, 139n21 Chiang Mai University, 130 Chinese, ethnic, 46, 79-80, 88n42, 90, 377 Choemsak Pinthong, 280n22 Chuan Leekpai, 47, 257, 259, 279n10, 322 Chulabhon Walailak, Princess, 324, 326 Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy (CRMA), 292, 306n15 Chulalongkorn, King, 95, 128, 287, 303, 309 Chulalongkorn University Hospital, 118 Citizen Lab, 275

Civilian-Police-Military Headquarters, 220n2 class, in society, see lower middle class; middle class; upper middle class; working class clientelism, 11, 225, 230, 234, 237, 241, 249, 250n3 "client-patron" relations, 26, 28, 204, 207-8, 221n13 Cobra Gold, military exercise, 331 Cold War, 96, 178-79, 232, 311-12, 314 military, and, 172-74 "collective identities", 6-8, 18, 384, 387 "colleges of democracy", 120 colour-coded politics, 91, 97, 103, 146, 211, 215, 332 Committee for Local Administration Reform, 247 Committee for Media Reform, 262 communism, 92, 96, 172-78, 185-89, 289, 315, 330, 332 Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), 96, 123, 175, 178, 182, 198-99, 201 Communist Suppression Operations Command, 220n2 Computer-Related Crime Act of 2007, 11, 255, 268, 270–75, 278, 302 Confucianism, 377 constitution, 137, 176, 213, 232, 246 1932, of, 285, 304n5, 387 1949, of, 285 1974, of, 196, 198 1997, of, 11, 97, 226-27, 238, 257, 307n23 2007, of, 244, 267, 295, 297-98 2014 (interim), of, 246, 252n15, 252n17, 252n20 2016, of, 297-98 2017, of, 16, 141, 164, 169n48-49, 247

Constitutional Court, Thailand, 94, 118, 147, 154, 209-10, 223n26, 297-98, 307n23, 316, 325 constitutionalism, 172, 185, 188, 386 Constitution Drafting Committee, 108, 244, 252n17 contract killers, 202-6 see also "violence specialists" "controlled democracy", 51 corruption, 48-49, 68-69, 75, 102, 178, 180-81, 244, 246, 257, 259, 261 "cosmopolitan villagers", 19 coup 1932, of, 95, 173 1947, of, 173-74, 285 1957, of, 174, 311 1958, of, 174, 232 1971, of, 174, 220n1 1976, of, 175-76, 201 1977, of, 176 1991, of, 178-80, 209, 276, 286 2006, of, 1, 110, 138n2, 167n17, 209, 266-68, 282-83, 302, 316-19, 324-26 2014, of, 1–2, 4, 8, 18, 27, 58, 75-76, 91-92, 94, 104-7, 116-17, 132-37, 154-55, 181-83, 195-96, 218, 225, 266, 270, 275-76, 278, 282-83 discourse on monarchy, and, 310-19 electoral politics, and, 209-11 judicial coup, 182-83, 325 list of, 185-90 preparations for, 128-32 Coup Group, 95 Criminal Code, Thailand, 290, 327 Criminal Court of 1947, 217 Crown Property Bureau, 13, 260, 285, 328-29 royal democracy, and, 300

Crown Property Bureau Act of 1948, 300 "cultural violence", 6 Cyber Crime Suppression Programme, 269 Cyber Scouts, 268, 278

D

Damrong Yotarak, 63 Dao Din group, 105-6 Davis, Anthony, 157 decentralization, 11, 95, 127-28, 164 counter-decentralization, 238-44 movement and process, 225-29 see also re-centralization Decentralization Act of 1999, 239, 242 - 43Decentralization Plan and Procedure Act of 1999, 227, 229 dementia, 366-67, 380n7 "democracy villages", 93 Democrat Party, 63-65, 67-77, 83, 130, 132, 136, 181, 210-15, 257, 264, 266 PDRC, and, 322-24 Department of Community Development, Thailand, 341 Department of Local Administration, Thailand, 228, 239, 242, 248, 251n9 Department of Public Welfare, Thailand, 375 depoliticization, 4-6, 12, 16-17, 46-47, 52, 54 Dhani Nivat, Prince, 287 Dharma Army, 62 Dialogue Process for Peace and Happiness, 154–55 Dino Patti Djalal, 145 Diplomat, The, 309 "dirty election", 98, 181

divine kingship, 287–88 DPP (Dewan Pimpinan Parti), 156–57 DSPP (Dewan Syura Pimpinan Pertubuhan), 166n12

E

Economist, The, 309, 317-18, 322, 325 educational attainment, 29, 31, 38, 40-41,370 Ekapop Luera, 87n18 Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, 146 Election Commission, 218, 245, 297 election law, 223n31 election-related violence, 194-97, 219-20 April 1976, 199-202 January 1975, 198-99 intensification of, 206-9 privatization of violence, and, 202-6 ethical dictatorship, 328 European Union, 327, 331

F

Facebook, 264, 272, 275–77 Far Eastern Economic Review, The, 15, 313, 315 Faulder, Dominic, 310 Federation of Isan-Lanna States, 115-16, 128, 136 Federation of Thai Industries, 246 Ferrara, Federico, 5, 8, 21, 384–85 fertility rate, 339, 341, 346-47, 359, 380n3, 387 Financial Times, 316, 333n16 Fineman, Daniel, 111 First Operational Plan for Decentralization, 227 Forbes, 323, 328 Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand, 15, 310, 329

Index

"For Nation, Religion, King and People", slogan, 4
Fourth Army Region, 155
Franco-Siamese War, 172, 192n5
Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka), 163
Freedom House, 259, 279n9
Free Thai movement, 95

G

"General Consensus on the Peace Dialogue Process", 149 general elections, 40, 92-94, 97-98, 117, 119, 154, 199, 215, 223n31, 323 April 1976, 199-202 January 1975, 198-99 see also election-related violence Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement), 163 Gerakan Ulama (Patani Patani Ulama Movement), 166n10 global financial crisis of 2008, 38 globalization, 16, 178 Global Terrorism Index, 140, 165n2 GMIP (Gerakan Mujahidin Islam Patani), 156 "godfathers" (chao pho), political, 233-35 Government House, Thailand, 62, 97, 118, 321 Gray, Denis D., 310, 316 Green Isan Project, 235-36 guerrilla warfare, 201 guided democracy, 13, 189, 284-86, 293, 303 gunmen, hired, see contract killers

Η

Hagel, Chuck, 331 Handley, Paul, 15, 309, 319 Hassan Taib, 143, 149-50, 153, 161, 167n20 HD Centre (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue), 146–47, 166n15 Head, Jonathan, 329 healthcare scheme, universal, 107, 181, 375-76, 379-80 healthcare services and costs, in Thailand, 367-70, 380n5 Health Insurance System Research Office, 346 Health Survey of Thai Elders, 363 "hegemonic ideology", 225 hired gunmen, see contract killers Holy Man's Rebellion, 95 Hundred Days' Reform, 171 Hunger Games, The, film, 105 "hybrid politics", 176, 183 "hyper-royalism", 13, 289–90, 292, 300-301

I

"identity conflict", 6-7, 9, 11-14, 17 - 19iLaw, Internet rights group, 274 Independent, The, 326 Institute for Economics and Peace, 165n2 Internal Security Act of 2007, 167n17 Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), 149, 152, 155, 158, 167n17, 198, 220n2 International Humanitarian Law, 163 "international identity", 16 International Institute for Management Development, 343 International Labour Organization, 56n8 Internet access, 272–73 Internet censorship, 268-69, 275 "intersectionality", 19

Isan, 90–98, 104–12, 112n3, 124, 131, 136, 236 after 2014 military coup, 99–103 identity, 8, 22n10 *"Isan mai"* (New Isan), 107 Islam, 142, 156, 163, 167n25 ISOC, *see* Internal Security Operations Command iTV, television station, 260–61

J

Jatukham Rammathep, guardian spirit, 62 Jatuporn Promphan, 111 John, Eric, 332 Jom Petpradap, 271 Jory, Patrick, 22n19, 320 *Journal of the Siam Society, The*, 15 judicial coup, 182–83, 325 JWG-PDP (Joint Working Group on Peace Dialogue Process on Southern Thailand), 150–51

K

Kapook.com, 264 Kasturi Makota, 146-47, 166n12 Kerry, John, 331 Khana raksa khwamsangop haeng chat, see NCPO Khlong Chan Flats, 66–67, 70, 72, 74, 85n1 Khmer Rouge, 176 "Khon Kaen Model", 101 Khon Kaen University, 105 Kho Po To, committee, 154–55 Khuang Aphaiwong, 322 Khwanchai Phraiphana, 93, 102, 111 King Bhumibol Adulyadej: A Life's Work, 309, 329 Kingdom in Crisis: Thailand's Struggle

for Democracy in the Twenty-First Century, A, 320 King Never Smiles: A Biography of Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej, The, 309, 319 "King of Siam, The", article, 311 King of Thailand in World Focus, The, 15, 310, 312 "king-people mutuality", 21n1 Kitsangkhom, Phak, see Social Action Party Kittichai Saisa-at, 63 Klausner, William, 15 Kobkua Suwannthat-Pian, 312 Korean War, 173 kratom leaves, 63 Kriangsak Chamanan, 176, 186 Krong Chandawong, 96 Kuala Lumpur talks, 146, 148–50, 153-56, 159, 162-64 Kukrit Pramoj, 98, 198–99 Kwanchat Klahan, 144

L

labour force, in Thailand, 338-42 Langkasuka, 142 Langkawi talks, 144, 148 Lanna, annexation of, 128 Lao civilization, era of, 90–91 Lao identity, 8 Lawyers Council of Thailand, 246 lèse majesté, 11, 13, 23n20, 87n32, 223n29, 268, 271, 274-75, 299, 302, 308, 310, 327-30 liberalism, 178, 180, 287 "liberated zone", 123 life expectancy, 359–62 Local Development Institute, 247 Local Government Act of 1914, 244 localism, 80, 127-28 lower middle class, 7, 19, 24-25,

27–28, 30–31, 34–38, 40, 42, 53, 210 *see also* middle class; upper middle class; working class Lukman bin Lima, 167n17

Μ

Mahasarakham University, 101 Mahathir Mohamad, 144 Malay Muslims, 9, 141-45, 148, 150, 152, 157, 167n25, 293, 306n17 Manager Group, 262-64 Manager, newspaper, 130 Manun Rupkhachon, 186 MARA Patani (Majlis Syura Patani), 154, 156-58, 160-63, 168n31 "marginal elites", 29 Marshall, Andrew MacGregor, 320 martial law, 76, 99, 102, 130, 132, 278 media reform, 10-11, 256-61, 267, 279n6 Meechai Ruechuphan, 169n48 Meiji Revolution, 171 McCargo, Duncan, 5, 9, 254, 283, 317, 320 middle class, 6-7, 12, 19, 22n19, 24-29, 33-34, 52, 56n7, 58, 60, 64, 84, 86n3, 88n42, 92, 117, 119, 137, 170, 180-82, 190-91, 196, 220, 214, 220, 244, 246, 317, 322-23 anti-democratic stance, and, 28-31 democracy, and, 25-28 see also lower middle class; upper middle class; working class "Middle Class Mob, The", 60 "middle-class peasants", 19 "middle-income trap", 19 migration, 28, 88n42, 92, 339, 341, 343, 347, 355

military, Thai, 1–4, 11–13, 24, 26–27, 75–78, 91–109, 115–19, 129–52,

162-64, 170-91, 196-97, 209-11, 254-56, 263-65, 267-68 Cold War, and, 172-74 dominance, return of, 263-71 intervention, 75, 94, 108, 170, 175, 179-80, 188-89, 190 monarchy partnership, and, 13-14, 17, 174, 201, 208-9, 219, 306n16, 322, 385 Patani peace initiatives, and, 153 - 61reform, 12, 175, 179, 183-85 "military developmentalists", 177 "military parties", 16–17 Ministry of Agriculture, Thailand, 293 Ministry of Defence, Thailand, 138n2, 245 Ministry of Education, Thailand, 120, 138n3, 239, 242 Ministry of Finance, Thailand, 239, 337, 376 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand, 163, 293 Ministry of Health, Thailand, 239 Ministry of Industry, Thailand, 271 Ministry of Information and Communications Technology (MICT), Thailand, 268, 270, 274 - 75Ministry of Interior, Thailand, 102, 231-32, 238-41, 244-45, 247, 249, 293 Ministry of Public Health, Thailand, 232, 242-44, 251n12, 364-65, 368 Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, Thailand, 366, 371 MNLF (Moro National Liberation Front), 145, 163

"Mobile Phone Mob, The", 60, 256

monarchy after 2006 coup, discourse on, 316-19 before 2006 coup, discourse on, 310-16 military partnership, and, 13-14, 17, 174, 201, 208-9, 219, 306n16, 322, 385 "network monarchy", 22n15, 283, 293, 299, 317-18, 326, 330 Royal Household budget, 306n18 Yellow Shirts, and, 324-27 Mongkut, King, 387 Montesano, Michael, 320, 384 moral politics, 47, 52, 54 MPRMP (Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat Melayu Patani), 144-45, 166n10 Municipality Act of 1953, 227 "mushroom villages", 103

Ν

Naeoruam sangkhomniyom (Socialist Front), 198-99 Naewna, newspaper, 261 Najib Razak, 148, 150, 155 Nakrop Binsi, 186 Nakrop Bunbuathong, 157-58 National Anti-Corruption Commission, 261, 297, 325 "National Awakening Day", 324 National Broadcasting and **Telecommunications Commission** (NBTC), 271, 275 National Broadcasting Services of Thailand, 62 National Commission on Local Government Personnel Standards, 251n7 National Council for Peace and Order, see NCPO

National Decentralization Committee, see NDC National Economic and Social Development Board, see NESDB National Health Security Office, 251n11 National Housing Authority, 67, 85n1 National Human Rights Commission, 298 national identity, 10, 15, 18, 20, 23n20 regionalized, 78-84 National Legislative Assembly, 108, 244, 248, 251n15 National Older Persons' Day, 377 "National Peace-Keeping Council", 322 National Red Shirt Volunteers Group to Safeguard Democracy, 131 National Reform Council, see NRC National Reform Steering Assembly, 248, 252n20 National Security Council, Thailand, see NSC National Statistical Office, 31, 341, 359 National Student Center of Thailand, 174National Survey of Older Persons, 363 Nation Media Group, 260-61, 263 "Nation, Religion, King", slogan, 4, 175Nation, The, newspaper, 260-61, 263 - 64Natser Yima, 64 Nattawut Saikua, 111, 266, 281n34 NCPO (National Council for Peace and Order), 1–2, 4–18, 99–109, 154-55, 230, 245-49, 255, 270 NDC (National Decentralization Committee), 227, 239, 242, 248

nepotism, 317 NESDB (National Economic and Social Development Board), 34, 226, 239, 337 "network monarchy", 22n15, 283, 293, 299, 317-18, 326, 330 New Force (Phalang Mai), 198-200 New Order, 23n20, 173 "new professionalism", 177 New York Times, The, 309, 318 NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 62-63, 84, 92, 96, 106, 150, 247 Nidhi Eoseewong, 29, 52 Ninety-Nine-Day Protest, 97 Niphat Thonglek, 168n28 NRC (National Reform Council), 22n14, 246-49, 252n20 NSC (National Security Council), 146-47, 149-50, 155, 158, 166n15, 168n28, 325

0

Observer, The, 311-12 Office of the Civil Service Commission, 239 Office of the Commission on Basic Education, 138n3 Office of the Council of State, 239 Office of the Royal Development Projects Board (RDPB), 294 OIC (Organisation of Islamic Cooperation), 145-46, 148, 150, 163 Ombudsman, 297 "one man, one vote", 196, 345 "One Tambon, One Product", 117, 295, 386 "On the Thai Monarchy", essay, 15 Operational Plan for Decentralization, 229

P

PAD (People's Alliance for Democracy), 24, 27, 29, 62-69, 79-80, 263-64, 320-22, 324 political uprising, and, 59-64 Pak Mun Dam, 96 Pannarot Buakhli, 64 Panthongtae Shinawatra, 276, 281n35 Panu Uthairat, 166n15 Paradon Phatthanathabut, 149, 166n15, 168n28 Paramilitary groups, 211, 221n4 violence, and, 196-202 "participatory democracy", 60 Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, 331 Party Leadership Council, see DPP PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia), 161 Patani conflict, 9, 140-42 military-led dialogue, 153-61 peace initiatives, 143-48 Yingluck government, under, 148 - 53Patani Consultative Council, see MARA Patani Patani Islamic Liberation Front, see BIPP Patani Islamic Mujahideen Movement, see GMIP Patani Malay Consultative Congress, see MPRMP Patani Malay Liberation Movement (PMLM), 147 Patani Malay National Revolutionary Front, see BRN Patani National Liberation Front, see BNPP Patani Ulama Movement (Gerakan Ulama Patani), 166n10

Patani United Liberation Organisation, see PULO "patron-client" relations, 26, 28, 204, 207-8, 221n13 Pattaya City, 228 Pavin Chachavalpongpun, 320 PCDA (People's Committee for Absolute Democracy), 79, 281n30 PDRC (People's Democratic Reform Committee), 7-9, 24, 27, 58-59, 64-65, 93, 130, 153-54, 264, 323 attack on electoral processes, and, 212-20 birth of, 64-68 Democrat Party, and, 322-24 reasons to join, 68-70 taking part in, 70-75 peace dialogue, on Patani, 10, 140-41, 147, 154-58, 160-62, 164, 166n15 Yingluck government, under, 148-53 Peace Dialogue Panel, 155 "Peace Proposal for Southern Thailand", 144 Peace TV, 266 "peace zone", 147 "people power", 247 People's Alliance for Democracy, see PAD People's Army to Rescue the Nation, "People's Council", 214-15, 218, 323 People's Democratic Reform Committee, see PDRC People's Party, 171-73, 232, 285, 296, 386, 387 People's Power Party (PPP), 62, 147, 180-81, 223n26, 264-65, 267, 345 People's Television, 266 "people, the" (prachachon), 4, 21n1

Petchawat Wattanapongsirikul, 122, 133 Phak Palang Prachachon, see PPP Phalang Mai (New Force), 198-200 Phalang Prachachon Party, 117–18, 325 Phichet Phatthanachot, 64 phi mi bun group, 111 Phornchai Khowsurat, 109 Phuea Thai Party, 68–69, 104, 116–17, 120, 123–24, 128–29, 131–37, 181, 212, 308 Phuketwan, online news, 274 Phumjai Chaiya, 132, 139n21 Pinthongta Shinawatra, 281n35 Pipob Thongchai, 63 Pithan Phuetmongkon, 64 Plaza Accord, 38 PMLM (Patani Malay Liberation Movement), 147 Poh Yeh, 142 Policy on the Administration and Development of the Southern Border Provinces, 2012-2014, 149 political education, 117–19, 121 "political offensive" strategy, 96 political uprising, and PAD, 59-64 politics, colour-coded, 91, 97, 103, 146, 211, 215, 332 "popcorn gunman", 217 Po Phibunsongkhram, 95, 172-73, 192n5, 232, 311-12, 385 population ageing, in Thailand, 358, 380n1 ageism, and, 377, 379 chronic diseases, and, 363-64 cultural challenges, 377–78 dementia, and, 366-67, 380n7 fertility rate, 339, 341, 346-47, 359, 380n3, 387 government support, 375–76

healthcare services and costs, 367-70, 380n5 health challenges, and, 360, 363 life expectancy, and, 359-62 physical impairment, and, 364-65 socio-economic challenges, and, 370-71 super-aged society, 358, 380n2 support and care for, 371-76 "populism", 20 populist policies, 48-52 prachachon ("the people"), 4, 21n1 praetorianism, 21, 284 Prajadhipok, King, 305n14 Prajak Kongkirati, 16 Praphat Charusathian, 196, 311, 313 - 14Prasit Chaisisa, 100 Prayut Chanocha, 1, 4, 16-17, 99, 105, 108-9, 130, 132, 135, 154-55, 161-62, 166n14, 212, 218, 246, 266, 268 Prem Tinsulanon, 13, 25, 34, 38, 47-48, 52, 176, 292, 299, 306n16, 307n27, 313, 317 press freedom, 196, 255, 257-59 Pridi Phanomyong, 95–96, 322 Prime Ministerial Order 65/2523, 177, 192n12 Prime Ministerial Order 66/2523, 177, 192n12 Prime Ministerial Order 230/2557, 155 "privatization" of violence, 18, 202-6 Privy Council, Thailand, 13, 232, 285, 290-93, 296, 306n16, 307n27, 317 - 18royal democracy, and, 298-300 Provincial Administrative Organization Act of 1955, 227, 240

Provincial Anti-Corruption Commission, 246 Provincial Election Commission, 245 Provincial Office for Local Administration, 241 Provincial Security Office (Military), 246 PTT (Petroleum Authority of Thailand), 77 Puey Ungphakon, 200 PULO (Patani United Liberation Organisation), 142, 146–47, 150, 153, 156, 166n10, 166n12, 167n17 Puwadol Songprasert, 64

Q

Qing Dynasty, 171

R

Radio 92.5, 122, 124, 133 Rama VI, 171 Ramkhamhaeng, King, 288 Rattanakosin period, 83 RDPB (Office of the Royal Development Projects Board), 294 re-centralization, 244-48 see also decentralization Red Shirts, 28, 40, 50-51, 69-71, 76, 90-94, 96-111, 114-37, 210-13, 216, 237, 264–66, 326–29 "Non-Red" resistance, 105-7 UDD leadership, and activities, 121-27 "Red Shirt villages", 93, 103, 135-36 "Red Village Project", 135 regionalized nationalism, 78-84 Reporters Without Borders, 259 "respect for hierarchy", concept, 45 Reuters, 320, 324

revolution, of 1932, 120, 171-72, 231-32, 284, 386-87 rice-pledging scheme, 48, 56n7, 68, 75, 86n14, 107, 137 Rohingya refugees, 274 royal absolutism, 14 royal democracy, 13, 284, 290-91, 303 army, and, 291-92 bureaucracy, and, 292–95 Crown Property Bureau, and, 300 history of, 284-87 in crisis, 301-2 independent bodies, and, 297-98 judiciary, and, 295-97 Privy Council, and, 298-300 royal hegemony, 14-15, 284, 287-90, 296, 301-2 Royal Household budget, 306n18 "royal institution", 283, 308-9, 312-13, 317, 320, 330, 388 royalism, 13-14, 25, 174, 285, 287, 289-90, 292, 300-301, 307n25 "royal liberalism", 287 "royal-military alliance", 17 "royal nationalism", 59, 84, 315 rural society, 28, 30 Russel, Daniel, 331

S

Samak Sundaravej, 118, 147, 209, 223n25, 321, 325 Samran Rodpetch, 63–64 Samut Songkhram, 205 "sandwiched position", 30 Sangat Chaloyu, 186 Sanitary District Act of 1952, 227 Santi Asoke Buddhist sect, 63 Sanya Thammasak, 196, 198, 296 Saritchai Anekwiang, 168n28 Sarit Thanarat, 174, 186, 232, 285, 304n7, 305n9, 311–14, 385 Sawit Kaewwan, 63-64 Saxer, Marc, 30 Sayed Kasim El-Masry, 146 SBPAC (Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre), 149, 166n15, 167n17 SBPAC Act of 2010, 149 secessionism, 91-92, 95-96, 111 Second Indochina War, 312 Second World War, 95, 171-73, 285 "self-sufficiency", concept, 45, 88n47 Seni Pramoj, 285 separatism, 127-28, 336 Seri Thai, 95-96, 111, 264, 274 Seri Wongmontha, 56n3 SES (socio-economic survey), 31-32, 35-37, 39, 43 SEZs (Special Economic Development Zones), 354–55 Shamsuddin Khan, 156 Shazryl Eskay Abdullah, 144 Shin Corporation, 49, 260-62 Shukri Hari, 156-57, 167n17 Shura Council, 152–53 Siam Commercial Bank, 260 "Siamese colonizers", 141-42, 150, 153, 157 Sirikit, Queen, 305n9, 309, 318, 321, 324, 332 Sirindhorn, Princess, 292, 306n15 Sitthi Trakunwong, 161 Small Scale Farmers' Federation of Isan, 96 SNT (Students' and Peoples' Network for Thailand's Reform), 67 Social Action Party (Phak Kitsangkhom), 196, 198 Socialist Front (Naeoruam sangkhomniyom), 198-99 Socialist Party of Thailand, 198-200

social media, and political change, 271 - 76socio-economic challenges, in Thailand, 370-71 Soeharto, 23n20 Somchai Wongsawat, 118, 209, 267, 321, 324 Somkhit Sisangkhom, 200 Somkiat Boonchu, 166n15 Somkiat Pongpaiboon, 63 Somluck Khamsing, 305n11 Somsak Kosaisuk, 63 Sondhi Limthongkul, 60, 62-64, 68, 79-80, 86n6, 88n42, 262, 320, 321 Sonthi Bunyaratkalin, 186 Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre (SBPAC), 149, 166n15, 167n17 Spectator, The, 316 Srivijaya, kingdom of, 86n5 Srivijaya Warriors, 62-64 state violence, 17, 201, 219 Steering Committee for Peace Dialogue, 155 Streckfuss, David, 320, 328 street politics, 209-11, 322 "structural violence", 6 student protests, 101, 196-97 Sub-District Council and Sub-District Administrative Organization Act of 2003, 240 Suchinda Kraprayoon, 47, 59–60, 117, 179, 186, 256, 259, 313-14 sufficiency economy, concept, 49-50, 57n13 Sunthon Khongsomphong, 186 Sun Yat-Sen, 171 super-aged society, 358, 380n2 Supinya Klangarong, 262, 271 Suporn Attawong, 131 Surawit Wirawan, 64

Surayut Chulanon, 146, 167n17, 229, 261, 272
Suthep Thaugsuban, 65, 68, 72, 78, 80–81, 85, 87n39, 128, 130, 135, 213, 215–18, 276, 318, 323
Sydney Morning Herald, The, 323

Т

Taksin, King, 83 "Tale of Two Democracies, A", 7, 26, 86n3 Tambon Administrative Organization Act of 1956, 227 TDRI (Thailand Development Research Institute), 338, 340 Teerachai Nakwanich, 158 Temasek Holdings, 49 Tepchai Yong, 261 terrorism, 101, 140, 165n2 Thai criminal code, 87n32 Thai identity, 12, 15, 17, 21, 235 Thai Journalists' Association, 262, 279n5 Thailand agricultural production, 347-49 comparative advantages of economy, 347-53 conflict in southern, 141-43 democratization in, 172, 174-80, 184, 194–95 educational attainment in, 29, 31, 38, 40-41, 370 fertility rate, 339, 341, 346-47, 359, 380n3, 387 GDP (gross domestic product), 335-37, 342-44 inequality in, 343-45 labour force in, 338-42 population, 339, 341 rebellions in, 187 regime changes in, 185-90

technological capability, 342-43 tourism, 350, 352-53 violence and political struggle in, 218 - 20see also population ageing Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI), 338, 340 Thailand Forum, 2-3 Thailand Research Fund, 55 Thailand's Moment of Truth, 320 "Thailand Weekly", talk show, 262 "Thainess", concept of, 6, 10, 16, 98-99, 312, 383 Thai PBS (Thai Public Broadcasting Service), 261, 270 Thai Post, 261-62 Thai Rak Thai Party (TRT), 115, 117, 134, 180-81, 207, 209, 223n24, 223n26, 236, 262, 264, 280n22, 325, 345, 386 "Thai-style democracy", 6, 249, 383-86 Thak Chaloemtiarana, 312 Thaksin Shinawatra, 12, 27-28, 48-52, 54, 60, 68-69, 75-76, 97, 99, 104-5, 117-20, 134-37, 144, 148-49, 206-14, 237, 260-67, 283, 293-95, 301, 315-26, 386 Thammasat University, 175-76, 200, 296 Thanom Kittikhachon, 117, 174, 186, 196, 285, 311, 313–14 Tharit Charungvat, 145 Thawee Sodsong, 149, 166n15, 168n28 Thawil Pleansri, 147 Thawin Praison, 250n5 Thawin Udon, 95-96 Thim Phuriphat, 95 Thongchai Winichakul, 315, 320 Thong-in Phuriphat, 95-96 three-fingered salute, 105

Tiang Sirikhan, 95–96 *Time* magazine, 311–12, 323 TITV (Thailand Independent Television), 261 Tokyo Treaty of 1941, 172 total fertility rate, 339, 359, 380n3, 387 traditional media, 11, 256, 259, 264, 271–72, 279n1 Truth Today, television series, 266, 281n34 tsunami, 90, 336 Twenty-Year National Strategy, 17 Twitter, 272 "Two Democracies" theory, 7, 26, 59, 86n3

U

UBC cable channel, 262 Ubon Ratchathani Provincial Administrative Organization, 109 UDD (United Front of Democracy Against Dictatorship), 93, 105, 111, 120, 129, 130-32, 134-37, 210, 213, 264, 266 Red Shirts, and activities, 121-27 Ünaldi, Serhat, 21 "Uncle Kamnan", 80, 82, 84 United Front for Patani Independence, see Bersatu United Front of People Guarding Democracy, 59-60 United Nations Human Rights Commission, 327 universal healthcare scheme, 107, 181, 375-76, 379-80 upper middle class, 7, 24-25, 27-31, 33-55, 56n7, 386-87 anti-democratic stance, and, 42-53 definition, 33 rise of the, 31-42

see also lower middle class; middle class; working class "urbanized villagers", 19, 92 USIS (United States Information Service), 312

V

Vajiralongkorn, King, 2, 13-14, 16, 20, 62, 299, 303, 310, 326, 387 Vajiravudh, King, 4, 88n42 "vibrancy", 5-6, 10, 16 "Vietnamization", 174 violence contract killers, 202-6 "cultural violence", 6 masses, by the, 212-18 privatization of, 18, 202-6 state agents and paramilitary, by, 196-202 Thaksin, and rise of, 206–9 see also contract killers "violence specialists", 202-3, 206, 221n4 VoiceTV, 281n35 vote buying, 50, 99, 181, 204, 345 "Vote NO", 68, 212

W

Walker, Andrew, 115 Wall Street Journal, The, 309, 318, 324 Washington Post, The, 333n16 Watchara Petthong, 64 Weng Tojirakan, 135, 137 "whistle-blowing", 62 WikiLeaks, 320 Wild Tiger Corps, 171
Wira Musikaphong, 111, 266, 281n34
Wissanu Krea-ngam, 248
working-class, 386
see also lower middle class; middle class; upper middle class
Working towards the Monarchy: The Politics of Space in Downtown Bangkok, 21
World Alzheimer Report, 366
World Bank, 226, 295, 337, 375
World Health Organization, 363

Y

Yale University Press, 309 Yaowapha Wongsawat, 267 "Yellow Shirt Mob", 79 Yellow Shirts, 18, 40, 79-82, 97, 118, 147, 209, 211-12, 263-66, 316-17, 320-24 monarchy, and, 324-27 Yingluck Shinawatra, 7-10, 48, 58, 75, 107, 109–10, 114–16, 119–20, 128-36, 141, 148, 162, 212-14, 267, 276, 323, 325–27, 331 Patani peace initiatives, under, 148-53 "Young Turks" military faction, 177, 313 YouTube, 150–53, 167n20, 264, 266, 272 Yusuf Kalla, 144–45

Z

Zocialrank, 276