

INDEX

A

ABAC (Assumption University)
Poll, 305, 314

Abhisit Vejjajiva, 128, 174, 233,
276, 280, 285, 295–306

absolute monarchy, 70, 246

ACD Ambassadorial Retreats, 100

ACD (Asia Cooperation
Dialogue), 14–15, 25, 34, 39,
53, 97–110, 146, 192–93, 195,
204, 210, 212–13, 215–19,
244–45, 258–59, 267–68,
270–75, 284

areas of cooperation, 102

China endorsement of, 200

in neglect, 107

member countries, 98

objectives, 98–99

ownership of ACD initiative,
97, 107

project mechanism, 99, 101

Thaksinization of, 109

weaknesses of, 108–109

ACD Agricultural Officials'
Seminar, 102

ACD Agricultural Policies Forum,
101

ACD Energy Action Plan, 100

ACD Energy Forum, 100

ACD Ministerial Meeting, First,
97–98

ACD Ministerial Meeting,
Second, 103

ACD Think-Tanks Network
Meeting, 101

ACD Trade and Investment
forum, 101

ACMECS (Ayeyawady-Chao
Phraya-Mekong Economic
Cooperation Strategy), 20, 22,
34, 51, 53, 96–97, 107, 110–24,
140, 152, 166–67, 171–72, 175,
179, 182, 192–93, 204, 213,
218–19, 244–45, 257, 267–68,
270–72, 275, 283–84, 294

areas of cooperation, 112–13

challenges, three levels of, 121

hidden agenda, 122–23

objectives, 111

projects, 114–15

see also ECS

ACMECS Ministerial Meeting,
122, 213

Acquisition and Cross-Servicing
Agreement, 201

activism in diplomacy, 11, 50, 52

- ADB (Asian Development Bank), 113, 172
- Administration Court, 287
- AEC (Assets Examination Committee), 40–41, 283
- Afghanistan, U.S. invasion of, 202
- AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area), 84, 127, 191
see also EFTA; FTA
- Air Asia, 240
- Airports of Thailand, 293
- Albar, Syed Hamid, 187
- Al-Qaeda, 108, 203
- Amarin Khoman, 236
- ambassador, as CEO, 41, 43, 45, 47–48, 53, 174, 219, 236, 245, 249–50, 269, 275, 284
see also Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand
- Anand Panyarachun, 2, 84–85, 118, 187, 191
- Angkor empire, 169
- Angkor temple, and Thailand, 175
- Anglo-Siamese Treaties, 186
- Annan, Kofi, 143
- Annual Ambassadorial Meeting, 117
- Anocha Panjoy, 216
- Anupong Paojinda, 287
- APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), 26, 98, 219, 259, 294
- Apiphong Jayanama, 253
- ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), 84–85, 191, 215
- Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal, 34
- ASC (Assets Scrutiny Committee), 253–54
- Asda Jayanama, 54, 150, 214–15, 243, 252, 254
- ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), 2–3, 11, 18, 33, 45–46, 53, 57, 83, 93, 108, 116, 121, 137, 145, 163, 167, 189, 206–208, 220, 247, 256, 273, 281–82, 284, 292–93, 298, 300, 304
- Secretary-General, 165
- tagline, 192
- Thai role in, 25, 69, 82, 291, 294
- Thaksinized diplomacy with, 190–95
- Vietnam, joins, 160
- ASEAN+3, 98, 105–106, 192, 194, 298, 301–302
- ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, 110
- ASEAN Charter, signing of, 298
- ASEAN Community, 256, 279
- ASEAN Economic Community, 25
- ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting, 97
- ASEAN Free Trade Area, *see* AFTA
- ASEAN Regional Forum, *see* ARF
- ASEAN SARS Summit, 111
- ASEAN Standing Committee, 279
- ASEAN Vision 2020, 62
- “Aseanize” policy, 191
- ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting), 58, 98, 105
- Asia
- Euro Bond Market in, 58, 106
 - foreign reserves, 104–105
- Asia-Africa Conference, 81
- Asia Bond Market Development, 100
- Asia Cooperation Dialogue, *see* ACD
- Asia-first policy, 2
- “Asia for Asians”, 16, 18, 26, 94, 218, 258
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, *see* APEC

- Asian Bond Fund, 26
 Asian Bond Fund II, 15
 Asian Bond Market, 18, 103–106,
 155, 192, 213
 “Asian Community”, 97
 Asian Development Bank, *see*
 ADB
 Asian-Euro Bonds linkage, 58, 106
 Asian financial crisis, 8, 20–21, 66,
 103–104, 212
 Asian regionalism, 14, 95, 106
Asian Wall Street Journal, 209
 “Asian way”, 24
 Askew, Marc, 188
 Assets Examination Committee,
see AEC
 Assets Scrutiny Committee, *see*
 ASC
 Association of Southeast Asian
 Nations, *see* ASEAN
 Assumption University Poll, *see*
 ABAC
 Aung San Suu Kyi, 137–38, 143,
 291, 298, 304
 “authoritarian democracy”, 206
 authoritarianism, 2, 198, 204,
 233–34
 Ayeyawady-Chao Phraya-
 Mekong Economic
 Cooperation Strategy, *see*
 ACMECS
 Ayutthaya, 164, 169, 210
 dynasty, 68
 Kingdom of, 10
 period, 76
see also Siam; Thailand
- B**
 “Backward Engagement”, 34
 Badawi, Abdullah, 187, 282, 288
 Bagan Cybertech, 166
 Bagan Declaration, 111, 254
 baht diplomacy, 119
 Baker, Chris, 234, 237
 balance-of-power policy, 3, 15, 74,
 76
 Ball, Desmond, 166
 “bamboo in the wind”,
see “bending with the wind”
 Ban Ki-moon, 294
Ban Manangkhasila, policy
 planning unit, 61
Ban Pee Muang Nong, brotherly
 neighbourhood, 177, 182
Ban Phitsanulok, policy planning
 unit, 44, 61
 Bandung Conference, 81
 Bangkok Bank, 197
Bangkok Post, 252, 296–97
 “Bangkok Process”, 23, 25, 31, 36,
 53, 96, 137–43, 166, 218, 244,
 246, 273
 first meeting, 140
 personal interest in, 142
 second meeting, failure of, 141
 Bangkok University, poll, 303
 Banharn Silpa-archa, 8–9, 92
 Bank of America, 136
 battle of Hill 1428, 177
 Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-
 Sectoral Technical and
 Economic Cooperation, *see*
 BIMSTEC
 “bending with the wind”,
 strategy, 5, 15, 53, 64, 72, 74,
 77–79, 82, 86, 218, 270
 change of strategy, 34–36,
 272–74
 end of, 84
 Bhokin Balakula, 189
 Bhum Jai Thai party, 301
 Bhumibol Adulyadej, King, 27
 6th Cycle Birthday
 Anniversary, 62
 BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal
 Initiative for Multi-Sectoral

- Technical and Economic Cooperation), 23, 85, 98, 128, 132, 195, 213
- biometric passport, 50
- bird flu, 121
- Black May demonstrations, 8
- Blair, Tony, 148, 281
- blue-shirt protestors, 301
- BOI (Board of Investment), Thailand, 128, 211
- Bounyang Vorachit, 179
- British annexation of Burma, 67
- Brunei, Sultan of, 172
- “Bt30 Curing all” scheme, 9
- Buddhist chauvinism, 185
- “Building a Better Future Foundation”, 38
- Bun Rany, 304
- Burma, *see* Myanmar
- Bush, George W., 148, 200, 202, 204–205
- Buszynski, Leszek, 74, 191
- C**
- Cambodia
- border demarcation, 170
 - conflict, 83, 170, 222, 256
 - corruption, 173
 - nationalism, 3, 52, 175
 - sister cities, 171–72
 - Thailand, relations with, 12, 15, 44, 51–52, 66, 116, 250, 299–300, 302–306
 - Thaksinized diplomacy with, 169–76
 - Vietnam invasion of, 144
- Cambodia Air Traffic Services, 305
- Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, *see* CLMT
- Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, *see* CLMV
- “Cambodia Shinawatra” (Cam Shin), 171, 270
- “CamNet”, 171
- capital outflow, 106
- capitalism, 9, 16, 31, 96, 181, 235, 250, 269
- CCP (Cambodian People’s Party), 175
- Celestial Empire, 75
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 203
- CEO ambassador, 41, 43, 45, 47–48, 53, 174, 219, 236, 245, 249–50, 269, 275, 284
see also Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand
- CEO prime minister, 37, 53, 238, 240
- Chaiyasit Shinawatra, 243
- Chalerm Yoobamrung, 288
- Chamlong Srimuang, 7, 55, 305
- Chao Phraya Bhanuwong, 10
- Chao Phraya River, 77
- Charoen Pokphand (CP), 197, 200
- Chatchawed Chartsuwan, 174, 253
- Chavalit Yongchaiyuth, 8–9, 11, 83, 85, 143, 304, 306
- Chiang Mai Declaration, 100
- “Chiang Mai Declaration on Asia Bond Market Development”, 103
- Chiang Mai Initiative, 37, 105–106
- China
- ACD, endorsement of, 200
 - Islamic insurgency, 198, 227
 - Laos, relations with, 180–81
 - rise of, 14–17, 83, 196, 199, 257
 - Thailand, relations with, 2, 14–17, 22, 35, 51, 57, 81, 85, 90
 - Thaksinized diplomacy with, 195–200
 - Tibet, crackdown in, 16, 57

- see also* Sino-Thai FTA; Sino-Thai joint military relations
 Chirdchu Raktabutr, 297
 Chockanand Bussracumpakorn, 45
 Chongkittavorn, Kavi, 57, 87, 163, 284
 Choonhavan, Chatichai, 2, 11, 27, 28, 45–46, 71–72, 82–84, 95, 97, 117, 120, 124, 163, 165, 170, 178, 243, 250–51, 253, 307
 Christianity, spread of, 76–77
 Chuan Leekpai, 8, 11, 23, 85, 165–66, 256
 Chulacheeb Chinwanno, 57
 Chulalongkorn, King, 10, 31, 77, 207
 Great King, as, 73
 reforms under, 68
 Chulalongkorn University, 163
 CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 203
 Ciorciari, John, 18
 CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), 251
 FTA with, 133
 Citibank, 136
 Civil Service Exchange Programme (CSEP), 207–209
 Clinton, Hillary, 299
 CLMT (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand), 171
 CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam), 108, 116–17
 CNN, 209
 CNS (Council of National Security), 278
 Cobra Gold exercise, 196, 201, 207, 281
 Cold War, 12–13, 21–22, 28, 35, 44, 56, 64–65, 69, 71, 73–74, 83–84, 86–87, 121, 124, 163, 181, 190–92, 196, 201, 250, 257, 266, 268, 276
 Thai diplomacy during the, 80–82
 Colombo Declaration, 154
 Commonwealth of Independent States, *see* CIS
 communism, 12, 65, 69, 80–82, 191, 201
 Communist Party of Thailand, 71, 81, 178
 Communist Pathet Lao, 177
 Concept Paper on Asian (Regional) Bond Market Development, 104
 Connors, Michael K., 104, 202
 Constitutional Court, 39, 292–93, 296
 “Constructive Engagement Policy”, 84, 165, 220
 consumerism, 13
 contract farming, 122, 257
 Cook, Robin, 281
 Council of National Security (CNS), 208
 CP (Charoen Pokphand), 197, 200
 cronyism, 249, 252
 CSEP (Civil Service Exchange Programme), 207–209
 “Cultural Diplomacy”, 23–24, 51–52
see also diplomacy; foreign policy; “megaphone diplomacy”; Thai diplomacy; Thaksinized diplomacy
 Cybertech, Myanmar, 271
- D**
 Dalai Lama, 198
 dam project, Nam Theun 1, 179

- Damaphong, Samoe, 7
 decentralization of international order, 15
 Declaration of the Seoul Information Technology (IT), 101
 Declaration on Asia Cooperation, 100
 Democrat Party, 8, 40, 107, 188, 194, 280, 295–96, 298–99, 304
 “Detroit of Asia”, 236, 240
 Devavongse Varoprakarn, Prince, 10
 Dhanin Chearavanont, 200, 271
 diplomacy
 activism in, 11, 50, 52
 baht, 119
 Cold War, 80–82
 controlled by monarchs, 70
 economic, 250
 ethical, 281–85
 people-centric, 5, 10, 48–52, 234
 populist, 42, 233–38, 243, 259, 261
 “second track”, 191
 submissive, 76
 trade, 136
 unrealistic, 241–46
 zones of, 162–64
 see also “Cultural Diplomacy”; foreign policy; “megaphone diplomacy”; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand; Thai diplomacy; Thaksinized diplomacy
 diplomats, as salesmen, 125
 Doha Declaration, 154
 dual-track policy, 20, 125
 Dyer, Gwynne, 41
- E**
 e-government system, 50
 Early Harvest Programme, 127, 130–31
 “Early Harvest Scheme”, 214
 East Asia Summit (EAS), 194–95, 298, 301–302
 Economic Cooperation Strategy, *see* ECS
 economic diplomacy, 250
 economic imperialism, 124
 economic nationalism, 30–31, 124–25
 “economy of speed”, 245
 e-consular system, 50
 ECS (Economic Cooperation Strategy), 110–11, 140, 156, 166, 171
 see also ACMECS
 EFTA (European Free Trade Association), 128, 132
 see also AFTA; FTA
 EGAT (Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand), 179
 EMEAP (Executive’s Meeting of East Asia Pacific Central Banks), 105
 English Premier League football club, 38
 Entre d’Etat des Postes et Telecommunications Lao, 181
 Entwistle, L. Brooks, 173
 Eriksson, Sven-Goren, 238
 ETCF (Emerald Triangular Cooperative Framework), 179
 ethical diplomacy, under Surayud Chulanont, 281–85
 Euro Bond Market, in Asia, 58, 106
 European Free Trade Association, *see* EFTA
 European Union, 217–18
 Executive’s Meeting of East Asia Pacific Central Banks (EMEAP), 105
 EXIM Bank, 41, 167

- Export-Import Bank of Thailand, 239
- extreme mercantilism, 241
- F**
- Fa Ngum, Great King, 184
- Falun Gong sect, 198
- FBA (Foreign Business Act), 280, 283
- FCCT (Foreign Correspondents' Club of Thailand), 253, 284
- financial crisis of 1997, *see* Asian financial crisis
- "Flexible Engagement Policy", 11, 32, 194, 298
- foreign affairs, military in, 70–72
- Foreign Business Act (FBA), 280, 283
- Foreign Correspondents' Club of Thailand (FCCT), 253, 284
- Foreign Ministry, *see* Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- foreign policy, 4–6, 10–11, 13, 92–95
- advisory team, 44–46, 53
 - business-oriented policy, 27–29, 164–65, 190
 - classic Thai, 64–74
 - corrupt practices in, 40–42, 60
 - five objectives, 93
 - Forward Engagement Policy, 32–34, 49, 51, 92, 94, 116, 118, 142, 151, 275
 - key goals and themes, 19–36
 - legitimization of, 20
 - military role, 170, 222
 - motivations and incentives, 36–41
 - national interests, securing, 38–39
 - national interests, and personal profits, 238–41, 270–72, 275
 - nationalism, and, 29–32, 202, 236–37, 266, 276, 280, *see also* nationalism under Thailand
 - pan-Asia focus, 24–27
 - performance, 268–70
 - personalization of, 42–43
 - post-Thaksin, 278–309
 - process of, 41–52
 - sustainability, 274–76
 - trend, 298–301
 - see also* diplomacy; "Cultural Diplomacy"; "megaphone diplomacy"; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand; Shinawatra, Thaksin; Thai diplomacy; Thaksinized diplomacy
- "Forward Engagement Policy", *see under* foreign policy
- Framework Agreement on ASEAN-China Comprehensive Economic Cooperation, 130
- Free Thai ("Seri Thai") movement, 79
- Friedman, Thomas, 13
- "Friends of Newin", 296
- FTA (Free Trade Agreement), 13, 16, 25, 34, 37, 40, 43, 53, 96, 200, 203, 206, 210, 213, 217, 244, 271–72, 284, 294
- anti-FTA campaign, 134–35
 - bilateral, 124–37
 - CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), with, 133
 - contents of, 129–32
 - countries involved, 127–28
 - effect of, 134–36
 - economic liberalization through, 125
 - rationale behind, 126
 - Sino-Thai FTA, 2–3, 51, 197, 199

Thai-Australian FTA, 215, 240
 Thailand-India FTA, 213–15
 U.S.-Thai FTA negotiation, 43
see also AFTA; EFTA
 FTA Watch, 135–36
 Fujisaki, Ichiro, 211
 Fukuyama, Francis, 12, 56

G

G-20 Summit, 297
 GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council),
 98, 127
 Generalized System of Preference
 (GSP), 133
 geopolitics, 28, 66–67, 69, 122, 148,
 245
 Goh Chok Tong, 207
 Golden Triangle, 179, 237
 Gornpot Asavinvichit, 251
 Government House, 3, 5, 44–45,
 53, 235, 292–93
 globalization, 9–10, 20, 31, 38, 42,
 52, 71, 85, 125, 180, 184, 235,
 237, 274, 308
 force of, 13–14
 Greenberg, Maurice R., 13
 Greenfeld, Liah, 124
 “Green Star”, communist
 organization, 177
 GSP (Generalized System of
 Preference), 133
 GMC (Greater Mekong
 Cooperation), 84
 GMS (Greater Mekong Sub-
 region), 20, 23, 172, 176, 179
 GSM (Global System Mobile), 181
 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC),
 98, 127
 Gulf of Thailand, oil in, 305

H

H1N1 virus, 121
 Hall, D.G.E., 67

Hambali, 203
 Hidayat, Greenfield, 200
 HIV/Aids, 121
 Hmong refugees, 178, 183
 Hor Namhong, 120, 303
 Hu Jintao, 17, 181
 Hua Hin Declaration, 298
 Human Rights Watch, 168
 Hun Sen, 170–72, 233, 280, 286,
 299–300, 302, 304–306
 Thaksin, relation with, 173–75
 Hungary, loss of territories, 88

I

IBM, 7
 ICJ (International Court of
 Justice), 286–87
 IMF (International Monetary
 Fund), 9, 25, 50, 202, 212
 India
 relations with Thailand, 14–17
 rise of, 14–17, 257
 Thaksinized diplomacy with,
 213–16
 see also Thailand-India Free
 Trade Agreement
 India-Thailand Trade Negotiating
 Committee, 130
 Indochina war, 170
 International Conference of Asian
 Political Parties, 97
 International Court of Justice
 (ICJ), 286–87
 International Institute for Trade
 and Development, 134
 international relations, 4
 IPStar project, 143, 167, 215, 241,
 254, 271
 IPStar Satellite, 307
 Iraq
 Thai troops in, 202, 228
 U.S. invasion of, 202
 Irrawaddy, media, 143

irredentism, 185, 188
 irredentist policy, 82, 88
 Islamic banks, 282
 Islamic fundamentalism, 188
 Isorn Pokmontri, 253

J

Jakrapob Penkair, 8, 248–49
 Japan
 Thaksinized diplomacy with,
 210–13
 trade with Thailand, 211–12
 Japan imperial army, 78
 Japan-Thailand Economic
 Partnership Agreement, *see*
 JTEPA
 Japan-Thailand Free Trade
 Agreement, 210
 Japan Trade Statistics, 211
 Japanese invasion, 79
 Jayakumar, S., 208–209
 JBC (Joint Border Commission),
 172, 221
 JC (Joint Commission for Bilateral
 Cooperation), 172
 JCR (Joint Cabinet Retreat), 217
 Jemaah Islamiyah, 203
 Joint Communiqué, 286–87
 Jory, Patrick, 197
 JTEPA (Japan-Thailand Economic
 Partnership Agreement), 131,
 206, 210–12
 “Juan Peron of Thailand”, 41
 Julawadee Worasakyothin, 134

K

Kantathi Suphamongkhon, 21, 92,
 143, 149, 183, 215, 243, 251–54
 foreign minister, *as*, 255
 Karen National Union, *see* KNU
 Kasit Piromya, 29, 47, 206, 214,
 241, 296, 298–99, 308
 Kaysonne Phomvihane, 178

“key performance indicators”, 250
 Khien Theeravit, 108
 Khieu Kanharith, 300
 Khint Nyunt, General, 123,
 141–42, 166, 168, 232
 Khmer civilization, 169
 Khmer Rouge, 44
 Thai support for, 170, 173
Khom Chut Leuk, television show,
 299
 Kiat Sithi-amorn, 252
 Kingdom of Ayutthaya, 10
 Kislenko, Arne, 72, 270
 Kittiphong Na Ranong, 295, 297
 KMT (Kuomintang), 80
 KNU (Karen National Union), 140
 attack on, 299
 Koh Kong project, 174
 Koizumi, Junichiro, 210
 Korbsak Sabhavas, 40
 Korean Peninsula, crisis, 216
 Korn Dabarangsi, 214
 Kriangsak Chomanan, 178, 243
 Krit Garnjana-Goonchorn, 28, 48,
 94
 Krit Kraichitti, 297
 “Krom Phra Klang” (Treasury
 Department), 10
 Krue Sae Mosque incident, 185
 Kublai Khan, 75
 Kukrit Pramoj, M.R., 81
 Kuomintang (KMT), 80
 Kusuma Snitwongse, 34, 44, 307

L

Lao People’s Revolutionary Party
 (LPRP), 181
 Lao Shinawatra Telecom (LST),
 181, 270
 Lao Telecom, 181–82
 Laos
 China, relations with, 180–81
 clash with Thai culture, 183–84

- joint commissions, 179
 landlocked, 178, 182
 largest investor in, 119, 180
 loans to, 182–83
 Thailand, relations with, 116
 Thaksinized diplomacy with,
 177–84
 Vietnam, relations with, 180–81
see also Royal Lao government;
 Thai-Lao Friendship
 Association
 Laotian Civil War, 177
 LDCs (less developed countries),
 22, 119, 122
 Lee Hsien Loong, 207, 208, 281
 Lee Kuan Yew, 2, 17, 147
 Lee Kuan Yew Exchange
 Fellowship (LKYEF), 207
 Lee Kuan Yew School of Public
 Policy, 209
 Lert Shinawatra, 7
 Levine, David, 275
 liberalization policy, *see* “Perd
 Seri”
 Likhit Dhiravegin, 73, 59
 “linkage politics”, 4, 55
 “listening tour”, 145
 Liverpool, football club, 237–38
 “Look East” policy, 213–14
 “Look West” policy, 213–15
 “lost territories”, 65–66, 88
*Love Song on Both Sides of the
 Mekong*, drama, 184
 LPRP (Lao People’s
 Revolutionary Party), 181
 LST (Lao Shinawatra Telecom),
 181, 270
 Lynch, Daniel, 198
- M**
- Mahathir Mohamad, 2, 17, 187,
 189
 Mahbubani, Kishore, 209
 Major Non-NATO Allies,
 members of, 228
Mak Tae Loke Talueng (Lucky Loser)
 film, 184
 Malaysia
 Thaksinized diplomacy with,
 184–90
 Manchester City, football club,
 238
 Manila Pact, 81, 228
 Maris Sa-ngiemphong, 8
 marketplace policy, 250
 Marwaan Macan Markar, 163
 McCargo, Duncan, 8, 188
 “megaphone diplomacy”, 243
 see also “Cultural Diplomacy”;
 diplomacy; foreign policy;
 Thai diplomacy;
 Thaksinized diplomacy
 meritocracy, 47
 “Merlion” mascot, 208
 methamphetamine, 168
 MGC (Mekong-Ganga
 Cooperation), 213
 member countries, 230
 micro-credit lending, 20
 Middle Kingdom, 75, 196
 militarism, 201
 military
 foreign affairs, in, 70–72
 reinvention of, 281
 military coup, 11, 52, 209, 233,
 276, 278–79, 291, 301, 306
 Ministry of Commerce, Thailand,
 26, 199, 289
 STF (Special Task Force), 133
 Ministry of Defence, Thailand,
 244
 Ministry of Education, China, 198
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
 Laos, 184

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
 Thailand, 3, 5, 8–9, 11, 26, 33,
 37, 40, 42, 53, 81–82, 94, 122,
 126, 141, 175–76, 187, 218,
 233, 235, 237, 243, 266, 269,
 279–81, 284–86, 289–90, 292,
 295–96, 300, 305, 309
 ambassador role, 28
 ASEAN department, 193
 budget, 244
 “dinosaur” organization, 10
 founder of, 67–68
 “junior ministers” in, 45
 old guards in, 46
 polarization in, 251
 politicization of, 46, 251, 261, 308
 radical shifts in, 246–56
 recruitment process, 247
 regional departments in, 246–47
 reshuffle, 297
 royal family, and, 70, 248
 staff strength, 244–45
 “twilight zone”, 44, 307
 versus the Prime Minister, 43–48
see also CEO ambassador;
 diplomacy; foreign policy;
 Royal Thai Embassy; Thai
 diplomacy; Thaksinized
 diplomacy
- Ministry of Posts and
 Telecommunications of
 Cambodia, 171
- Miyazawa Fund, 212
- Mobile Consular Affair Project, 50
- monarchy, abolition of, 78
 “money politicians”, 88
- Mongkut, King, 10, 67, 75, 77
 modernization under, 68
- Myanmar, 164–69, 235
 British annexation, 67
 crackdown in, 16, 291
 Cybertech, 271
 gas exports, 120, 160
 interest in, reasons for, 137
 loans to, 123, 283, 307
 new capital, 168
 peace talks, 140
 political change, steps toward,
 138–39
 “roadmap proposal”, 138–39
 trading partner, top, 166–67
 Thailand, relations with, 3, 34,
 42, 51, 116, 137–38, 148,
 191, 290
 Thaksinized diplomacy with,
 164–69
- N**
- NACC (National Anti-Corruption
 Commission), 296
- Najib Razak, 188
- Nam Theun 1, dam project, 179
- Narai, King, 76
- Narongsak Sangkhapong, 293
Nation, The, 149, 254
- National Anti-Corruption
 Commission (NACC), 296
- National Convention, 139–41
- National Counter-Corruption
 Commission (NCCC), 39
- National Economic and Social
 Development Plan, 62
- National Highway, 287
- national identity, 269
- national interests, 38–39, 270–72
- National League for Democracy,
see NLD
- National Reconciliation
 Commission, *see* NRC
- National Security Council, 44, 50,
 286
- National United Front for
 Democracy against
 Dictatorship (UDD), 308

- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 3, 39, 200, 203
- NCCC (National Counter-Corruption Commission), 39
- nepotism, 150, 278
- “new generation passport”, 50
- Newin Chidchob, 296, 301
- NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 19, 134, 136, 300
- 9/11, *see* September 11
- Nitya Pibulsonggram, 281, 283
- NLD (National League for Democracy), 137–38, 140, 143, 304
- Nong Duc Manh, 181
- Nongnuch Singhadecha, 234–35
- Noppadon Patama, 286–87, 289–90, 297, 308
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *see* NATO
- North Korea, 216, 235
- NRC (National Reconciliation Commission), 187
- members of, 188
- O**
- OAG (Office of the Auditor-General), 50
- ODA (Official Development Assistance), 119, 182
- OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development), 119
- Office of the Foreign Minister, 150
- Office of the United States Representative (USTR), 251
- OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference), 187, 288
- Olarn Chairpravat, 155
- Olympic Games, 16, 198, 227
- one-party system, 9, 12
- One Step Ahead of Thaksin*, book, 259
- OTOP (One Tambon, One Product), 9, 20–21, 51, 117, 237, 245
- Overlapping Maritime Claims to the Continental Shelf, 172
- P**
- Pacific Telesis, 7
- PAD (People’s Alliance for Democracy), 7, 11–12, 47, 208, 258, 276, 280, 285–87, 289–90, 292–97, 299, 303–306, 308
- Pakistan
- Thailand, relations with, 215–16
- Palang Dharma Party, 7, 8, 55
- Panitan Wattanayagorn, 163, 210
- Pansak Winyarat, 45–46, 128, 253
- PAS (Parti Islam se-Malaysia), 52, 188, 288
- Pasuk Phongpaichit, 9, 124, 211, 215, 234, 237, 239–40, 271
- Pattaya saga, 301–302
- Pawin Talerngsri, 199
- peacekeeping efforts, 219
- “people-centric diplomacy”, 5, 10, 48–52, 234
- see also* diplomacy
- People’s Alliance for Democracy, *see* PAD
- People’s Bank programme, 20
- People’s Power Party, *see* PPP
- “Perd Seri” (liberalization) policy, scope of, 127–28
- Phibun Songkhram, 6, 30, 63, 79–81, 90, 117, 210
- Phote Sarasin, 82
- Phra Ruang dynasty, 75
- Pisan Manawapat, 211, 236

Pisanu Suvanajata, 297
 Pojaman Shinawatra, 7
 populist dictatorship, 199
 populist diplomacy, 42, 233–38,
 243, 259, 261
 post-Thaksin era, 279
 PPP (People’s Power Party), 285,
 292–94, 299
 Prachuab Chaiyasarn, 251
 Prachyadavi Tavedikul, 29
 Prakrit Prachonpachanuk, 50
 Prapat Thepchatree, 275
 Pravich Rattanapian, 251
 Preah Vihear temple, 12, 52, 66,
 124, 170, 174, 176, 194, 259,
 279–80, 285–87, 294, 297, 299,
 300, 303, 305, 308
 Preecha Laohapongchana, 249
 Prem Tinsulanonda, 301
 Premier League club, 238
 Pridi Banomyong, 79
 Prime Minister
 as CEO, 37, 53, 238, 240
 versus the Ministry of Foreign
 Affairs, 43–48
 Prime Ministerial Retreat, 207
 Privy Council, 301
 “prosper thy neighbour” policy, 116
 “protocol states”, 82
 pro-Thaksin movement, 279, 295
 see also Shinawatra, Thaksin
 PSI (Proliferation Security
 Initiative), 39
 PTTEP (PTT Exploration and
 Production Co Ltd), 159
 Puea Thai Party, 299, 303–306
 Putin, Vladimir, 217
Pyithu Hluttaws, legislative
 bodies, 139

Q

Qingdao Initiative, 100

R

Radio Saranrom, 183
 Rainsy, Sam, 173
 Rama IV, King, *see* Mongkut,
 King
 Ramkhamhaeng, King, 75
 Razali Ismail, 140
 red-shirt protestors, 285, 296–98,
 301–302, 304–306
 Rice, Condoleezza, 255
 Riduan Isamuddin, 203
 “roadmap proposal”, 138–39
 Roberts, John, 189
 Rohingya refugees, 300
 Rosenau, James N., 4, 55
 “Roving Buakeaw Project”, 49, 62
 Royal Lao government, 177
 see also Laos
 Royal Thai Embassy
 attack on, 120, 124, 171, 174,
 194, 237
 see also Ministry of Foreign
 Affairs, Thailand
 Royal Thai Police Department, 7
 royalists movement, 12, 279, 295
Ru Than Thaksin, book, 259
 Rusk-Thanat Communiqué, 201

S

SAARC (South Asian Association
 for Regional Cooperation), 98
 Saddam Hussein, 203
 Sam Houston State University, 7
 Samak Sundaravej, 8, 16, 57, 198,
 209, 238, 251
 erratic approach of, 285–92
 Sarasin Viraphol, 75, 90
 Sarit Thanarat, 6
 SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory
 Syndrome), 110
 SATEL (Shinawatra Satellite),
 41, 171, 181, 215, 239, 307

- Sawanit Kongsiri, 235, 262, 281
 SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), 81–82, 201
 members of, 228
 “second track” diplomacy, 191
 Seni Pramoj, 79
 September 11 (9/11), 16, 72, 200, 202, 205
 “Seri Thai” (Free Thai) movement, 79
 Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 110
 Severino, Rodolfo, 194
 Shan State Army, 168, 221
 Shaukat Aziz, 216
 Shin-Temasek controversy, 40, 258, 290
 Shinawatra Corporation (Shin Corp), 166, 206, 208, 239–41, 271, 280, 283, 306
 Shin-Temasek controversy, 40, 258, 290
 Shinawatra Satellite (Shin Satellite), *see* SATTEL
 Siam
 Ayutthaya period, 76–77
 buffer zone, *as*, 73, 86, 89
 diplomacy controlled by monarchs, 70
 lost territories, 65, 170
 modernization, 68
 policy of accommodation, 67–68, 78, 86
 relations with ancient China, 67, 75
 sphere of influence, 66, 122
 suzerainty over Laos, 177
 see also Ayutthaya; Thailand
 Sihamoni, King, 304, 306
 Singapore
 Thaksinid diplomacy with, 206–10
 see also Temasek Holdings; Thailand-Singapore Civil Service Exchange Programme
 Singapore Airlines, 208
 Singapore Institute of International Affairs, 270
 Singapore-Thailand Enhanced Economic Relationship (STEER), 207–208, 290
 Sino-Thai FTA, 2–3, 51, 197, 199
 see also China
 Sino-Thai joint military relations, 3, 197, 226
 Sivarak Chutiphong, 305–306
 Smith, Anthony, 197
 Snoh Thienthong, 242
 Sok An, 286–87
 Somchai Wongsawat, 106, 286, 292–95
 Somkiati Ariyapruhya, 253
 Somkid Jatusripitak, 45, 128, 242
 Sompong Amornwiwat, 251, 293–94
 Somsavat Lengsavad, 120, 180
 Sondhi Limthongkul, 287, 310
 Sonthi Boonyaratglin, 149, 281
 South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), 98
 Southeast Asia
 colonialism in, 67
 Thailand, and, 22–23
 United States withdrawal from, 81
 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, *see* SEATO
 southern Thailand, conflict, 188–90, 198, 203–204, 287–89
 SPDC (State Peace and Development Council), 18, 141–42, 290

- Special Task Force (STF), Ministry of Commerce, 133
- Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth, The*, book, 124
- STEER (Singapore-Thailand Enhanced Economic Relationship), 207–208, 290
- student activism, 71
- Student Federation of Thailand, 210
- submissive diplomacy, 76
- Suchinda Kraprayoon, 7
- sufficiency economy, 153, 284
- Suharto, 17, 256
- Sukhothai, kingdom of, 64
- Supachai Panitchpakdi, 144, 148, 158, 195
- Supreme Court, 306
rulings on Thaksin case, 306–307
- Surachai Sirikrai, 80
- Surakiart Sathirathai, 9, 14, 18, 20–21, 24, 26–27, 34, 40, 46, 49–50, 87, 92–93, 95–97, 103, 107–108, 120–21, 139, 164, 255, 267
candidate for UNSG, 143–51, 244, 246, 252, 258, 273
deputy prime minister, as, 143–44
personality, 252–54
- Suraphan Shinawatra, 7
- Surapong Jayanama, 42, 123, 167, 190, 214
- Surapong Posayanonda, 253
- Surayud Chulanont, 40, 209, 280
ethical diplomacy under, 281–85
- Surin Pitsuwan, 11, 37, 148, 165, 194, 241, 291
- Suriya Jungrungreangkit, 240
- Suthad Setboonsarng, 252
- Suthep Thaugsuban, 301
- Suvanand Kongying, 175
- Suvarnabhumi International Airport, 38, 41, 118, 293, 296
- Suvarnabhumi* concept, 83, 117–18, 156, 183
- swap agreements, 105
- T**
- Tak Bai, murder of Muslim protestors in, 25, 52
- Taksin, King, 90
- Task Force for Closer Economic Partnership, 106
- Teah Banh, General, 173
- “Team Thailand”, 48, 249–50
- Tej Bunnag, 40, 144, 297
- Tekhwa Pung, 198
- Telephone Organisation of Thailand (TOT), 307
- Temasek Holdings, 206, 208, 241, 271, 280, 283
Shin-Temasek controversy, 40, 258, 290
see also Singapore
- Thai Airways International (THAI), 240, 293
- Thai-Australian FTA, 215, 240
- Thai-Bahrain Framework Agreement on Closer Economic partnership, 127
- Thai-Cambodia border crisis, 66
- Thai-Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 197
- Thai-Chinese FTA, *see* Sino-Thai FTA
- Thai colonialism, 122
- Thai currency, wide use of, 183
- Thai diplomacy, 258
art of, 63
Cold War, during the, 80–82

- history of, 74–85
 periodic opportunism, 78–80, 274
 policy of appeasement, 75–78
 pre-Thaksin policy, 83–85
see also “Cultural Diplomacy”;
 diplomacy; foreign policy;
 “megaphone diplomacy”;
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
 Thailand; Thaksinized
 diplomacy
 Thai-E.U. bilateral trade, 218
 Thai Foreign Trade Department,
 172
 Thai-Lao Friendship Association,
 179, 183
 Thai-Lao Friendship Bridge, 182
 Thai monarchs, astuteness of, 73,
 89
 Thai Rak Thai Party, *see* TRT
 Thai Royal Navy, 300
 Thai Trade Representatives, 158
 Thai-United States Consultative
 Joint Council, 127
 Thai-U.S. Plan of Action, 205
 Thai-U.S. Strategic Dialogue, 205
 ThaiCom, communications
 satellites, 166
 Thailand
 Angkor temple, and, 175
 anti-Chinese policy, 81, 90
 arms purchase from Russia, 217
 Cambodia, relations with, 12, 15,
 44, 51–52, 66, 116, 169–76,
 250, 299–300, 302–306
 China, relations with, 2, 14–17,
 22, 35, 51, 57, 81, 85, 90,
 195–200
 clash with Lao culture, 183–84
 client state, as, 22, 80, 163, 201
 colonialism, and, 63, 65, 67,
 73–74, 78
 communism, threat of, 69
 credibility, 148
 donor country, as, 2, 22, 38, 94,
 118–20, 122, 257
 First World nation, as, 38, 242
 GDP (Gross Domestic Product),
 51
 GNI (Gross National Income),
 119
 hegemonization of, 22, 36, 52,
 83–84, 117–18, 124, 152,
 174, 268, 272, 275
 India, relations with, 14–17
 Iraq, troops in, 202, 228
 Japan, trade with, 211–12
 joint commissions, 179
 Khmer Rouge, support for, 170,
 173
 Laos, relations with, 116, 177–84
 Major Non-NATO Allies status,
 200, 203
 Malaysia, relations with, 184–90
 Muslim insurgents, 15, 185–86,
 188
 Myanmar, relations with, 3, 34,
 42, 51, 116, 137–38, 148,
 164–69, 191, 290
 nationalism, and, 65–66, 124,
 185, 202, 208, 210, 236, 259,
 299, 305, *see also*
 nationalism *under* foreign
 policy
 Pakistan, relations with, 215–16
 peacekeeping efforts, 219
 political cultures, 243
 poverty in, 126
 separatist movement in, 185,
 188
 sister cities, 171–72
 Southeast Asia, and, 22–23
 southern conflict, 188–90, 198,
 203–204, 287–89

- Tak Bai, murder of Muslim
protestors in, 25, 52, 148,
185–87, 282, 287
- United States, exports to, 203
- United States, relations with, 3,
85
- United States, sympathetic to
coup, 281
- United Nations, as member,
79–80, 93
- Vietnam, relations with, 217
- wartime period, 78–80
- WTO, role in, 158
see also Ayutthaya; Siam
- Thailand and New Zealand
Closer Economic Partnership
(TNZCEP), 129
- Thailand Elite Card, 128
- Thailand-India Free Trade
Agreement (TIFTA), 213–15
see also India
- Thailand International
Development Cooperation
Agency (TICA), 247
- Thailand-Laos Cooperation
Commission Meeting, 180
- “Thailand Not for Sale”, 208
- Thailand-Singapore Civil Service
Exchange Programme, 290
- “Thailand through the Lens”, 24
- Thailand Trade Representatives
(TTR), 251–52
- Thaksin Shinawatra
ambition, 37–38
ASEAN policy, 190–95
“big brother”, 122
born, 6
brother-in-law, 286, 293
childhood, 7
corrupt practices, 39–42, 60
deputy prime minister, as, 8
diplomacy, zones of, 162–64
domestic policy, 19, 20, 232–33,
236, 261
economic advisor, appointed
as, 304
economic programmes, 28–29
election, 9, 37, 60
enemy of Muslims, as, 187
foreign minister, as, 8, 232
foreign policy, and, 4–6, 10–11, 13
fugitive, as, 2
guilty verdict, 306–309
Hun Sen, relation with, 173–75
Myanmar apologist, as, 141–43
network of elites, 271
passport revoked, 300
personal life, 37
policy booklet, 96, 153
power, centralization of, 249
private businesses in
Cambodia, 123
rise to power, 6
Thai-Chinese, model for, 196
Twitter account, 304
see also foreign policy; pro-
Thaksin movement
- Thaksinized diplomacy, 261,
268–76, 289–92
- ASEAN, with, 190–95
- Cambodia, with, 169–76
- China, with, 195–200
- India, with, 213–16
- Japan, with, 210–13
- Laos, with, 177–84
- Malaysia, with, 184–90
- Myanmar, with, 164–69
- Singapore, with, 206–10
- United States, with, 200–206
see also “Cultural Diplomacy”;
diplomacy; foreign policy;
“megaphone diplomacy”;
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Thailand; Thai diplomacy

- “Thaksiplomacy”, 2
 Thaksinomics, 9, 135
 Thammasat University, 252
 Than Shwe, General, 18, 141, 290
 Thanat Khoman, 11
 Thanom Kittikachorn, 6
 Theun-Hinboun Expansion
 Project, 179
 Thien Sein, 290, 291
 “Think new, act new” slogan, 11
 Thitinan Pongsudhirak, 48, 123,
 142, 147
 Thonburi dynasty, 77
 Thongchai Winichakul, 66
 Tibet
 China crackdown in, 16, 57
 TICA (Thailand International
 Development Cooperation
 Agency), 247
 TNZCEP (Thailand and New
 Zealand Closer Economic
 Partnership), 129
 top-down decision, 54
 TOT (Telephone Organisation of
 Thailand), 307
 trade diplomacy, 136
 Treasury Department, 10
 Treaty of Amity and Commerce
 1833, 201
 TRT (Thai Rak Thai) Party, 8, 10,
 24, 45, 96–97, 109, 118, 124,
 126, 144, 163, 167, 200, 239,
 276, 285, 299
 meaning, 1, 29
 one-party system, 9, 12
 populist programme, 9, 17, 124
 region hostile to, 185
 TTR (Thailand Trade
 Representatives), 251–52
 “2+X principle”, 207–208
- U**
 U Thant, 144
 UDD (National United Front for
 Democracy against
 Dictatorship), 308
 U.K. Sports Investment, 238
 Ukrist Pathmanand, 232
 UMNO (United Malays National
 Organization), 187–88
 UNCTAD (United Nations
 Conference on Trade and
 Development), 144
 UNDP (United Nations
 Development Programme),
 119
 UNESCO (United Nations
 Educational, Scientific and
 Cultural Organisation), 286,
 302–303
 UNHCR (United Nations High
 Commissioner for Refugees),
 187, 234, 300
 United Malays National
 Organization (UMNO),
 187–88
 United Nations, 18, 36, 282, 293
 United Nations Charter, 278
 United Nations Conference on
 Trade and Development
 (UNCTAD), 144
 United Nations Development
 Programme (UNDP), 119
 United Nations Educational,
 Scientific and Cultural
 Organisation, *see* UNESCO
 United Nations General
 Assembly, 100, 145
 United Nations High
 Commissioner for Refugees,
 see UNHCR
 United Nations Millennium
 Development Goals, 111, 119,
 144
 United Nations Secretary-
 General, *see* UNSG

- United Nations Security Council,
see UNSC
- United States
 Afghanistan, invasion of, 202
 combating communism, 69
 exports to Thailand, 203
 hegemony, 201
 Iraq, invasion of, 202
 sympathetic to Thailand coup,
 281
 Thai-United States Consultative
 Joint Council, 127
 Thai-U.S. Plan of Action, 205
 Thai-U.S. Strategic Dialogue,
 205
 Thailand, aid to, 80, 201
 Thailand, relations with, 3, 12,
 85
 Thaksinized diplomacy with,
 200–206
 withdrawal from Southeast
 Asia, 81
- United Wa State Army, *see*
 UWSA
- UNSC (United Nations Security
 Council), 27, 146, 212, 215,
 284
- UNSG (United Nations Secretary-
 General), 18, 26, 27, 96, 140,
 244
- Sathirathai, Surakiart, as
 candidate, 143–51, 244, 246,
 252, 258, 273
- U.S.-Thai FTA negotiation, 43
- USTR (Office of the United States
 Representative), 251
- UWSA (United Wa State Army),
 168, 221
- V**
- Vajpayee, Atal Behari, 214
- Vatchara Pannachet, 252
- Vatikiotis, Michael, 198
- VCP (Vietnamese Communist
 Party), 181
- Versailles, 76
- Vichak Visetnoi, 172
- Vietnam
 ASEAN, joins, 160
 invasion of Cambodia, 144
 Laos, relations with, 180–81
 Thailand, relations with, 217
 Vietnam War, 201
- Village Fund programme, 20
- Virachai Palasai, 297
- Virasakdi Futrakul, 297
- W**
- Wa army, 168, 237
- war on terrorism, 3, 12, 36, 200,
 203–204
- Warr, Peter, 126
- weapons of mass destruction, 39
- Who Says the Rich Don't Cheat?*,
 book, 40
- Win Aung, 120, 141
- Withaya Sucharithanarugse, 123
- “World Heritage” site, 286, 297,
 302
- World War I, 72, 88
- World War II, 63–64, 68–70,
 78–80, 201, 210
- WTO (World Trade
 Organization), 126, 144–45
 Thailand role, 158
- Wyatt, David, 169
- X**
- Xinhua*, 227
- Y**
- yaa baa*, 168
- Yaowapha Shinawatra, 293
- Yawd Serk, Colonel, 168
- Ye Naing Win, 166

- Yeo, George, 209
Yettaw, John, 298
Yong Chantalangsy, 182
“Young Ambassador of Virtue
Project”, 49, 62
“Young Turks”, 7
- Yongyuth Tiypairat, 294
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 288
- Z**
Zhang Xin-Sheng, 198
Zhou Enlai, 90