Constitutional Development of Thailand

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Abstract-

        This article is aimed at analyzing the frequent social-political turmoil of Thailand and find out the constitutional development in Thai Democratic process. This study base on the historical and empirical tool of investigation has attempted to cover the entire social – cultural – economic scenario and its impact on the Thai political process and political power. The theme of this research is to provide information and analysis on the implications and development of the constitution in Thai democratic process. The contents need to be presented and analysed to recognize that the Thai constitution and politics are closely related and are very important in developing the country to modernity and let every grassroots people learn and obtain equally important resources which aim for security, prosperity and sustainability.

Keywords- constitution, Thai, democratic Process

I. INTRODUCTION

Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia that has preserved her independence from the western imperial power. Not having undergone any colonial regime she has remained politically and culturally conservative. [1] The revolution of 1932 replaced the monarchic form of government with a constitutional monarchy, and thus the modern concept of legitimacy arrived in the polity, but Thailand ranks very high with regard to the military coup frequency as compared with the other military states in the world, during the post-World War-II period. Fifty-nine states have experienced military interventions during this period; of which and twelve states have undergone through the coups eight to eighteen   and Thailand is no exception to this [2] Successful military interventions usually resulted in the abrogation of constitutions, abolition of parliaments, and suspension of participant political activity. The military rulers often claimed to be democratic. Sometimes the rulers forwarded the opinion that the parliament had to be abolished because the people were not getting ready for democracy. The lust for power of military officials had turned into the frequent demise of old and formation of new regimes within the same oligarchy. [3]

II. TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

By mid 1880s, the small group of western educated élites consisting of princes and nobles and few others had challenged tradition-based authority and its legitimacy through the submission of lengthy memorandum, asking King Chulalongkorn to institute a constitutional monarchy. The king was still doubtful; however, about the installation of a western political model on the grounds of its non-suitability to the Thai society. [4] He pointed out that, unlike European society, the Thai society was incapable of absorbing radical changes. Moreover, the introduction of democratic institutions without Thai people having   enough   knowledge   of western democratic values would result in political strife and hence reduce the national well-being. Instead he regarded it better to retain the existing system, [5] which, according to him was capable of generating the changes slowly but definitely. Thus, the political reign of King Chulalongkorn witnessed the emergence of a bureaucracy- based modern rule governed by the centralized power of the throne, having a direct contact
with masses - which gradually culminated in the future conflict between the ruling élites and the masses.

III. REFORM UNDER RAMA VI-VII

The new successor to Rama V, King Vachiravuth reiterated the views of his father that, since the people lacked the knowledge of democratic process, it would be blindly follow the western democratic pattern. He admitted that the selfishness of the political élites for seizing political power through the electoral process would exploit the ignorant masses. The King first stressed the acculturation of modern values among the Thai masses through the educative process, making education compulsory, righteous way leading towards modern nationalism. [6] Indeed this was a transitional period in the Thai history. The next ruler, King Prachadhipok-Rama VII, was so eager to introduce democratic polity and expressed the

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same to Praya Kulayanamaitri, one of the member of council of ministers who rejected the idea of democratic polity. The reason put forward by him was that the success of electoral process ultimately depended upon massive and sound education of society, In the absence of such education the democracy soon turns into dictatorship. [7]

IV.   CHANGING PHASES OF THE THAI CONSTITUTIONS

Right from the beginning of the constitutional period in Thailand, the monopoly of power held by the People's Party under the interim provisions was criticized. However, the People's Party countered such criticism stating that the interim provisions were necessary to secure and stabilize the democratic system, and that the party had installed itself as the guardian of democracy to serve the good of the people. The permanent constitution was promulgated on December 10, 1932; the elite's groups, both the civilians and military officials still enjoyed lots of political power. However, after the general election in 1946 the new constitution which was drafted by civilians aimed at curtailing the military oligarchic power and eradicated undemocratic practices by appointing members of parliament. As a result, the military staged a coup, seizing political power from the civilian government, abrogated the constitution, and brought the democratic system back to the period of 1932. This event marked the beginning of a vicious cycle in Thai politics that suspended political development and marked a short-lived era of civilian governments. Thai politics were ruled by the bureaucratic elites in this period, and this system was known as the 'Bureaucratic Polity'. Although, the military elites could have lots of political power, but they could never attract the interest of the common people. This resulted in a struggle for political power between the military elites and civilian groups that began from a conflict of political ideology. The 1949 constitution was promulgated although it was under the dominance of the military which aimed to maintain power within the Royalist military oligarchy, but this constitution was short lived due to some military officials who did not accept it. They again staged a coup and abrogated the constitution. It is important to note here that whenever the military seized political power they always announced it as a reason to maintain national security and prevent communism. It was the 1952 constitution which aimed to control communist activities in Thailand. This constitution provided tremendous political power to the Prime Minister and military armed forces. The legislative power was limited, and the position of the parliament turned out to be a rubber stamp. However, during this period, the political situation became stable due to the strong personality of Prime Minister 'Sarit'. The society and the economy were developed in accordance with the Social and Economic Development Plan and financial help from the USA. The king played a significant role in the social development through the Royal projects. The number of foreign investments increased during this period because of the political stability. Although, the society and economy were developed, the democratic development was eventually suspended because of the military dictatorship. As a result, it created an imbalance in the development of the Thai society. The result of the economic and social development plan obviously was an increase in the number of middle class people, and the number of universities expanded into various parts of Thailand. Students and businessmen became interested in politics as they realized that politics affected their lives and their business development. Because of increasing pressure from students 'agitations' for the restoration of democratic polity in 1973, the 1974 constitution was drafted as a model of western democracy. Unfortunately, this draft could not be put into practice because the committees that were appointed by the parliament scrutinized the draft of the constitution and discarded many progressive elements of the draft and finally presented their revised version. Consequently, the bureaucratic elites could enjoy their political power in the parliament again. However, this constitution was better than the past ones. During this period, under the constitution of 1974, the Medias could play a significant role in criticizing the government. Several times strikes, and mob agitations occurred, during this period as people complained directly to the government. Furthermore, there was the threat of communism surrounding the neighbouring countries an also in Thai society that caused the armed forces to seize political power again with the pretext of maintaining the stability of law and order. Martial law was declared. The 1976 constitution vested extensive authority in the Prime Minister. Since the introduction of the constitutional monarchy in Thailand, one can observe that the constitution has granted more political power to representatives than the Senators and has prohibited government officials from enjoying political power in the cabinet or parliament, and members of the senate have to be elected (1946 constitution). The military has several times seized political power and abrogated the constitution which was obviously seen in the

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periods of 1947, 1948, 1972, and the 1976 constitutions. If the military elite have not been able to abrogate the constitution, they have exerted pressure in the government to make constitutional amendments and offered the opportunity to government officials especially military elites to enjoy political power and in addition have blocked elected politicians from assuming political power. These acts indicate that the abrogation of the constitution has resulted in suspension of democratic development in Thailand, since they adopt provisions which rae dissimilar to the principles of a constitutional democracy.

Constitution No.	Interim	Permanence	Period
1.	✓	-	5 months 13 days
2.	-	✓	13 years 4 months 29 days
3.	-	✓	1year 5 months 28 days
4.	✓	-	1 year 4 months 14 days
5.	-	✓	2 years 8 months 6 days
6.	-	✓	6 years 7months 12 days
7.	✓	-	9 years 4 months 22 days
8.	-	✓	3 years 4 months 27 days
9.	✓	-	1 year 9 months 22 days
10.	-	✓	2 years
11.	-	✓	11 Months 28 days
12.	✓	-	1 year 1 month 13 days
13.	-	✓	12 years 2 months 1 day
14.	✓	-	9 months 8 days
15.	-	✓	5 years 10 months 2 days
16.	-	✓	8 years 11 months 9 days
17.	✓	-	10 months 24 days
18.	-	✓	6 years 9 months 15 days

19.	✓	-	2 years 8 months 14 days
20.	-	✓	
Total 19	Total 8	Total 11	Total 86 years

Table1: compare the interim constitutions and permanence constitutions of The Kingdom of Thailand The constitution which was promulgated in 977 known as the "Half Way Democracy" because the formation of the cabinet carried the process of election and nomination of its members. During this period the number of middle class people increased along with the number of businessmen due to the expansion of the education system and the economic boom especially during the Chatichai government. Soon after, the conflict between the civilian government and military emerged and caused the military to stage a coup, which was followed with the promulgation of the 1991 constitution which guaranteed the rights, equality and liberty of all citizens before the law. The members of the Senate were prohibited from joining any nigh profile office and consulting with any political party. The principle of checks and balances between the cabinet and parliament was crystallized in this constitution. The majority of the people not only called for the constitution, but they also demanded a democratic constitution which could give them political benefit. But this trend of demand for a true democracy increased dramatically when people saw that the military leader was appointed as Prime Minister without being elected through a democratic process. As a result, it caused the May events of 1997, and demand for political reform from the people of Thailand. The 1997 constitution was drafted by the people for the first time and was aimed at reforming the political and administrative systems to make it a more democratic and transparent system.

Constitution N0.	democracy	Dictatorship	Semi-democracy
1.	-	✓	-
2.	-	✓	-
3.	✓	-	-
4.	-	✓	-
5.	✓	-	-
6.	-	✓	-
7.	-	✓	-
8.	-	-	✓
9.	-	✓	-
10.	✓	-	-
11.	-	✓	-
12.	-	✓	-
13.	-	-	✓
14.	-	✓	-
15.	✓	-	-
16.	✓	-	-
17.	-	✓	-

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18.	✓	-	-
19.		✓	
20.	✓		
Total 19	Total 6	Total 11	Total 2

Table2: Compare the categories of Constitutions of the Kingdom of Thailand

V. CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THAILAND

The coup makers declared their intention to form a democratic government. The most important seedbed of this revolution was the sector educated in western countries, the military officers and senior bureaucrats. King Prajadhipok-Rama VII recognized the new government. The king promulgated the permanent constitution on December 10, 1932 which marked formal transformation of the political system from absolute monarchy to a constitutional democratic government. It was in 1932 that the absolute monarchy was replaced without any bloodshed by a constitutional monarchy. Indeed, it marked a new era of the beginning of a democratic process in an undemocratic, tradition bound, Thai society. Since then, in the past 86 years, Thailand has gone through twenty written constitutions. It went through many ups and downs coping with changing intra-social, economic and political perspectives on one hand, [8] and a critical extra political environment, which severely threatened the world, on the other. Besides this, the western educated civilian elites and the military officials could be held responsible for the factional constitutional process in Thailand. The differences among politicians over certain policies also have added to the situation. [9]

VI. IMPABLANCED DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

The political system created for Thailand under Sarit Era (1947-1963) relied on Thai political principles. They did not believe that a Western style democracy would be beneficial for Thai society. [10] Thus, the patriarchal paternalism system of Sarit had created an imbalance between political institutions and bureaucratic institutions, bringing the social and economic changes, and also new political ideologies. Emphasis was placed on economic and educational development. Many agencies were developed to cope with this new emphasis, and Sarit's policy also welcomed significant foreign investment. The outcome of this development was the transformation of Thailand's economy from an agricultural base to semi-industrial.[11]

Thai society was becoming more industrialized, and people began to be split into various class groups. The first of these groups was involved in the business industry that became so dynamic during the Vietnam War when the US contributed substantial financial aid to Thailand. Links between politicians and businessmen became common, and conflicts of interest began to appear rapidly, the political leaders had closely relationships with businessmen, and this served to protect the power and economic advantages of politicians, as well as protecting the business interests of the businessmen. The second-class group was the labourers and office workers. This class group now existed in many communities and was for the most part well educated with well-founded ideologies and occupational experience. [12] The third notable class group was the students from universities and occupational schools. Literacy numbers and population figures increased during this period. Political problems were now rising as a consequence, and community problems began to rise to the forefront of political discussion. The literacy, population, educational and occupational changes were the outcome of the economic master plan and resulted in the creation of a 'middle class' within Thai society. The power of the middle class was not to be underestimated, as they played an important role in the government. Along with the businessmen, the middle class were transferring the political power from the government officials and instigated what is known as a system of Plutocracy. [13]

VII. HALF WAY DEMOCRACY: THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

With the promulgation of the 1978 constitution, the foundation was laid for what became popularly known as 'halfway democracy'. The system attempted to balance old elements of the bureaucratic system with

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the new emerging social forces of democracy and accountability. The Prime Minister's selection is dependent upon the support of members of parliament and other powerful elements such as the military. The cabinet ministers could consist of either elected members of parliament or those who did not run for election. Additionally, cabinet members can be permanent military officers or civil servants and can concurrently hold both positions. Finally, an important element of the 'halfway democracy' was that senators had to be appointed. [14] This system was designed in response to the demand for old power from established government officials, and the demand for new power from the 'middle class' that emerged from the recent economic development and establishment of the election process.

VIII.   THE BUREAUCRACY AND PLUTOCRATIC POLITY RULE

The Sarit Era, the business groups were closely tied to government officials due to for their business interests, the government officials were invited to be partners not only into the administrative committee but also to partake in business incentives. This alliance consisting of Administrative officials and the Bureaucrats played a political role since the government emphasized a neo-liberal economy, [15] thus, the Thai economic structure was transferred to the capitalists who monopolized the Thai economic system. The 1974 and 1978 constitutions responded to the political participation and parliamentary system that resulted in the development of economic growth successfully. Thus, Thailand became the a NIC (new industrial country), On the contrary the political dilemma created the imbalance system of democratic development and the business groups whose power was growing above the government officials, resulted from their political participation. During this period, the constitution gave way to the political structural changed and offered the opportunity to the business groups to play political role by establishing political parties and join the general elections. Thus, they supported various political parties and became members of administrative committees in various political parties that enabled them to become ministers. These business groups could play an economic role by monopolizing power which brought direct change to the economic situation in the society and effected directly the political situation. Thus, the period after the end of the half way democracy, the system of political business or so called 'plutocracy' under the business group was obviously seen. Money became a source of power in Thailand and manipulated everything. The sign of plutocracy is 'vote buying'. Many members of parliament, representatives and ministers came from the business groups. [16] As a result, many capitalists became interested in playing a political role. This change resulted in decreased opportunity of good candidates who did not have enough money for the election campaign. Moreover, the political parties had to satisfy the capitalist groups. This caused weakness in the Thai political parties' system. [17]

Thus, it is important to note here that the process of political development of Thailand began from Bureaucratic polity to Plutocracy and from the Half Way democracy to Political Reform. Thai political reform just emerged since the 16th constitution, when people demanded political rights and wanted to participate in the political and administrative process either directly or indirectly. But political reform could not succeed in all phases of the constitution, due to the unchangeable Thai political culture. [18]

IX.   THE VICIOUS CIRCLE IN THE PLUTOCRACY PERIOD

The vicious cycle of civilian governments replaced by military coups, and the lack of genuine constitutionalism due to lack of transparency in government and the problem of corruption. This circle starts with increasing public pressure on the civilian regime (normally functioning with the approval of the military) usually fomented by its social, political and economic dysfunction. This dysfunction is typically exacerbated by the media reporting on the regime's overt corruption. This in turn provokes increasing political conflict between factions in the government coalition.[19] In Thailand, coalition governments do not last long because they are unstable. A coalition government has serial stages of, a life-cycle. At the beginning, there is a one to three months honeymoon period. After a while, cracks appear in the coalition government. Dissatisfied members in the coalition start to "rock the boat" by demanding their respective political parties to rotate ministerial quotas so that they can become ministers. Coalition governments are, therefore, unstable and chaotic. Finally, in compliance with the bureaucracy, the military steps in to restore order and establish a functional legislature, able to pass the laws the bureaucracy has drafted. Usually an interim constitution is quickly implemented followed by a permanent constitution with possibly an election to create an ostensibly civilian government. Once the government is up and

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running, it can enjoy a honeymoon period where everyone settles back to the business of state affairs. But then rumours of corruption arise with a renewed social and political turmoil causing the governmental factions wields muscles against each rival group. Thus, the vicious circle begins.

X. THE ROOT OF PROBLEMS
Thailand has had 20 constitutions, implies that some bureaucratic elites do not respect the democratic principle. They staged a coup to abrogate the constitution and make new rules
for their own advantage. [20] The competition to gain political power among the political groups, and the military is that seized political power through coups since the last decade effected socio-political changes frequently. The demand for political rights from students and the middle-class group from the military dictatorship since 1973 until the last decade made Thai political power transferred into the capitalist groups, and obviously seen the Plutocracy system in society when the Thai Rak Thai won a landslide victory in the 2001 election. The government made the populist policies and mega projects to please the grassroots. As a result, it affected the Thai society which further divided into two different groups 'the grassroots and the middle class' the clear cut of the division in the society gave birth to social problems. The major problem has been found in Thai politics is 'the political culture' that has never been changed,[21] the government and majority of people use the conflict of political thought in the wrong way, as a result, the struggle for power and political problems has created, and the new generations have had negative attitude toward the Thai politics, they believed that the Thai Democracy is not a true democracy; on the contrary the politics have brought more and more conflict of political thought and violation for the political interests of specific groups in the society, each group felt that his own political ideology would benefit the people.[22] This outlook interlinked the political thought and political knowledge of Thai people which is yet to mature to such ideology. Political Reform becomes necessary to make people more responsible for the improvisation in the election system.

XI. REFORM PERIOD: PLANNING AND POLICY MAKING IN THAILAND
Thailand could be described as a true moderate democratic government system since 1992. The elected government is installed by the rural population. The Ministers are parliamentarians from various provinces who think locally rather than nationally. Thai public policies are manifested in national and sectoral plans. The National Economic and Social Development Board provide a reference for budgetary purpose; subsequently, every Ministry must develop the projects in accordance with the National Development Plan.[23] Since the 1990s it has focused on people development rather than a project-oriented approach. The Line Ministries resorted more to sectoral planning which was approved by the Cabinet. The Master Plans has been divided in accordance with the accountability to both the public and the private sector. In 1993, the Finance Ministry made a bold move and opened the Bangkok International Banking Facility to promote Thailand as another financial center of Southeast Asia.[24] Until 1996, Thailand's success in stimulating growth while maintaining stability was attributed to its prudent macroeconomic management. The country had nine years of fiscal surplus and public debt was only 15 percent of GDP in 1997, making Thailand one of the least publicly indebted countries in the world. Thailand has achieved an impressive record of economic growth from the seventh plan onward. The average per capita income of the kingdom at current market prices has increased,[25] which has re-positioned Thailand from being a poor country to joining the ranks of the developing countries. The number of people living in absolute poverty has dropped substantially. Full employment has been achieved, and most Thai people enjoy a wider access to basic economic and social services. The adoption of free trade in the present world economic system has affected many countries. The prospect for "regionalism" increased due to the major world economic countries playing significant roles in the new world economic order. China plays a key role determining the world and Asian economic security. Thailand, therefore, took advantage of her strategic geographic location within the dynamic Asian region, by fostering economic cooperation among neighboring countries and expanding the collaborative network to include East Asia. The development and expansion of this regional network increased the competitive position and economic bargaining power both between countries among the region and other regional groups. It also serves to enhance mutual interest in trade and investment in the region.[26]
The Development Plans emphasized the collaborative efforts of the people and expanded participation to cover an even wider segment of the Thai population. Brainstorming workshops were held at every level of

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society with representation from every province and sub-region of Thailand. Theses collaborative efforts led to the identification of sharing a common vision and development strategies for Thailand. The science and technology were implemented for the   strong   grass   root economic growth. There was a clear network between the urban and rural areas regarding the exchange and improvement of education and health, the management of natural resources and the environment. The promotion of good governance at every level in Thai society aimed to eradicate poverty. The Thai government empowered key groups by way of creating more opportunities and equitable access to education and social services. [27] The result from these developments has brought many economic changes through the process of capitalism and has liberalized the system, that created the imbalanced development has had a direct impact on Thai politics, particularly the business groups which have spent considerable financial resources to have political power, and the previous economic crises of 1997, which widened the economic gap in Thai society and created unequal   monetary   distribution.[28] These changes brought about a political reformation policy by way of introducing the transfer power from central government to regional and local governments in the 16th constitution. Thus, Thai politics were boosted due to bureaucratic reformation and the policy of decentralization which benefited the public, awareness of law and anti-corruption laws among the people made it difficult for the corrupt politicians and government workers to continue their illegal activities like bribes, fraud, corruption etc. The mass media exerted an important role to support the government in its implementation of their welfare politics.[29]

XII.THE GROWTH OF POWER POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE

Civics's politics has begun in Thailand since many people from all walks of life raised their voices for their rights, liberty, and 'the constitution' which were under suppression by the military government in October 1973. Since the political transformation in 1932, the elite groups consisting of military and capitalists have been involved in the exercise of political power, but these groups never realized a true democracy. As a result, it suspended the political development of Thailand.   Thus, politics of the people was formed. It became the foundation for the political power of the people in order to check and balance the power of the government. In the May event of 1992, civic's politics emerged for the second time, and the number of middle class people and the development of the mass media were increased, the majority of the people voiced their displeasure against the mismanagement of the government and finally they could succeed by demanding the resignation of the Prime Minister. After the May event of 1992. The middle class people did not rely on the big capitalists who usually back up the politicians in parliament.[30]They try to put a check on the administration. They side tracked the big capitalist groups. Movement like civic's politics are effective when people start their movement and call for their rights to participation in the decision- making process of the government. When the Thai Rak Thai won a majority vote in the election and formed a government. Thai Rak Thai could control the majority in parliament, and the representatives of small political parties were made to lose their identity in the big cauldron of the powerful parliament known as 'parliamentary dictatorship'. On the contrary, the opposition parties could not have enough power to check and balance the government in the process of the parliamentary system. The government made more complicated policies. Consequently, conflicts of interest emerged due to various government policies.[31]The opposition parties became weaker and weaker. As a result, the civic's politics came to the surface again (reemerged) and lead a political movement directed against corruption. The scenario was full of conflicts of interest, and the interference of the dependent organizations supported by the government as it had happened since 2001. Most of these people came from the middle class and from the urban areas. They criticized the government on the conflict of interests; lack of transparency and interference the independent organizations.[32] During this period the political party scenario was weakened, because they were wavering in their political ideology. They had dissimilar political views as well as economic and social issue. Yet, every party wanted to have a role in the national administration by way of getting elected to the parliament. Again, the various parties held a gathering on common political issues to gain more power and political influence, but they were irreconcilable because each political party had a dream of political power and opportunity. For these reasons, the word "party" for Thai political parties has a different connotation from other political parties of the west.[33] As a result; the civic's politics or people participation in democracy plays a more significant role than political parties. It became the center for the people from all parts of the country and all walks of life to show their political activism against the government's policies

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whenever they found the government misusing their political power.[34] However, the activities of people's politics must be under the rule of law and the disciplines of the constitution. Thai democratic system will be developed effectively in the future due to the decentralization policy which helps people to understand more politics and make them realize the effect of politics to their living. Compromise is important to maintain the Thai democratic system. The decision making is based on the majority and on the principle of democracy;which is everyone needs to compromise to maintain peace and a democratic system.[35] It is important to note here that the constitution is the pillar of the democratic system and it is the supreme law of the land. The constitution can be amended based on democratic principles and its procedures in order to make it suitable to the current social situation and progress of the society. The constitution is never supposed to be abrogated in the truly democratic countries.

XIII. CONCLUSION

Studying Thai constitutional developments from 1932-2017 can help us to understand the Thai democratic process and its development. Since each of 16 constitutions of Thailand which implemented the democratic system and provided benefits for many Thais in different levels as well as to help us understand how effective it was. The 1997 constitution of The Kingdom of Thailand has obviously seen that many Thai people from various sectors wanted to develop a democracy in Thailand and reform Thai politics. Hence, they had to draft the constitution to make the political model as they expected for the Thai society. Thus, people from various sectors wanted to have a good political system in Thailand,but nowadays people can obviously see a political crisis in Thailand, consequently they demanded political reform. The 2007 constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand was drafted during a period of political and social instability and was expected to bring about an appropriate democratic system. It aimed to solve the political and social problems which were happening during the period of the 1997 constitution because the political power was monopolized by the only main political party and resulted in a parliamentary dictatorship system,lack of political transparency, and interference with independent organizations. Hence, the 2007 constitution was drafted and aimed to solve these problems. The 2017 constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand has empowered the courts and independent organizations to prevent corruption. It is believed to be the constitution that inherited the power of the National Peace Keeping, because the National Peace Keeping still uses special power under the section 44 of the constitution, which has been enforced from the provisional constitution. This constitution still retains the authority of the National Peace Keeping, which can legislate or imprison anyone who are illegal in case of insurgency or protest the government. This constitution is also mentioned that the Prime Minister can be selected from outsiders the parliament, the number of senators from selection is also more than election. Thailand has been under democratic rule since 1932. It has gone through 13 rebellions and 13 military coups, 20 constitutional monarchy systems and 29 Prime Ministers. The root of the problem in Thai society is the economic difference between the rich and poor. The 1997 constitution was drafted to focus on political reform. As a result, politicians campaigned for an election by emphasizing a populist policy which recognized the grassroots. These people could receive the resources provided by the government for the first time during this period. Then, the poor were able to elect a government; on the other hand, the middle class participated in politics and had the capacity to remove the government. Under the 1997 constitution, many businessmen joined the Thai Rak Thai party, mainly through the party list system. During this period, there were many conflicts of interest and corruption, especially corruption in mega projects. The conflict became increasingly serious when mobs started to protest against the government, this mob consisted of middle class people and capitalists who opposed Prime Minister "Thaksin", but there was another mob that supported the government mostly made up of rural poor who appreciated the populist policies. As a result, Thai society was obviously divided into two different groups. The reconciliation has not occurred in Thai society. The main factors of this problem are: 1. The anti-government mob did not accept the political power of the government. 2. The social structure conflict between the rich and poor. These days, the grassroot people have already learned the means to influence political power and obtain resources from the government. As a result, various political parties used populist policies as a tool for their political campaign to get elected during the general elections period and form a government without concerning themselves with managing the budget of government. Thai society consists of many poor people who appreciate populist policies. Although the mob conflicts came to an end after the military coup in 2006 but the factors which about it about have not ended, for that reason, the

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conflict can restart at anytime. Therefore, the government must reform the economic system that means of implement political and administrative reforms to provide more opportunities and power to the grassroot people for their economic stability without depending entirely on the government.

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[6]This is a point, which has not been given due emphasis and King Vajiravuth, should have been given more credit in this regard. This is because whether it was his intention or not, the end result came out just the same. It helped create an atmosphere of free expression.

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