# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Thailand and Cambodia are neighbors by geography and their ties have been continuously developed, alternately between the positive and negative directions as it had appeared in their historical records. On one hand, the geographical proximity has greatly contributed opportunities for both countries to share their values, beliefs and practices in all areas of politics, economics, culture, religion and ways of life as clearly shown in a number of studies, academic researches and historical evidences. On the other hand, the physical connectedness has served as a channel that facilitates the transfer of various kinds of undesirable things which have negatively affected both countries' national development to some degree as well as the effort to promote mutually good understanding between the two people. Moreover, the Thai - Cambodian relations can be used as political tool by either the government or the oppositions, particularly in Cambodia, in order to gain public support and popularity as well as to overthrow credibility of the opposite sides or destabilize harmony for certain purpose as it had appeared in various occasions in the past up to the present.

The proposed topic of this thesis covers the study of the relations between Thailand and Cambodia in the year 2001 - 2006 under the administration of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra who successfully led the Thai Rak Thai Party to win two consecutive landslide victories in the 2001 and 2005 general elections, the first ever in Thai history, paving the way to the formation of the one-party-ruled government in its second term. During his tenure of office, Prime Minister Thaksin and his administration had initiated new directions of foreign policy such as "Forward Engagement" and "Prosper thy Neighbors" and put them into substantive practice in tandem with his domestically populist policies.

## I. Significance of the selected topic

In 2002, it was noted that the political and economic landscape in Thailand and Cambodia had been well developed and had become favorable phenomena for both countries to strengthen their relations and cooperation to a higher level. At this juncture, the Thai Government hosted the Meeting of the Joint Commission on Bilateral Cooperation between the two countries in Chiang Mai Province in late December 2002 which resulted in satisfactory expansion of cooperation in all areas. One could say that the Thai - Cambodian relations at that time had reached their peak since the official establishment of their diplomatic relations in 1950. Unbelievably, such excellent relations suddenly fell apart in the following month in the wake of the anti-Thai violence which took place in Cambodia on 29 January 2003 when the Royal Thai Embassy and many properties of Thai businesspersons in Phnom Penh were burnt down and looted. This incident shocked all Thais and people all over the world since it is confident that such raging incident should not take place in the relations between friendly states during the peaceful time. As a result, Thailand decided to downgrade her diplomatic relations with Cambodia from the ambassadorial level to the Chargé d'Affaires level, suspended all assistance and cooperation projects, and requested the Cambodian Government to explain the truth to the public, take legal action against the perpetrators, and pay compensation in full to damage-affected parties.

The said anti-Thai violence was therefore considered as a sharp u-turn in the neighborly relationship between Thailand and Cambodia and it sparked my curiosity and interest to make this thesis with a view to exploring what were the root-causes and haunting factors that triggered such a nightmare of violence, how the Thai Government under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration coped with the situation and whether Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia was successfully implemented, responses and actions taken by the Cambodian Government, lessons to be learnt in order to prevent the repetition of such incidents, and what should be properly done to achieve the so-called "peaceful co-existence" and "good neighborliness" between Thailand and Cambodia.

## II. Thesis structure

Chapter 1: Introduction - to inform thesis readers and users of how and in which ways and means this thesis was prepared, i.e. thesis objectives, thesis questions, hypotheses, thesis methodology, theoretical frameworks, expected outcomes, etc.

Chapter 2: Brief history of Thai - Cambodian relations - to briefly explore the relations and interactions between Siam or Thailand and Cambodia in the past and to inform that the relations between them have continuously developed up to the present. It is very important indeed to lay groundwork on the said matter at the beginning since it would be of great help to understand the root-causes of antagonism and dislike among the Thais and Cambodians. This Chapter looks at the history of the relations between the two kingdoms starting from the establishment of the Thai Kingdom at Sukhothai followed by Ayutthaya, Thonburi, Rattanakosin and Bangkok. The study also covers the relations before, during and after the departure of the French colonist from the Indochinese region as well as the emergence of Cambodia as an independent state from 1953 onwards.

Chapter 3: Characteristics of Thailand's foreign policy under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration - to comprehensively explore the transformation and development of Thailand's foreign policy under Thaksin's administration, namely "Dual Track Policy", "Forward Engagement", "Prosper thy Neighbors", "CEO Ambassadors", and "Team Thailand". Moreover, neighboring countries, particularly Laos PDR, Cambodia, Myanmar and Vietnam, received much attention from this government, resulting in the increase of developmental assistance extended to them as well as the promotion of trade and investment from Thailand with those countries. This chapter also highlights the roles of key players, both figures and institutions, in the process of formulating and implementing Thailand's foreign policy, namely Prime Minister Thaksin himself and two foreign ministers, Dr. Surakiart Sathirathai and Dr. Kantathi Suphamongkon, as well as other supporting mechanisms and institutions that helped realize Thailand's foreign policy towards neighboring countries including Cambodia.

Chapter 4: Thailand's Foreign Policy towards Cambodia under Prime Minister Thaksin's administration - to comprehensively examine Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia in detail ranging from policy announcement to the parliament after the formation of the government in 2001 and 2005, exchanges of visits and arrangements of high-level meetings which resulted in the formulation of policy guidelines that relevant authorities on both sides had to translate into effective practice for mutual benefit. This chapter divides the study of foreign policy into two parts. The first part is from 26 February 2001 to the anti-Thai violence on 29 January 2003 when the Royal Thai Embassy and the Thai properties in Phnom Penh were destroyed by fire and looting. The second part is from the anti-Thai violence to 19 September 2006 when Thaksin's administration was toppled by military coup d'état. It includes Prime Minister Thaksin's first official visit to Cambodia from 18 to 19 June 2001 and the arrangement of the Joint Cabinet Retreat between the Thai - Cambodian Governments from 31 May to 1 June 2003 after the anti-Thai violence served as the backbone of Thailand's foreign policy throughout Thaksin's administration.

Chapter 5: The Anti-Thai Violence in Cambodia on 29 January 2003 - This chapter tries to explain and search for the causes of the anti-Thai violence in Phnom Penh on 29 January 2003 as well as its effects and the efforts of the two governments to restore and improve their relations and cooperation to a normal level. Moreover, it also looks into other root causes that may possibly intensify the situation and lead to violence. There are many factors that have negatively affected the good relations and mutual understanding between the two countries and their peoples. This chapter also provides the answers to the thesis questions and helps prove the hypothesis.

Chapter 6: Cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia under Thaksin's administration - to broadly investigate outstanding problems in the relations between Thailand and Cambodia during Thaksin's administration and their cooperation to solve the issues as well as ways and means to strengthen their relations and promote cooperation for mutual benefit. This chapter also provides a good picture of new initiatives in Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia; namely the Ayeyawady - Chao Phraya - Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy (ACMECS) and cultural diplomacy.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and expectation of the future course of the relations and cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia - to propose conclusion and assessment of the implementation of Thailand's foreign policy under Thaksin's administration whether it was successful and corresponding to the hypothesis as well as the applied theoretical framework as already mentioned in Chapter 1. Moreover, ways and means to improve and strengthen Thailand's foreign policy vis-à-vis Cambodia are recommended for the benefit of the enhancement of closer relations and cooperation as well as better understanding between people of the two countries in the long term.

## III. Thesis objectives

1. To comprehensively study the relations and cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration and influential factors that played an important part in the formulation and implementation of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia in the said period;

2. To evaluate whether Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia during the Thaksin Shinawatra's administration was successfully implemented and effectively preserved Thailand's national interest;

3. To examine problems that might undermine or threaten the promotion of good relations and cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia;

4. To propose what should be done to eliminate such problems as well as ways and means to enhance the close cooperation in order to achieve "trust and confidence", "peaceful co-existence" and "good neighborliness" between Thailand and Cambodia and among their respective peoples.

## IV. Thesis questions

1. What were the major characteristics of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration (2001 - 2006)?

2. What were the influential factors that had negatively affected the good relations and cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia that might become root-causes of the anti-Thai riot that took place in Phnom Penh on 29 January 2003?

3. Did Thailand's foreign policy under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration after the anti-Thai riot in 2003 successfully carry out and achieve its goals? What were the prominent threats and obstacles to the effective implementation of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia?

4. What needs to be done in order to improve the bilateral relations and achieve "trust and confidence", "peaceful co-existence" and "good neighborliness" between Thailand and Cambodia?

## V. Hypothesis

In order to investigate whether the factors of history, nationalism and gap of socio-economic development had played an important part in the formulation and implementation of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia, the hypothesis of the study is set to be as follows:

"The Thai - Cambodian relations under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration has reflected the sense of mistrust, discord, prejudice and domination as a consequence of history, nationalism and socio-economic disparity, eventually leading to misunderstanding and mistrust between the two countries"

## VI. Thesis Methodology

This thesis employed both qualitative and descriptive methodologies and was done by making use of primary and secondary sources.

The primary source mainly focused on information obtained and extracted from (1) policies of the Thai Government under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration which were announced at Parliament in early 2001 and 2005; (2) speeches, remarks and opinions expressed at different occasions by Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers,

other Ministers and high ranking officials of Thailand and Cambodia; (3) Thai and Cambodian official documentaries, i.e. press release, cabinet resolutions, royal chronicles, etc.; and (4) interview with persons concerned.

The secondary source included academic works such as books, theses, academic research, articles, news and reports generally appearing in academic journals, research papers, and newspapers. Moreover, interviews and opinions given to the media by vital and prominent figures such as ambassadors, high-ranking officials and ordinary people are also quoted.

## VII. Scope

This thesis covers the study of the bilateral relationship between Thailand and Cambodia as well as goals, policies and strategies, mechanisms and achievements of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia during Thaksin Shinawatra's administration (2001 - 2006). The thesis also includes a brief historical background of Thai - Cambodian relations, specific characteristics and implementation of Thailand's foreign policy as well as obstacles and problems in the bilateral relations. Outstanding root-causes of misunderstanding, mistrust, discord and prejudice between the people of both countries are also comprehensively presented and discussed in the thesis with a view to examining the most accurate explanation for the occurrence of anti-Thai violence on 29 January 2003 and the shift of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia.

The thesis divided the study of the implementation of Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia under Thaksin's administration into two parts, namely before and after the anti-Thai violence in Phnom Penh on 29 January 2003. This approach has facilitated a comparative study which will finally help thesis readers understand thoroughly the characteristics of Thailand's foreign policy and help to distinguish what were differences between Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia implemented before and after the anti-Thai violence.

**VIII. Theoretical framework**

Before studying and considering foreign policy of any country, it is necessary to know its meaning and implications. By its nature, foreign policy is a complex phenomenon and one has to probe the motivations of any nation. It is perhaps because of this complexity that Feliks Gross view was that the study of foreign policy should be treated as a separate science or a discipline. Charles Burton Marshall felt that foreign policy is much like how a painting can result by applying paint on canvas as needed, rather than an artifact hanging statistically in a museum.

Many scholars view foreign policy and diplomacy as the wheels through which the process of international politics operate. Every state has to adopt some kind of foreign policy and diplomacy to interact with other states. All states have some kind of relations between themselves, however distant one state may be from another. Each respective government has to choose a certain course of action and refrain from others. It is also a fact that every government has to behave in a particular manner in relation to governments of other states. The study of this behavior is, broadly speaking, the content of foreign policy.

In the context of international relations, behavior of one state affects those of other states at some level, either favorably or adversely. However, every state tries to minimize the adverse effect and maximize the favorable effect of its course of action towards other states. Therefore, it is the adjustment of the action of states in favor of one's own state that George Modelski called the purpose of foreign policy. He defined foreign policy as the system of activities involved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. The foremost task of foreign policy, in Modelski's view, must be to throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change and succeed in changing the behavior of other states. The foreign policy makers act in accordance with the instructions of the political community which they represent and on whose behalf they speak and act. The policy makers are an essential component of the process of foreign policy. Thus, Morgenthau had said, "What is important to know, if one wants to understand foreign policy, is not primarily the motives of a statesman, but his intellectual ability to comprehend the essentials of foreign policy, as well as his

political ability to translate what he has comprehended into successful political action."

In shaping foreign policy, the makers of foreign policy have to operate mainly at two levels, with the community that instructs and supplies the resources to carry out their functions and with other states whose behavior the policy-makers try to change or regulate. George Modelski called the flow of actions from the community towards the policy makers as the "input" and actions of the policy makers towards other nations as the "output". Therefore, the main task of policy makers is to transform inputs into outputs. The tasks of the foreign policy makers are mainly fourfold: (1) the formulation of interest and objectives; (2) the procurement of power from the community; (3) the definition of objectives; and (4) the allocation of foreign policy's means. As a result, policy makers act as the interpreters of the interests of not only their own community to other states but also of the interests of other countries to their own community. They also have to define the interests of their community to the community itself and they do so in the light of ever-changing circumstances. Definition of objectives also implies that there should be a plan of action and a coordination of diverse actions. The policy makers serve as a day-to-day interpreter of the interests and objectives of the community. In the field of the available means of foreign policy, their task is to ensure that the community allocates adequate resources for future action. Finally, the allocation of resources necessitates operational decisions on the part of the policy makers. These decisions commit the governmental resources to foreign policy purposes. [1]

Judging from the above-mentioned groundwork of the significance of foreign policy and duties of foreign policy makers, the study of relations between Thailand and Cambodia is therefore very interesting due to its uniqueness since they are close neighboring countries that share the same boundary line and have similarity in various aspects. Moreover, there are plenty of sensitivities and vulnerable factors that might either reinforce or erode the good relationship, trust, confidence and mutual understanding between the two countries and their peoples. To this end, it is worth studying the Thai - Cambodian relations as valuable lesson for all concerned,

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[1] Ganganath Jha, *Foreign Policy of Thailand* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1979), pp. 1 - 3.

particularly those who are involved or are interested in the study of the relations between Thailand and her next-door neighbors.

On the other hand, it was noted that Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra embarked on a pro-active policy with his strong intention to stabilize the regional environment and make enough room for Thailand to be able to effectively engage with the rest of mainland Southeast Asia and beyond. It is apparent that Thaksin's administration had initiated various political and economic means that could pave the way for Thailand as leader of the entire Southeast Asian region through ASEAN and other regional frameworks, particularly the Asian Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) and the Asian Bond. To achieve the previously mentioned goals, the Thai Government at that time vigorously emphasized the promotion of having good relations and cooperation with her neighboring countries and tried to insert Thai influence in many fields through various means into those countries, including Cambodia.

Taking those factors into account, the relations between Thailand and Cambodia has continued to evolve and exert pressure on both sides to develop their relations cautiously since the anti-Thai violence on 29 January 2003 that haunted and exhibited as a reminder that no one wants such violence to take place again. Therefore, it is suggested that a systematic and academic approach should be applied for the comprehensive study of the relationship between Thailand and Cambodia as well as making recommendations for more efficient policy in order to achieve closer relations and better understanding between the two countries and their respective peoples.

## **International Conflict Theory**

The analytical framework that was applied in this thesis is the concept of the conflict theory which would help us understand thoroughly the cause of conflict, mistrust and so forth in the relations between Thailand and Cambodia.

According to many studies, since the nation-state came into existence, it was apparent that no single state could have escaped from having conflict and war, to some degree, with other states. This is due to the fact that the interaction between states has been closely associated with people whose minds, sentiments and perceptions always fluctuate, depending on the level of affecting influential factors

and existing environment that are present. In the end, conflict and war among states could bring an unpleasant atmosphere in their relations, as well as aggressive confrontation, grief, loss of life, casualties, displacement of people, and destruction of living and non-living things, etc. Such phenomena deter from lasting happiness and prosperity, the highest goal of people at all walks of life in this world.

In order to avoid the occurrence of misunderstanding, mistrust, discord, prejudice, conflict and war among states, it is therefore very important for students in the field of international relations and those who engage with the realm of international relations to have a clear understanding about the causes of international conflict, the ways and means to limit or eliminate the emerging conflict together with the preventive measures against the conflict that might occur in peacetime.

Lewis A. Coser, a professor of sociology at Brandeis University, in his "The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: Free Press, 1956), defined conflict as a "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals". Conflict is an interaction involving humans; it does not include the struggle of man against his physical environment. Conflict implies more than competition. Men may compete with each other for something that is in shortage without being fully aware of their competitors' existence, or without seeking to prevent the competitors from achieving their objectives. Competition shades off into conflict when the parties try to enhance their own position by reducing that of others, try to thwart others from gaining their own ends, and try to put their competitors "out of business" or even to destroy them. Conflict may be violent or non-violent (i.e., in terms of physical force), dominant or recessive, controllable or uncontrollable, resolvable or insoluble under various sets of circumstances. Conflict is distinct from "tensions" insofar as the latter term usually implies latent hostility, fear, suspicion, the perceived divergence of interests, and perhaps the desire to dominate or gain revenge, but it does not necessarily extend beyond attitudes and perceptions to encompass actual overt opposition and mutual efforts to thwart one another. Tensions often precede and always accompany the outbreak of conflict, but they are not the same as conflict, and are not always incompatible with cooperation. The "causes" of tension, however, are probably closely related to the "causes" of conflict. Moreover, if tensions become powerful

enough they themselves may become a contributory or preliminary "cause" of the occurrence of conflict insofar as they affect the decision-making process.

What Coser provided above is a sociological definition. He is interested in conflict between groups. Other analysts insist that the term must embrace not only intergroup but also interpersonal and intrapersonal phenomena. Society would not have to be concerned about conflict within the individual if it were not for the plausible assumption that there is a significant relation between conflicts within the psychic structure of the individual and conflict in the external social order. No theory of conflict can ignore this relationship. This is not to suggest that all internal conflicts can be explained only in terms of external forces, or that all external conflicts can be explained only in terms of inner psychic forces. The internal and the external can never be completely separated. Neither can the one ever be reduced completely to the other and derived solely from it. Psychological states alone cannot explain social behavior, and social conditions alone cannot explain individual behavior. [2]

Associate Professor Dr. Abhinya Ratanamongkolmas of the Department of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University of Thailand, one of the well-known researchers on international conflict study, had compiled analytical frameworks and made interesting viewpoints on the causes of international conflict. [3] In her book entitled "International Conflict", it is apparent that the study of international conflict could be broadly divided into 2 approaches namely:

**1. Causes of international conflict approach**

According to this approach, we explore the cause factors of certain problems and their origins. Examples are the imbalance of players in the world structural power, deviation of power poles in international system, insecurity in domestic politics, having conflict with other countries as tool to diverge people's interest from domestic problems such as economic and social issues, being oppressed by contempt of national dignity and prestige, ability to gain economic benefit less than other

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[2] James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations* (United States of America: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1971), pp. 139 - 140.

[3] Abhinya Ratanamongkolmas, *International Conflict* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1995).

countries existing in the same system, inequality of status within structure of international system.

In this approach, there are some conceptual frameworks that we can use to explain the causes of international conflict such as Structural - Functional Analysis, Social Psychological Analysis and Structural Analysis.

(1) Structural - Functional Analysis

The Structural - Functionalist takes the "structural" aspects of the social system into consideration, and then studies the processes, which function to maintain social structures. In this context, structure primarily refers to normative patterns of behavior (regularized patterns of action in accordance with norms), whilst function explains how such patterns operate as systems. A recurrent criticism of the structural - functionalist view is that functions seem to determine structures, with the consequence that it becomes impossible to derive structure from function in coherent manner.

This approach emphasizes the relationship between various compositions in the society according to their roles and functions in order to maintain the smooth and orderly process of relations in a systematic and secure manner. If such relations have changed, the chaos, confusion, disorder and turbulence would take place within the system. Equally, in the context of international relations, whenever the status quo of relations between states has altered or the roles of states have been diversified, resulting in the deformation of international relations, the conflict between states shall eventually emerge. Pertaining to the said argument, we are able to divide causes of international conflict as follows:

a. Conflict caused by unequal power between states Power as means of achieving what a state wants and power as the end to what a state wishes to acquire in order to have supremacy over other states. Power is very important in the context of international relations and becomes an influential factor in the formation of foreign policy direction towards other states and non-state actors since it helps in maintaining sovereignty, national security and territorial integrity as well as in maximizing economic wealth of a nation. Power of a state or national attributes comes from various sources such as domestic resources (natural resources, well-educated population, number of workforce, high level of gross domestic product, high standard

of living of people, military strength, etc.) or capability to make use of resources (promotion of economic and political system that is beneficial to national development, improvement of technology for better production of goods, etc.). Many countries have thus struggled for power to become powerful states, which finally generated conflict between states in the international system as we have learnt from many lessons in the past up to the present.

b. Conflict caused by the quest for power The unequal status of states in the international system becomes a major factor that causes conflict among states. However, states always have means and ways to achieve power such as having a common enemy as it has appeared in the international war against terrorism or formation of a group of countries to share mutual benefits. The said actions are normally carried out by powerful states since the bigger state is in a better position to provide benefit to a smaller state in the form of foreign aid for economic development, technical assistance for human resource development, military assistance for strengthening security and stability, i.e. among the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

c. Conflict caused by the deviation of domestic problem There are so many incidents that have been used by the government of a certain country to divert citizens' attention from the prevailing domestic issues to the outside world. This tactic has been considerably used by stronger states that have multi-facet characteristics in economic, social and cultural aspects such as having a big gap between people living in cities and rural areas as a result of inefficient distribution of income, having various ethnic groups and minorities that may cause social unrest and in-fighting. This approach is based on the hypothesis that humans strongly attach to group identification. Whenever conflict with outsiders arise, they shall strengthen their relations within the group and internal conflict shall subside. Therefore, the conflict vis-à-vis with outsiders or different countries helps restore national conciliation and harmony between people in the conflicting societies.

(2) Social Psychological Analysis

This analysis framework emphasizes that conflict is generated by an intensely oppressive atmosphere, by considering that any person who is treated unequally and without justice tends to increase his level of frustration. After reaching

an intolerable level, severe conflict shall explode. Such frustration - aggression relations have been used to explain the conflict within and between the societies. The hypothesis is that the frustration and aggression in the society will occur whenever people in one group realize that they do not receive what they have expected according to their ability as a result of the action of another group.

The frustration - aggression theory is a relatively old one. This theory received its classic expression in the "Frustration and Aggression" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939) of John Dollard and Leonard W. Doob at Yale shortly before the outbreak of World War II. The Yale group took "as its point of departure the assumption that aggression is always a consequence of frustration". More specifically, they took it for granted that "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, on the other hand, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression". They defined "frustration" as "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated-goal response at its proper time in the behavior sequence". Whenever a barrier is interposed between a person and his desired goal, an extra amount of energy is mobilized. According to the Dollard study, the strength of the instigation to aggression can be expected to vary with (a) the strength of instigation to the frustrated response, (b) the degree of interference with the frustrated response; and (c) the number of frustrated response-sequences. Aggression occurs only if goal-directed activity is thwarted, not in cases of unperceived deprivation. Moreover, the Yale group pointed out, not every frustrating situation produces overt aggression. Acts of aggression can be inhibited, particularly when their commission would lead to punishment or other undesirable consequences. The anticipation of punishment reduces overt aggression, and the greater the amount of punishment anticipated for an aggressive act, the less likely is that act to occur. [4]

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff made a thoughtful comment on the relations between analysis frameworks proposed by the behaviorists and the political causes of war that the causes of international conflict could not be understood exclusively in terms of biological or psychological factors. One must always return to the level of political analysis to find out why a particular government considers certain foreign

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[4] Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 212 - 213.

governments as allies and others as adversaries. It is out of a matrix of political communications - involving politicians and diplomats, the public, the press, the military, socio-economic elites, special interest groups in the foreign policy-making process - that governments define their goals, interests, policies and strategies, weighing the likely consequences of acting or not acting in specific situations, as well as the prospects of success or failure in invoking force. When a government makes a decision for war, it may be for a great variety of conscious reasons, single or in combination - to preserve its "prestige;" to establish hegemony within a larger area; to support an ally and thus safeguard an alliance against erosion; to maintain an "equilibrium" in a particular region; to fill in a "power vacuum;" to protect an economic interest abroad; to dissuade future aggression; to gain control of territory deemed vital to national security; to consolidate the domestic position of a ruling elite or political party; or to enhance internal cohesion and head off domestic strife by deflecting conflict passions abroad. Many other political motives for war could be cited. However, these examples will suffice to focus our attention upon an important conclusion. The findings of the behavioral scientists can serve as valuable illuminators to our understanding of the causes of war, provided that we place them in perspective as partial explanatory factors within the larger international political context in which those who wield the power of decision opt either to go to war or to refrain from it. [5]

(3) Structural Analysis

This approach of analysis is different from that of the Structural-Functional Analysis. The Structural Analysis originated from the relations between various units in the community that strongly connect to each other until transforming into an integration between each unit in accordance with issue of the relations, i.e. the structural relations in the Thai society in the ancient time called "Sakdina", or feudal status in terms of land counted in rai given by the sovereign to a nobleman according to his rank, derived from the relations between the more powerful unit such as governor, headman of a village and the less powerful unit such as those under the rulers, members in a village. With these kinds of relations, the less powerful people

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[5] Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, p. 232.

shall behave or be expected to act in conformity with rules and regulations laid by their upper and ruler class. Such relations widely and strongly exist in the society and thus form the structure that is expected. If the said relations have altered, such as rejection of the prevailing rules and values leading to the creation, by any means, of other acceptable guidelines of action or the rules of law, it is said that the structure of the community has changed into a new one. As a result, the relations between units in the community shall reflect character of the structure as well as its development.

The difference between the Structural Analysis and Structure - Functional Analysis is that the former considers how people's behavior evolves within an continuous structural framework and therefore one needs to study historical process of the relations (not just theinput and output that causes such behavior) whereas the latter believes that institutions can control behaviors of people. This approach has been used to explain relations between entities in the international community, including states and non-states such as international organizations and transnational corporations. As a result, we can study the international environment and structure to explore the cause of conflict as follows:

a. <u>Conflict caused by status disequilibrium between states in the international system</u>

A famous theorist in this approach is Johan Galtung. [6] His view was that relations between states are based on the hierarchical difference of national capability and power. A great power nation is compared to the king while smaller states living in the periphery are seen as noblemen or land-lessees, although all states are equal by law. Galtung has named such relations as the "topper dog-under dog" relationship or the "metropole-satellite" relationship. [7]

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[6] Johan Galtung is the pioneer of peace and conflict research and the founder of the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo. He was frequently referenced with regard to concepts he introduced, or at least is commonly associated with: Structural Violence - widely defined as the systematic ways in which a given regime prevents individuals from achieving their full potential. Institutionalized racism and sexism are examples of this; and Negative vs. Positive Peace - introduced the concept that peace may be more than just the absence of overt violent conflict (negative peace), and include a range of relationships up to a state where nations (or any groupings in conflict) might have collaborative and supportive relationships (positive peace).

[7] The said concepts appear in Johan Galtung's works particularly "A Structure Theory of Aggression" in Journal of Peace Research (1964) and "On Foreign Policy, Opinion

Another example of the influential doctrine was that of Raul Prebisch, an Argentine economist, who experienced directly the catastrophic impact of the great depression of the 1930s on what had long been a prosperous economy and a constitutional state. Generalizing from this, he reasoned that so long as industrialized states were able to react to adverse conditions with mercantilist policies, as the United States and Europe had been in the 1930s, it was folly for less powerful states to plump for the gains from free trade available to them as producers of primary commodities. Instead, he urged them to industrialize, however costly in the short run. Prebisch argued that the terms of trade were bound to move in the end against producers of primary products because demand for their exports was bound to grow more slowly than for the manufactured goods they needed to import. Moreover, any gains from improved productivity in agricultural production and extractive industry would be drained to the industrial economies by the superior bargaining power of their monopolist worker unions and firms. The political significance of Prebisch lies much less in the quality of his thought than in its reception. As he rose through the United Nations Commission for Latin America (UNCLA) to become founding Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964, his proposed solutions to the dilemma of primary producers won widespread official acceptance, making him a much more powerful molder of Third World policies than the neo-Marxist dependency school with whom he is often mistakenly associated. UNCTAD itself became, during the North-South Dialogue of the 1970s, the vehicle for his program, advocating the stabilization of international commodity markets, continued import-substituting industrialization and regional cooperation in the Third World, and the retraction of illiberal control on market access for agricultural goods and textiles imposed by the advanced industrial economies. [8]

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as a Function of Social Position" in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, ed. James N. Rosenau (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 551 - 572. Find more information on the Johan Galtung's interesting collection of works at the website of Transcend: A Peace and Development Network for Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means at http://www.transcend.org.

[8] Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 435.

b. <u>Conflict caused by social injustice</u>

The prominent theory representing this approach is Marxism, which was originally formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Both of them devoted their lives to the analysis of historical forces, which they considered to be moving inexorably towards the eventual collapse of the capitalist system and a revolutionary crisis that would bring about a socialist transition and full communism. They gave particularly close attention to economic processes and structures, which they saw as the key "material" factors in shaping social structure and class relations, and also the state and the distribution of political power. The Marxist critique of capitalism places particular emphasis on the role of the institution of private property (of capital resources and land) as the basis of class exploitation and the dependency of employed workers on a privileged group of owners.

Marxism may also be seen as a distinctive approach to the analysis of society, especially in terms of historical processes of change, which has had a dramatic impact on numerous fields of humanities. There is hardly any area of socio-economic, political or cultural investigation that has not been scrutinized by the techniques of Marxist analysis. In particular, this has involved historical materialist methodology rooted in the belief that the structure of society and human relations in all their forms are the product of material conditions and circumstances rather than of ideas, thought or consciousness. This raises the problem of "determinism" in Marxism, since an emphasis on material forces of economic production and the social relations of production (i.e. class relations) inevitably suggests that these are the key factors which have shaped, and which continue to shape, the process of historical change. After the death of Marx and Engels, numerous Marxist thinkers, from Lenin onwards, have added important theoretical dimensions, relating to Marxism, for example, to new conditions of global economic production, imperialism and colonialism and the changing position of the working class or proletariat, which has always been seen by Marxists as the most severely exploited class of capitalist society, and as the main agent of the eventual overthrow of capitalism. [9]

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[9] McLean and McMillan, pp. 337 - 339.

## 2. Process of international conflict approach [10]

In the study of international relations, there are various approaches used for studying the cause and path of conflict among the nations. One of which is the process of international conflict approach that emphasizes the study of international conflict at its outset, conditions and steps of conflict expansion starting from a war of words to the outbreak of war. This approach understands that, after weighing between gain and loss, war is the final stage of conflict and the last decision to eliminate enemy from its existence.

Edward E. Azar, an expert in the field of international conflict study, had conducted a study on the development of conflict process by accumulating a number of events in political, economic, social, military and cultural aspects that engaged internally and externally with 135 countries worldwide from 1 January 1945 to 31 December 1978. The objective of such study was to analyze behaviors or event analysis of certain players and states towards the targeted groups and states under the concept that the occurring activities would reflect characters and behaviors of the players. All events were divided into 15 categories and each category comprises detail of international conflicts, ranging from the severest conflict to the most cooperative manner, and is given a mathematical rating in descending order as follows:

(15) <u>Extensive war causing death, dislocation and high strategic costs</u>: The relevant events to this kind of behavior are the use of atomic or nuclear bombs or strategic arms, full-scale of war in air or at seas or on land, aggression of territory, occupation of territory, bombings in the civil areas, capture of military personnel of the opposite side, hard bombings, the use of chemical or biological weapons.

(14) <u>Limited warfare</u>: Examples are spot bombing at military or industrial areas of the opposite side, destroy or seizure of vessel of the opposite side, maritime blockade.

(13) <u>Small-scale military operation</u>: This behavior comprises limited air or naval or land fighting, protection of boundary areas, annexation of seized territory, seizure of the opposite side's properties, blockade operation against targeted country,

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[10] Abhinya Ratanamongkolmas.

assassination of leaders of targeted country, suppressive acts against targeted countries.

(12) <u>Political-military hostile actions</u>: Such as providing a support to riot or insurrection in the targeted country, (i.e. in the form of training or financial assistance to the insurgent group), stimulation of terrorist operation resisting targeted country, supporting limited or unlimited act of terrorism, abduction and torture of people or prisoners-of-war of the opposite side, rendering assistance to terrorists, termination of diplomatic relations, raid against diplomats or embassy premises, expulsion of military advisor, state's appropriation of private business without compensation.

(11) <u>Diplomatic-economic hostile actions</u>: Events that are in line with this behavior are strengthening of armed forces, denial of goods transference, trade or business sanction against targeted country, blockade of land or maritime or air transportation network, boycott of trade, closure of border point of entry and impediment of communication network, control of trade and currency exchange that cause economic-related problems, termination of assistance, incitement of mob resisting targeted country, refusal of providing military assistance to allied country, sudden call in the ambassador for negotiation, rejection of visa or control of movement within the country, expulsion or capture of citizens or members of the media for a targeted country, espionage of foreign offices, termination of important agreements.

(10) <u>Strong verbal expression displaying hostility in the interaction</u>: Examples are warning targeted country that counter measures would be taken, extending threatening proposals or making accusations, strong reprimands on a specific action or policy, the denouncement of a leader, political system or ideology of the opposite side, postponement of state visit, declining to participate in the meeting or summit meeting between leaders, use of propaganda attacking targeted country, obstructing or opposing of policy or proposal of a targeted country in the United Nations or other international organization.

(9) <u>Mild verbal expression displaying discord in the interaction</u>: This behavior includes light opposition to policy or behavior, expression of dissatisfaction through the third party, failure to achieve the reached agreement, rejection of

receiving a note of protest or accusation, declining to clarify goals or standing points, request for policy change of the opposite side.

(8) <u>Neutral or non-significant acts for the interaction</u>: The events relating to this behavior are delivery of general statement, release of news that is irrelevant to the situation, exchange of unofficial visit, making the same content statements, compensation to the appropriated private properties, and avoidance of making criticism.

(7) <u>Minor official exchanges, talks and policy expressions in the form of mild verbal support</u>: The associated events include meetings between high level officials, expressions of mutual interest on the issue, making a visit for negotiation by lower officials, issuance of joint statement, the nomination of ambassador, announcement of ceasefire, unofficial exchange, proposal for negotiation, unofficial support to the government of the opposite side, exchange of prisoners of war, request for policy support, delivery and explanation of policy.

(6) <u>Official verbal support of goals, values and regime</u>: Examples are official support of policy, upgrading of embassy's status, affirmation of friendship, request for assistance to resist the third country, apology for action or statement that causes disapprobation, permission to enter the country for media persons, expression of appreciation for assistance made for the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(5) <u>Conclusion of non-strategic agreement such as in the cultural and scientific fields</u>: Events at this level consist of commencement of diplomatic relations, promotion of contact in technological and scientific fields, proposal to provide economic or military-related assistance, recognition of government of the other side, opening of border point of entry, promotion or announcement of friendship agreement, promotion of exchange on cultural and technical fields.
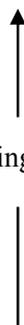
(4) <u>Conclusion of non-military, economic, technological and industrial agreement</u>: Events categorized to this behavior are provision of loan or financial assistance, agreement on economic cooperation, offer to render assistance in industrial, cultural, technical fields, promotion of trade agreement and providing of most favored nation (MFN) status, procurement of technical experts, termination of economic restriction, payment of debts, sale of non-military products, assistance for disabled people.

(3) <u>Military, economic and strategic support</u>: This level of behavior includes the sale of nuclear reactors and related equipment, permission to use air, naval or land facilities for military base, recommendations relating to military techniques, providing military assistance and high technology knowledge, conclusions on military agreements, providing military training courses, cooperation on arms reduction talks.

(2) <u>Major strategic alliance at regional or international level</u>: Examples are joint military operations, the establishment of a joint military commanding unit or military alliance, joint exercise, establishment of common market, becoming or establishing international alliance, joint efforts to promote good quality of life of world population.

(1) <u>Voluntary unification into one nation</u>: This behavior is the highest level of cooperation which includes determination to unify two countries and governments into single state.

After examining all behaviors listed above, it is apparent that the severest conflicting behavior ranks 15th in the scale point and reduces its degree of opponent manner to the 8th level which shows that there is no interaction between the conflicting parties or becomes neutral in their relations. The behavior incrementally develops its degree of cooperation to the first level in the scale point, which leads to international integration. To have a clear picture and better understanding about the relations between conflicting and cooperative behaviors, the researchers have designated a numerical rating and weighted value to each behavior as follows:

| Scale Point | Weighted Value | Behavior Area |
|:-----------:|:--------------:|:-------------:|
| 15 | 102 | |
| 14 | 65 | |
| 13 | 50 | |
| 12 | 45 | Conflicting Behavior |
| 11 | 29 | |
| 10 | 16 | |
| 9 | 6 | |
| 8 | 1 | Neutral |
| 7 | 6 | |
| 6 | 10 | |
| 5 | 14 | |
| 4 | 27 | Cooperative Behavior |
| 3 | 31 | |
| 2 | 47 | |
| 1 | 92 | |

## IX. Expected Outcomes

1. Fully understand how Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia under Thaksin Shinawatra's administration has been formulated and implemented as well as all factors that were influential to the policy making and decision process;

2. Know why and how the anti-Thai riot on the 29 January 2003 in Cambodia that caused the total destruction of the Royal Thai Embassy and some properties of Thai nationals in Phnom Penh had occurred and how the relations between the two countries was restored;

3. Comprehend how the Thai Government shifted its policy and which ways and means were used to remedy and improve the relations with Cambodia after the anti-Thai violence in an effort to prevent the reoccurrence of such incident or

occurrence of any undesirable situation that might cause conflict and misunderstanding, mistrust, discord and prejudice between the two countries;

4. Be able to identify the existing loopholes in Thailand's foreign policy towards Cambodia and propose comprehensive and practical recommendations that would be helpful for the improvement of policy as well as beneficial to the undertaking of further research by others on the related topics and issues.